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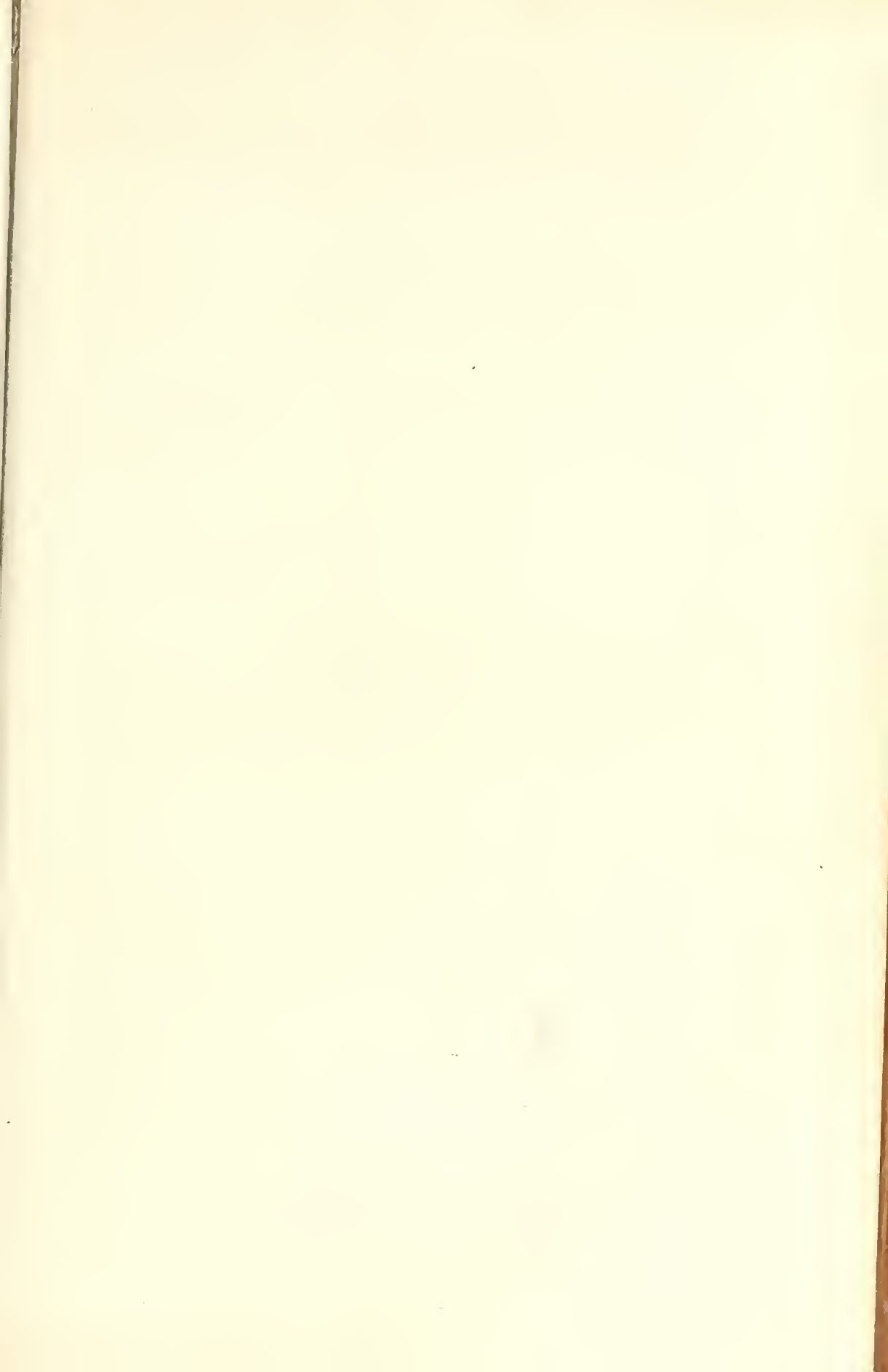
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THE

PRINCIPAL NAVI-
GATIONS, VOYAGES,
TRAFFIQUES AND DISCOVE-

ries of the *English Nation*, made by Sea or ouer-
land, to the remote and farthest distant quarters of the
Earth, at any time within the compasse of these 1600 yeres:

Diuided into three seuerall Volumes, according to the
positions of the Regions, whereunto they
were directed.

The first Volume containeth the worthy Discoueries,
&c. of the *English* toward the North and Northeast by Sea, as of
Lapland, Scirkfinia, Corelia, the Baie of *S. Nicolas*, the Isles of *Colgoiene, Vaigatz*,
and *Nona Zembla*, toward the great Riuer *Ob*, with the mighty Empire of *Russia*,
the *Caspian Sea, Georgia, Armenia, Media, Persia, Boghar* in *Bactria*,
and diuers kingdomes of *Tartaria*:

Together with many notable monuments and testimonies
of the ancient forren trades, and of the warrelike and other
shipping of this Realme of *England* in former ages,

Whereunto is annexed a briefe *Commentary* of the true state of *Island*,
and of the Northren Seas and lands situate that way: As also the
memorable defeat of the *Spanish* huge *Armada*, Anno 1588.


¶ The second Volume comprehendeth the principall
Nauigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and discoueries of the *English*
Nation made by Sea or ouer-land, to the South and South-east
parts of the World, as well within as without the Streight of
Gibraltar, at any time within the compasse of these 1600.
yeres: Diuided into two seuerall parts, &c.

¶ By RICHARD HAKLVYT Preacher, and sometime Stu-
dent of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*.



¶ Imprinted at London by *George Bishop*,
Ralph Newberie, and *Robert Barker*.

ANNO 1599.


TO THE RIGHT
HONORABLE MY SINGV-
LAR GOOD LORD, THE LORD
CHARLES HOWARD, Erle of Notingham,
Baron of Effingham, Knight of the noble Order
of the Garter, Lord high Admirall of England,
Ireland, and Wales, &c. one of her Maiesties
most honourable priuie Counsell.



Right Honourable and my very good
 Lord, after I had long since published in Print
 many Navigations and Discoueries of Stran-
 gers in diuers languages, as well here at Lon-
 don, as in the citie of Paris, during my five
 yeeres abode in France, with the woorthie
 Knight Sir *Edward Stafford* your brother in
 lawe, her Maiesties most prudent and carefull
 Ambassador ligier with the French King: and
 had waded on still farther and farther in the
 sweet studie of the historie of Cosmographie,
 I began at length to conceiue, that with dili-

gent obseruation, some thing might be gathered which might commend our nation for their high courage and singular actiuitie in the Search and Discouerie of the most vnknown quarters of the world. Howbeit, seeing no man to step forth to vndertake the recording of so many memorable actions, but euery man to follow his priuate affaires: the ardent loue of my countrey deuoured all difficulties, and as it were with a sharpe goad prouoked me and thrust me forward into this most troublesome and painfull action. And after great charges and infinite cares, after many watchings, toiles, and trauels, and wearying out of my weake body; at length I haue collected three seuerall Volumes of the English Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoueries, to strange, remote, and farre distant countreys. Which worke of mine I haue not included within the compasse of things onely done in these latter dayes, as though litle or nothing woorthie of memorie had bene performed in former ages; but mounting aloft by the space of many hundred yeeres, haue brought to light many very rare and worthy monuments, which long haue lien miserably scattered in mustie corners, & rechelessly hidden in mistie darkeness, and were very like for the greatest part to haue bene buried in perpetuall obliuion: The first Volume of this worke I haue thus for the present brought to light, reseruing the other two vntill the next Spring, when by Gods grace they shall come to the Presse. In the meane season bethinking my selfe of some munificent and bountifull Patrone, I called to mind your honorable Lordship, who both in regard of my particular obligation, and also in respect of the subiect and matter, might iustly challenge the Patronage thereof. For first I remembered how much I was bound, and how deeply indebted for my yongest brother *Edmund Hackluyt*, to whom for the space of foure whole yeeres your Lordship committed the government and instruction of that honorable yong noble man, your sonne & heite apparant, the lord *Wil-*

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

liam Howard, of whose high spirit and wonderful towardlinesse full many a time hath he boasted vnto me. Secondly, the bounden duetie which I owe to your most deare sister the lady *Sheffield*, my singular good lady & honorable mistresse, admonished me to be mindfull of the renoumed familie of the *Howards*. Thirdly, when I found in the first Patent graunted by Queene *Marie* to the Moscouie companie, that my lord your father being then lord high Admirall of England, was one of the first fauourers and furtherers, with his purse and countenance, of the strange and wonderfull Discouerie of *Russia*, the chiefe contents of this present Volume, then I remēbred the sage saying of sweet *Isocrates*, *That sonnes ought not onely to be inheritors of their fathers substance, but also of their commendable vertues and honours.* But what I speake I of your ancestors honors (which to say the trueth, are very great, and such as our *Chronicles* haue notably blazoned) when as your owne Heroicall actions from time to time haue shewed themselues so admirable, as no antiquitie hath afforded greater, and the future times will not in haste (I thinke) performe the like. To come to some particulars, when the Emperors sister, the spouse of Spaine, with a Fleece of an 130. sailes, stoutly and proudly passed the narrow Seas, your Lordship accompanied with ten ships onely of her Maiesties Nauie Roiall, enuironed their Fleet in most strange and warrelike sort, enforced them to stoope gallant, and to vaile their bonets for the Queene of England, and made them perfectly to vnderstand that olde speach of the prince of Poets;

*Non illi imperium pelagi sauiumq; tridentem,
sed tibi sorte datum.*

Yet after they had acknowledged their dutie, your lordship on her Maiesties behalfe conducted her safely through our English chanell, and performed all good offices of honor and humanitie to that forren Princesse. At that time all England beholding your most honorable cariage of your selfe in that so weightie seruice, began to cast an extraordinarie eie vpon your lordship, and deeply to conceiue that singular hope which since by your most worthie & wonderfull seruice, your L. hath more then fully satisfied. I meane (among others) that glorious, triumphant, and thrise-happy victory atchieued against that huge and haultie *Spanish Armada* (which is notably described in the ende of this volume) wherein being chiefe and sole Commander vnder her sacred and roiall Maiestie, your noble gouernment and worthy behaiour, your high wisdom, discretion and happinesse, accompanied with the heauenly blessing of the Almighty, are shewed most euidently to haue bene such, as all posteritie and succeeding ages shall neuer cease to sing and resound your infinite prayse and eternal commendations. As for the late renoumed expedition and honorable voyage vnto *Cadiz*, the vanquishing of part of the king of Spaines *Armada*, the destruction of the rich *West Indian* Fleece, the chasing of so many braue and gallant Gallies, the miraculous winning, sacking, and burning of that almost impregnable citie of *Cadiz*, the surprising of the towne of *Faraon* vpon the coast of *Portugal*, and other rare appendances of that enterprize, because they be hereafter so iudicially set downe, by a very graue and learned Gentleman, which was an eye witnesse in all that action, I referre your good L. to his faithfull report, wherein I trust (as much as in him lay) he hath wittingly deprived no man of his right. Vpon these and other the like considerations, I thought it fit and very conuenient to commend with all humilitie and reuerence this first part of our English Voiages & Discoueries vnto your Honors fauourable censure and patronage.

And here by the way most humbly crauing pardon, and alwayes submitting my poore opinion to your Lordships most deep and percing insight, especially
in

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

in this matter, as being the father and principall fauourer of the English Navigation, I trust it shall not be impertinent in passing by, to point at the meanes of breeding vp of skilfull Sea-men and Mariners in this Realme. Sithence your Lordship is not ignorant, that ships are to litle purpose without skilfull Sea-men; and since Sea-men are not bred vp to perfection of skill in much lesse time (as it is said) then in the time of two prentiships; and since no kinde of men of any profession in the common wealth passe their yeres in so great and continuall hazard of life; and since of so many, so few grow to gray heires: how needfull it is, that by way of Lectures and such like instructions, these ought to haue a better education, then hitherto they haue had; all wise men may easily iudge. When I call to minde, how many noble ships haue bene lost, how many worthy persons haue bene drenched in the sea, and how greatly this Realme hath bene impouerished by losse of great Ordinance and other rich commodities through the ignorance of our Sea-men, I haue greatly wished there were a Lecture of Navigation read in this Citie, for the banishing of our former grosse ignorance in Marine causes, and for the increase and generall multiplying of the sea-knowledge in this age, wherein God hath raised so generall a desire in the youth of this Realme to discouer all parts of the face of the earth, to this Realme in former ages not knowen. And, that it may appeare that this is no vaine fancie nor deuise of mine, it may please your Lordship to vnderstand, that the late Emperour *Charles* the fift, considering the rawnesse of his Sea-men, and the manifolde shipwracks which they susteyned in passing and repassing betweene *Spaine* and the *West Indies*, with an high reach and great foresight, established not onely a Pilote Maior, for the examination of such as sought to take charge of ships in that voyage, but also founded a notable Lecture of the Art of Navigation, which is read to this day in the Contractation house at *Siuil*. The readers of which Lecture haue not only carefully taught and instructed the *Spanish* Mariners by word of mouth, but also haue published sundry exact and worthy treatises concerning Marine causes, for the direction and encouragement of posteritie. The learned works of three of which readers, namely of *Alonso de Chauz*, of *Hieronymo de Chauz*; and of *Roderigo Zamorano* came long ago very happily to my hands, together with the straight and seuer examining of all such Masters as desire to take charge for the *West Indies*. Which when I first read and duely considered, it seemed to mee so excellent and so exact a course, as I greatly wished, that I might be so happy as to see the like order established here with vs. This matter, as it seemeth, tooke no light impression in the royall brest of that most renowned and victorious prince King *Henry* the eight of famous memory; who for the increase of knowledge in his Sea-men, with princely liberalitie erected three severall Guilds or brotherhoods, the one at *Deptford* here vpon the *Thames*, the other at *Kingston* vpon *Hull*, and the third at *Newcastle* vpon *Tine*: which last was established in the 28. yeere of his reigne. The chiefe motiues which induced his princely wisedome hereunto, himselfe expresseth in maner following. *Vt magistri, marinarij, gubernatores, & alij officiarj nauium, in uentutem suam in exercitatione gubernationis nauium transigentes, mutilati, aut aliquo alio casu in paupertatem collapsi, aliquod releuamen ad eorum sustentationem habeant, quo non solum illi reficiantur, verum etiam alij iuuenes moueantur & instigentur ad eandem artem exercendam, ratione cuius, doctiores & aptiores fiant nauibus & alijs uasis nostris & aliorum quorumcunque in Mare gubernandis & manutentendis, tam pacis, quam belli tempore, cum opus postulet, &c.* To descend a litle lower, king *Edward* the sixt that prince of peccerlesse hope, with the aduise of his sage and prudent Counsaile, before he entred into the Northeasterne discovery, aduanced the worthy and excellent *Sebastian Cabota* to be grand Pilote of *England*, allowing

The Epistle Dedicatorie.

him a most bountifull pension of 166.li.vj.s.viij.d. by the yeere during his life, as appeareth in his Letters Patents which are to be seene in the third part of my worke. And if God had granted him longer life, I doubt not but as he delt most royally in establishing that office of Pilote Maior (which not long after to the great hinderance of this Common wealth was miserably turned to other priuate vses) so his princely Maiestie would haue shewed himselfe no nigard in erecting, in imitation of *Spaine*, the like profitable Lecture of the Art of Nauigation. And surely when I considered of late the memorable bountie of sir *Thomas Gresham*, who being but a Merchant hath founded so many chargeable Lectures, and some of them also which are Mathematicall, tending to the aduancement of Marine causes; I nothing doubted of your Lordships forwardnes in settling and establishing of this Lecture; but rather when your Lordship shall see the noble and rare effects thereof, you will be heartily sory that all this while it hath not bene erected. As therefore our skill in Nauigation hath hitherto bene very much bettered and increased vnder the Admiraltie of your Lordship; so if this one thing be added thereunto, together with seuerer and straight discipline, I doubt not but with Gods good blessing it will shortly grow to the hiest pitch and top of all perfection: which whensoever it shall come to passe, I assure my selfe it will turne to the infinite wealth and honour of our Countrey, to the prosperous and speedy discouery of many rich lands and territories of heathens and gentiles as yet vnknown, to the honest employment of many thousands of our idle people, to the great comfort and reioycing of our friends, to the terror, daunting and confusion of our foes. To ende this matter, let mee now I beseech you speake vnto your Lordship, as in times past the elder *Scipio* spake to *Cornelius Scipio Africanus*: *Quod sis, Africane, alacrior ad tutandam Rempublicam, sic habeto: Omnibus, qui patriam conseruauerint, adiuuerint, auxerint, certum esse in caelo, ac definitum locum, ubi beati auro sempiterno fruuntur.* It remaineth therefore, that as your Lordship from time to time vnder her most gracious and excellent Maiestie, haue shewed your selfe a valiant protectour, a carefull conseruer, and an happy enlarger of the honour and reputation of your Countrey; so at length you may enioy those celestial blessings, which are prepared to such as tread your steps, and seeke to aspire to such diuine and heroical vertues. And euen here I surcease, wishing all temporal and spirituall blessings of the life present and that which is to come to be powred out in most ample measure, not onely vpon your honourable Lordship, the noble and vertuous Lady your bedfellow, and those two rare iewels, your generous off-springs, but also vpon all the rest wheresoever of that your noble and renowned family. From London the 7. day of this present October 1598.

Your honours most humble alwayes
to be commanded:

Richard Hakluyt Preacher.



¶ A preface to the Reader as touching
the principall Voyages and discourfes
in this first part.



HAuing for the benefit and honour of my Countrey zealously bestowed so many yeeres, so much traueile and cost, to bring Antiquities smothered and buried in darke silence, to light, and to preserue certaine memorable exploits of late yeeres by our English nation atchieued, from the greedy and denouring iawes of obliuion: to gather likewise, and as it were to incorporate into one body the torne and scattered limmes of our ancient and late Navigations by Sea, our voyages by land, and traffiques of merchandise by both: and hauing (so much as in me lieth) restored ech particular member, being before displaced, to their true ioynts and ligaments; I meane, by the helpe of Geographie and Chronologie (which I may call the Sunne and the Moone, the right eye and the left of all history) referred ech particular relation to the due time and place: I do this second time (friendly Reader, if not to satisfie, yet at least for the present to allay and hold in suspense thine expectation) presume to offer vnto thy view this first part of my threefold discourse. For the bringing of which into this homely and rough-hewen shape, which here thou seest; what restless nights, what painefull dayes, what heat, what cold I haue indured; how many long & chargeable iourneys I haue traueiled; how many famous libraries I haue searched into; what varietie of ancient and moderne writers I haue perused; what a number of old records, patents, priuileges, letters, &c. I haue redeemed from obscuritie and perishing; into how manifold acquaintance I haue entred; what expenses I haue not spared; and yet what faire opportunities of priuate gaine, preferment, and ease I haue neglected; albeit thy selfe canst hardly imagine, yet I by daily experience do finde & feele, and some of my entier friends can sufficiently testifie. Howbeit (as I told thee at the first) the honour and benefit of this Common weale wherein I liue and breathe, hath made all difficulties seeme easie, all paines and industrie pleasant, and all expenses of light value and moment vnto me.

For (to containe my selfe onely within the bounds of this present discourse, and in the midst thereof to begin) wil it not in all posteritie be as great a renowne vnto our English nation, to haue bene the first discoverers of a Sea beyond the North cape (neuer certainly known before) and of a conuenient passage into the huge Empire of Russia by the bay of S. Nicolas and the riuer of Duina; as for the Portugales to haue found a Sea beyond the Cape of Buona Esperanza, and so consequently a passage by Sea into the East Indies; or for the Italians and Spaniards to haue discovered vnknewen landes so many hundred leagues Westward and Southwestward of the streits of Gibraltar, & of the pillers of Hercules? Be it granted that the renowned Portugale Vasquez de Gama trauesed the maine Ocean Southward of Africke: Did not Richard Chanceler and his mates performe the like Northward of Europe? Suppose that Columbus that noble and high-spirited Genuois escried vnknewen landes to the Westward of Europe and Africke: Did not the valiant English knight sir Hugh Willoughby; did not the famous Pilots Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman accoast Noua Zembla, Colgoieue, and Vaigatz to the North of Europe and Asia? Howbeit you will say perhaps, not with the like golden successe, nor with such deductions of Colonies, nor attaining of conquests. True it is, that our successe hath not bene correspondent vnto theirs: yet in this our attempt the vncertaintie of finding was farre greater, and the difficultie and danger of searching was no whit lesse. For hath not Herodotus (a man for his time, most skilfull and iudicial in Cosmographie, who writ aboue 2000. yeeres ago) in his 4. booke called Melpomene,

To the Reader.

pomene, signified unto the Portugales in plaine termes; that Africa, except the small Isthmus between the Arabian gulfe and the Mediterran sea, was on all sides enuironed with the Ocean? And for the further confirmation thereof, doth he not make mention of one Neco an Ægyptian King, who (for trials sake) sent a Fleet of Phoenicians downe the Red sea; who setting forth in Autumne and sailing Southward till they had the Sunne at noonetide vpon their sterbourd (that is to say, hauing crossed the Equinoctial and the Southerne tropique) after a long Nauigation, directed their course to the North, and in the space of 3.yeeres enuironed all Africk, passing home through the Gaditan streites, and arriuing in Ægypt? And doth not ¶ Plinie tel them, that noble Hanno, in the flourishing time and estate of Carthage, sailed from Gades in Spaine to the coast of Arabia foelix, and put downe his whole iournall in writing? Doth he not make mention, that in the time of Augustus Cesar, the wracke of certaine Spanish ships was found floating in the Arabian gulfe? And, not to be ouer-credulous in alleaging of testimonies, doth not Strabo in the 2.booke of his Geography, together with Cornelius Nepos and Plinie in the place beforenamed, agree all in one, that one Eudoxus fleeing from king Lathyrus, and vailing downe the Arabian bay, sailed along, doubled the Southern point of Africk, and at length arriued at Gades? And what should I speake of the Spaniards? Was not diuine ¶ Plato (who liued so many ages ago, and plainly described their West Indies vnder the name of Atlantis) was not he (I say) in stead of a Cosmographer vnto them? Were not those Carthaginians mentioned by Aristotle lib. ¶ de admirabil. auscult. their forerunners? And had they not Columbus to stirre them vp, and pricke them forward vnto their Westerne discoveries; yea, to be their chiefe loads-man and Pilot? Sithens therefore these two worthy Nations had those bright lampes of learning (I meane the most ancient and best Philosophers, Historiographers and Geographers) to shewe them light; and the load-starre of experience (to wit those great exploits and voyages layed vp in store and recorded) whereby to shape their course: what great attempt might they not presume to vndertake? But alas our English nation, at the first setting forth for their Northeasterne discovery, were either altogether destitute of such cleare lights and inducements, or if they had any ynking at all, it was as misty as they found the Northren seas, and so obscure and ambiguous, that it was meet rather to deterre them, then to giue them encouragement.

But besides the foresaid vncertaintie, into what dangers and difficulties they plunged themselves, Animus meminisse horret, I tremble to recount. For first they were to expose themselves vnto the rigour of the sterne and vnconth Northren seas, and to make triall of the swelling waues and boistrous winds which there commonly do surge and blow: then were they to saile by the ragged and perillous coast of Norway, to frequent the vnhauunted shoares of Finmark, to double the dreadful and misty North cape, to beare with Willoughbies land, to run along within kenning of the Countreys of Lapland and Corelia, and as it were to open and vnlocke the seuen-fold mouth of Duina. Moreouer, in their Northeasterly Nauigations, vpon the seas and by the coasts of Condora, Colgoieue, Petzora, Ioughoria, Samoedia, Noua Zembla, &c. and their passing and returne through the streits of Vaigatz, vnto what drifts of snow and mountaines of yce euen in Iune, Iuly, and August, vnto what hideous ouersals, vncertaine currents, darke mistes and fogs, and diuers other fearefull inconueniences they were subiect and in danger of, I wish you rather to learne out of the voyages of sir Hugh Willoughbie, Stephen Burrough, Arthur Pet and the rest, then to expect in this place an endlesse catalogue thereof. And here by the way I cannot but highly commend the great industry and magnanimity of the Hollanders, who within these few yeeres haue discovered to 78.yea (as themselves affirme) to 81.degrees of Northerly latitude: yet with this prouiso; that our English nation led them the dance, brake the yce before them, and gaue them good leaue to light their candle at our torch. But nowe it is high time for vs to weigh our ancre, to hoise vp our sailes, to get cleare of these boistrous, frosty, and misty seas, and with all speede to direct our

course

¶ Lib 2.nat.hist.
cap.67.

¶ In Timæo.

¶ αἰεὶ διαμαρτυροῦν
ἀνεπιστάτων.

To the Reader.

course for the milde, lightsome, temperate, and warme Atlantick Ocean, ouer which the Spaniards and Portugales haue made so many pleasant prosperous and golden voyages. And albeit I cannot deny, that both of them in their East and West Indian Navigations haue indured many tempests, dangers and shipwracks: yet this dare I boldly affirme; first that a great number of them haue satisfied their fame-thirsty and gold-thirsty mindes with that reputation and wealth, which made all perils and misadventures seeme tolerable vnto them; and secondly, that their first attempts (which in this comparison I do onely stand vpon) were no whit more difficult and dangerous, then ours to the Northeast. For admit that the way was much longer, yet was it neuer barred with yce, mist, or darknes, but was at all seasons of the yeere open and Nauigable; yea and that for the most part with fortunate and fit gales of winde. Moreouer they had no forren prince to intercept or molest them, but their owne Townes, Islands, and maine lands to succour them. The Spaniards had the Canary Isles: and so had the Portugales the Isles of the Açores, of Porto sanro, of Madera, of Cape vcrd, the castle of Mina, the fruitfull and profitable Isle of S. Thomas, being all of them conueniently situated, and well fraught with commodities. And had they not continuall and yereley trade in some one part or other of Africa, for getting of slaues, for sugar, for Elephants teeth, graines, siluer, gold, and other precious wares, which serued as allurements to draw them on by little and little, and as proppes to stay them from giuing over their attempts? But nowe let vs leaue them and returne home vnto our selues.

In this first Volume (friendly Reader) besides our Northeasterne Discoveries by sea, and the memorable voyage of M. Christopher Hodson, and M. William Burrough, Anno 1570. to the Narue, wherein with merchants ships onely, they tooke five strong and warrelike ships of the Freebooters, which lay within the sound of Denmark of purpose to intercept our English Fleete: besides all these (I say) thou maiest find here recorded, to the lasting honor of our nation, all their long and dangerous voyages for the aduancing of traffique by riuer and by land to all parts of the huge and wide Empire of Russia: as namely Richard Chanceler his first fortunate arriuall at Newnox, his passing vp the riuer of Dwina to the citie of Vologda for the space of 1100. versts, and from thence to Yaruslaue, Rostoue, Perasslaue, and so to the famous citie of Mosco, being 1500. versts trauell in all. Moreouer, here thou hast his voyage penned by himselfe (which I hold to be very authentical, & for the which I do acknowledge my selfe beholding vnto the excellent Librarie of the right honorable my lord Lumley) wherein he describeth in part the state of Russia, the maners of the people and their religion, the magnificence of the Court, the maiestie, power, and riches of the Emperour, and the gracious entertainment of himselfe. But if he being the first man, and not hauing so perfect intelligence as they that came after him, doeth not fullie satisfie your expectation in describing the foresayd countrey and people; I then referre you to Clement Adams his relation next following, to M. Ienkinsons discourse as touching that argument, to the smooth verses of M. George Turberuile, and to a learned and excellent discourse set downe, pag. 475. of this volume, and the pages following. Vnto all which (if you please) you may adde Richard Johnsons strange report of the Samoeds, pag. 283. But to returne to our voyages performed within the bounds of Russia, I suppose (among the rest) that difficult iourney of Southam and Sparke, from Colmogro and S. Nicholas Baie, vp the great riuer of Onega, and so by other riuers and lakes to the citie of Nouogrod velica vpon the West frontier of Russia, to be right woorthy of obseruation; as likewise that of Thomas Alcock from Mosco to Smolensko, and thence to Titwill in Polonia, pag. 304. & that also of M. Hierome Horsey from Mosco to Vobsko, and so through Liefland to Riga, thence by the chiefe townes of Prussia and Pomerland to Rostok, and so to Hamburg, Breme, Emden, &c. Neither hath our nation bene contented onely throughly to search into all parts of the Inland, and to view the Northren, Southerne, and Westerne frontiers, but also by the riuers
of

To the Reader.

of *Molcua, Occa and Volga*, to visit *Cazan and Astracan*, the farthest Easterne and Southeasterne bounds of that huge Empire. And yet not containing themselves within all that maine circumference, they haue aduentured their persons, shippes, and goods, homewards and outwards, foureteene times ouer the vnknown and dangerous *Caspian sea*; that valiant, wise, and personable gentleman *M. Anthonie Ienkinson* being their first ring-leader: who in Anno 1558, sailing from *Astracan* towards the East shore of the *Caspian sea*, and there arriuing at the port of *Mangufla*, travelled thence by *Vrgence and Shelisur*, and by the riuers of *Oxus and Ardok*, 40. dayes iourney ouer desert and wast countreys, to *Boghar* a principall citie of *Bactria*, being there & by the way friendly entertained, dismissed, and safely conducted by certaine *Tartarian kings and Murfes*. Then haue you a second Navigation of his performance to the South shore of the foresayd *Caspian sea*, together with his landing at *Derbent*, his arriuall at *Shabran*, his proceeding vnto *Shamaky*, the great curtesie vouchsafed on him by *Obdolowcan king of Hircan*, his iourney after of 30. dayes Southward, by *Yauate, Ardouil*, and other townes and cities to *Casben*, being as then the seate imperiall of *Shaugh Thamas* the great *Sophy of Persia*, with diuers other notable accidents in his going forth, in his abode there, and in his returne home. Immediately after you haue set downe in siue seuerall voiajes the successe of *M. Ienkinsons* laudable and well-begun enterprise, vnder the foresayd *Shaugh Thamas*, vnder *Shally Murzey* the new king of *Hircan*, and lastly our traffique with *Osman Basha* the great *Turkes* lieutenant at *Derbent*. Moreouer, as in *M. Ienkinsons* trauel to *Boghar* the *Tartars*, with their territories, habitations, maner of liuing, apparell, food, armour, &c. are most liuely represented vnto you: so likewise in the sixe *Persian Journals* you may here and there obserue the state of that countrey, of the great *Shaugh* and of his subjects, together with their religion, lawes, customes, & maner of gouernment, their coines, weights and measures, the distances of places, the temperature of the climate and region, and the natural commodities and discommodities of the same.

Furthermore in this first Volume, all the *Ambassages and Negotiations* from her *Maiestie* to the *Russian Emperour*, or from him vnto her *Maiestie*, seemed by good right to challenge their due places of Record. As namely, first that of *M. Randolph*, 1568. then the employment of *M. Ienkinson* 1571. thirdly, *Sir Ierome Bowes* his honorable commission and ambassage 1582. and last of all the *Ambassage* of *M. Doct. Fletcher* 1588. Neither do we forget the *Emperours* first *Ambassador* *Olep Napea*, his arriuall in *Scotland*, his most honourable entertainment and abode in *England*, and his dismissal into *Russeland*. In the second place we doe make mention of *Stephen Tuerdico*, and *Pheodata Pogorella*; thirdly, of *Andrea Sauin*; and lastly, of *Pheodor Andrevich Phifemski*. And to be brieffe, I haue not omitted the *Commissions, Letters, Priuileges, Instructions, Obseruations*, or any other *Particulars* which might serue both in this age, and with all posteritie, either for presidents in such like princely and weightie actions to bee imitated, or as woorthy monuments in no wise to bee buried in silence. Finally, that nothing should be wanting which might adde any grace or shew of perfection vnto this discourse of *Russia*; I haue prefixed before the beginning thereof, the petigree and genealogie of the *Russian Emperours and Dukes*, gathered out of their owne *Chronicles* by a *Polonian*, containing in brieffe many notable antiquities and much knowledge of those partes: as likewise about the conclusion, I haue signified in the branch of a letter, the last *Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich* his death, and the inauguration of *Boris Pheodorowich* vnto the *Empire*.

But that no man should imagine that our forren trades of merchandise haue bene comprised within some few yeeres, or at least wise haue not bene of any long continuance; let vs now withdraw our selues from our affaires in *Russia*, and ascending somewhat higher, let vs take a sleight suruey of our traffiques and negotiations in former ages. First therefore the Reader may haue recourse vnto the 124 page of this Volume, & there with great delight

To the Reader.

delight and admiration, consider out of the iudicial Historiographer Cornelius Tacitus, that the Citie of London fiftene hundred yeeres agoe in the time of Nero the Emperour, was most famous for multitude of merchants and concourse of people. In the pages following he may learne out of Venerable Beda, that almost 900. yeeres past, in the time of the Saxons, the said citie of London was multorum emporium populorum, a Mart-towne for many nations. There he may behold, out of William of Malmesburie, a league concluded betweene the most renoumed and victoricus Germane Emperour Carolus Magnus, and the Saxon king Offa, together with the sayd Charles his patronage and protection granted vnto all English merchants which in those dayes frequented his dominions. There may bee plainly see in an auncient testimonie translated out of the Saxon tongue, how our merchants were often woont for traffiques sake, so many hundred yeeres since, to crosse the wide Seas, and how their industry in so doing was recompensed. Yea, there mayest thou obserue (friendly Reader) what priuileges the Danish king Canutus obtained at Rome of Pope Iohn, of Conradus the Emperour, and of king Rudolphus for our English merchants Aduenturers of those times. Then if you shall thinke good to descend vnto the times and ages succeeding the conquest, there may you partly see what our state of merchandise was in the time of king Stephen and of his predecessor, and how the Citie of Bristol (which may seeme somewhat strange) was then greatly resorted vnto with ships from Norway and from Ireland. There may you see the friendly league betweene king Henry the second, and the famous Germane Emperour Friderick Barbarossa, and the gracious authorizing of both their merchäts to traffique in either of their dominions. And what need I to put you in mind of king Iohn his fauourable safe-conduct, whereby all forren merchants were to haue the same priuileges here in England, which our English merchants enioied abroad in their seuerall countreys. Or what should I signifie vnto you the entercourse of league and of other curtesies betweene king Henry the third, and Haquinus king of Norway; and likewise of the free trade of merchandise between their subiects: or tell you what fauours the citizens of Colen, of Lubek, and of all the Hanse-townes obtained of king Edward the first; or to what high endes and purposes the generall, large, and stately Charter concerning all outlandish merchants what soeuer was by the same prince most gracionsly published? You are of your owne industry sufficiently able to conceine of the letters & negociatiōs which passed between K. Edward the 2. & Haquinus the Noruagian king; of our English merchants and their goods detained vpon arrest at Bergen in Norway; and also of the first ordination of a Staple, or of one onely settled Mart-towne for the vntering of English woolls & woollen fells, instituted by the sayd K. Edward last before named. All which (Reader) being thoroughly considered, I referre you then to the Ambassages, Letters, Traffiques, and prohibition of Traffiques, concluding and repealing of leagues, damages, reprisals, arrests, complaints, supplications, compositions and restitutions which happened in the time of king Richard the 2. and king Henry the 4. between the said kings and their subiects on the one partie; and Conradus de Zolner, Conradus de Iungingen, and Vlricus de Iungingen, three of the great masters of Prussia, and their subiects, with the common societie of the Hanse-townes on the other partie. In all which discourse you may note very many memorable things; as namely first the wise, discreet, and cautious dealing of the Ambassadors and Commissioners of both parts, then the wealth of the foresaid nations, and their manifold and most vsuall kinds of wares vntered in those dayes, as likewise the qualitie, burthen, and strength of their shipping, the number of their Mariners, the maner of their combates at sea, the number and names of the English townes which traded that way, with the particular places as well vpon the coast of Norway, as euery where within the sound of Denmark which they frequented; together with the inueterate malice and craftie crueltie of the Hanse. And because the name, office, and dignitie of the masters generall, or great Masters of Prussia would otherwise haue bene vtterly darke and vnknownen to the

greater

greater part of Readers, I haue set downe immediatly before the first Prussian ambassage, pagina 144 a brieft and orderly Catalogue of them all, contayning the first originall and institution of themselves and of their whole knightly order and brotherhood, with the increase of reuenues and wealth which befell them afterward in Italy and Germany and the great conquests which they atchieued vpon the infidels of Prussia, Samogitia, Curland, Liefland, Lituania, &c. also their decay and finall ouerthrow, partly by the reuolt of diuers Townes and Castles vnder their iurisdiction, and partly by the means of their next mightie neighbour the King of Poland.

After all these, out of 2. branches of 2. ancient statutes, is partly shewed our trade and the successe thereof with diuers forren Nations in the time of K. Henry the sixt.

Then followeth the true processe of English policie, I meane that excellent and pithy treatise de politica conseruatiua maris: which I cannot to any thing more fitly compare, then to the Emperour of Russia his palace called the golden Castle, and described by Richard Chancellor pag. 238. of this volume: whereof albeit the outward apparence was but homely and no whit correspondent to the name, yet was it within so beautified and adorned with the Emperour his maiesticall presence, with the honourable and great assembly of his rich-attired Peers and Senatours, with an inualluable and huge masse of gold and silver plate, & with other princely magnificence; that well might the eyes of the beholders be dazeled, and their cogitations astonished thereat. For indeed the exteriour habit of this our English politician, to wit, the harsh and vnaffected stile of his substantiall verses and the olde dialect of his wordes is such; as the first may seeme to haue bene whistled of Pans oaten pipe, and the second to haue proceeded from the mother of Euander: but take you off his vtmost weed, and beholde the comelinesse, beautie, and riches which lie hid within his inward sense and sentence; and you shall finde (I wisse) so much true and sound policy, so much delightfull and pertinent history, so many liuely descriptions of the shipping and wares in his time of all the nations almost in Christendome, and such a subtile discouery of outlandish merchants fraud, and of the sophistication of their wares; that needes you must acknowledge, that more matter and substance could in no wise be comprised in so little a roome. And notwithstanding (as I said) his stile be vnpolished, and his phrases somewhat out of vse; yet, so neere as the written copies would giue me leaue, I haue most religiously without alteration obserued the same: thinking it farre more conuenient that himselfe should speake, then that I should bee his spokesman; and that the Readers should enioy his true verses, then mine or any other mans fained prose.

Next after the conclusion of the last mentioned discourse, the Reader may in some sort take a view of our state of merchandise vnder K. Edward the fourth, as likewise of the establishing of an English company in the Netherlands, and of all the discreet prouisoes, iust ordinations, & gracious priuileges contained in the large Charter which was granted for the same purpose.

Now besides our voyages and trades of late yeeres to the North and Northeast regions of the world, and our ancient traffique also to those parts; I haue not bene vnmindefull (so farre as the historic of England and of other Countreys would giue me direction) to place in the fore-front of this booke those forren conquests, exploits, and trauels of our English nation, which haue bene atchieued of old. Where in the first place (as I am credibly informed out of Galfridus Monumetensis, and out of M. Lambert his *Apocrypha*) I haue published vnto the world the noble actes of Arthur and Malgo two British Kings. Then followeth in the Saxons time K. Edwin his conquest of Man and Anglesey, and the expedition of Berrus into Ireland. Next succeedeth Othier making relation of his doings, and describing the North Countreys, vnto his soueraigne Lord K. Ecfrid. After whom Wolstans Navigation within the Sound of Denmark is mentioned, the voyage of the yong Princes Edmund and Edward into Sweden and Hungarie is recorded, as likewise the mariage of Harald his daughter vnto the Russian duke Ierullaus. Neither is
that

To the Reader.

that Englishman forgotten, who was forced to traueile with the cruel Tartars into their Countrey, and from thence to beare them company into Hungary and Poland. And because those Northeasterne Regions beyond Volga, by reason of the huge deserts, the colde climate, and the barbarous inciuilitie of the people there inhabiting, were neuer yet throughly traueiled by any of our Nation, nor sufficiently known vnto vs; I haue here annexed vnto the said Englishmans traueile, the rare & memorable iournals of 2. Friers, who were some of the first Christians that traueiled farthest that way, and brought home most particular intelligence & knowledge of all things which they had seene. These Friers were sent as Ambassadors vnto the sauage Tartars (who had as then wasted and ouerrunne a great part of Asia and had pierced farre into Europe with fire and sword) to mitigate their fury, and to offer the glad tidings of the Gospel vnto them. The former, namely Iohannes de Plano Carpini (whose iourney, because he roade sixe moneths poste directly beyond Boristhenes, did, I thinke, both for length and difficultie farre surpasse that of Alexander the great, vnto the riuer of Indus) was in the yeere 1246. sent with the authoritie and commission of a Legate from Pope Innocentius the fourth: who passed through more garisons of the Tartars, and wandered ouer more wast, barren, and cold deserts, then (I suppose) an army of an hundred thousand good souldiers could haue done. The other, to wit, William de Rubricis, was 1253. by the way of Constantinople, of the Euxin sea, and of Taurica Chersonesus employed in an ambassage from Lewis the French King (waging warre as then against the Saracens in the Holy land) vnto one Sartach a great duke of the Tartars, which Sartach sent him forth with vnto his father Baatu, and from Baatu he was conducted ouer many large territories vnto the Court of Mangu-Can their Emperour. Both of them haue so well played their parts, in declaring what befell them before they came at the Tartars, what a terrible and vnmanerly welcoming they had at their first arriual, what cold intertainment they felt in traueiling towards the great Can, and what slender cheere they found at his Court; that they seeme no lesse worthy of praise then of pitie. But in describing of the Tartars Countrey, and of the Regions adiacent, in setting downe the base and sillie beginnings of that huge and ouerspreading Empire, in registring their manifold warres and bloody conquests, in making relation of their hords and moouable Townes, as likewise of their food, apparell and armour, and in setting downe their vnmercifull lawes, their fond superstitions, their bestiall liues, their vicious maners, their slavish subiection to their owne superiours, and their disdainfull and brutish inhumanitie vnto strangers, they deserue most exceeding and high commendation. Howbeit if any man shall obiect that they haue certaine incredible relations: I answer, first, that many true things may to the ignorant seeme incredible. But suppose there be some particulars which hardly will be credited; yet thus much I will boldly say for the Friers, that those particulars are but few, and that they doe not auouch them vnder their owne names, but from the report of others. Yet farther imagine that they did auouch them, were they not to be pardoned as well as Herodotus, Strabo, Plutarch, Plinie, Solinus, yea & a great many of our new principall writers, whose names you may see about the end of this Preface; euery one of which hath reported more strange things then the Friers between the both? Nay, there is not any history in the world (the most Holy writ excepted) whereof we are precisely bound to beleue ech word and syllable. Moreouer sithens these two iournals are so rare, that Mercator and Ortelius (as their letters vnto me do testifie) were many yeeres very inquisitiue, and could not for all that attaine vnto them; and sithens they haue bene of so great accompt with those two famous Cosmographers, that according to some fragments of them they haue described in their Mappes a great part of those Northeasterne Regions; sith also that these two relations containe in some respect more exact history of those vnknown parts, then all the ancient and newe writers that euer I could set mine eyes on: I thought it good, if the translation should chance to swerue in ought from the originals (both for the preservation of the originals

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themselues,

To the Reader.

themselves, and the satisfying of the Reader) to put them downe word for word in that homely stile wherein they were first penned. And for these two rare iewels, as likewise for many other extraordinary courtesies, I must here acknowledge my selfe most deeply bounden vnto the right reuerend, graue, and learned Prelate, my very good lord the Bishop of Chichester, and L. high Almner vnto her Maiestie; by whose friendship and meanes I had free access vnto the right honor. my L. Lumley his stately library, and was permitted to copy out of ancient manuscripts, these two iournals and some others also.

After these Friers (though not in the next place) foloweth a testimonie of Gerardus Mercator, and another of M. Dec, concerning one Nicholas de Linna an English Franciscan Frier.

Then succeedeth the long iourney of Henry Earle of Derby, and afterward king of England into Prussia & Lithuania, with a brieue remembrance of his valiant exploits against the Infidels there; as namely, that with the help of certaine his Associates, he vanquished the king of Letto his armie, put the sayd king to flight, tooke and slew diuers of his captains, aduanced his English colours vpon the wall of Vilna, & made the citie it selfe to yeeld. Then mention is made also of Tho. of Woodstock his trauel into Pruis, and of his returne home. And lastly, our old English father Ennius, I meane, the learned, wittie, and profound Geoffrey Chaucer, vnder the person of his knight, doeth full iudicially and like a cunning Cosmographer, make report of the long voiages and woorthy exploits of our English Nobles, Knights, & Gentlemen, to the Northren, and to other partes of the world in his dayes.

Neither haue we comprehended in this Volume, onely our Trades and Voiages both new and old; but also haue scattered here and there (as the circumstance of times would giue vs leaue) certaine fragments concerning the beginnings, antiquities, and growth of the classical and warrelike shipping of this Island: as namely, first of the great nauie of that victorious Saxon prince king Edgar, mentioned by Florentius Wigorniensis, Roger Houeden, Rainulph of Chester, Matthew of Westminster, Flores historiarum, & in the libel of English policie, pag. 202. and 203. of this present volume. Of which Authors some affirme the sayd Fleet to haue consisted of 4800. others of 4000. some others of 3600. ships: howbeit (if I may presume to gloze vpon the text) I verily thinke that they were not comparable, either for burthen, strength, building, or nimble stirrage vnto the ships of later times, and specially of this age. But howsoeuer it be, they all agree in this, that by meanes of the sayd huge Fleet he was a most puissant prince; yea, and some of them affirme together with William of Malmesbury, that he was not onely soueraigne lord of all the British seas, and of the whole Isle of Britaine it selfe, but also that he brought vnder his yoke of subiection, most of the Isles and some of the maine lands adiacent. And for that most of our Nauigators at this time bee (for want of trade and practise that way) either vtterly ignorant, or but meanelly skilfull, in the true state of the Seas, Shoulds, and Islands, lying between the North part of Ireland and of Scotland; I haue for their better encouragement (if any weightie action shall hereafter chance to draw them into those quarters) translated into English a brieue treatise called, A Chronicle of the Kings of Man. Wherein they may behold as well the tragical and dolefull historie of those parts, for the space almost of 300. yeeres, as also the most ordinarie and accustomed nauigations, through those very seas, and amidst those Northwesterne Isles called the Hebrides, so many hundred yeeres agoe. For they shall there read, that euen then (when men were but rude in sea-causes in regard of the great knowledge which we now haue) first Godredus Crovan with a whole Fleet of ships, thoroughly haunted some places in that sea: secondly, that one Ingemundus setting saile out of Norway, arriued vpon the Isle of Lewis: then, that Magnus the king of Norway came into the same seas with 160. sailes, and hauing subdued the Orkney Isles in his way, passed on in like conquering maner, directing his course (as it should seeme) euen through the very midst, and on all sides of the Hebrides,
who

To the Reader.

who sailing thence to Man, conquered it also, proceeding afterward as farre as Anglesey; and lastly crossing ouer from the Isle of Man to the East part of Ireland. Yea, there they shall read of Godredus the sonne of Olauus his voiage to the king of Norway, of his expedition with 80. ships against Sumerledus, of Sumerled his expedition with 53. ships against him; of Godred his flight and second iourney into Norway; of Sumerled his second arrival with 160. shippes at Rhinfrin vpon the coast of Man, and of many other such combates, assaults, & voyages which were performed onely vpon these seas & Islands. And for the bringing of this woorthy monument to light, we doe owe great thanks vnto the iudiciall and famous Antiquarie M. Camden. But sithens we are entred into a discourse of the ancient warrelike shipping of this land, the Reader shall giue me leane to borrow one principall note out of his litle historie, before I quite take my leane thereof: and that is in few words, that K. Iohn passed into Ireland with a Fleet of 500. sailes; so great were our sea-forces euen in his time. Neither did our shipping for the warres first begin to flourish with king Iohn, but long before his dayes in the reign of K. Edward the Confessor, of William the Conqueror, of William Rufus and the rest, there were diuers men of warre which did valiant seruice at sea, and for their paines were royally rewarded. All this and more then this you may see recorded, pag. 17. out of the learned Gentleman M. Lambert his Perambulation of Kent; namely, the antiquitie of the Kentish Cinque ports, which of the sea-townes they were, how they were infranchised, what gracious priuileges and high prerogatiues were by diuers kings vouchsafed vpon them, and what seruices they were tied vnto in regard thereof; to wit, how many ships, how many souldiers, mariners, Garfons, and for how many dayes each of them, and all of them were to furnish for the kings vse; and lastly, what great exploits they performed vnder the conduct of Hubert of Burrough, as likewise against the Welshmen, vpon 200. French ships, and vnder the commaund of captaine Henry Pay. Then haue you, pag. 117. the franke and bountifull Charter granted by king Edward the first, vpon the foresayd Cinque portes: & next thereunto a Roll of the mightie fleet of seuen hundred ships which K. Edward the third had with him vnto the siege of Caleis: out of which Roll (before I proceed any further) let me giue you a double obseruation. First, that these ships, according to the number of the mariners which were in all 14151. persons, seeme to haue bene of great burthen; and secondly, that Yarmouth an hauen towne in Northfolke (which I much wonder at) set forth almost twise as many ships and mariners, as either the king did at his owne costs and charges, or as any one citie or towne in England besides. Howbeit Tho. Walsingham maketh plaine and euident mention of a farre greater Fleete of the same king; namely, of 1100. shippes lying before Sandwich, being all of them sufficiently well furnished. Moreover, the Reader may behold, pag. 186. a notable testimonie of the mightie ships of that valiant prince king Henry the 5. who (when after his great victory at Agincourt the Frenchmen to recouer Harflew had hired certaine Spanish and Italian ships and forces, & had vnitd their owne strength vnto them) sent his brother Iohn duke of Bedford to encounter them, who bidding them battell, got the victory, taking some of their ships, and sinking others, and putting the residue to dishonorable flight. Likewise comming the next yeere with stronger powers, and being then also overcome, they were glad to conclude a perpetuall league with K. Henry; & propter eorum naues (saith mine Author) that is, for the resistance of their ships, the sayd king caused such huge ships to be built, quales non erant in mundo, as the like were not to be found in the whole world besides.

But to leaue our ancient shipping, and descend vnto later times; I thinke that neuer was any nation blessed of I E H O V A H, with a more glorious and wonderfull victory vpon the Seas, then our vanquishing of the dreadfull Spanish Armada, 1588. But why should I presume to call it our vanquishing; when as the greatest part of them escaped vs, and were onely by Gods out-stretched arme ouerwhelmed in the Seas, dashed in pieces against the Rockes, and made fearefull spectacles and examples of his iudgements vnto all

To the Reader.

Christendome. An excellent discourse whereof, as like wise of the honourable expedition under two of the most noble and valiant peeres of this Realme, I meane, the renowned Erle of Essex, and the right honorable the lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, made 1596. vnto the strong citie of Cadiz, I haue set downe as a double epiphonema to conclude this my first volume withall. Both of which, albeit they ought of right to haue bene placed among the Southerne voyages of our nation: yet partly to satisfie the importunitie of some of my special friends, and partly, not longer to deprive the diligent Reader of two such woorthy and long-expected discourses; I haue made bold to straine a little curtesie with that methode which I first propounded vnto my selfe.

And here had I almost forgotten to put the Reader in mind of that learned and Philosophical treatise of the true state of Ireland, and so consequently of the Northren Seas & regions lying that way: wherein a great number of none of the meaneest Historiographers and Cosmographers of later times, as namely, Munster, Gemma Frisius, Zieglerus, Krantzius, Saxo Grammaticus, Olaus Magnus, Peucerus and others, are by euident arguments conuincied of manifold errors: that is to say, as touching the true situation and Northerly latitude of that Island, and of the distance thereof from other places; touching the length of dayes in Sommer and of nights in Winter, of the temperature of the land and sea, of the time and maner of the congealing, continuance, and thawing of the Ice in those Seas, of the first Discoverie and inhabiting of that Island, of the first planting of Christianitie there, as likewise of the continuall flaming of mountains, strange qualities of fountains, of hel-mouth, and of purgatorie which those authors haue fondly written and imagined to be there. All which treatise ought to bee the more acceptable; first in that it hath brought sound truth with it; and secondly, in that it commeth from that farre Northren climate which most men would suppose could not afford any one so learned a Patrone for it selfe.

And thus (friendly Reader) thou seest the brieft summe and scope of all my labours for the common-wealths sake, and thy sake, bestowed vpon this first Volume: which if thou shalt as thankefully accept, as I haue willingly and freely imparted with thee, I shall bee the better encouraged speedily to acquaint thee with those rare, delightfull and profitable histories, which I purpose (God willing) to publish concerning the Southerne and Westerne partes of the World.

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¶ Postscriptum.

Not knowing any other place so conuenient, I am here to aduertise the friendly Reader of certaine faulces escaped in the printing of this booke, and to request him that in the Page 54. and in the last line saue two, hee would in stead of Kine, read Swine, and he shall thereby auoid a great contradiction: likewise pag. 187. that hee would vnto the ende of the second verse of the Prologue to the English Policy, make supply of the word Rest, which is there wanting: also pag. 221. lin. 29. for woorthinesse read woorthies, &c. Other faults (if there bee any) are (I doubt not) easily corrigible.



ΕΙΣ ΑΠΟΔΗΜΙΑΣ ΒΡΕΤΤΑΝΩΝ

ΠΟΝΗΜΑ ΡΙΧΑΡΔΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΑΚΑΤΙΤΟΥ,

Του ὁ Βερμανδός.

Ὅστι γῆρας ἔχουσι βροτοὶ ἰδὲ σιπέρουσι
ἀεὶ θνήσκουσιν ἔστιν ἄλμα φάσει.

Ὅς δ' ἀλλήλων κτεροματείασιν ἔσται πλείονα,
οἵκται μιν ἀζῶσ' ἀξιάχουσι ἔσται.

Ἐξ ἧς Βρεττανὸς δ', ἄλλαν ἠδ' ἴσται ἔσται,
ἰδ' ἴσται αἰὲν ἔσται πύλαι πολυσαφεία.

Ἰδ' ἴσται ἔσται ἔσται, Ἀθιοπίας τε,
ἔσται Μόχου, ἔσται πᾶντ' ἔσται ἔσται.

Τέτων δ' ἔσται μέγιστα κλαυθρῶν, κλαυθρῶν Ἀκλαυθρῶν
ἔσται ἀρετῶν ἀρετῶν, μῆτις αἰεὶ ἔσται ἔσται.

In nauales RICHARDI HAKLVTI Commentarios.

Anglia magnarum facunda puerpera rerum,
sive solum spectes nobile, sive salum;

Qua quantum sumptis se nobilitauerit armis,
sive domi gessit praelia, sive foris;

Multorum celebrant matura volumina: tanta
Insula materiem paruula laudis alit.

At se in quot, qualisq; & quando effuderit oras,
qua fudit ignotum per uia clasus iter,

Solius Hakluyti decus est, praeiunxit penna
ostendisse suis ciuibus ausa mari.

Quaecunque idcirco celeri gens Anglica nauis,
Oceanis tristes spernere doctamina,

A prima generisq; & gentis origine gessit,
qua uia per fluctus uilla patere potest,

Sive decus, laudemq; secuta, ut & hostibus alas
demeret, atque super laeta pararet opes:

Hoc opus Hakluyti; cui debet patria multum,
cui multum, patria quisquis amicus erit.

Qua re namque magis se nostra Britannia iactat,
quam quod sit praeter caetera classe potens;

Quam prius obsessam tenebris sic liberat, ut nunc
quisque sciat, quam sit nobile classis opus.

Qua si Daealicè utemur, surgemus in altum,
sin autem Teoricè, quod uoret, aequor habet.

RICH. MVLCASTER.

Eiusdem in eundem.

Qui graui primus cecinit camæna
Aureum uellus, proceresque Gracos,
quos sibi adiunxit comites Iason

Veetus in Argo

Nae, quam primùm secuisse fluctus
prae dicant salfos, sibi comparauit

M. S. 2. 1. 1. 1.

Inde non unquam moritura magna
præmia fama.

Tanta si merces calamum secuta
Vnica nauis referentis acta,

Quanta Richardum manes Hakluytum
gloria? cuius

Penna descripsit freta mille, mille
Insula nostra celeres carinas,

Quæ per immensi loca peruolarunt
omnia mundi.

Senties gratam patriam, suaq;
Laudis æternam memorem, & laboris:

Quæ tua cura, calamoque totum
ibit in orbem:

I P V Quam doces omni studio fouere
Nauticum robur, validamq; classem,

Hac luet quisquis violentus Anglos
vsserit hostis.

¶ In eximium opus R. HAKLVYTI de Anglorum
ad disunctissimas regiones navigationibus GVLIELMI
CAMDENI Hexastichon.

Anglia quæ penitus toto discluditur orbe,
Angulus orbis erat, parius & orbis erat.

Nunc cum sepositos alios detexerit orbis,
Maximus orbis honos, Orbis & orbis erit.

At quid Haklute tibi monstranti hæc debeat orbis?
Laus tua, crede mihi, non erit orbe minor.

¶ DI MARC' ANTONIO PIGA-
feta Gentilhuomo Vicentino.

I Gnota mi starci, con poco honore
Sepolta nell' oscure, antiche carte,
S' alcun de figli miei con spea & arte
Non hauesse hor scoperto il mio splendore.


Ramusio pria pieno d' ardente amore
Manifesto le mie piu riche parte,
Che son là doue il Maragnon diparte,
E doue il Negro allaga, e'l Gange scorre.

Hakluyto poi senza verun risguardo
Di fatica o di danno accolt' hà insieme,
Cio' c' hà potuto hauer da typhi Inglesi.

Onde vedrassi e doue bella sguardo,
E la Dwina agghiaccia, e l' Obi freme,
Et altri membri miei non ben palesti.

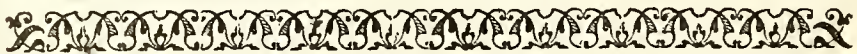


A Catalogue of the Voyages of this first volume, made to the North and Northeast quarters.

- 1  He voyage of *Arthur K. of Britaine* to *Island* and the most Northeastern parts of Europe, Anno 517. pag. 1.
- 2 The voyage of *Malgo* king of *Britaine* to *Island, Gotland, Orkney, Denmark* and *Norway*, Anno 580. pag. 3.
- 3 The conquest of the *Isles of Anglesey* and *Man* by *Edwin* the *Saxon* king of *Northumberland*, Anno 624. 73.
- 4 The voyage of *Bertus* into *Ireland*, Anno 684. 4.
- 5 The voyage of *Oether* to the North parts beyond *Norway* about the yeere 890. 4.
- 6 The second voyage of *Oether* into the Sound of *Denmarke*. 5.
- 7 *Wolstans* Navigation into the East sea, or the Sound of *Denmarke*. 6.
- 8 The voyage of King *Edgar* with 4000. shippes round about his large Monarchie, Anno 973. 6.
- 9 The voyage of *Edmund* and *Edward* the sonnes of King *Edmund Ironside*, into *Hungary*, Anno 1017. 9.
- 10 The mariage of the daughter of *Harald* vnto *Ierusalem* duke of *Russia* in his owne Countrey, Anno 1067. 16.
- 11 The voyage of a certaine *Englishman* into *Tartaria*, and from thence into *Poland* and *Hungary*, Anno 1243. 20.
- 12 The long and wonderfull voyage of Frier *John de Plano Carpini*, Anno 1246. 21, 37, 53.
- 13 The iournall of Frier *William de Rubricis*, Anno 1253. 71, 93.
- 14 The voyage of *Nicolaus de Linna* a *Franciscan* Frier, and an excellent Mathematician of *Oxford* to all the Regions situate vnder the North-pole, Anno 1360. 121.
- 15 The voyage of *Henry Earle of Derby*, afterward King of *England*, into *Prussia* and *Letto*, Anno 1390. 122.
- 16 The voyage of *Thomas* of *Woodstock* duke of *Glocester* into *Prussia*, Anno 1391. 123.
- 17 The voyage of six *Hugh Willoughby* knight, wherein he vnfortunately perished at *Arzina Reea* in *Lapland*, Anno 1553. 232.
- 18 The voyage of *Richard* Chancellor *Pilote maior*, the first discoverer by sea of the kingdome of *Mosconia*, Anno 1553. 237, 243.
- 19 The voyage of *Stephen Burrough* toward the Riuer of *Ob*, intending the discouery of the Northeast passage, Anno 1556. 274.
- 20 The landing of *Richard Johnson* among the *Samoeds*, Anno 1556. 283.
- 21 The voyage of the aforelaide *Stephen Burrough* from *Colmogro* in *Russia* to *Wardbouse*, in search of certaine *English* ships not heard-of the yeere before, Anno 1557. 290.
- 22 The voyage of *M. Anthony Ienkinson* into *Russia*, wherein *Osep Napea*, first Ambassadour from the Emperour of *Mosconia* to *Queene Mary*, was transported into his Countrey, Anno 1557. 310, 314.
- 23 The voyage of *M. Anthony Ienkinson* from the Citie of *Mosco* in *Russia* to *Boghar* in *Babaria*, Anno 1558. 324.
- 24 The voyage of *M. Anthony Ienkinson* through *Russia*, and ouer the *Caspian* sea into *Persia*, Anno 1561. 343.
- 25 The voyage of *Thomas Alcock*, *George Wrenne*, and *Richard Cheyney*, seruants vnto the Company of *Moscony* Merchants in *London*, into *Persia*, Anno 1563. 353.
- 26 The voyage of *Richard Johnson*, *Alexander Kitchin*, and *Arthur Edwards* seruants to the foresaid company into *Persia*, Anno 1565. 354.
- 27 The voyage of *Thomas Southam* and *John Sparke* by land and riuer from *Colmogro* to *Nouogrod* in *Russia*, Anno 1566. 365.
- 28 The voyage of *M. Anthony Ienkinson* into *Russia* the third time, Anno 1566. 372.
The

A Catalogue of the Ambassages,

- | | | |
|----|--|------------------|
| 29 | The voyage of <i>Arthur Edwards</i> Agent for the <i>Moscow</i> company, <i>Iohn Sparke</i> , <i>Lawrence Chapman</i> , <i>Christopher Faucet</i> , and <i>Richard Pingle</i> , seruants, into <i>Persia</i> , An. 1568. | 389. |
| 30 | The voyage of <i>Thomas Banister</i> and <i>Geffrey Ducket</i> , Agents for the <i>Moscow</i> Company, into <i>Persia</i> the fift time, Anno 1569. | 394. |
| 31 | The voyage of <i>William Burrough</i> Captaine of 13. <i>English</i> ships to the <i>Narnein Liefeland</i> , Anno 1570. | 401. |
| 32 | The voyage of <i>M. Anthony Tenkinson</i> into <i>Russia</i> the fourth time, Anno 1571. | 402. |
| 33 | The voyage of <i>Christopher Burrough</i> into <i>Persia</i> the sixt time, Anno 1579. | 419. |
| 34 | The voyage of <i>Arthur Pet</i> and <i>Charles Iackman</i> , sent to discover the Northeast seas beyond the <i>Iland of Vaigats</i> , Anno 1580. | 445. |
| 35 | The voyage of <i>Master Ierome Horsey</i> ouer land from <i>Mosco</i> in <i>Rusia</i> to <i>England</i> , Anno 1584. | 469, 470. |
| 36 | A voyage to the Northeast, performed by certaine <i>Russes</i> , and translated out of <i>Sigismundus ab Herberstein</i> . | 492. |
| 37 | A voyage to <i>Sibier</i> and the Riuer of <i>Ob</i> , by land, declared in a letter written to <i>Gerardus Mercator</i> . | 510, 511, & 512. |
| 38 | The vanquishing of the <i>Spanish Armada</i> , Anno 1588. | 591. |
| 39 | The honourable voyage to <i>Cadiz</i> , Anno 1596. | 607. } |



¶ The Ambassages, Treatises, Priuiledges, Letters, and other obseruations, depending vpon the Voyages of this first Volume.

- | | | |
|----|---|------------|
| 1 | Two testimonies of <i>Galfridus Monumetenensis</i> in his history of the Kings of Brittain, concerning the conquests of King Arthur. | pagina.1. |
| 2 | A testimony of <i>M. Lambard</i> in his <i>Aggavologia</i> , touching the right and appendances of the Crowne of the kingdome of Brittain. | pag.2. |
| 3 | A Chronicle of the Kings of Man, taken out of <i>M. Camdens Chorographie</i> . | 10. |
| 4 | The ancient state of the shipping of the Cinque Ports. | 17. |
| 5 | Libellus historicus <i>Iohannis de Plano Carpini</i> . | 21. |
| 6 | Part of the great Charter graunted by King Edward the first, to the Barons of the Cinque Ports. | 117. |
| 7 | The rolle of the huge Fleete of Edward the thirde before Caleis. | 118. |
| 8 | The summe of expences layde out in the sieg e of Caleis. | 121. |
| 9 | A note of <i>Thomas Walsingham</i> touching King Edward the thirde his huge Fleete of 1100. ships, wherewith he passed ouer vnto Caleis, Anno 1359. | 121. |
| 10 | Certaine verses of <i>Geffrey Chaucer</i> , concerning the long Voyages, and valiant exploits of the English knights in his dayes. | 124. |
| 11 | A testimonie out of <i>Cornelius Tacitus</i> , prouing London to haue bene a famous Mart-towne in the raigne of <i>Nero</i> the Emperour. | 124. |
| 12 | A testimony out of venerable <i>Beda</i> , prouing London to haue bene a Citie of great traffique in his time. | 125. |
| 13 | The league betweene <i>Carolus Magnus</i> and <i>Offa</i> King of Mercia, concerning the safe trade of English Merchants. | 125. |
| 14 | An ancient testimony translated out of the olde Saxon Lawes, conteyning the aduancement of Merchants, for their thrice crossing the wide seas. | 126. |
| 15 | A testimony of certaine Priuiledges obtained for the English and Danish Merchants by <i>Canutus</i> the King of England. | 126. |
| 16 | The flourishing state of Merchandise in the City of London in the dayes of <i>Wilhelmus Malmesburientis</i> . | 227. |
| 17 | A testimony of the said <i>Wil</i> , of <i>Malmesbury</i> concerning traffique to <i>Bristow</i> in his time. | 127. |
| 18 | The league betweene <i>Henry the second</i> , and <i>Frederick Barbarossa</i> Emperour of Germany, partly touching trade of Merchandise. | 128. |
| 19 | A generall safe conduct granted by King <i>Iohn</i> to all forreine Merchants. | 129. |
| 20 | The letters of King <i>Henry the third</i> , vnto <i>Haquinus</i> king of Norway. | 129, 130. |
| 21 | A mandate for the king of Norway his ship called, <i>The Cog</i> . | 130. |
| | | 22 A Char- |

Treatises, Priuileges, Letters, &c.

- 22 *A Charter granted for the behalfe of the Merchants of Colen, in the 20. yeere of Henry the thirde.* 131.
- 23 *The Charter of Lubeck granted for senen yeeres in the time of Henry the third.* 131, 132.
- 24 *A Charter of the Merchants of Almaine, or the Scilyard-merchants.* 132.
- 25 *A mandate of King Edward the first concerning outlandish Merchants.* 133.
- 26 *King Edw. the first his great Charter granted to forreine Merchants, Anno Dom. 1303.* 133.
- 27 *The letters of Edward the second vnto Haquinus King of Norway, concerning certain English Merchants arrested in Norway.* 138.
- 28 *Another letter of Edw. the second vnto the said Haquinus for the merchants aforesaid.* 139.
- 29 *A thrd letter of King Edward the second to the said Haquinus in the behalfe of our English merchants.* 140.
- 30 *An Ordinance for the Staple to be holden at one certaine place.* 142, 143.
- 31 *A Catalogue of the great Masters of Prussia.* 144.
- 32 *The Oration or speach of the Ambassadors sent from Conradus de Zolncr, Master generall of the land of Prussia, vnto Richard the second king of England,* 148.
- 33 *An agreement made by the Ambassadors of England and Prussia, confirmed by king Richard the second.* 150.
- 34 *The letters of Conradus de Iungingen, Master generall of Prussia, vnto Rich. the second.* 153.
- 35 *Abriefe relation of William Esturiny and Iohn Kington, concerning their Ambassages into Prussia and to the Hans-townes.* 154.
- 36 *Certaine Articles of complaint exhibited by the Liuonians.* 156.
- 37 *Other complaints exhibited by the Cities of the Hans.* 156.
- 38 *Compositions and Ordinances concluded betweene the Ambassadors of Prussia, and the Chanceller and Treasurer of England, Anno 1403.* 157.
- 39 *The letters of the Chanceller and Treasurer of England vnto Conradus de Iungingen, master generall of Prussia.* 158.
- 40 *The letters of king Henry the fourth vnto Conradus de Iungingen, the master generall of Prussia for enter course of traffique.* 159.
- 41 *The letters of Conradus de Iungingen vnto king Henry the fourth.* 160.
- 42 *An agreement made betweene king Henry the fourth, and Conradus de Iungingen.* 161.
- 43 *An agreement betweene king Henry the fourth, and the Hans-townes.* 164.
- 44 *A testimonie out of Albertus Krantzius concerning the surprise of Bergen in Norway, where- in 21. houses of the English merchants were burnt.* 169.
- 45 *The grieuances and offences whereat the merchants of the Hans found themselves agriued.* 171.
- 46 *A letter of Henry the fourth king of England vnto Conradus de Iungingen, Master generall of Prussia.* 175.
- 47 *A letter of Werncherus de Tettingen commander in Elbing vnto sir William Sturmy Amb- bassadour vnto king Henry the fourth: Together with an other letter of king Henry the fourth, vnto Vlricus de Iungingen, master of Prussia.* 176.
- 48 *The letters of Vlricus de Iungingen master generall of Prussia, signifying vnto king Henry the 4. that he was contented with certeine agreements concluded by his messengers at Hage.* 178.
- 49 *The letters of king Henry the fourth vnto Vlricus de Iungingen, wherein he doth absolutely ap- prove the foresaid conference holden at Hage.* 179.
- 50 *A new concord betweene king Henry the fourth, and Vlricus de Iungingen.* 180.
- 51 *A Charter of king Henry the fourth, graunted in the fifth yeere of his raigne vnto the English merchants resident in the parts of Prussia.* 185.
- 52 *A note touching the mighty ships of king Henry the fift, taken out of a Chronicle in the Trinine Church of Winchester.* 185.
- 53 *A branch of a Statute made in the eight yeere of Henry the 6. for the trade to Norway, Sweue- land, Denmarke and Finmarke.* 186.
- 54 *Another branch of a Statute made in the 10. yeere of king Henry the sixt concerning the state of English merchants in the dominions of the king of Denmarke.* 186.
- 55 *Libellus de poliria conseruatiua Maris. Or, The pollicy of keeping the Sea.* 187.
- 56 *A large Charter granted by king Edward the fourth, in the second yeere of his raigne, to the Eng- lish merchants residing in the Netherland.* 208.
- 57 *A perswasion of Robert Thorne merchant of Bristol, and dwelling long in Siuil in Spaine, to king Henry the eight of noble memory, to set out and further Discoueries toward the North.* 212.
- 58 *The discourse of the foresaid Robert Thorne, written to Doctour Leigh the Kings Ambassa- dour in Spaine touching that matter.* 214.

A Catalogue of the Ambassages,

- 59 *A briefe treatise of the Emperour of Moscouia his genealogie.* 221.
- 60 *The excellent orders and instructions of Sebastian Cabot giuen to sir Hugh Willoughby and his Fleete in their voyage intended for Cathay.* 226.
- 61 *The names of the twelue Counsellors appointed in sir Hugh Willoughbys voyage.* 230.
- 62 *The letters of king Edward the sixth, written at that time to all the Kings, Princes, and other Potentates of the Northeast.* 230.
- 63 *The names of the Ships, Captains, Mariners, and other officers of that first worthy enterprife.* 232.
- 64 *The othe ministred to the Captaine of the Fleete.* 233.
- 65 *The othe ministred to the Masters of the ships.* 234.
- 66 *A testimonie of Richard Eden, concerning Clement Adams his discourse of Richard Chancellers voyage.* 242.
- 67 *The letters of the Emperour of Russia sent to king Edward the sixth, by Richard Chancellor.* 255.
- 68 *The coynes, waights and measures used in Russia.* 256.
- 69 *The letters of King Philip and Queene Mary to Iuan Vasiluich the Emperour of Russia.* 258.
- 70 *The Commission giuen to the merchants Agents resident in Russia.* 259.
- 71 *The othe ministred to the seruants of the Moscouie company.* 262.
- 72 *The letter of George Killingworth the first Agent in Russia, written to the Company.* 263.
- 73 *The first Priuileges granted by the Emperour of Russia, to the English merchants.* 265.
- 74 *The Charter of the merchants of the Moscouie company granted by Queene Mary.* 267.
- 75 *Instructions giuen to the Purfers of the Moscouie voyage.* 273.
- 76 *The strange discourse of Richard Iohnson concerning the Samoeds.* 283.
- 77 *A discourse of the honourable receiuing into England of the first Ambassadour frō the Emperour of Russia.* 285.
- 78 *Instructions giuen to the Masters and Mariners of the ships of the Moscouie Company, sayling towards the Bay of S. Nicolas, Anno 1557.* 295.
- 79 *A letter of the Company of the Moscouie merchants vnto their Agents, George Killingworth, Richard Gray, and Henry Lane in Russia.* 297.
- 80 *A letter of M. Thomas Hawtree to the Moscouie Companies Agent M. Henry Lane at Colmogro.* 302.
- 81 *A letter of M. Richard Gray, one of the first Agents of the Moscouie Company, to M. Henry Lane at Mosco.* 303.
- 82 *A letter of Thomas Alcock to M. Richard Gray and Henry Lane, Agents in Moscouia from Tirwill in Poland.* 303.
- 83 *A letter of M. Anthony Ienkinson vpon his returne from Boghar to M. Henry Lane resident in Vologda.* 305.
- 84 *A letter of the Moscouie Company to their Agents in Russia, M. Henry Lane, Christopher Hudon, and Thomas Glouer, sent in their seuenth voyage to S. Nicolas.* 305.
- 85 *Another letter to the aforesaid parties.* 308.
- 86 *The maner of Iustice by lotts in Russia, written by M. Henry Lane.* 309.
- 87 *The description of Russia, with the customes and maners of the inhabitants.* 315.
- 88 *Notes and obseruations gathered by Richard Iohnson of the seuerall wayes from Russia to Cathay ouer-land.* 335.
- 89 *A letter of Sigismund king of Polonia 1559. vnto the Queenes most excellent Maiestie.* 337.
- 90 *The letters of the Queenes Maiestie written to the Emperour of Russia, requesting licence and safe-conduct for Anthonie Ienkinson, to passe thvough his dominions into Persia.* 338.
- 91 *The Queenes Maiesties letters to the great Sophie of Persia, sent by M. Anth. Jenkinson.* 340.
- 92 *Instructions giuen by the Governours and Assistants of the Moscouie Company, vnto M. Anthonie Ienkinson.* 341.
- 93 *The priuileges giuen by Obdoloucan K. of Hircania to the Company of English merchants trading in Russia, obtained by M. Anthony Ienkinson.* 352.
- 94 *Certaine letters of Arthur Edwards written out of Russia, Media, and Persia, to the Company of the Moscouie merchants in London.* 354, 355, 358, 361.
- 95 *The distance of diuers places in Russia.* 363.
- 96 *The way and distances from S. Nicolas in Russia to the Caspian sea.* 364.
- 97 *An Acte for the incorporation of merchants Adventurers for the discovering of newe trades, made in the eighth yeere of the Queenes Maiestie.* 369.
- 98 *The priuileges granted by the Emperour of Russia to the English merchants, obtained by M. Anthonie Ienkinson.* 373.
- 99 *A letter of M. Henry Lane to M. Richard Hakluyt concerning the first Ambassage from the Russian*

Treatises, Priuileges, Letters, &c.

- Russian Emperour to our most gracious Queene Elizabeth. 374.
- 100 A letter of her Maiestie, sent by Stephen Twerdico and Pheodara Pogorella, Messengers of the Emperour of Russia, unto their master. 375.
- 101 The Ambassage of M. Thomas Randolfe Esquier, from the Queenes Maiestie to the Emperour of Russia. 376.
- 102 The priuileges granted to the English merchants, at M. Randolfe his sute. 378.
- 103 A Commission granted by M. Randolfe for a discovery to the Northeast by sea. 382.
- 104 Instructions giuen to the discoverers for that action. 383.
- 105 Certaine letters in verse, written out of Moscouia, by M. George Turberuile, Secretary to M. Randolfe, touching the state of the Countrey, and maners of the people. 384.
- 106 Notes concerning the fourth English voyage into Persia. 392.
- 107 Observations of the Sophy of Persia, and of the Religion of the Persians. 397.
- 108 A letter of Richard Vicoombe to M. Henry Lane touching the burning of the Citie of Mosco by the Crimme Tartar. 402.
- 109 The Ambassage of M. Anthony Jenkinson from the Queenes Maiestie to the Emperour of Russia, Anno 1571. 402.
- 110 A reise rehearfall of all the tranailles of M. Anthony Jenkinson. 411.
- 111 A letter of James Alday to M. Michael Locke Agent in London for the Moscouic Company touching a trade to be established in Lappia. 412.
- 112 A note of all the necessary instruments and appurtenances belonging to the killing of the Whale. 413.
- 113 The deposition of William Burrough to certeine Interrogatories moued unto him concerning the Narue and Kegor. 414.
- 114 The reasons of M. William Burrough to dissuade the use of a trade to the Narue by the way through Sweden. 416.
- 115 A remembrance of aduise giuen to the Moscouic merchants, touching a voyage for Cola abonesaid. 416.
- 116 An Epistle dedicatorie unto the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, written by M. William Burrough. 417.
- 117 The Queenes Maiesties letters to Shaugh Thomas the great Sophy of Persia. 418.
- 118 The Latitudes and Meridian Altitudes of diners places in Russia, from the North to the South. 431.
- 119 Directions giuen by M. Richard Hakluyt Esquire, to Morgan Hubblethorne Dier, sent into Persia. 432.
- 120 A Commission giuen by sir Rowland Heyward knight, and George Barne Aldermen, and governours of the Moscouic Company, to Arthur Per and Charles Iackman, for the discovery by Sea towards Cathay. 433.
- 121 Rules and orders giuen to be observed by them in that Discovery. 435.
- 122 Briefe aduises giuen by M. Iohn Dee to that purpose. 437.
- 123 Instructions giuen them by Richard Hakluyt Esquire to that purpose also. 437, 438.
- 124 The letter of Gerard. Mercator to Richard Hakluyt of Oxford touching that discovery. 443.
- 125 Instructions giuen by the Moscouic Company unto Richard Gibbs, William Biggat, Iohn Backhouse, &c. Masters of their ships. 453.
- 126 The opinion of M. William Burrough, sent to a friend requiring his iudgement for the fittest time of the departure of our ships toward S. Nicolas in Russia. 455.
- 127 The Queenes Maiesties Commission giuen to sir Ierome Bowes, authorizing him her highnesse Ambassadour with the Emperour of Moscouic. 455.
- 128 The Queenes Maiesties letters written to the Emperour by sir Ierome Bowes in his commendation. 457.
- 129 The discourse of the Ambassage of sir Ierome Bowes to the aforesaid Emperour. 458.
- 130 The maner of preferring suites in Russia. 463.
- 131 A letter of M. Henry Lane to M. William Sanderfon merchant of London, conteyning a briefe discourse of all things passed in our Northren discoveries for the space of 33. yeeres. 464.
- 132 The most soleinne and magnificent Coronation of Pheodor Iuanowich Emperour of Russia, set downe by M. Ierome Horsey. 466.
- 133 The Priuileges granted by the newe Emperour, to the English merchants, and obtained by the foresaid Ierom Horsey. 470.
- 134 The Ambassage of M. Giles Fletcher, Doctor of the Ciuil lawe, from her Maiestie, to the Emperour of Russia. 473.

A Catalogue of the Ambassages, &c.

135	<i>A notable description of Ruttia.</i>	475, &c.
136	<i>A speciall note gathered by the excellent Venetian Cosmographer M. Iohn Baptista Ramusius, concerning the Northeast passage.</i>	495.
137	<i>The Lord Boris Pheodorowich his letter to the right honourable William Burghley Lord high Treasurer of England.</i>	498.
138	<i>The Queenes Maiestie's letter to Pheodor Iuanowich, Emperour of Ruffia.</i>	499.
139	<i>The Queenes Maiestie's letters to the Lord Boris Pheodorowich.</i>	501.
140	<i>The L. Treasurer for William Cecil his letter to the Lord Boris Pheodorowich.</i>	502.
141	<i>A letter of Pheodor Iuanowich to the Queenes Maiestie.</i>	502.
142	<i>An other letter to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie from the Lord Boris Pheodorowich.</i>	503.
143	<i>A second letter from the Lord Boris Pheodorowich to the L. William Burghley.</i>	504.
144	<i>A most gracious letter of Privileges given to the English merchants by Pheodor Iuanowich.</i>	505.
145	<i>The contents of M. Garlands Commission unto Thomas Simkinson for the bringing of M. Iohn Dee to the Emperour of Ruffia his Court.</i>	508.
146	<i>A letter to the right worsh. M. Iohn Dee Esquier, conteyning the summe and effect of M. Garland his message.</i>	508.
147	<i>A branch of a letter from Iohn Merick touching the death of Pheodor Iuanowich.</i>	509.
148	<i>A learned Epistle written unto the famous Cosmographer M. Gerardus Mercator, concerning the Countreys, Rivers and Seas, towards the Northeast.</i>	510.
149	<i>The honourable testimonies of diuers strangers touching the notable discoveries of the English, made in the North-east parts.</i>	513.
150	<i>A briefe Commentarie of the true state of Island.</i>	515. & 550.
151	<i>A letter written by the graue and learned Gudbrandus Thorlacius, Bishop of Holen in Island, concerning the ancient state of Island and Gronland.</i>	590.



THE

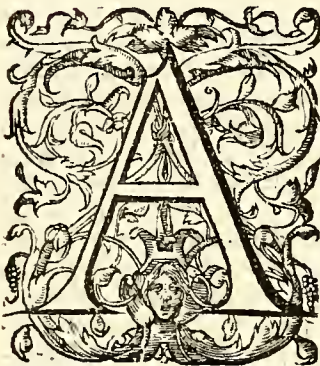


THE FIRST VOLVME OF THE
 principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques,
 and Discoueries of the English nation, made to
 the North and Northeast quarters of the World,
 with the directions, letters, priuiledges, discomfes,
 and obseruations incident to the same.

Certeine testimonies concerning *K. Arthur* and his conquests
 of the North regions, taken out of the historie of the Kings of

Britaine, written by *Galsfridus Monumetensis*, and newly
 printed at Heidelberge, Anno 1587.

Lib. 9. cap. 10.



Anno Christi, 517. Arthurus, secundo regni sui anno, subiugatis totius Hybernix partibus, classem suam direxit in Islandiam, eamque debellato populo subiugauit. Exin diuulgato per ceteras insulas rumore, quod ei nulla Prouincia resistere poterat, Doldaius rex Gotlandix, & Gunnafacius rex Orcadum vltro venerunt, promissioque vestigali subiectionem fecerunt. Emenfa deinde hyeme, reuertus est in Britanniam, statumque regni in firmam pacem renouans, moram duodecim annis ibidem fecit.

The same in English.

In the yere of Christ, 517. king Arthur in the second yere of his reigne, hauing subdued all parts of Ireland, sailed with his fleet into Island, and brought it and the people thereof vnder his subiection. The rumour afterwards being spread throughtout all the other Islands, that no countrey was able to withstand him, Doldaius the king of Gotland, and Gunnafacius the king of Orkney, came voluntarily vnto him, and yeelded him their obedience, promising to pay him tribute. The Winter being spent, he returned into Britaine, and establishing his kingdome in perfect peace, he continued there for the space of twelue yeres.

Lib. 9 cap. 12.

Miſſis deinde in diuersa regna Legatis, inuitantur tam ex Gallijs, quam ex collateralibus Insulis Oceani, qui ad curiam venire deberent, &c. Et paulo post: Ex collateralibus autem Insulis, Guillaumurius rex Hybernix, Maluafius rex Islandix, Doldaius rex Gotlandix, Gunnafius rex Orchardum, Lot rex Noruegiæ, Aschilius rex Danorum.

The same in English.

After that king Arthur sending his messengers into diuers kingdomes, he summoned such as were to come to his Court, as well out of France, as out of the adiacent Islands of the sea, &c. and a little after: From those adiacent Islands came Guillaumurius king of Ireland, Maluafius king of Island, Doldaius king of Gotland, Gunnafius king of Orkney, Lot the king of Norway, and Aschilius the king of Denmarke.

Lib. 9 cap. 19.

At reges ceterarum Insularum, quoniam non duxerant in morem equites habere, pedites quot quisque debebat, promittunt, ita vt ex sex Insulis, videlicet, Hybernix, Islandix, Gotlandix, Orchardum, Noruegiæ, atque Daciæ, sexies viginti millia essent annumerata.

The same in English.

BAt the kings of the other Islands, because it was not their custome to beed by horses, promised the king as many footmen, as euery man was bound to send: so that out of the six Islands, namely, of Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke, the king had sixe scoze thousand souldiers to serue him.

A testimonie of the right and appendances of the crowne of
the kingdome of *Britaine*, taken out of *M. Lambard*

his *A. γεωγραφία*, fol. 137. pag. 2.

ARthurus qui fuit quondam inclytissimus Rex Britonum, vir magnus fuit & animosus, & miles illustris. Parum fuit ei regnum istud, non fuit animus eius contentus regno Britannia. Subiugauit igitur sibi strenue Scantiam totam, quæ modo Norweia vocatur, & omnes insulas ultra Scantiam, scz. Islandiam, & Grenlandiam, quæ sunt de appendicijs Norweia, & Suechordam, & Hyberniam, & Gutlandiam, & Daciam, Semelandiam, Winlandiam, Curlandiam, Roe, Femelandiam, Wirelandiam, Flandriam, Cherelam, Lappam, & omnes alias terras & insulas Orientalis Occani vsque Russiam (in Lappa scilicet posuit Orientalem metam regni Britannia) & multas insulas ultra Scantiam, vsque dum sub Septentrione, quæ sunt de appendicibus Scantia, quæ modo Norweia vocatur. Fuerunt autem ibi Christiani occulte. Arthurus autem Christianus optimus fuit, & fecit eos baptizari. & vnum Deum per totam Norweiam venerari, & vnam fidem Christi semper inuiolatam custodire, & suscipere. Ceperunt vniuersi proceres Norweia vxores suas de nobili gente Britonum tempore illo, vnde Norwegieses dicunt se exiisse de gente & sanguine regni huius. Impetrauit enim temporibus illis Arthurus rex à domino Papa, & à Curia Romana, quod confirmata sit Norweia, in perpetuum coronæ Britannia in augmentum regni huius, vocauitque illam dictus Arthurus Cameram Britannia. Hac verò de causa dicunt Norwegieses, se debere in regno isto cohabitare & dicunt se esse de corpore regni huius, scilicet de corona Britannia. Maluerunt enim manere in regno isto, quam in terra eorum propria. Terra enim eorum arida est, & montuosa, & sterilis, & non sunt ibi segetes nisi per loca. Ista verò opulenta est, & fertilis, & crescunt hic segetes, & cætera vniuersa. Qua ex causa sæpius per vices gesta sunt bella atrocissima inter Anglos & Norwegieses, & interfecti sunt innumerabiles. Occupauerunt verò Norwegieses terras multas & insulas regni huius, quas adhuc detinent occupatas, nec potuerunt vnquam postea penitus euelli. Tandem modò confederati sunt nobis fide, & sacramento, & per vxores suas, quas postea ceperunt de sanguine nostro, & per affinitates, & coniugia. Ita demum constituit, & eis concessit bonus rex Edouardus propinquus noster (qui fuit optimus filius pacis) per commune consilium totius regni. Qua de causa possent, & debent prædicti de cætero nobiscum cohabitare, & remanere in regno, sicut coniurati fratres nostri.

The same in English.

ARthur which was sometimes the most renowned king of the Britains, was a mightie, and valiant man, and a famous Warriour. This kingdome was too little for him, & his minde was not contented with it. He therfore valiantly subdued all Scantia, which is now called Norway, and all the Islands beyond Norway, to wit, Island and Greenland, which are appertaining unto Norway, Sweeland, Ireland, Gotland, Denmarke, Semeland, Windland, Curland, Roe, Femeland, Wireland, Flanders, Cherilland, Lapland, and all the other lands & Islands of the East sea, euen vnto Russia (in which Lapland he placed the Easterly bounds of his Brittish Empire) and many other Islands beyond Norway, euen vnder the North pole, which are appendances of Scantia, now called Norway. These people were wild and sauage, and had not in them the loue of God nor of their neighbors, because all euill commeth from the North, yet there were among them certaine Christians liuing in secret. But king Arthur was an exceeding good Christian, and caused them to be baptized, and throughtout all Norway to worship one God, and to receiue and keepe inuiolably for euer, faith in Christ onely. At that time all the noble men of Norway tooke wiues of the noble nation of the Britaines, whereupon the Norfes say, that they are descended of the race and blood of this kingdome. The afore sayd king Arthur obtined also in those dayes of the Pope & court of Rome, that Norway should be for euer annexed to the crowne of Britaine for the enlargement of this kingdome, and he called it the chamber of Britaine. For this cause the Norfes say, that they ought to dwell with vs in this kingdome, to wit, that they belong to the crowne of Britaine: for they had rather dwell here then in their owne native countrey, which is drie and full of mountaines,

mountaines, and barren, and no graine growing there, but in certeine places. But this countrey of Britaine is fruitfull, wherein cozne and all other good things do grow and increase: for which cause many cruell battels haue bene oftentimes fought betwixt the Englishmen and the people of Norway, and infinite numbers of people haue bene slaine, & the Norfes haue possessed many lands and Islands of this Empire, which vnto this day they doe possesse, neither could they euer afterwards be fully expelled. But now at length they are incorporated with vs by the receiuing of our religion and sacraments, and by taking wiues of our nation, and by affinitie, and marriage. For so the good king Edward (who was a notable maintainer of peace) ordeined and granted vnto them by the generall consent of the whole kingdome, so that the people may, and ought from hence forth dwell and remaine in this kingdome with vs as our louing s'woyne brethern.

A testimonie out of the foresayd *Galfridus Monumetensis*, concerning the conquests of *Malgo*, king of *England*. *Lib. 11. cap. 7.*

Vortiporio successit Malgo, omnium ferè Britannia pulcherrimus, multorum tyrannorum depulsor, robustus armis, largior cæteris, & ultra modum probitate præclarus. Hic etiam totam Insulam obtinuit, & sex conprovinciales Oceani Insulas: Hiberniam videlicet, atque Islandiam, Gotlandiam, Orcades, Noruegiam, Daciam, adiecit dirissimis prælijs potestati suæ.

The same in English.

Malgo succeeded Vortiporius which was the goodliest man in person of all Britaine, a prince that expelled many tyrants. He was strong and valiant in warre, taller then most men that then liued, and exceeding famous for his vertues. This king also obtained the government of the whole Island of Britaine, and by most sharpe battails he recovered to his Empire the sixe Islands of the Decan sea, which befoze had bene made tributaries by king Arthur, namely Ireland, Island, Gotland, Orkney, Norway, and Denmarke.

The conquest of the Isles of *Anglesey* and *Man* by *Edwin* the *Saxon* king of *Northumberland* written in the second Booke and fift Chapter of *Beda* his Ecclesiasticall historie of the English nation.

Edwinus Nordanhumbrorum gentis, id est, eius quæ ad borealem Humbri fluminis plagam inhabitat, maiore potentia cunctis qui Britanniam incolunt, Anglorum pariter & Britonum populis præfuit, præter Cantuarios tantum, necnon & Menauias Britonum insulas, quæ inter Hiberniam & Britanniam sitæ sunt, Anglorum subiecit potestati.

The same in English.

Edwin king of the people of Northumberland, that is to say, of them which inhabit to the North of the riuer Humber, being of greater authoritie then any other potentate in the whole Isle of Britaine, bare rule as well ouer the English as the British nation, except onely the people of Kent: who also brought in subiection vnder the English, the Isles of Man and Anglesey, and the other Northwesterne Isles of the Britons, which are situate betweene Britaine and Ireland.

Another testimonie alledged by *Beda* to the same purpose. *Lib. 2. cap. 9.*

Anno ab incarnatione Domini sexcentesimo vicesimo quarto, gens Nordanhumborum, hoc est, ea natio Anglorum quæ ad aquilonarem Humbri fluminis plagam habitat, cum rege suo Eduino, verbum fidei (prædicante Paulino, cuius supra meminimus) suscepit: cui videlicet regi in auspiciis suscipiendæ fidei, & regni cælestis potestas, & terreni creuerat imperij: ita vt (quod nemo Anglorum ante eum fecit) omnes Britannia fines, qua vel ipsorum vel Britonum Prouincia habitabantur, sub ditione acceperit. Quin & Menauias insulas (sicut & supra docuimus) imperio subiugauit Anglorum, Quarum prior quæ ad austrum est, & situ amphor, & frugum prouentu atque vbertate fælicior, nongentarum sexaginta familiarum mensuram, iuxta æstimationem Anglorum, secunda trecentarum & vltra spatium tenet.

The same in English.

In the yeere from the incarnation of our Lord, five hundredth twentie and foure, the people of Northumberland, to wit, those English people which inhabit on the North side of the river of Humber, together with their king Edwin, at the Christian preaching and perswasion of Paulinus aboue mentioned, embraced the Gospel. Under which king, after he had once accepted of the Christian faith, the power both of the heaue[nly] & of his earthly kingdome was enlarged; insonmuch, that he (which no English king had done befoze him) brought vnder his subiection all the prouinces of Britaine, which were inhabited either by the English men themselves, or by the Britons. Moreover, he subdued vnto the crowne of England (as we haue aboue signified) the Hebrides, commonly called the Westerne Islands. The principall wherof being moze commodiously and pleasantly seated towards the South, and moze abounding with cozne then the rest, containeth according to the estimation of the English, roome enough for 560. families, and the second for 300. and aboue.

The voyage of Bertus, generall of an armie sent into Ireland by

Ecfrius king of Northumberland, in the yeere of our Lord 684,

out of the 4. Booke and 26. Chapter of *Beda* his
Ecclesiasticall Historie.



Anno Dominicæ incarnationis sexcentesimo octogesimo quarto, Ecfrius rex Nordanhumborum, misso Hiberniam cum exercitu duce Berto, vastauit miserè gentem innoxiam, & nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam, ita vt nec ecclesijs quidem aut monasterijs manus parceret hostilis. At insulani & quantum valere armis arma repellebant, & inuocantes diuinæ auxilium pietatis cœlitus se vindicari continuis diu imprecationibus postulabant. Et quamuis maledici regnum Dei possidere non possint, creditum tamen est, quod hi qui merito impietatis suæ maledicbantur, ocyus Domino vindice, pœnas sui reatus luerent.

The same in English.

In the yeere of our Lord 684, Ecfid the king of Northumberland sent captaine Bert into Ireland with an armie, which Bert miserably wasted that innocent nation being alwayes most friendly vnto the people of England, insonmuch that the fury of the enemy spared neither churches nor monasteries. Howbeit the Islanders to their power repelled armes with armes, and craving Gods aid from heauen with continuall imprecations and curses, they pleaded for reuenge. And albeit cursed speakers can by no means inherit the kingdome of God, it was thought notwithstanding, that they which were accursed for their impiety did not long escape the vengeance of God imminent for their offences.

The voyage of Oether made to the Northeast parts beyond

Norway, reported by himselfe vnto *Alfred* the famous
king of *England*, about the yeere 890.



Oether said, that the countrey wherein he dwelt was called Helgoland. Oether tolde his lord king Alfred that he dwelt furthest North of any ocher Norman. He sayd that he dwelt towards the North part of the land toward the West coast: and affirmed that the land, notwithstanding it stretcheth marueilous farre towards the North, yet it is all desert and not inhabited, unlesse it be very few places, here and there, where certeine Finnes dwell vpon the coast, who liue by hunting all the Winter, and by fishing in Summer. He said that vpon a certeine time he fell into a fantasie and desire to prooue and know how farre that land stretched Northward, and whether there were any habitation of men North beyond the desert. Where vpon he tooke his voyage directly North along the coast, hauing vpon his steereboord alwayes the desert land, and vpon the leereboord the maine Ocean: and continued his course for the space of 3. dayes. In which space he was come as far towards the North, as commonly the whale hunters vse to trauell. Whence he proceeded in his course still towards the North so farre as he was able to saile in ocher 3. dayes. At the end wherof he perceiued that the coast turned towards the East, or els the sea opened with a maine gulfe into the land, he knew not how farre. Well he wilt and remembered, that he was faine to stay till he had a Westerne winde, and somewhat Northerly: and thence he sailed plaine East along the coast still so far as he was able in the space of 4. dayes. At the end of which time he was

Finnes liue
by hunting &
fishing.

The place whi-
ther the whale
hunters tra-
uere,

was compelled againe to way till he had a full northerly winde, forso much as the coast bow'd thence directly towards the South, or at least wise the sea opened into the land he could not tell how farre: so that he sailed thence along the coast continually till South, so farre as he could crauaile in 5. dayes; and at the fifth dayes end he discovered a mighty river which opened very farre into the land. At the entrie of which river he stayed his courle, and in conclusion turned backe againe, for he durst not enter therein for feare of the inhabitants of the land: perceiving that on the other side of the river the countrey was chozowly inhabited: which was the first peopled land that he had found since his departure from his owne dwelling: whereas continually throughout all his voyage, he had evermore on his seere boord, a wilderness and desert countrey, except that in some places, he saw a few fishers, fowlers, and hunters, which were all Fynnnes: and all the way vpon his seere boord was the maine ocean. The Viarmes had inhabited and tilled their countrey indifferent well, notwithstanding he was afrayed to go vpon shoare. But the countrey of the Terfynnes lay all waste, and not inhabited, except it were, as we haue sayd, where as dwelled certeine hunters, fowlers, and fishers. The Viarmes tolde him a number of stories both of their owne countrey, and of the countreyes adioyning. Howbeit, he knew not, nor could affirme any thing for certeine truth: forso much as he was not vpon land, nor saw any himselfe. This onely he iudged, that the Fynnnes and Viarmes speake but one language. The principall purpose of his traueile this way, was to encrease the knowledge and discoverie of these coasts and countreyes, for the moze commoditie of fishing of \textbackslash boysewhales, which haue in their teeth bones of great price and excellencie: whereof he brought some at his returne vnto the king. Their skinnes are also very good to make cables for shippes, and so vsed. This kinde of whale is much lesse in quantitie then other kindes, hauing not in length about seuen elles. And as for the common kind of whales, the place of most and best hunting of them is in his owne countrey: whereof some be 48. elles of length, and some 50. of which sort he affirmed that he himselfe was one of the five, which in the space of 3. dayes killed threescore. He was a man of exceeding wealth in such riches, wherein the wealth of that countrey doth consist. At the same time that he came to the king, he had of his owne breed 600. tame Deere, of that kinde which they call Rane Deere: of the which number 6. were stall Rane Deere, a beast of great value, and maruiculously esteemed among the Fynnnes, for that with them they catch the wilde Rane Deere. He was among the chiefe men of his countrey one: and yet he had but 20. kine, and 20. swine, and that little which he tilled, he tilled it all with hozes. Their principall wealth consisteth in the tribute which the Fynnnes pay them, which is all in skinnes of wilde beasts, feathers of birds, whale bones, and cables, and tacklings for shippes made of Whales or Seales skinnes. Every man payeth according to his abilitie. The richest pay ordinarily 15. cases of Parrens, 5. Rane Deere skinnes, and one Beare, ten bushels of feathers, a coat of a Beares skinne, two cables threescore elles long a peece, the one made of Whales skin, the other of Seales.

The river of Du no of this hood.

A Desert countrey Fynnnes. Viarmes. Terfynnes.

The Fynnnes and Viarmes speake one language. Their teeth comend. Pie of a whales skinne for cables.

Six hundred tame Deere.

The Fynnnes tribute.

Note.

Cables of Whales and Seales skins.

A description of Norway.

The breadth of the mountaines of Norway.

Swethland. Queeneland.

Boats carried on mens backs.

He sayd, that the countrey of Norway was very long and small. So much of it as either beareth any good pasture, or may be tilled, lieth vpon the Sea coast, which notwithstanding in some places is very rockie and stonie: and all Eastward, all along against the inhabited land, lie wilde and huge hilles and mountaines, which are in some places inhabited by the Fynnnes. The inhabited land is broadest toward the South, & the further it stretcheth towards the North, it groweth evermore smaller and smaller. Towards the South it is peraduenture threescore miles in breadth or broader in some places: about the middelt, 30. miles or about, and towards the North where it is smallest, he affirmeth that it proueth not thre miles from the Sea to the mouatines. The mountaines be in breadth of such quantitie, as a man is able to traueile ouer in a fortnight, and in some places no moze then may be traueiled in six dayes. Right ouer against this land, in the other side of the mountaines, somewhat towards the South, lieth Swethland, and against the same towards the North, lieth Queeneland. The Quenes sometimes passing the mountaines, invade and spoile the Normans: and on the contrary part, the Normans like wise sometimes spoile their countrey. Among the mountaines be many and great lakes in sundry places of fresh water, into the which the Quenes use to carie their boats vpon their backs ouer land, and thereby invade and spoile the countrey of the Normans. These boats of theirs be very little and very light.

The voyage of Oether out of his countrey of Halgoland into the bound of Denmarke vnto a port called Hetha, which seemeth to be Wismer or Rosforke.

Oether sayd that the countrey wherein he dwelled, was called Halgoland: and affirmed that there was no man dwelling towards the North from him, from this countrey towards the South.

¶ It is thought
It seemeth to
be about Ellen-
borg.

The description
of the sound
of Denmarke,
Gotland,

Vandals.

Hecha but two
dayes sailing
from Seland.
It seemeth to
be Wismer of
Rokocke.

¶ Within the
sound of Den-
marke,

South, there is a certaine || port called Scirings hall, whither, he sayth, that a man was not able to saile in a moneths space, if he lay still by night, although he had euery day a full wind. And he shall saile all the way along the coast, hauing on his leereboord, first Iutland and the Islands which lie betwixt this countrey & Iutland, till along the coast of this countrey, till he come to Scirings hall, hauing it on his larboord. At Scirings hall there entrench into the land a maine gulfe of the Sea, which is so broad, that a man cannot see ouer it: and on the other side against the same, is Gotland, and then Silland. This sea stretcheth many hundreth miles by into the land. From Scirings hall he sayd that he sailed in 5. dayes to the port which is called Hecha, which lieth betwixt the countreies of || Wendels, Saxons, and Angles, wherunto it is subiect. And as he sailed thitherward from Scirings hall, he had vpon his leereboord Denmarke, and on his leereboord the maine sea, for the space of 3. dayes: and 2. dayes before, he arriued in Hecha, he had Gotland on leereboord, and Silland, with diuers other Islands. In that countrey dwelt English men, before they came into this land. And these 2. dayes he had vpon his leereboord the Islands that are subiect to Denmarke.

Wolstans nauigation in the || East sea, from *Hecha* to *Trusco*,
which is about *Dantzig*.



Wolstan sayd, that he departed from *Hecha*, and arriued at *Trusco*, in the space of 7. dayes, and 7. nightes: during which time, his shippe kept her course continually vnder saile. All this voyage *Wenedland* was still vpon his leereboord, and on his leereboord was *Langland*, *Layland*, *Falster*, and *Sconie*: all which countreies are subiect to *Denmarke*. Vpon his leereboord also, was *Bargenland*, which hath a priuace king, vnto whom it is subiect; Having left *Bargenland*, he passed by *Blekingie*, *Meere*, *Eland* and *Gotland*, hauing them on his leereboord: all which countreies are subiect to *Sweden*: and *Wenedland* was all the way vpon his leereboord, vntil he came to *Wixel* mouth. *Wixel* is a very great riuer which runneth along betwixt *Wieland* and *Wenedland*. *Wieland* is appertaining to the *Casterlings*: and the riuer of *Wixel* runneth out of || *Wenedland* into *Eastmeere*, which *Eastmeere* is at the least 15. miles in breadth. There runneth also another riuer called *Uling* from the East, and falleth into *Eastmeere*, out of another lake vpon the banke, whereupon is situated *Fruso*. So that *Uling* comming out of || *Eastland*, and *Wixel* out of *Wenedland*, fall both together into *Eastmeere*, and there *Wixel* deprieth *Uling* of his name, and runneth thence West & North into the sea; whereof the place is called *Wixelmouth*.

Bargenland, of
Bornholme.

Wixel is the ri-
uer that falleth
into the sea by
Dantzig.
|| *Prussia*.

Fruso.
|| *Lituania*.

The description
of *Eastland*.

Hares milke a
chiefe drinke.

Eastland is a very large land, and there be many cities and townes within it, and in euery one of them is a king: whereby there is continually among them great strife and contention. There is great plentie of honny and fish.

The wealtheiest men drinke commonly *Hares milke*, and the pooze people and slaues meade. There is no ale byewed among the *Casterlings*, but of mead there is plentie.

The nauigation of King *Edgar*, taken out of *Florentius*
Wigorniensis, *Houeden*, and *M. Dee* his discourse of
the British Monarchie, pag. 54, 55, &c.

I haue often times (sayd he) and many wayes looked into the state of earthly king-
domes, generally the whole world ouer (as farre as it may be yet knowen to Chri-
stian men commonly) being a studie of no great difficultie, but rather a purpose
somewhat answerable to a perfect Cosmographer, to finde himselfe Cosmopoli-
tes, a citizen and member of the whole and onely one mysticall citie vniuersall, and
so consequently to meditate of the Cosmopoliticall gouernment thereof, vnder the King almighty,
passing on very swiftly toward the most dreadfull and most comfortable terme prescribed.

And I finde (sayd he) that if this Briticsh Monarchie would heretofore haue followed the ad-
uantages which they haue had on ward, they might very well, yet this, haue surpassed by iustice,
and goodly sort, any particular Monarchie els, that euer was on earth since mans creation: and that
to all such purposes as to God are most acceptable, and to all perfect common wealths, most hono-
rable, profitable, and comfortable.

But yet (sayd he) there is a little locke of *Lady Occasion* flickering in the aire, by our hands to
catch hold on, wherby we may yet once moze (before all be vtterly past, and for euer) discreetly and
valiantly recouer and enioy, if not all our ancient & due appurtenances to this Imperiall Briticsh
monarchie, yet at the least some such notable portion thereof, as (al circumstances duely and iustly
appertaining

appertaining to peace & amitie with tozren princes being offered & vted) this may become the most peaceable, most rich, most puissant, & most flourishing monarchie of all els (this day) in chyztendome, peaceable, I say, euen with the most part of the selfe same respects that good king Edgar had (being but a Saxon) and by sundry such meanes, as he chiefly in this Empire did put in prooffe and by triumphantly, whereupon his surname was Pacificus, most apely and iustly. This peaceable king Edgar had in his minde about six hundred yeeres past, the representation of a great part of the selfe same Idæa, which from about onely, & by no mans deuise hath streamed downe into my imaginati- on, being as it becommeth a subiect carefull for the godly prosperitie of this Britissh Empire vnder our most peaceable Queene Elizabeth.

For, *Edgarus pacificus, Regni sui prospiciens vtilitati, pariter & quieti, quatuor millia octingen-
tas sibi robustas cōgregauit naues è quibus mille ducentas, in plaga Angliæ Orientali, mille
ducentas in Occidentali, mille ducentas in Australi, mille ducentas in Septentrionali pelago
cōstituit, vt ad defensionem regni sui, contra exterarum nationum, bellorū discrimina sustinerent.*

Flores Historiarum.

Wise dome imperiall, most diligently to be imitated, videlicet, prospicere, to foresee. Charitable kingly parent, that was touched with ardent zeale, for procuring the publike profite of his kingdom, yea and also the peaceable enioying thereof. O, of an incredible masse of treasure, a kingly portion, yet, in his coffers remaining: if then he had, (or late before) any warres, seeing no notable rare, or contribution publike is historically mentiond to haue bene for the charges leuid: if in peace he himselfe flourished so wealthily: O marvellous politicall, & princely prudence, in time of peace to foresee, and prevent, (and that most puissantly, and inuincibly) all possible malice, fraude, force, and mischief for ayn. O most discrete liberalitie to such excellent vles, powring out his treasure so abundantly. O faithfull English people (then,) and worthy subiects, of such an Imperiall and godly Governour. O your true, and willing hearts, and blessed ready hands (then,) so to impart such abundance of victuals for those huge Nauies maintenance: so (I say) as neither dearth of famine, seemed (fondly) to be feared of you, for any intolerable want likely to ensue thereby, nor prices of victuals complained of to be vnreasonable enhaunsed by you, finding for their great sales so good, and rare opportunitye.

This peaceable king Edgar, was one of the perfect Imperiall Monarches of this Britissh Empire, and therefore thus his fame remaineth (for euer) recordd.

Anglici orbis Basileus, flos, & Decus Edgarus, non minus memorabilis Anglis, quam Cyprius Persis, Romulus Romanis, Alexander Macedonibus, Arsaces Parthis, Carolus Francis, Anno vitæ 37. Regni sui cum fratre, & post 21. Idibus Iulij obiit, & apud Glascon sepelitur.

Charta Regis, Henrici secundū.

O Glastonbury, Glastonbury, the treasure of the carcases of so famous, and so many persons (Quæ olim mater sanctorum dicta es, & ab alijs, tumulus sanctorum, quam ab ipsis discipulis Domini, ædificatam fuisse venerabilis habet Antiquorum autoritas) how lamentable is thy case nowe: howe hath hypocrisie and pride wrought thy desolation: though I omit here the names of very many other, both excellent holy men, and mighty princes, whose carcases are committed to thy custody, yet that Apostolike Ioseph, that triumphant Britissh Arthur, and nowe this peaceable and prouident Saxon king Edgar, doe force me with a certaine sorrowfull reuerence, here to celebrate thy memorie.

This peaceable king Edgar (as by ancient Records may appeare) his Sommer progresse, and perely chiefe pastimes were, the sailing round about this whole Isle of Albion, garded with his grand nauie of 4000. saile at the least, parted into 4. equall parts of petie Nauies, eche one being of 1000. ships, for so it is anciently recordd.

Idem quoque Edgarus, 4000. naues congregauit, ex quibus omni anno, post festum Paschale, 1000. naues ad quamlibet Angliæ partem statuit, sic, æstate Insulam circumnauigauit: hyeme verò, iudicia in Prouincia exercuit: & hæc omnia ad sui exercitium, & ad hostium fecit terrorem.

Ranulphus Cestrensis.

Child, and would that peaceable & wise king Edgar, before need, as being in peace and quiet with all nations about him, and notwithstanding mistrusting his possible enemies, make his pastimes so rotally, politicall, and triumphantly, with so many thousand ships, and at the least with ten times so many men as ships, and that perely: and shall we bring not assured of such neighbors friendship, as may become to vs as cruel and tyrannicall enemies as neuer king Edgar needed to dread the like, and they as many and mighty princes, as neuer king Edgar coped with the like, shall we (said he) not iudge it some part of wisdom, to imitate carefully in some litle proportion (though not with so many thousands) the prosperous pastimes of peaceable king Edgar, that Saxonickall Alexander? yea, prosperous pastimes these may bee iustly counted, by which he also made euident to the whole world, that as he wisely knew the ancient bounds and limites of this Britissh Empire,

so that he could and would royally, iustly, and triumphantly enjoy the same, free of the death, and maugre the force of any fozeine potentate. And al that, so highly and faithfully to the glory of God finally intended and brought to passe, as the wisest and godliest Prelates and counsellors of those dayes (so counted of and recorded) could best advise and direct him, or perchance, but sincerely commend and duetfully encourage him in, he being of himselfe so bent, as purposing first invincibly to fortifie the chiefe and uttermost walles of his Islandish Monarchie, against all fozeine encombrance possible. And in that fortification furthering and assuring to trust best his owne oversight and iudgement, in peerey viewing the same in euery quarter thereof, and that as it were for his pastime Imperiall, also in Sommer time, to the ende that after ward in all securitie, hee might in Winter time (vacare) be at conuenient leisure on land, chiefly to see forth Gods due honour, and secondly to vnderstand, and diligently to listen to the causes and complaints of his commons. For as Mattheus Westmonasteriensis of him to his Imperiall commendation hath left vs a remembrance,

Habebat autem prater ea consuetudinem, per omnes Regni prouincias transire, vt intelligeret quomodo legum iura, & suorum statuta decretorum, à principibus obseruarentur, & ne pauperes à potentibus præiudicium passi, opprimerentur, diligenter inuestigare solebat: in vno fortitudini, in altero Iustitiæ studens, & Reipub. regnæque vtilitati consulens in vtroque. Hinc hostibus circumquaque timor, & amor omnium erga eum excreuerat subditorum.

Thus we see how in opportunitie, this peaceable Edgar procured to this Empire such prosperous securitie, that his true and faithful subiects, all manner of wayes (that is at home and also at sea, both our ward and inward) might peaceably, safely and securely employ their wits and traicils for the maruillous enriching of this kingdome, and pleasuring very many other, carrying forth the naturall commodities of this land, abounding here about our necessary vses (and due store reserved) and likewise againe furnishing the same with all necessary and not superfluous fozeine commodities, set from farre or fozein countreys. This was in deed (as befoze is recorded) a kingly prouidence, Reipub. Regniq; vtilitati consulens, &c. besides with great vtilitie and profite publique fozeine, and by his meanes emioped, he himselfe vled most gladly the advantage of that securitie, in ministering of iustice, or causing the same to be executed all his kingdome ouer, not squemishly, frowningly or skoznefully humning the ragged and tattered sleue of any suppliant, holding by to him a simple soiled bill of complaint or petition, and that homely contriued, or astrayde at, and timeously halting from the sickly pale face of feeble limmed iustice, extremely consulted so to speake for himselfe, nor partially smothering his owne conscience, to fauour or mainteine the foule fault and trespass vnlawfull of any his subiects, how mightie or necessary soeuer, they (els) were, but diligently made search, least Pauperes à potentibus præiudicium passi, opprimerentur.

Thus did publique securitie frō fozein foe abroad, and true loue of his owne subiects, garding him at home, and the heauenly spirit directing all his good purposes, cause iustice and equitie in all quarters of this Albion to flourish. For which his peaceable and prosperous benefits at the eternal king his hand obtained, hee became not insolent or declined to tyrannicall regiment (as some princes in other countreys haue made theit liues Comico tragicall) but with all his fozein laide inuincible Seafoze, abounding wealth, triumphant peace, with securitie and Justice ouer all his Monarchie preuailling, his heart was continually, and most zealously bent to set forth the glory, laude and honour of the Almighty Creator, the heauenly and euerlasting king, by such principall and princely meanes, as (then) were deemed to God most acceptable, as many monuments yet to our dayes remaining, do of him vndoubtedly testifie: As this, for one.

Alitonantis Dei largisua clementia, qui est rex Regum, Ego Edgarus Anglorum Basileus omniumq; Regum, Insularum, Oceaniq; Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarumq; nationum que infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus, gratias ago ipsi Deo omnipotenti, Regi meo, qui meum Imperium sic ampliauit, & exaltauit super regnum patrum meorum: quilibet Monarchiam totius Anglæ adepti sunt à tempore Athelstani (qui primus regnum Anglorum, & omnes Nationes, que Britanniam incolunt, sibi Annis subegit) nullus tamen eorū vltra eius fines imperium tuum dilatare aggressus est. Mihi autem concessit propicia Diuinitas, cum Anglorum Imperio, omnia regna Insularum Oceani, cum suis ferocissimis Regibus, vsq; Noruegiam, maximamq; partem Hybernæ, cum sua nobilissima Ciuitate Dublinia, Anglorum regno subiugare: Quos etiam omnes, me s Imperij colla subdere (Dei fauente gratia) coegi. Quapropter & ego Christi gloriam, & laudem exaltare, & eius seruitium amplificare deuotus disposui, & per meos fideles Fautores, Dunstanum viz. Archiepiscopum, Athelwoldum, & Oswaldum episcopos (quos mihi patres spirituales, & Consiliatores elegi) magna ex parte, secundum quod disposui, effecti, &c.

Ex charta fundationis Ecclesie Cathedralis Wigornie.

And

And againe this in another Monument.

OMnipotentis Dei, &c. Ipsius nutu & gratia suffultus, Ego Ædgarus Basileus dilectæ Insulæ Albionis, subditis nobis sceptris Scotorum, Cumbrotum, ac Brytonum, & omnium circumcirca Regionum, quæta pace perfruens, studiosus sollicitè de laudibus creatoris omnium occupor addendis: Ne nunc inertia, nostrisq; diebus (plus equo) seruitus eius revescere videatur, &c. 18. mei terreni Imperij anno, &c. Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ, 973.

Fundatio Ecclesie Cathedralis Eliensis.

Ego Ædgarus totius Albionis Basileus hoc privilegium (tanta roboratum autoritate) crucis Ihanmate confirmaui.

So that by all these rehearsed Records, it is most evident that the peaceable king Edgar, was one of those Monarchs, in whose handes (if life had sufficed) the incredible value and privilege granted by God and nature unto this British monarchie, might have bene peaceably purchased in such sort, as the very blessing and favour of the diuine Trinitie hath laid meanes for our industrie to attaine to, and enioye the same by.

And though sundry other valiant princes and kings of this land I could recite, which in times past haue either by intent gone about, or by wise and valiant exploit, haue meetely well prospered towards this Islandish appropriate supremacie attaining, yet neuer any other reasonable meanes was vsed, or by humane wit, or industrie can be contriued, to al purposes sufficient, but onely by our sea forces preuailing, and so by our inuincible enioying al within the sea limites of our British royaltie contained.

To which incredible political mysterie attaining, no easier, readier, or perfecter plat and introduction, is (as yet) come to my imagination, then is the present and continuall seruite of threescore good and tall warlike ships, with twentie smaller barks, and those 80. ships (great and smal) with 6660. apt men furnished, and all singularly well appointed for seruice both on sea and land, faithfully and diligently to be done in such circumspect and discrete order, as partly I haue in other places declared, and further (vpon good occasion offered) may declare.

This grand nauie of peaceable king Edgar, of so many thousand. ships, and they furnished with an hundred thousand men at the least, with all the finall intents of those sea forces, so inuincible, continually mainteined, the order of the execution of their seruice, the goodly and Imperial successe thereof, are in a maner kingly lessons and propheticall incouragements to vs left, euen now to bee as proudent for publique securitie as he was, to be as skillful of our sea right and royal limits, and wisely to finde our selues as able to recouer and enioy the same as he was, who could not chuse, but with the passing and verely saying about this British Albion, with all the lesser Isles next adiacent round about it, he could not chuse I say, but by such ful and peaceable possession, find himselfe (according to right, and his hearts desire) the true and soueraigne Monarch of all the British Ocean, enuironing any way his empire of Albion and Ireland, with the lesser Islands next adiacent: with memorial whercof, as with one very precious iewel Imperial, hee adorned the title and crowne of his regalitie, as with the testimonie annexed of the states and nobles of his Empire, to commit to perpetuall memorie, the stile of his chiefe worldly dignitie, in this very tenor of words befoze also remembred.

Ego Ædgarus Anglorum Basileus, omniumque Regum, Insularum, Oceanique Britanniam circumiacentis, cunctarumq; nationum, quæ infra eam includuntur, Imperator, & Dominus.

Note the Ducenes Marques royaltie offer the British Ocean sea, round about the British Empire.

The voyage of Edmund and Edward the sonnes of King Edmund Ironside into Hungarie, Anno D. 1017. Recorded by Florentius Wigorniensis pag. 391.



Dedit consilium Edricus Canuto regi, vt clitunculos Eadwardum & Eadmundum regis Eadmundi filios necaret. Sed quia magnum dedecus sibi videbatur, vt in Anglia perimerentur, paruo elapso tempore, ad regem Suauorum occidendos misit. Qui, licet fœdus esset inter eos, precibus illius nullatenus voluit acquiescere, sed illos ad regem Hungarorum Salomonem nomine misit nutriendos vitæque reseruandos. Quotum vnus scilicet Eadmundus processu temporis ibidem vitam finiuit. Eadwardus verò Agatham filiam Germani Imperatoris Henricii in matrimonium accepit, ex qua Margaretam Scotorum reginam, & Christinam Saxoniam, & Clitonem Eadgarum suscepit.

An. Dom. 1017.

The same in English.

Edric counsell'd king Kanutus to murther the pong princes Edward and Edmund the sonnes of King Edmund. But because it seem'd a thing very dishonourable vnto him to haue them put to death in England, hee sent them, after a shoyt space, vnto the king of Sweden to be slaine. Who, albeit there was a league betweene them, would in no case condescend vnto Canutus his bloody request, but sent them vnto Salomon the king of Hungarie to be nourished and prefer'd aliue. The one whereof namely Edmund in proesse of time there deceased, But Edward receiued to wife Agacha daughter vnto the Germane Emperour Henry, of whom he begot Margarec the Quene of the Scots, and Christina a Nunne, and Clito Edgar.

A Chronicle of the Kings of *Man*, taken out of
M. Camdens Chorographic.



In the yeere of our Lord 1066, Edward King of England, of famous memory deceased, whom Harald sonne of Godwin succeeded in his kingdome; against which Harald the king of Norwaie called Harald Harfager fought a battell at Stainford bydge, where the English winning the fildie put all the Norwegians to flight: out of which flight one Godredus surnamed Crouan (the sonne of Harald the blarke, who had befoze time fled out of Island) repaired vnto Godred sonne of Syric, who then reigned in Man, and was right friendly and honourably entertained by him.

In the very same yeere William the Conquerour subdued England, and Godred the sonne of Syric, king of Man, deceased, after whom succeeded his sonne Fingal.

Fingal.

In the yeere 1066, Godredus Crouan gathered a flecte of ships, and sail'd vnto Man, and giuing battell vnto the people of the countrey, was vanquished and put to flight. The second time also hauing gathered his armie and ships together, hee came vnto Man, fought with the inhabitants, lost the victorie, and was chased away. Yes, the third time he assembled a great multitude, and comming by night vnto the port which is called Ramsa, hid 300. of his men in a wood standing vpon the side of the hill called Scacafel. The Summe was no sooner by, but the Mannians arranged themselves and with great furie set vpon Godred. And in the midst of the skirmish, the foresaid 300. men rising out of their ambush, and comming vpon the backs of the Mannians, molested them so sore, that they were enforced to flie. But when they saw they were overcome and had no place of refuge to retire vnto (for the tide of the sea had filled the chanel of the riuier of Ramsa) and seeing the enemy so fiercely pursuing them on the other side, they which remained, with lamentable outcries beseech'd Godred to spare their liues. Then hee being moued with compassion, and pitying their extreme calamitie, because hee had bene of late sustained and nourished among them, sound'd a retreat and forbad his souldiers to make any longer pursuit. The day following Godred put his souldiers to their choice, whether they would diuide Man among themselves and inhabit it, or whether they would take the wealth of the countrey, and so returne vnto their owne home. Howbeit, it pleased them better to wasse the whole Island and to enrich themselves with the commodities thereof, and so to returne from whence they came. Nowe Godred himselfe with a fewe Islanders which had remained with him, tooke possession of the South part of the Island, and vnto the remnant of the Mannians he granted the North part thereof, vpon condition, that none of them should at any time after ward dare once to challenge any parcell of the said ground by title of inheritance. Whereupon it cometh to passe, that vnto this day the whole Island is the kings owne Fee-simple, and that all the reuenues thereof pertaine vnto him. Also Godredus subdued Dublin vnto himselfe & a great part of Laineishe. And he so tamed the Scots, that none of them durst build a ship or a boate, with aboute threer yron nailes in it. Hee reigned 16. yeeres and died in the Island called Yle. He left behinde him threer sonnes, Lagman, Harald, and Olauus, Lagman being the eldest challenged the kingdome and reigned seuen yeeres. Howbeit Harald his brother rebelled against him a long time, but being at length taken by Lagman, hee was gret and had his eyes put out. After ward Lagman repenting him that he had put out the eyes of his brother, did of his owne accord relinquish his kingdome, and taking vpon him the badge of the crosse, he went on pilgrimage to Ierusalem, in which iourney also he died.

Boats hauing
not past threer
yron nailes in
them.

In the yeere 1075, all the principall men of the Islands hauing intelligence of the death of Lagman, sent messengers vnto Murecardus O-Brien King of Ireland, requesting him that hee would send some well-disposed person of his owne kindred and blood royall, vntill Olauus sonne of Godred

Godred were come to full age. The king most willingly condescended vnto their request, and sent vnto them one Dopnald the sonne of Tade, charging and commaunding him that with all meekenesse and modestie, hee should gouerne that kingdome, which of right belonged not vnto him. Howbeit he, after he had once attained vnto the kingdome, neglecting the commaundement of his lord, vsurped the gouernment with great tyrannie, committing many heinous crimes, and so he reigned very disorderly for the space of three yeeres. When all the princes of the Islands making a generall conspiracie, banded themselues against him, and expelled him out of their dominions. And he flying into Irland returned no moze vnto them.

In the yeere 1077. one Ingemundus was sent from the king of Norway, to take possession of the kingdome of the Islands. And being come vnto the Island of Leodus, hee sent messengers vnto all the princes of the Islands to come vnto him, commaunding them to assemble themselues, and to appoint him to be their King. In the meane season he and his companions spent their time in robbing and rioting, rauished women and virgines, and addicted themselues to filthy pleasures and to the lustes of the flesh. And when these things were reported vnto the princes of the Islands, who had assembled themselues to chuse him king, being mightely incensed thereat, they made haste towards him, and coming vpon him in the night, they burnt the house wherein hee was, and slue both him and the rest of his company, partly with sword, and partly with fire.

In the yeere 1098. the abbey of S. Maries at Cistercium was founded. In the same yeere also Antiochia was taken by the Christians, and a Comet appeared.

Howeouer, the same yeere there was a battell fought betweene the inhabitants of Man, at Sant-wat, and they of the North obtained the victorie. In which battell were slaine Earle Ochor and Mac-Maras, chieftaines of both parts.

The same yeere Magnus king of Norway, sonne of Olauus, sonne of Harald Harfagre, being desirous to view the coyps of S. Olauus king and Martyr, gaue commaundment that his monument should be opened. But the Bishop and the Clergie withstanding this his attempt, the king went very boldly and by his kingly authoritie, caused the coffin to be opened. And when hee had seene with his eyes, and handled with his hands the incorrupt body of the foresaid King and Martyr, a sudden feare came vpon him, and he departed with great haste. The night following Olauus king and Martyr appeared vnto him in a vision, saying: Chuse (I say) vnto your selfe one of these two, either within 30. dayes to lose your life with your kingdome, or else to depart from Norway and neuer to see it againe. The King so soone as he was awaked out of sleepe, called his Princes and Senatours, and expounded the foresaide vision vnto them. And they also being astonished thereat gaue him this counsell, that with all speed he should depart out of Norway. When he without any further delay caused a Flauie of 160. ships to be prouided, and so sailed vnto the Islands of Orkney, which hee presently subdued, and passing along through all the Islands and conquering them, at length he came vnto the Isle of Man, where he was no sooner arriued, but hee went vnto the Isle of S. Patric to see the place of battell, where the inhabitants of Man had of late fought, because many of the dead bodies were as yet vnburied. And seeing that it was a most beautifull Island, it pleased him exceeding well, and therefore hee made choice to inhabite therein his owne selfe, and built fortres there which are at this day called by his owne name. He had the people of Galway in such awe, that he constrained them to cut downe their owne timber, and to bring it vnto his shore for the building of his fortres. Hee sailed on further vnto the Isle of Anglesey neere vnto Wales, and finding two Earles therein (either of them being called by the name of Hugo) he slue the one, and the other hee put to flight, and so subdued the Island. But the Welshmen presented many gifts vnto him, and so bidding them farewell he returned vnto Man. Vnto Murecard king of Irland he sent his shoes, commaunding him that he should carpe them on his shoulders, vpon the birth-day of our Lord through the midd of his Palace, in the sight of his Embassadours, that thereby it might appeare vnto them, that he was subiect vnto king Magnus. Which when the Irishmen heard, they tooke it grieuously and disdeined much thereat. But the King being better aduised, I had rather (said he) not only beare his shoes, but eate his shoes, then that king Magnus should destroy any one prouince in Irland. Wherefore hee fulfilled his commaundement, and honourably enterceined his Embassadours. Many gifts also hee sent vnto king Magnus by them, and concluded a league. But the messengers returning vnto their lord, tolde him of the situation of Irland, of the beautie thereof, of the fruitfulnessse of the soyle, and of the holinessse of the aire. Magnus hearing these things was fully resolu'd to conquer all Irland vnto himselfe. And for the same purpose hee commaunded that a flect should be made ready. But he taking his boyage with fireene ships, & being desirous to view the land, when he had vndiscreetly departed from his Flauie, he was suddenly inuironed by the Irish, and was himselfe slaine, together with all that were with him almost. Hee was interred neere vnto the Church of S. Patric in Armagh. Hee reigned five

five yeeres. After his death the Princes of the Ilands sent for Olauus the sonne of Godredus Crouan, who liued in the Court of Henry King of England son vnto William the Conquerour.

¶ Argile.

In the yeere 1102, Olauus sonne of Godredus Crouan beganne his reigne and reigned fourtie yeeres: he was a peaceable man being in league with all the Kings of Scotland and Irland in his time. He tooke to wife Affrica the daughter of Fergusus of Galway, of whom he begat Godredus. Of his concubines he begat Regnaldus, Lagmannus, and Haraldus, and many daughters, whereof one married vnto Sumerledus king of *¶* Herergaidel; which after ward occasioned the ouerthrow of the whole kingdome of the Ilands. He begat foure sonnes by her, namely Dulgallus, Raingaldus, Engus, and Olauus.

In the yeere 1134, Olauus gaue vnto Yuo the Abbat of Furnes a portion of his owne ground in Man to build an Abbey in the place which is called Ruffin. Also hee enriched with reuenues and indued with priuiledges al places of religion within his Ilands.

In the yeere 1142, Godredus *¶* son of Olauus sailed vnto the *K. of Norway* called Hinge, and doing his homage vnto him he remained with him, & was by him honozably entertained. The same yeere the 3, sonnes of Harald brother vnto Olauus, who were brought vp at the cite of Dublin, gathering together a great multitude of people, and all the fugitiues and vagabonds of the kingdome reposed vnto Man, and demaunded of the said king the one halfe of al the kingdome of the Ilands. Which thing when the king heard, being desirous to pacifie them, he answered that he would consulte about that matter. And a day and place being appointed, where the consultation should bee kept, in the meane time those miscreants conspired together, about the murdering of the King. And when the day appointed was come, both companies assembled themselues vnto the hauen towne called Ramfa, and they sate in order, the king with his nobilitie on the one side, and they with their confederates on the other side. Howbeit Regnaldus who had an intention to slay the king, stood a-side in the midst of the hoste talking with one of the Princes of the lande. And being called to come vnto the king he turned himselfe about as if hee would haue saluted him, and lifting by his glittering aie, he chopt the kings head quite off at a blow. Nowe hauing committed this outrageous vnicie, within a short space they diuided the Iland betweene themselues, and gathering an armie together sailed vnto Galway, intending to subdue that also; howbeit the people of Galway assembled themselues, and with great furie encountred with them. Then they immediately turning their backs with great confusion fled vnto Man. And as touching all the Galwedians which inhabited in the said Iland, some of them they slue, and the residue they banished.

1143.

In the yeere 1143, Godredus sonne of Olauus returning out of Norway was created king of Man; who in reuenge of his fathers death, put out the eyes of two of Haralds sonnes and slue the thirde.

In the yeere 1144, Godredus began his reigne, and hee reigned thirtie yeeres. In the thirde yeere of his reigne the citizens of Dublin sent for him and created him king of Dublin, against whom Murecardus king of Irland made warre, and encamping himselfe at the cite called Coridelis, he sent his brother Osibel with 3000. hozslemen vnto Dublin, who was slaine by Godred and the Dubliners, the rest of his company being put to flight. These things being thus finished, Godredus returned vnto Man, and began to exercise tyrannie, disinheriting certaine of his nobles, of whom one called Thorfinus the sonne of Oter, being mightier then the rest, went vnto Sumerledus, and named Dubgal the sonne of Sumerledus, king of the Ilands, and subdued many of the said Ilands on his behalfe. Whereof when Godred had intelligence by one Paulus, prouiding a Nauic, hee went to meete Sumerledus comming against him with 80. ships: and in the yeere 1156, vpon the night of the feast of Epiphanie, there was a Sea-battle fought, and many being slaine on both parts, the day following they were pacified, and diuided the kingdome of the Ilands among themselues, and it continued two kingdomes from that day vnto this present time. And this was the cause of the ruine of the monarchie of the Ilands, from which time the sonnes of Sumerled inioyed the one halfe thereof.

1156.

In the yeere 1158, Sumerled came vnto Man with 53. ships, putting Godred to flight and wasting the Iland: and Godred sailed vnto Norway to seeke for aide against Sumerled. In the yeere 1164, Sumerled gathered a flecte of 160. ships together; and arriued at Rhinfrin, intending to subdue all Scotland vnto himselfe: howbeit, by Gods iust iudgement being ouercome by a few, together with his sonne, and an innumerable multitude of people, he was slaine. The very same yeere there was a battel fought at Ramfa, betweene Reginald the brother of Godred, and the inhabitants of Man, but by the stratagemme of a certaine Earle the Mannians were put to flight. Then began Reginald to vsurpe the kingly authoritie. Howbeit his brother Godred within foure dayes after, comming out of Norway with a great power of armed men, apprehended his brother Reginald, gelt him, and put out his eyes. The same yeere deceased Malcolme the king of Scots, and his

his brother William succeeded in the kingdome.

In the yere 1166. two Comets appeared in the moneth of August, befoze the rising of the Sunne, one to the South and another to the North.

In the yere 1171. Richard earle of Penbrok. sailed into Irland, and subdued Dublin with a great part of Irland.

In the yere 1176. John Curcy conquered Vlster vnto himselfe. And at the same time also Viuanus legate frō the sea of Rome came into Man, & caused king Godred to bee lawfully wedded vnto his wife Phingola, daughter of Maclorlen son of Murkartac king of Irlād, mother of Olauus, who was then 3. yeres old. Siluanus the abbat married them, vnto whom the very same day, king Godred gaue a portion of ground in Mirescoge, where he built a Monastery: howbeit, in proesie of time, the said land with the monkes, was granted vnto the abbey of Ruffin.

In the yere 1172. Reginaldus the son of Eacmarcat (a man descended of the blood royal) coming into Man with a great multitude of people, in the absence of the king, at the first conflict hee put to flight certaine watchmen which kept the shoate, & slue about 30. persons. Where vpon the very same day the Mannians arraunging themselves put him, & almost all his folowers to the sword.

In the yere 1183. O. Fogolt was vicount of Man.

In the yere 1185. the Sunne was eclipsed vpon the feast of S. Philip and Iacob.

In the yere 1187. deceased Godred king of the Ilands, vpo the 4. of the Ides of Nouember, and the next sommer his body was translated vnto the island of Hy. He lefe 3. sonnes behinde him, Reginaldus, Olauus, and Yuarus. In his life time he ordeined his sonne Olauus to be his heire apparent, because hee onely was borne legitimate. But the Mannians, when Olauus was scarce ten yeres olde, sent vnto the islands for Reginald and created him king.

In the yere 1187. began Reginald the sonne of Godred to reigne ouer the islands: and Murcharthus a man of great power throughout all the kingdome of the islands was put to death.

In the yere 1192. there was a battel fought betwene Reginald and Engus the two sonnes of Sumerled: but Engus obtained the victory. The same yere was the abbey of Ruffin remooued vnto Dufglas, howbeit within foure yeres after the monkes returned vnto Ruffin.

In the yere 1203. Michael bishop of the islands deceased at Fontanas, and Nicholas succeeded in his roome.

In the yere 1204. Hugo de Lacy inuaded Vlster with an armie and encountered with John de Curcy, tooke him prisoner & subdued Vlster vnto himselfe. Afterward he permitted the said John to goe at libertie, who coming vnto king Reginald was honourably entertained by him, because hee was his sonne in lawe, for John de Curcy had taken to wife Affrica the daughter of Godredus, which founded the abbey of S. Mary de iugo domini, and was there buried.

In the yere 1205. John de Curcy & Reginald king of the islands inuading Vlster with a hundred ships at the port which is called Stranfeord did negligently besiege the castle of Rath: but Walter de Lacy coming vpo them with his armie, put them to flight, & from that time Curcy neuer recovered his land. In the yere 1210. Engus the son of Sumerled & his 3. sonnes were slaine.

At the same time John king of England conducted a fleet of 500. ships into Irland, and subdued it vnto himselfe: and sending a certaine earle named Fulco, vnto the isle of Man, his souldiers almost utterly wasted it in the space of 15. dayes, and hauing taken pledges they returned home into their owne country. King Reginald and his nobles were at this time absent from Man.

King John
passed into Ire-
land with 500.
sailles.

In the yere 1217. deceased Nicolas bishop of the islands, and was buried in Vlster, in the house of Benchor, whom Reginald succeeded.

I thinke it not amisse to report somewhat more concerning
the two foresaid brethren *Reginaldus* and *Olauus*.

Reginald gaue vnto his brother Olauus, the island called *Lodhus* or *Lewes*, which is saide to be larger then the rest of the islands, but almost destitute of inhabitants, because it is so full of mountaines & quareis, being almost no where fit for tillage. Howbeit the inhabitants thereof do liue for the most part vpon hunting and fishing. Olauus therefore went to take possession of this Island, and dwelt therein leading a poore life: and when he saw that it would by no meanes suffice for the sustentation of himselfe & his folowers, hee went boldly vnto his brother Reginald, who as then remaigning in the islands, & spake on this wise vnto him. My brother (said he) and my lord and king, you know that the kingdom of the islands pertained vnto me by right of inheritance, howbeit because the Lord had chosen you to beare the scepter, I doe not enuie that honour vnto you, neither doeth it any whit grieue mee that you are created vnto this royall dignitie. Nowe therefore I beseech you to prouide mee some portion of land in the islands, whereby I may honestly liue.

For the Illand of Lewis which you gave me is not sufficient for my maintenance. Which his brother Reginald hearing said that he would consult about the premises. And on the morrow, when Olauus was sent for to parle, Reginald commanded him to be attached, and to be carried unto William king of Scotland, and with him to remaine prisoner: and Olauus remained in prison almost for the space of 7. yeeres. But at the 7. yeeres end William king of Scots deceased, and Alexander his sonne reigned in his stead. The foresaid William, before his death, commanded that all prisoners should be set at libertie. Olauus therefore being at libertie came unto Man, and immediately with a great company of nobles tooke his iourney vnto S. James: and his brother Reginald caused the said Olauus to take vnto wife, the daughter of a certaine noble man of Kentyre, couline german vnto his owne wife, & by name being called Lauon, and he granted vnto him the possession of Lewis. After a few dayes Reginald the bishop of the Islands hauing gathered a Synod, separated Olauus and Godred his sonne, and Lauon his wife, namely because shee was couline german vnto his former wife. After ward Olauus married Scristina daughter vnto Ferkarus earle of Rosse.

Hereupon the wife of Reginald Queene of the Islands being incensed, sent letters vnto the Island of Sky in K. Reginald his name to her sonne Godred willing him to take Olauus. Which commandment Godred putting in practise, & entering the isle of Lewis for the same purpose, Olauus fled in a little skiffe vnto his father in law the earle of Rosse, & in the meane time Godred wasted the isle of Lewis. At the very same time Pol the son of Boke vicount of Sky, being a man of power in all the Islands, because he would not consent vnto Godred, fled, & dwelt together with Olauus in the dominions of the earle of Rosse, & making a league with Olauus, they went both in a ship vnto Sky. To be short, sending certaine spies, they were informed that Godred remained secure with a small company in a certaine isle called the isle of S. Columba. And writing vnto themselves their friends and acquaintance, & others that would goe voluntarily with them, in the dead of the night, hauing lanched 5. ships from the next sea-shore, which was distant about the space of 2. furlongs from the foresaid Island, they environed the said Island on all sides. Now Godred and his company rising early in the morning, and seeing themselves beset with their enemies on all sides, they were utterly astonied. Howbeit arming themselves they began stoutly to make resistance, but altogether in vaine. For about 9. of the clocke in the morning, Olauus and the foresaid vicount Pol, with all their souldiers, entered the Island, and hauing slaine all whom they found without the precincts of the Church, they apprehended Godred, gelding him, and putting out his eyes. Vnto which action Olauus gaue not his consent, neither could he withstand it, by reason of the forenamed vicount the son of Boke. This was done in the yere of Christ 1223. The next sommer folowing Olauus hauing receiued pledges from all the chiefe men of the Islands, with a fleet of 32. ships sailed vnto Man, and arrived at Rognolswaht. At the same time Reginald and Olauus diuided the kingdome of the Islands betweene themselves, Man being granted vnto Reginald, & besides his portion the name of a king also. Olauus hauing receiued certaine victuals of the people of Man, returned, together with his company, vnto his owne portion of Islands. The yere folowing Reginald taking vnto him Alanus lord of Galway, together with his subiects of Man, sailed vnto the Islands, that hee might take away that portion of ground from his brother Olauus, which he had granted vnto him, and subdue it vnto himselfe. Howbeit, by reason that the people of Man had no list to fight against Olauus or the Islanders, because they bare good will towards them, Reginald and Alanus lord of Galway being defeated of their purpose, returned home vnto their owne. Within a short space after Reginald, vnder pretense of going vnto the Court of his lord the king of England, receiued an 100. markes of the people of Man, and tooke his iourney vnto Alanus lord of Galway. Which the people of Man hearing tooke great indignation thereat, insomuch that they sent for Olauus, and appointed him to be their king.

In the yere 1226, Olauus recovered his inheritance, that is to say the kingdome of Man and of the Islands, which Reginald his brother had gouerned for the space of 38. yeeres, and he reigned two yeeres in safetie.

In the yere 1228, Olauus with all his nobles of Man, and the stronger part of his people, sailed vnto the Islands. A short space after Alanus lord of Galway, Thomas earle of Achol, & king Reginald came vnto Man with a mightie army, and wasted all the South part of Man, spoiled the Churches, and slue all the men whom they coulde take, insomuch, that the South part of the saide Island was brought almost into desolation. And then Alanus returned with his army into his owne land, leauing behind him bailiffes and substitutes in Man, which should gather by and tender vnto him the tribute of the countrey. Howbeit king Olauus came suddenly vpon them, chased them away and recovered his kingdome. And the Mannians which of late were dispersed and scattered abroad, began to vntie themselves, and to inhabite without feare. The same yere, in the time of Winter, vpon the sudden, and in the very dead of the night came king Reginald out of Galway with

The Isle of
Man aduanc-
ed to a king-
dome.

with five ships, and burnt all the wysses of his brother Olauus, and of the nobles of Man, at the Ile of S. Patric, & concluding a peace with his brother, remained at the port of Ragnolwath 40. dayes: in the meane while hee allured vnto himselfe all the Islanders vpon the South part of Man, who sware, that they would aduenture their liues, vntill hee had gotten the one halfe of his kingdome: contrarywise Olauus foyned vnto himselfe them of the North part, & vpon the 14. of February in the place called Tingualia, a field was fought betwene the two brothers, wherein Olauus got the victory, and Reginald the king was by certaine souldiers slaine without the knowledge of his brother. Also certaine pirates comming to the south part of Man, wasted & spoiled it. The monkes of Ruffin conueyed the body of K. Reginald, vnto the abbey of S. Mary of Fournes, & there he was interred in the place, which his owne selfe had chosen for the purpose. After these things Olauus traueiled vnto the king of Norway, but befoze he was arriued there, Haco king of Norway appointed a certaine noble man named Husbac the son of Owmund, to be king of the Islands of the Hebrides & called his name Haco. Then came the said Haco with Olauus & Godred Don the son of Reginald, and a multitude of Noruegians, vnto the islands: and while they were giuing an assault vnto a castle in the island of Both, Haco being hit with a stone died, and was buried in Iona.

In the yere 1230. came Olauus, with Godredus Don, & certeine Noruegians vnto Man, and they parted the kingdome among themselves, Olauus stil retaining Man. Godred as he was going vnto the islands, was slaine in the isle of Lewis, & Olauus inioyed the kingdome of the islands also.

In the yere 1237. vpon the 12. of the Kalends of June, Olauus sonne of Godred king of Man deceased in the isle of S. Patric, and was interred in the abbey of Ruffin. He reigned 11. yeres, & two while his brother was aliue, and nine after his death.

Haraldus his sonne being of the age of 14. yeres, succeeded, and he reigned 12. yeres. The first yere of his reigne taking his iourney vnto the islands, he appointed one Loglen his kinsman to be his deputie in Man. The Autumne folowing Haraldus sent the thre sonnes of Nel, namely Dufgaldus, Torquellus, & Molmore, and his friend Ioseph vnto Man, that they might enter into consultation together. Wherefoze the 25. day they assembled themselves at Tingualia: and malice growing betwene the sonnes of Nel, and Loglen, they fel to blowes and skirmished sore on both partes, Molmore, Dufgald, and the foresaid Ioseph being all slaine in the fray. The Spring folowing, king Harald came into the isle of Man, and Loglen fleeing into Wales, was himselfe, together with Godred the sonne of Olauus his pupil, and 40. others, drowned by shipwracke.

In the yere 1238. Gosparicius and Gillescrist sonne of Mac-Kerthac came from the king of Norway vnto Man, expelling Harald out of the said island, and taking tribute on the behalfe of the Noruegian king, because the said Harald refused to come vnto his Court.

In the yere 1240. Gosparicius deceased and was buried in the abbey of Ruffin.

In the yere 1239. Haraldus went vnto the king of Norway, who within two yeres confirmed vnto him, his heires and successors, vnder seale, all the islands which his predecessors enioyed.

In the yere 1242. Haraldus returned out of Norway vnto Man, and being honourably received by the inhabitants, he liued in peace with the kings of England and Scotland.

In the yere 1247. Haraldus (like as his father also befoze him) was knighted by the king of England, and so being rewarded with many gifts, he returned home. The same yere he was sent for by the king of Norway, and he married his daughter. And in the yere 1249. as he was returning home with his wife, with Laurence the elect of Man, and with many other nobles, neere vnto the confines of Radland, he was drowned in a tempest.

In the yere 1249. Reginald the sonne of Olauus, and brother vnto Harald began to reigne the day next befoze the fflowes of May: and vpon the 30. day of the same moneth he was slaine by Yuarus a souldier, and other of his complices, in the South part of a certaine meadow, neere vnto the Church of the holy Trinitie, and he was buried at the Church of S. Marie at Ruffin.

The same yere Alexander king of Scots prouided a great nauie of ships, that he might conqueze the islands vnto himselfe: howbeit falling into an ague at the isle of Kerway, he deceased.

Then Haraldus the sonne of Godred Don vsurped the name of a king ouer the islands, hee banished also all the princes of Harald the sonne of Olauus, and ordeined his fugitiues to bee princes and nobles in their stead.

In the yere 1250. Haraldus the son of Godred Don being summoned by letters went vnto the king of Norway, who deteined him in prison because he had vniustly possessed the kingdome. The same yere Magnus the sonne of Olauus, and Iohn the sonne of Dugalt arriued at Roghalwath, which Iohn named himselfe king; but the Mannians taking it grieuouly, that Magnus was not nominated, draue them from their shoare, and many of the company perished by shipwracke.

In the yere 1252. came Magnus the sonne of Olauus vnto Man, and was ordeined king. The yere folowing he tooke his iourney vnto the king of Norway, & there he remained one whole yere.

In the yeere 1254. Haco king of Norway opened Magnus the sonne of Olauus king of the Islands, confirming them to him and to his heires, and by name vnto Harald his brother.

In the yeere 1256, Magnus tooke his iourney into England, and was by the king of England created knight.

In the yeere 1257. the Church of S. Maries of Ruffin was dedicated by Richard bishop of Soder.

In the yeere 1260, Haco king of Norway came into the parts of Scotland; and without achieving ought, turning his course towards the Orcades he there deceased at Kirwas, and was buried at Bergen.

In the yeere 1265, Magnus the sonne of Olauus king of Man and of the Islands died at the castle of Ruffin, and was buried at the Church of S. Mary at Ruffin.

In the yeere 1266. the kingdome of the Islands was translated vnto Alexander king of Scots.

That which followeth was written in a new character or letter, and of a diuers kinde from the former.

In the yeere 1270, vpon the seuenth day of October the fleet of Alexander king of Scots arrived at Roghalth, and the next day before the Sunne rising there was a battell fought betwene the Mannians and the Scots, in the which conflict there were slaine 535. Mannians: whereupon a certaine versifier writeth to this effect:

Five hundred and fourtie men are slaine;
against ill haps,
Yee Mannians arme your selues, for feare
of afterclaps.

In the yeere 1313, Robert king of Scots besieged the castle of Ruffin, which Dingaway Dowil held against him, howbeit at the last the king tooke the castle.

In the yeere 1316, vpon the feast of Ascension, Richard le Mandeuile and his brethren, with diuers great personages of Irland arrived at Ramalwth, demanding to haue victuals and money ministered vnto them, because they had bene spoiled by their enemies, which made continuall warre vpon them. But when the whole company of the Mannians answered that they would giue nothing, they proceeded against them in warlike maner with two bands, till they were come vnder the side of the hill called Warthfel, in the fildes where Iohn Mandeuile remained, and there hauing fought a battell, the Irish ouercame the people of Man, and spoiled the Island and the Abbey of Ruffin also: and when they had reueled a whole moneth in the Island, lading their ships they returned home.

The mariage of the daughter of *Harald*, slaine by *William* the Conquerour, vnto *Ierusalem* duke of *Russia*, taken out of the 9. Booke of the *Danish* historie written by *Saxo* *Grammaticus*. An. D. 1067.

1067.



Haraldo caeso, filij eius duo confestim in Daniam cum sorore migrarunt. Quos Sweno, paterni illorum meriti oblitus consanguineæ pietatis more accepit, puellamque Ruthenorum regi Waldemaro, (qui & ipse Iarisslaus a suis est appellatus) nuptum dedit. Eidem postmodum nostri temporis dux, ut sanguinis, ita & nominis hæres, ex filia nepos obuenerit. Itaque hinc Britannicus, inde Eous sanguis in salutarem nostri principis ortum confluens communem stirpem duarum gentium ornamentum effecit.

The same in English.

Harald being slaine his two sonnes with their sister sped themselves immediatly into Denmarke. Whom Sweno forgetting their fathers desires receiued in most kinde and friendly maner, and bestowed the yong damosell in mariage vpon Waldemarus king of Russia who was also called by his subjects Iarisslaus. Afterward the said Waldemarus had by his daughter a nephew being duke at this present, who succeeded his predecessour both in lineal descent and in name also. Wherefore the English blood on the one side and the Russian on the other side concurring to the topfull birth of our prince, caused that mutual kinred to be an ornament vnto both nations.

The

The state of the shipping of the *Cinque ports* from *Edward the Confessour* and *William the Conquerour*, and so downe to *Edward the first*, faithfully gathered by the learned Gentleman *M. William Lambert* in his Perambulation of Kent, out of the most ancient Records of England.



Linde in the booke of the generall suruey of the Realme, which *William the Conquerour* caused to bee made in the fourth yeere of his reigne, and to be called *Domesday*, because (as *Matthew Paris* saith) it spared no man but iudged all men indifferently, as the Lord in that great day wil do, that *Douer*, *Sandwich*, and *Rumney*, were in the time of *K. Edward the Confessour*, discharged almost of all maner of impositions and burdens (which other townes did beare) in consideration of such seruire to bee done by them vpon the Sea, as in their special titles shall hereafter appeare.

The antiquitie of the Ports.

1070.

Whereupon, although I might ground reasonable coniecture, that the immunitie of the haueu Townes (which we now call by a certaine number, the *Cinque Ports*) might take their beginning from the same *Edward*: yet for as much as I read in the *Chartre* of *K. Edward the first* after the conquest (which is reported in our booke of *Entries*) A recitall of the graunts of sundry kings to the *Five Ports*, the same reaching no higher then to *William the Conquerour*, I will leaue my coniecture, and leane to his *Chartre*: contenting my selfe to yeelde to the *Conquerour*, the thanks of other mens benefites, seeing those which were benefited, were wisely contented (as the case then stood) to like better of his confirmation (or second gift) then of *K. Edwards* first graunt, and endowment.

And to the ende that I may proceed in some maner of array, I will first shewe, which Townes were at the beginning taken for the *Five Ports*, and what others be now reputed in the same number: secondly, what seruire they ought, and did in times pasted: and lastly, what priuiledges they haue therefore, and by what persons they haue bene governed.

If I should iudge by the common, and rude verse,

Douer, Sandwicus, Ry, Rum, Frigmare ventis,

Which be the Five Ports.

I must say, that *Douer*, *Sandwich*, *Rie*, *Rumney*, and *Winchelsey*, (for that is, *Frigmare ventus*) be the *Five Ports*: Again, if I should be ruled by the *Rolle* which reciteth the Ports that send Barons to the Parliament, I must then adde to these, *Hastings* and *Hyde*, for they also haue their Barons as well as the other: and so should I not onely, nor shew which were the first *Five*, but also (by addition of two others) increase both the number, and doubtfulness. Leauing the verse therefore, for ignorance of the authour and suspicion of his authoritie, and forsaking the *Rolle* (as not assured of the antiquitie) I will flee to *Henry Bracon*, a man both ancient, learned, and credible, which liued vnder *K. Henry the thirde*, and wrote (aboue three hundred yeeres since) learnedly of the lawes of this Realme.

1250.

He (I say) in the third booke of his worke, and treatise of the Crowne, taking in hand to shewe the articles inquirable before the Iustice in Eire, (or Itinerent, as we called them, because they vled to ride from place to place throughout the Realme, for administration of iustice) setteth forth a special iourne of writs, to be directed severally to the Bailifes of *Hastings*, *Hithe*, *Rumney*, *Douer*, and *Sandwich*, commanding them, that they should cause twentie & foure of their Barons (for so their *Burgesses*, or townesmen, and the citizens of *London* likewise, were wont to be termed) to appeare before the Kings Iustices at *Shipwey* in *Kent* (as they accustomed to do) there to enquire of such points, as should be giuen in charge. Which done, hee addeth moreouer, that forsomuch as there was oftentimes cōtention betweene them of the *Five Ports*, & the inhabitants of *Yarmouth* in *Norfolke*, and *Donwich* in *Suffolke*, there should be severall writs directed to them also, returnable before the same Iustices at the same day and place, reciting, that where the King had by his former writs sommoned the Pleas of the *Five Ports* to bee holden at *Shipwey*, if any of the same townes had cause to complaine of any (being within the liberties of the said Ports) he should be at *Shipwey* to propound against him, and there to receiue according to law and Justice.

Citizens were called Barons in old time.

Contention betweene Yarmouth, and the Five Ports.

1250.

Antiquitie of Yarmouth signing.

Thus much I recite out of *Bracon*, partly to shew that *Shipwey* was before *K. Edward* the firsts time, the place of assembly for the Pleas of the *Five Ports*: partly to notifie the difference, and conuouersie that long time since was betweene these Ports, and those other townes: But purposely, and chiefly, to proue, that *Hastings*, and *Hithe*, *Douer*, *Rumney*, and *Sandwich*, were in *Bracons* time accounted the *Five* principall hauens or Ports, which were endowed with priuiledge, and had the same ratified by the great *Chartre* of *England*.

Neither yett will I deny, but that soone after, *Winchelsey* and *Rie* might be added to the number,

1268.

ber. For I find in an old recorde, that king Henry the third tooke into his owne hands (for the better defence of the Realme) the towncs of Winchelsey, and Rie, which belonged befoze to the Monasterie of Fescampe in Normandie, and gaue therof in exchange, the Manor of Chiltham in Gloucestershire, & diuers other lands in Lincolneshire. This he did, partly to conceale from the Priors Aliens the intelligence of the secret affaires of his Realme, and partly because of a great disobedience & excesse, that was committed by the inhabitants of Winchelsey, against Prince Edward his eldest sonne. And therofore, although I can easily be led to thinke, that he submitted them for their correction to the order, and gouernance of the Five ports, yet I stand doubtfull whether hee made them partuers of their priuiledges, or no, for that had bene a preferment, and no punishment vnto them: but I suspect rather, that his sonne king Edward the first, (by whose encouragement and aide, olde Winchelsey was afterward abandoned, and the newe towne builded) was the first that appalled them with that preeminence.

Winchelsey
first builded.
1277.

By this therofore let it appeare, that Hastings, Douer, Hithe, Rumney, and Sandwich, were the first Ports of priuiledge: which (because they were 5, in number) both at the first gaue, and yet continue, to all the residue, the name of Cinque Ports, although not onely Winchelsey and Rie, be (since that time) incorporated with them as principals, but diuers other places also (for the ease of their charge) be crept in, as partes, lims, and members of the same.

Now therofore, somewhat shall be said, as touching the seruices that these Ports of dueitie owe, and in deed haue done, to the Princes: whereof the one (I meane with what number of vessels, in what maner of furniture, and for how long season, they ought to wait on the king or the Sea, vpon their owne charges) shall partly appeare by that which we shall presently say, and partly by that which shall followe in Sandwich, and Rumney: The other shall be made manifest by examples, drawne out of good histories: and they both shall be testified by the words of king Edward the first in his owne Charte.

The booke of Domesday befoze remembred, chargeth Douer with twentie vessels at the sea, whereof eche to be furnished with one and twentie men for fifteene dayes together: and saith further, that Rumney and Sandwich answered the like seruice. But now whether this (like) ought to be vnderstoode of the like altogether, both in respect of the number and seruice, or of the (like) in respect of seruice, according to the proportion of their abilitie onely, I may not hereby take vpon me to determine. For on the one side, if Rumney, Sandwich, and the residue, should likewise finde twentie vessels a piece, then (as you shall anone see) the five Ports were subiect to a greater charge at that time, then King Edward the first layd vpon them: And on the other side, if they were onely chargeable after their proportion, then know I not how farr to burthen them, seeing the Record of Domesday it selfe, bindeth them to no certieintie. And therofore leauing this as I find it, I must elsewhere make inquisition for moze lightsome prooffe. And first I will haue recourse to king Edward the first his Charte in which I read, that At each time that the King passeth ouer the sea, the Ports ought to rigge vp fiftie and seuen ships, (whereof euery one to haue twentie armed souldiers) and to mainteine them at their owne costes, by the space of fifteene dayes together.

1278,

And thus it stode with the Ports for their generall charge, in the sixt yeere of his reigne, for then was this Charte sealed. But as touching the particular burthen of ech one, I haue seene two diuers testimonies, of which the first is a note in French (bearing the countenance of a Record) and is intituled, to haue bene renewed in the two and twentie yeere of the Reigne of the same king, by Stephan Penchester, then Constable of Douer Castle, in which the particular charge is set downe in this maner.

The Port of Hastings ought to finde three ships.

The towne of Peuenssey, one

Buluerhiche and Petit Iahn, one,

Bekesborne in Kent, seuen.

Grenche at Gillingham in Kent, two men and armour, with the ships of Hastings.

The towne of Rie, five.

To it was Tenterdene annexed, in the time of King Henrie the sixt.

The towne of Winchelsey, tenne.

The Port of Rumney, foure.

Lydde, seuen.

The Port of Hythe, five.

The Port of Douer, nineteene.

The towne of Folkestone, seuen.

The towne of Feuersham, seuen.

The Port of Sandwich, with Stonor, Fordwich, Dale, &c. five.

These

These ships they ought to finde upon foztie dayes summons, armed and arraped at their owne charge, and in ech of them twentie men, besides the Maister of the Mariners: all which they shall likewise mainteine five dayes together at their owne costs, giuing to the Maister six pence by the day, to the Constable six pence, and to ech other Mariner three pence. And after those five dayes ended, the King shall defray the charges.

The other is a Latine Customall of the towne of Hyde, the which although it pretend not so great antiquity as the first, yet seemeth it to me to importe as much or moze likelihood and credit: It standeth thus.

These be the Five Ports of our soueraigne Lord the King hauing liberties, which other Portshauere not: Hasting, Romenal, Heth, Douer, Sandwich, the chiefe Townes.

The seruices due by the same.

Hasting shall finde 21. ships, in euery ship 21. men, and a Garcion, or Boy, which is called a Gromer. To it pertaine (as the members of one towne) the Seathoze in Seford, Peuenshey, Hodeney, Winchelsey, Rie, Ihame, Bekesbourne, Grence, Northie, Bulwerheth.

Romenal 5. ships, in euery ship 21. men, and a Garcion: To it pertaine, as members thereof, Promhell, Lede, Eastwestone, Dengemareys, olde Rumney.

Hethe 5. ships, as Romenal before. To it pertaineth the Westhethe.

Douer 21. ships, as Hasting before. To it pertaine, Folkslane, Feuershams, and S. Margarets, not concerning the land, but for the goods and cattels.

Sandwich 5. ships, as Romenal, and Hethe. To it pertaine Fordwich, Reculuer, Serre, and Dele, not for the soile, but for the goods.

Summe of ships 57.

Summe of the men 1187. and 57. Garcions.

This seruice, the Barons of the Five Ports doe acknowledge to owe to the King, upon summons yerely (if it happen) by the space of 15. dayes together, at their owne costs and charges, accounting that for the first day of the 15. in which they shall spread their sailes to goe towards those parts that the King intendeth: and to serue so long after 15. dayes, as the King will, at his owne pay and wages.

Thus much out of these ancient notes, whereby your selfe may easily discern the difference: but whether the one or the other, or (by reason of some latter dispensation) neither of these, haue place at this day, I must referre it to them that be priuie, and of counsell with the Ports: and so leaving this also vnderdecided, holde on the way, wherein I am entred.

This ductie of attendance therefore (being deuised for the honourable transportation, and safe conduct of the Kings owne person or his armie ouer the narrow Seas) the Ports haue not onely most diligently euer since that time performed, but furthermoze also valiantly behaued themselves against the enemye from time to time, in sundrie exploits by water, as occasion hath bene profered, or the necessitie of the Realme required.

And amongst other feats not vnwoorthy perpetuall remembrance, after such time as Lewes (the eldest sonne of the French King) had entred the Realme to aide Stephan Langton the Archbishop, and the Nobilitie, in the life of King Iohn, and had sent into France for new supply of soldiers after his death, Hubert of Borough (then captaine of Douer) following the opinion of Themistocles in the exposition of the oracle of the woodden walles, by the aide of the Port townes, armed foztie tall ships, and meeting with eightie saile of French men upon the high seas, gaue them a most couragious encounter, in which he tooke some, sunke others, and discomfited the rest.

King Henrie the thirde also, after that he came to riper age, had great benefit by the seruice of the Cinque Ports: And king Edward the first in his Chartre, maketh their continuall faithfull seruice (and especially their good endeour, then lately shewed against the Welshmen) the principall cause, and moeue of that his liberall grant.

Furthermoze, about the midd of the reigne of the same king, an hundred saile of the Naue of the Ports fought at the Sea with a fleet of 200. French men, all which (not withstanding the great oddes of the number) they tooke, and slew, and sunke so many of the Mariners, that France was thereby (for a long season after) in maner destitute, both of Seamen, and shipping.

Finally, and to conclude this part, in the dayes of king Henrie the fourth, the naue of the Five Ports, vnder the conduct of one Henrie Paye, surprisid one hundred and twentie French ships, all laden with Salt, Iron, Dyle, and no moose merchandize.

The priuiledges of these Ports, being first granted by Edward the Confessour, and William the Conquerour, and then confirmed and increased by William Rufus, Henrie the second, Richard

The good seruice of the five Ports.

1217.

1278.

1293.

1406.

The priuiledges of the five Ports.

the

the first, Henrie the thuro, and king Edward the first, be very great, considering either the honour and ease, or the freedome and exemption, that the inhabitants haue by reason of the same.

Part of an Epistle written by one *Yuo of Narbona* vnto the Archbishop of *Burdeaux*, conteining the confession of an Englishman as touching the barbarous demeanour of the *Tartars*, which had liued long among them, and was drawn along perforce with them in their expedition against *Hungarie*: Recorded by *Mathew Paris* in the yere of our Lord 1243.

The Lord therefore being prouoked to indignation, by reason of this and other sinnes committed among vs Christians, is become, as it were, a destroying enemy, and a dreadfull anger. This I may iustly affirme to be true, because an huge nation, and a barbarous and inhumane people, whose law is lawlesse, whose wrath is furious, even the rod of Gods anger, ouerturneth, and bitterly wasteth infinite countreys, cruelly abolishing all things where they come, with fire and sword. And this present Summer, the foresayd nation, being called *Tartars*, departing out of *Hungarie*, which they had surpris'd by treason, layd siege vnto the very same towne, wherein I my selfe abode, with many thousands of souldiers: neither were there in the sayd towne on our part about 50. men of warre, whom, together with 20. crossbowes, the captaine had left in garrison. All these, out of certeine high places, beholding the enemies vaste armie, and abhorring the beastly crueltie of Antichrist his complices, signified foorthwith vnto their gouernour, the hideous lamentations of his Christian subiects, who suddenly being surpris'd in all the prouince adioyning, without any difference of respect of condition, fortune, sexe, or age, were by manifolde cruelties, all of them destroyed: with whose carckesses, the Tartarian chieftains, and their brutish and sauage followers, glutting themselues, as with delicious cates, left nothing for vultures but the bare bones. And a strange thing it is to consider, that the greedie and rauenous vultures disdeined to prape vpon any of the reliques, which remained. Dide, and deformed women they gaue, as it were, for dayly sustenance, vnto their Canibals: the beautifull deuoured they not, but smothered them lamenting and scritchng, with forced and vnnaturall rauishments. Like barbarous miscreants, they quelled virgins vnto death, and cutting off their tender paps to present for deinties vnto their magistrates, they engorged themselues with their bodiēs.

Howbeit, their spials in the meane time discryping from the top of an high mountaine the Duke of Austria, the King of Bohemia, the Patriarch of Aquileia, the Duke of Carinthia, and (as some report) the Earle of Baden, with a mightie power, and in battell aray, approaching towards them, that accursed crew immediatly vanished, and all those Tartarian bagabonds retired themselues into the distressed and vanquished land of *Hungarie*; who as they came suddenly, so they departed also on the sudden: which their celeritie caused all men to stand in horrour and astonishment of them. But of the sayd fugitives, the prince of Dalmatia tooke eight: one of which number the Duke of Austria knew to be an English man, who was perpetually banished out of the Realme of England, in regard of certaine notorious crimes by him committed. This fellow, on the behalfe of the most tyrannicall king of the *Tartars*, had bene twice, as a messenger and interpreter, with the king of *Hungarie*, menacing and plaineely foreshewing those mischieties which afterward happened, vnlesse he would submit himselfe and his kingdome vnto the *Tartars* yoke. Well, being allured by our Princes to confesse the truth, he made such oathes and protestations, as (I thinke) the deuill himselfe would haue bene trusted for. First therefore he reported of himselfe, that presently after the time of his banishment, namely about the 30. yere of his age, hauing lost all that he had in the citie of *Acon* at dice, even in the midst of Winter, being compelled by ignominious hunger, wearing nothing about him but a shirt of sacke, a paire of shooes, and a haire cappe onely, being shauen like a foole, and vtering an vncom noise as if he had bene dumbe, he tooke his journey, and so traueiling many countreys, and finding in diuers places friendly enterreinment, he prolonged his life in this manner for a season, albeit euery day by rashnesse of speech, and inconstancie of heart, he endangered himselfe to the deuill. At length, by reason of extreame trauaile, and continuall change of aire and of meats in *Caldea*, he fell into a grieuous sicknesse, insomuch that he was wearie of his life. Not being able therefore to go forward or backward, and staying there a while to refresh himselfe, he began (being somewhat learned) to commend to writing those wordes which hee heard spoken, and within a short space, so aptly pronounce, and to vter them himselfe, that he was reputed for a native member of that countrey: and by the same dexteritie he attained to manie languages, This man the *Tartars* hauing intelligence of by their spies, drew him perforce into their societie: and being admonished by an oracle or vision, to challenge dominion ouer the

the whole earth, they allured man by many rewards to their faithfull seruice, by reason that they wanted Interpreters. But concerning their maners and superstitions, of the disposition and stature of their bodies, of their country and maner of fighting &c, he protested the particulars following to be true: namely, that they were aboue all men, couetous, hasty, deceitfull, and mercilesse: notwithstanding, by reason of the rigour and extremitie of punishments to be inflicted vpon them by their superiours, they are restrained from brawlings, and from mutuall strife and contention. The ancient founders and fathers of their tribes, they call by the name of gods, and at certaine set times they doe celebrate solemne feasts vnto them, many of them being particular, & but foure onely generall. They thinke that all things are created for themselves alone. They esteeme it none offence to exercise cruelty against rebels. They be hardie and strong in the breast, leane and pale-faced, rough and huf-shouldred, hauing flatte and short noses, long and sharpe chinnes, their vpper iawes are low and declining, their teeth long and thinne, their eye-browes extending from their fore-heads downe to their noses, their eies inconstant and blacke, their countenances writhen and terrible, their extreame ioynts strong with bones and sinewes, hauing thicke and great thighes, and short legs, and yet being equall vnto vs in stature: for that length which is wanting in their legs, is supplied in the vpper parts of their bodies. Their country in olde time was a land vtterly desert and waste, situated far beyond *Chaldea*, from whence they haue expelled Lions, Beares, & such like vntamed beasts, with their bowes, and other engines. Of the hides of beasts being tanned, they vse to shape for themselves light, but yet impenetrable armour. They ride fast bound vnto their horses, which are not very great in stature, but exceedingly strong, and mainteined with little prouender. They vse to fight constantly and valiantly with iauelins, maces, battle-axes, and swords. But specially they are excellent archers, and cunning warrtiers with their bowes. Their backs are slightly armed, that they may not sicc. They withdraw not themselves from the combate, till they see the chiefe Standard of their Generall giue backe. Vanquished, they aske no fauour, and vanquishing, they shew no compassion. They all persist in their purpose of subduing the whole world vnder their owne subiection, as if they were but one man, and yet they are moe then millions in number. They haue 60000. Courriers, who being sent before vpon light horses to prepare a place for the armie to incampe in, will in the space of one night gallop three dayes journey. And suddenly diffusing themselves ouer an whole prouince, and surprising all the people thereof vnarmed, vnprouided, disperfed, they make such horrible slaughters, that the king or prince of the land inuaded, cannot finde people sufficient to wage battell against them, and to withstand them. They delude all people and princes of regions in time of peace, pretending that for a cause, which indeed is no cause. Sometimes they say, that they will make a voyage to *Colen*, to fetch home the three wise kings into their owne country; sometimes to punish the auarice and pride of the Romans, who oppressed them in times past; sometimes to conquire barbarous and Northren nations; sometimes to moderate the furie of the Germans with their owne meeke mildnesse; somerimes to learne warlike feats and stratagemes of the French; sometimes for the finding out of fertile ground to suffice rheir huge multitudes; sometimes againe in derision they say, that they intend to goe on pilgrimage to *S. Iames of Galicia*. In regard of which sleights and collusions certaine vndiscreet gouernors concluding a league with them, haue granted them free passage thorow their territories, which leagues notwithstanding being violated, were an occasion of ruine and destruction vnto the foresayd gouernours &c.

Libellus historicus Ioannis de Plano Carpini, qui missus est

Legatus ad Tartaros anno Domini 1246. ab Innocentio
quarto Pontifice maximo.

Incipit Prologus in librum Tartarorum.



Mnibus Christi fidelibus ad quos præfens scriptum peruenit, frater Ioannes de Plano Carpini ordinis fratrum minorum, Apostolicæ sedis Legatus, nunci-
us ad Tartaros & nationes alias Orientis, Dei gratiam in præfenti, & glori-
am in futuro, & de inimicis suis gloriam triumphalem. Cum ex mandato se-
dis Apostolicæ iremus ad Tartaros & nationes alias Orientis, & sciremus Do-
mini Papæ & venerabilium Cardinalium voluntatem, elegimus prius ad Tar-
taros proficisci. Timebamus enim ne per eos in proximo ecclesiæ Dei periculum immineret. Et
quamuis a Tartaris & alijs nationibus timeremus occidi, vel perpetuo captiuari, vel fame, siti,
algore,

algore, æstu, contumelia, & laboribus nimijs, & quasi ultra vires affligi, (quæ omnia multo plura quam prius credidimus, excepta morte vel captiuitate perpetua nobis multipliciter euenerunt) non tamen pepercimus nobis ipsis, vt voluntatem Dei secundum Domini papæ mandatum adimplere possemus, & vt proficeremus in aliquo Christianis, vt saltem scita veraciter voluntate & intentione ipsorum, possemus illam patefacere Christianis, ne forte subito inuenientes inuenirent eos imparatos, sicut peccatis hominum exigentibus alia vice contigit: & fecerunt magnam stragem in populo Christiano. Vnde quæcunque pro vestra utilitate vobis scribimus ad cautelam, tanto securius credere debetis, quanto nos cuncta vel ipsi vidimus oculis nostris, qui per annum & quatuor menses & amplius ambulauimus per ipsos & cum ipsis, ac fuimus inter eos, vel audiuius a Christianis qui sunt inter eos captiui, & vt credimus fide dignis. Mandatum etiam a supremo pontifice habebamus, vt cuncta perscrutarcmur & videreinus omnia diligenter. Quod tam nos quam frater Benedictus eiusdem ordinis qui nostræ tribulationis fuit socius & interpres fecimus studiose.

Annus & 4. menses & amplius.

Frater Benedictus Polonus comes Ioannis de Plano Carpini.

De terra *Tartarorum*, situ, qualitate & dispositione

aeris in eadem. Cap. 1.

Volentes igitur facta scribere *Tartarorum*, vt lectores facilius valeant inuenire, hoc modo per capitula describemus. Primo quidem dicemus de terra. Secundo de hominibus. Tertio de situ. Quarto de moribus. Quinto de ipsorum imperio. Sexto de bellis. Septimo de terris quas eorum dominio subiugauerunt. Octauo quomodo Bello occurratur eisdem. De terra possumus hoc modo tractare. In principio quidem dicemus de situ ipsius: secundo de qualitate: tertio de dispositione aeris in eadem. Terra vero prædicta est in ea posita parte Orientis in qua oriens sicut credimus coniungitur Aquiloni. Ab Oriente autem est terra posita *Kyraiorum* & etiam *Solangorū*: a meridie sunt terræ *Saracenorum*: inter Occidentem & Meridicm *Huyrorum*. Ab Occidente prouincia *Naymanorum*; ab Aquilone mari oceano circumdatur. Hæc vero in parte aliqua est nimium montuosa, & in aliqua est campestris, sed fere tota admixta glareæ, raro argillosa plurimum est arenosa. In aliqua parte terræ sunt aliquæ modicæ syluæ: alia vero est sine lignis omnino. Cibaria autem sua decoquunt & sedent tam imperator quam principes & alij ad ignem factum de bouum stercorebus & equorum. Terra autem prædicta non est in parte centesima fructuosa: nec etiam potest fructum portare nisi aquis fluuiialibus irrigetur. Sed aqua & riui ibidem sunt pauci: flumina vero rarissima vnde ibidem villæ sunt paucæ; nec aliquæ ciuitates excepta vna, quæ esse dicitur satis bona; nos autem non vidimus illam, sed fuimus prope ad dimidium diem, cum apud *Syram ordam* essemus, quæ curia est maior imperatoris eorum. Et licet aliàs infructuosa sit, quantum non multum, tamen competenter est alendis pecoribus apta, Aer in ipsa est mirabiliter inordinatus. In media etiam estate quando in alijs partibus solet calor maximus abundare; ibi sunt tonitrua magna & fulgura, ex quibus homines quam plurimi occiduntur. Cadunt etiam ibi eodem tempore maximæ niues. Ibi sunt etiam frigidissimorum ventorum tam maximæ tempestates, quod cum labore vix possunt homines aliquando equitare. Vnde cum essemus apud *ordam* (sic enim stationes imperatoris apud eos & principum appellantur) iacebamus in terra præ magnitudine venti prostrati, & propter pulueris multitudinem videre minime poteramus. In ea etiam in hyeme nusquam pluit, sed in estate: & tam modicum, quod vix potest aliquando puluerem & radices graminum madidare, Grando etiam ibi sæpe maxima cadit. Vnde eo tempore quando fuit electus, & in sede regni poni debuit imperator, nobis in curia existentibus, tanta cecidit grando, quod ex subita resolutione, sicut plenius intelleximus, plusquam centum & quadraginta homines in eadem curia fuerunt submersi. Res autem & habitacula plura deducta fuerunt. Ibi est etiam in estate subito magnus calor, & repente maximum frigus. In hyemem vero in aliqua parte cadunt maximæ niues, in alia autem paruæ. Et vt breuiter de terra concludam, magna est, sed aliter, sicut vidimus oculis nostris, (quia per ipsam circueandam quinque mensibus & dimidium ambulauimus) multo vilior est, quam dicere valeamus.

¶ Al. Sclangorum.

Oceanus ab Aquilone.

Syra orda, curia maior imperatoris.

Maximæ niues in estate in *Tartaria*.

Grando maxima.

Maxima inundatio ex subita grandinis resolutione.

Iter quinque mensium & dimidij.

De formis *Tartarorum*, de coniugio, vestibus

& habitaculis eorum. Cap. 2.

Dico de terra, de hominibus est dicendum. Primo quidem formas describemus personarum. Secundo de ipsorum coniugio supponemus. Tertio de vestibus. Quarto de habitaculis. Quinto de rebus eorum. Forma personatum ab hominibus alijs est remota. Inter oc-

los enim & genas plusquam alij homines sunt lati. Genæ etiam satis prominent a maxillis. Graciles sunt generaliter in cingulo exceptis quibusdam paucis. Pene omnes sunt mediocris staturæ. Barba fere omnibus minime crescit. Aliqui tamen in inferiori labio & in barba modicos habent crines, quos minime tondent. Super verticem capitis in modum clericorum habent coronas, & ab aure una vsque ad aliam, ad latitudinem trium digitorum similiter omnes radunt. Quæ rursus coronæ prædictæ iunguntur. Super frontem etiam ad latitudinem duorum digitorum similiter omnes radunt. Illos autem capillos qui sunt inter coronam & prætaxatam raturam crescere vsque ad supercilia sinunt. Et ex vtraque parte frontis tondendo plusquam in medio crines faciunt longos: reliquos vero crines permittunt crescere vt mulieres. De quibus faciunt duas cordas, & ligant vnam quinque post aurem. Pedes etiam modicos habent. Vxo- res vero habet vnusquisque quot potest tenere. Aliquis centum, aliquis quinquaginta, aliquis decem, aliquis plures vel pauciores: & omnibus parentibus generaliter iunguntur, excepta matre, filia, vel sorore ex eadem matre, sororibus etiam ex patre: tamen & vxores patris post mortem ducere possunt. Vxorem etiam fratris alter frater iunior post mortem vel alius de parentela iunior ducere teneret. Reliquas mulieres omnes sine vlla differentia ducunt in vxores, & emunt eas valde pretiosè a parentibus suis. Post mortem maritorum de facili ad secunda coniugia non migrant, nisi quis velit suam nouercam ducere in vxorem. Vestes autem tam viro- rum quàm mulierum sunt vno modo formatæ. Pallijs, cappis vel cappurijs vel pellibus non vtuntur. Tunicas vero portant de Bukeramo, purpura, vel Baldaquino in hunc modum formatas. A supremo vsque deorsum sunt scissæ, quia ante pectus duplicantur. A latere vero sinistro una, & in dextris tribus ligaturis necluntur, & in latere & in sinistro vsque ad brachiale sunt scissæ. Pellicia cuiuscunque sunt generis in eundem modum formantur: superius tamen pellicium exterius habet pilum, sed a posterioribus est apertum. Habet autem caudam vnam vsque ad genua retro. Mulieres vero quæ sunt maritatæ habent tunicam valde amplam & vsq; ad terram ante scissam. Super caput vero habent vnum quid rotundum de viminibus vel de cortice factum, quod in longum protenditur ad vnam vnam, & in summitate desinit in quadrum: & ab imo vsque ad summum in amplitudine semper crescit, & in summitate habet virgulam vnam longam & gracilem de auro vel de argento seu de ligno, vel etiam pennam: & est assutum super vnum pileolum, quod protenditur vsque ad humeros. Instrumentum prædictum est rectum de buccarano, siue purpura vel baldaquino: sine quo instrumento coram hominibus nunquam vadunt, & per hoc ab alijs mulieribus cognoscuntur. Virgines autem & iuuenes mulieres cum magna difficultate a viris suis possunt discerni: quum per omnia vestiantur ut viri. Pileola habent alia quàm aliarum nationes, quorum formam intelligibiliter describere non valeamus. Stationes rotundas habent in modum tentorij præparatas, de virgis & baculis subtiliter factas. Supra vero in medio rotundam habent fenestrâ vnde lumen ingreditur, & vt possit fumus exire: quia semper in medio ignem faciunt. Parietes autem & tecta filtro sunt cooperta. Ostia etiam de filtro sunt facta. Quædam stationes sunt magnæ, quædam parvæ, secundum dignitatem & hominum paruitatem. Quædam soluuntur subito & reparantur, & super somarios deferuntur. Quædam dissolui non possunt, sed in curribus deferuntur. Minoribus autem in curru ad deferendum vnus bos; maioribus tres vel quatuor, vel etiam plures, vel quod est magis, sufficiunt ad portandum. Quocunque vadunt siue ad bellum, siue aliàs, semper illas deferunt secum. In animalibus sunt diuites valde: in camelis, bobus, ouibus, capris, & equis. Iumentorum tantam habent multitudinem, quantam non credimus habere totum mundum. Porcos & alias bestias minime habent.

Vestes.

Tabernacula.

Opes in pecore.

De cultu & de hijs quæ credunt esse peccata, & de diuinationibus & ritu funeris eorum, & de purgationibus suorum peccatorum. Cap. 3.

DICTO de hominibus, dicendum est de ritu: de quo tractabimus in hunc modum. Primo de cultu: secundo de hijs quæ credunt esse peccata: tertio de diuinationibus, & purgationibus peccatorum: quarto de ritu funeris. Vnum Deum credunt, quem credunt esse factorem omnium visibilibus & inuisibilibus. Et credunt eum tam bonorum in hoc mundo quàm pœnarum esse factorem: non tamen orationibus vel laudibus, aut ritu aliquo ipsum colunt. Nihilominus habent idola quædam de filtro ad imaginem hominis facta; & illa ponunt ex vtraque parte ostij stationis, & subter illa ponunt quiddam de filtro in modum vberis factum, & illa credunt esse pecorum custodes, & eis beneficium lactis & pullorum præstare. Alia vero faciunt de pannis sericis, & illa multum honorant. Quidam ponunt illa in pulchro curru tecto ante ostium stationis: & quicumque aliquid de illo curru furatur, sine vlla miseratione occiditur.

Duces,

Duces, milenarij, & centenarij vnum semper habeat in medio stationis. Prædictis idolis offerunt primum lac omnis pecoris & iumentis. Et cum primo comedere & bibere incipiunt, primo offerunt eis de cibarijs & potu. Et cum bestiam aliquam occidunt, offerunt cor: Iaculo quod est in curru in aliquo cypho, & dimittunt vsque mane, & tunc auferunt de præsentia eius, & decoquunt & manducant. Primo etiam imperatori faciunt idolum, quod ponunt in curru, ante quam stationem honorifice, sicut vidimus ante ordam imperatoris istius, offerunt munera multa. Equos etiam offerunt ei, quos nullus audet ascendere vsque ad mortem. Alia etiam animalia eidem offerunt. Quæ vero occidunt ad manducandum, nullum os ex eis confringunt, sed igni comburunt. Et etiam ad meridiem tanquam Deo inclinant, & inclinare faciunt alios nobiles, qui se reddunt eisdem. Vnde nuper contigit quod Michael, qui fuit vnus de magnis ducibus Russiæ, cum iuisset ad ferendum Bati, fecerunt eum prius inter duos ignes transire: Post hoc dixerunt, quod ad meridiem Cyngis can inclinaret. Qui respondit, quod Bati & feruis suis inclinaret libenter, sed imagini hominis mortui non inclinaret, quia non licet hoc facere Christianis. Et cum sæpe diceretur, quod inclinaret, & noller, mandauit ei prædictus per filium Ieroslai, quod occideretur si non inclinaret. Qui respondit, quod potius vellet mori, quam hoc faceret, quia non liceret. At ille satellitem vnum misit, qui tam diu contra eum in ventre calce percussit, quousque deficeret. Tunc quidam de suis militibus qui astabat confortans eum dixit: Esto robustus quia hæc pœna non diu tibi durabit, & statim sequeretur gaudium sempiternum: post hoc fuit caput eius cultello præcisum. Militi vero prædicto fuit caput etiam cultello amputatum. Solem igitur lumina & ignem venerantur & adorant, & aquam & terram, eis ciborum & potus primitias offerentes, & mane potissime antequam comedant & bibant: quia de cultu Dei nullam legem obseruant. Neminem cogunt suam fidem vel legem negare. Accidit tamen dum adhuc nuper essemus in terra quod Andreas dux de ¶ Saruogle quæ est in Russiâ fuit apud Bati accusatus, quod educeret equos Tartarorum de terra & venderet alijs, & cum tamen non esset probatum fuit occisus: quod audiens iunior frater eius, venit cum vxore occisi ad ducem prædictum Bati, volens supplicare, ne terra tolleretur eisdem. Qui dixit par esse, quod vxorem fratris carnalis prædicti duceret in vxorẽ: & mulieri præcepit ducere illum in virum secundum consuetudinem Tartarorum. Qui respondit, quod prius vellet occidi, quam faceret contra legem. At ille nihilominus tradidit eam illi, quamuis renierat quantum posset: & duxerunt ambo in lecto, & posuerunt puerum super illam plorantem & clamantem, & cogerunt eos commisceri coactione non conditionali, sed absoluta. Quamuis de iustitia faciendâ, vel peccato cauendo nullam habeant legem, nihilominus tamen habent aliquas traditiones, quas dicunt esse peccata: quas confinxerunt ipsi & patres eorum. Vnum est, cultellum figere in igne, vel etiam quocunque modo tangere cum cultello: vel cum cultello extrahere carnes de caldario: iuxta ignem etiam incidere cum securi. Credunt etiam quod sic auferri caput debeat igni. Item appodiare se ad flagellum, cum quo percutitur equus: Ipsi enim calcaribus non vtuntur. Item tangere flagellis sagittas. Item iuuenes aues occidere, vel accipere: cum freno equum percutere. Item oscum offe alio frangere. Item lac vel aliquem potum vel cibum super terram effundere. In statione mingere, sed si voluntarie facit occiditur: si autem aliter, oportet quod pecunia soluatur incantatori, qui purificet eos: faciat etiam stationem & ea quæ in ipsa sunt inter duos ignes transire. Sed antequam sic purificetur nullus audet intrare vel aliquid de ipsa portare. Item si alicui morsus imponitur, & deglutire non potest, & de ore suo eijcit eum, fit foramen sub statione, & extrahunt per illud foramen, & sine vlla misericordia occiditur. Item si aliquis calcet limen stationis alicuius ducis interficitur eodem modo. Et multa habent similia, de quibus longum est narrare. Sed homines occidere, aliorum terras inuadere, res aliorum accipere, quocunque iniusto modo fornicari, alijs hominibus iniuriari, facere contra Dei prohibitiones & Dei præcepta, nullum est peccatum apud eos. De vita æterna & damnatione perpetua, nihil sciunt. Credunt tamen quod post mortem in alio seculo viuant, greges multiplicent, comedant, bibant, & alia faciant, quæ in hoc seculo a viuentibus hominibus fiunt. Diuinationibus, augurijs, aruspicijs, veneficijs, incantationibus multum intendunt. Et cum a dæmonibus ipsis respondetur, credunt quod Deus ipsis loquatur, quem Deum vocant Itoga: sed Comani Cham, id est, imperatorem ipsum appellant, quem mirabiliter timent & reuerentur: ac oblationes offerunt multas, & primitias tibi & potus. Secundum autem responsa ipsius faciunt vniuersa. In principio etiam lunationis vel plenilunio incipiunt, quicquid noui agere volunt. Vnde illam magnum imperatorem appellant, eique genua flectunt & deprecantur. Solem dicunt esse matrem lunæ, eo quod lumen a sole recipiat. Et vt breuiter dicam per ignem credunt omnia purificari. Vnde cum nunciij veniunt ad eos, vel principes, vel qualescunq; personæ, oportet ipsos & munera quæ portant per duos ignes transire, vt purificentur. Item si cadit ignis de cælo super pecora, vel super homines, quod ibidem

Martyrium Michaelis ducis Russiæ.

¶ Vel, Sciruogle. Andreas dux Russiæ.

De superstitionis traditionibus eorum.
Ἐθνη δὲ πικρὰ.

ἄδωμ.

Ἐλευθέρου.

sæpe contingit, siue aliquid talium euenerit eis, per quod immundos seu intortunatos se reputant, oportet similiter per incantatores mundari. Et quasi omnem spei suam in talibus posuerunt. Quando aliquis eorum infirmatur, ponitur in statione eius una hasta, & contra illam filtrum circumuoluitur nigrum: & ex tunc nullus audet alienus postes stationum intrare. Et quando incipit agonizare, omnes recedunt ab eo; quoniam nullus de ijs qui morti eius assistunt, potest ordam alicuius ducis vel imperatoris vsq; ad nouam lunationem intrare. Cum autem mortuus est, si est de maioribus, sepelitur occulte in campo ubi placuerit: sepelitur autem cum statione sedendo in medio eius, & ponunt mensam ante eum, & aluceum carnis plenum, & cyphum lactis iumentini: Sepelitur autem cum eo vnum iumentum cum pullo, & equus cum fræno & sella: & alium equum comedunt & stramine corium implent, & super duo vel quatuor ligna altius ponunt, vt habeat in alio mundo stationem ubi moretur, & iumentum de quo lac habeat, & possit sibi equos multiplicare, & equos etiam in quibus valeat equitare, Aurum & argentum sepeliunt eodem modo cum ipso. Currus in quo ducitur frangitur, & statio sua destruitur, nec nomen proprium eius vsque ad tertiam generationem audet aliquis nominare. Alius etiam est modus sepeliendi quosdam maiores. Vaditur in campo occulte, & ibi gramina remouent cum radicibus, & faciunt foueam magnam, & in latere illius foueæ faciunt vnam sub terra, & illum seruum quem habet dilectum ponunt sub eo, qui iacet tam diu sub eo donec incipit agonizare, deinde extrahunt eum vt valeat respirare, & sic faciunt ter. Et si euadet, postea est liber, & facit quicquid ei placuerit, & est magnus in statione, ac inter parentes illius. Mortuum autem ponunt in foueam, quæ est in latere facta cum his quæ superius dicta sunt. Deinde replent foueam quæ est ante foueam suam, & desuper gramina ponunt, vt fuerant prius, ad hoc, ne locus ulterius valeat inueniri. Alia faciunt vt dictum est, in terra eorum sunt cœmeteria duo. Vnum in quo sepeliuntur imperatores, duces & nobiles omnes: & vbicumque moriuntur, si congruè fieri potest, illuc deferuntur. Sepelitur autem cum eis aurum & argentum multum. Aliud est in quo sepeliuntur illi qui in Hungaria interfecti fuerunt: multi enim ibidem occisi fuerunt. Ad illa cœmeteria nullus audet accedere præter custodes, qui ad custodiendum positi sunt ibidem. Et si aliquis accesserit, capitur, spoliatur & verberatur, & valde malè tractatur. Vnde nos ipsi nescientes intrauimus terminos cœmeterij eorum qui in Hungaria occisi fuerunt, & venerunt super nos sagittæ volantes: sed quia eramus nuncijs consuetudinem terræ nescientes, nos liberos dimiserunt abire. Parentes autem & omnes alij qui morantur in stationibus suis oportet purificari per ignem: quæ purificatio fit hoc modo. Faciunt duos ignes, & duas hastas ponunt iuxta ignes, & vnam cordam in summitate hastarum: & ligant super cordam illam quasdam scissuras de buccaramo: sub qua corda & ligaturis inter illos duos ignes transeunt homines, bestiarum & stationes: Et sunt duæ mulieres, vna hinc, & alia inde aquam proijcientes, & quedam carmina recitantes. Et si aliqui currus ibi franguntur, vel etiam res ibi cadunt aliquæ, incantatores accipiunt. Et si aliquis occiditur à tonitruo, omnes illos homines qui morantur in stationibus illis, oportet prædicto modo ignes transire. Statio, lectus, filtra, currus, vestes, & quicquid talium habuerint, a nullo tanguntur, sed tanquam immunda ab omnibus respuuntur.

Ritus sanebris.

Idem mos sepeliendi fere in Florida.

Institutionis ritus.

De consuetudinibus bonis & malis & cibis

eorum. Cap. 4.

Dicto de ritu, dicendum est de moribus: de quibus tractabimus hoc modo. Primo dicemus de bonis, secundo de malis: tertio de consuetudinibus: quarto de cibis. Prædicti homines, scilicet Tartari sunt magis obedientes Dominis suis, quam aliqui homines in hoc mundo, siue religiosi, siue seculares: & magis reuerentur eosdem: neq; de facili mentiuntur eis, Verbis ad inuicem rarè aut nunquam contendunt, factis verò nunquam. Bella, rixæ, vulnera, homicidia inter eos non contingunt. Prædones & fures magnarum rerum non inueniuntur inter eos. Vnde stationes & currus eorum, ubi habent thesaurum suum seris aut vectibus non firmantur. Si aliquæ bestiarum perduntur, quicumque inuenerit eas vel dimittit sic esse, vel ducit eas ad homines illos, qui positi sunt ad hoc. Homines autem quorum sunt bestiarum apud eosdem illas requirunt, & absque vlla difficultate recipiunt illas. Vnus alium satis honorat: & ad inuicem sunt satis familiares: Et cibaria quamuis inter illos sint pauca, tamen inter se satis competenter communicant illa; & satis sunt sufferentes. Vnde quum ieiunant vno die vel duobus diebus nihil comedentes omninò de facili non videntur impatientes, sed cantant & ludunt quasi comedere bene. In equitando multum sustinent frigus, & calorem nimium patiuntur. Non sunt homines delicati. Inuidi ad inuicem non videntur. Inter eos quasi nulla placita sunt: nullus alium spernit, sed iuuat & promouet quantum congruè potest. Mulieres eorum sunt castæ: nec de impudicitia

Obedentia;

Abstinentia;

Comitas.

Temperantia;

Castitas mulierum;

Insolentia ad-
ceruus exteros.

Incundia,
Mendacitas.

Fraudulentia,
Sordes.

Temulentia.

Extortio,
Cruelitas.

Cibi.

puccitia earum inter eas aliquid auditur. Verba tamen quædam ex eis in ioco satis habent turpia & impudica. Seditioes verò inter eas rarò vel nunquam audiuntur. Et quamvis multum inebrientur, in ebrietate sua tamen verbis vel facto nunquam contendunt. Nunc de malis moribus eorum est supponendum, Superbissimi alijs hominibus sunt, & despiciunt omnes: idè quæsi pro nihilo reputant, siue nobiles sint, siue ignobiles. Vidimus enim in curia Imperatoris nobilium virum Ierosolam, magnum Ducem Russiæ, filium etiam Regis & Reginiæ Georgiæ, & Soldanos multos, duces etiam Soldanorum nullum honorem debitum recipere inter eos, Sed Tartari qui erant eis assignati, quantumcumq; erant viles, aut ecce debant eos, & semper primum locum & summum tenebant: immò sæpè oportebat eos post eorum posteriora sedere. Iracundi multum & indignantis naturæ sunt: & etiam alijs hominibus plus sunt mendaces, & ferè nulla veritas inuenitur in eis. In principio quidem sunt blandi, sed in fine pungunt vt scorpio. Subdoli sunt & fraudulentis, & si possunt astutia circumueniunt omnes. Homines sunt inmundi, sumendo cibum & potum, & alijs factis suis. Qui cum volunt aliquid mali facere alijs hominibus, miro modo occultant, vt præuidere non possint, vel contra eorum astutias remedium inuenire. Ebrietas honorabilis est apud eos: & quum multum quis bibit, ibidem rejicit, nec propter hoc dimittit quin iterum bibat. Valdè sunt cupidi & auari, exactores maximi ad petendum: tenacissimi retentores, & parcissimi donatores. Aliorum hominum occisio pro nihilo est apud illos. Et, vt breuiter dicam, omnes mali mores eorum propter prolixitatem in scripto redigi non possunt. Cibi eorum sunt omnia quæ mandipossunt. Comedunt canes, lupos, vulpes, & equos; & in necessitate carnes humanas. Vnde quando pugnaverunt contra quandam ciuitatem Kytaorum, vbi morabatur imperator ipsorum; eam obsederunt tam diu, quod defecerunt ipsi Tartaris omninò expensæ. Et quia non habebant quòd manducarent omninò, tunc accipiebantur de decem hominibus vnus ad manducandum. Abluiones etiam quæ egrediuntur de iumentis cum pullis manducant. Imò vidimus etiam eos pediculos manducare: vidimus etiam eos comedere mures. Mensalibus & manutergijs non vtuntur: panem non habent, nec olera, nec legumina, nec aliquid aliud nisi carnes: & tam paucas habent, quòd aliæ nationes vix inde viuere possent. Cum pinguedine carnum multum polluant manus: quando verò comederunt, tunc manus ad ocreas suas, vel ad gramina, vel ad aliquid talium tergunt. Solent etià honestiores habere aliquos panniculos paruos, cum quibus vltime tergunt manus, quando carnes manducarunt. Cibus vnus eorum incidit, & alius accipit cum puncto cultelli morsellos, & vnicuiq; præbet, quibusdã plus, quibusdã minus, secundum quod plus vel minus volunt eos honorare. Scutellas non lauant, & si aliquando cum brodio lauant carnum, iterum cum carnibus in olla reponunt. Ollas etià vel caldaria, vel alia vasa ad hoc deputata si abluunt, simili modo lauant. Apud eos est magnum peccatum, si de cibo vel potu perire permittatur aliquid. Vnde ossa, nisi priùs extrahatur medulla, dari canibus non permittunt. Vestes etiam non lauant, nec lauari permittunt, & maxime quo tonitrua ab illa hora incipiunt donec desinant. Lac iumentinum bibunt in maxima quantitate si habent: bibunt etiam ouinum, caprinum, vaccinum, & camelorum. Vinum, ceruisiam, & medonem non habent, nisi ab alijs nationibus mittatur, vel donetur eisdem. In hyeme, nisi diuites sint, lac iumentinum non habent. Milliu cum aqua decoquunt, quod rã tenue faciunt, quòd non comedere sed bibere possunt. Et vnusquisq; ex eis bibit cyphum vnum vel duos in mane, & nil plus in die māducant. In sero vnicuiq; parum de carnibus datur, & brodium de carnibus bibunt. In æstate autem, quia tunc habent satis de lacte iumentino carnes rarò māducant, nisi fortè donentur eis, aut venatione aliquam bestiam ceperint, siue auem. Legem etiam siue consuetudinẽ habent occidendi virum & mulierem quos in adulterio inuenerint manifestè. Similiter & virginem si fornicata fuerit, mulierẽ occidunt & virum. Si aliquis inuenitur in præda vel in furto manifestò in terra potestatis eorũ sine vlla miseratione occiditur. Item si aliquis eorum deundat consilium, maxime quando volunt ire ad bellum, centũ plagæ dantur super posteriora, quanto maiores dare cum baculo magno vnus rusticus potest. Item quando aliqui de minoribus offendunt in aliquo à suis maioribus non parcitur eis, sed verberibus grauius affiguntur. Item inter filium concubinæ & vxoris nulla est differentia, sed dat pater vnicuiq; eorum quod vult, et si est de genere ducum, ita est dux filius concubinæ, sicut filius legitimus. Et cum vnus Tartarus habet multas vxores, vnaquæq; per se suam stationem, & familiam habet: & cum vna comedit, & bibit, & dormit vna die, & altera die cum alia. Vna tamen ex ipsis maior est inter alias, & frequentius cum illa quam cum alijs commoratur. Et cum tam multæ sint inter se tamen de facili non contendunt. Viri nihil operantur omninò exceptis sagittis: & etiam de gregibus aliquantulam habent curam, sed venantur, & exercent se ad sagittandum: Omnes enim à paruo vsque ad magnum sagittarij sunt & boni. Et statim pueri eorum, cum sunt duorum annorum vel trium, incipiunt equitare. Equos eorum regunt & currunt in eis: & dantur eis arcus secundum suam ætatem, & instruunt ad sagittandum. Agiles enim sunt & audaces valdè. Vir-

gines

Πολυαίδια

gines & mulieres equitant, & agiler in equis currunt vt viri. Vidimus enim eas arcus & pharetras portare, Et tam viri quàm mulieres diu in equitando possunt durare. Breuissimas habent strepas: equos valdè custodiunt: imo rerum omnium sunt magni conseruatores. Mulieres eorum omnia operantur. Pellicia, vestes, calceos, ocreas, & omnia opera quæ de corio fiunt, Currus etiam ducunt & reparant, camelos onerant, & velocissimæ sunt & strenuæ in omnibus operibus suis: scemoralibus omnes vtuntur: aliquid, sicut viri, sagittant.

Feminae Merce
incognitæ eodem
modo vtuntur

De ipsorum Imperio. Cap. 5.

DICTO de eorum consuetudinibus, dicendum est de eorum imperio. Et primò de ipsius principio. Secundo de principibus eius. Tercio de domino Imperatoris & principum. Terra quædam est in partibus Orientis, de qua dictum est supra, quæ Mongol nominatur. Hæc terra quondam quatuor populos habuit. Et vnus Yeka-Mongol, id est, magni Mongali vocabatur, Secundus Sumongol, id est Aquatici Mongali. Ipsi autem se ipsos Tartaros appellabant, à quodam fluuio, qui currit per terram eorum, qui Tartar nominatur. Alius appellatur Merkat, quartus Metrit. Hij populi omnes vnã formam personarum, & vnã linguam habebant: quamuis inter se per principes & prouincias essent diuisi. In terra Yeka-Mongol fuit qui vocabatur Cyngis. Iste incepit esse robustus venator coram Domino. Didicit enim homines furari, rapere, prædari. Ibat autem ad alias terras, & quoscunque potuit capere, & sibi associate non demittebat: homines verò suæ gentis ad se inclinabat, qui tanquam ducem ipsum sequebantur ad omnia malefacta. Hic autem incepit pugnare cum Sumongal, siue Tartaris, postquam homines aggregauerat sibi, & interfecit ducem eorum, & multo bello omnes Tartaros sibi subiugauit & in suam seruitutem redegit. Post hæc cum omnibus his pugnavit, cum Merkat, qui erant positi iuxta terram Tartarorum, quos etiam bello sibi subiecit: Inde procedens pugnavit contra Metritas, & etiam illos deuicit. Audientes itaque Naymani, quod Cyngis erat taliter elcuiatus, indignati fuerunt. Ipsi enim habuerunt Imperatorem, qui fuerat strenuus valdè, cui dabant tributum omnes nationes prædictæ. Qui debitu vniersæ carnis exsoluens, filij eius successerunt loco eius; sed iuuenes erant & stulti, & populum nesciebant tenere: sed inuicem diuisi erant & scissi: vnde medio tempore Cyngis erat taliter exaltatus, nihilominus insultum faciebant in terras superiores annotatas, viros & mulieres, & pueros occidebant, & capiebant prædam eorum. Cyngis hoc audiens, omnes sibi subiectos homines aggregauit, Naymani & Kara Kitai, id est, nigri Kitai, ex aduerso in quandam vallem strictam inter montes duos, per quam nos euntes ad imperatorem eorum transiuimus, similiter conueniunt: & commissum est prælium, in quo Naymani & Kara Kitai a Mongallis sunt deuicti, & maior pars eorum occisa: & alij qui euadere non potuerunt in seruitutem redacti sunt. In terra autem prædictorum Kara Kytaorum Occaday can filius Cyngis can, postquam positus fuit imperator, quandam ciuitatem ædificauit, quam Omyl appellauit. Propè quam ad meridiem est quoddam desertum magnum, in quo syluestres homines pro certo habitare dicuntur, qui nullo modo loquuntur, nec in cruribus habent iuncturas: & si quando cadunt, per se surgere sine adiutorio aliorum minimè possunt, aliquantam tamen habent discretionem. Mongali autem in terram eorum reuertentes se contra Kytaos in prælium præparauerunt, qui castra mouentes terram eorum intrauerunt, Imperator autem Kytaorum hoc audiens venit contra eos cum exercitu suo; & commissum est prælium durum; in quo prælio Mongali fuerunt deuicti: & omnes nobiles Mongallorum qui erant in prædicto exercitu fuerunt occisi vsque ad septem. Cyngis verò & alij qui remanserunt in terram suam fugerunt. Et quum aliquantulum quieuisset Cyngis, præparauit se rursus ad prælium & contra terram Huyorum processit ad bellum. Isti homines Christiani de secta Nestorianorum erant, quos etiam bello deuicit, & eorum literas acceperunt. Nam prius scripturam aliquam non habebant. Nunc autem eandem literam Mongallorum appellant. Inde processit contra terram Saruiorum, & contra terram Karauitarum, & contra terram Voyrat, & contra terram Comana, quas terras omnes deuicit. Inde est in terram suam reuersus. Et cum aliquantulum quieuisset, conuocatis omnibus gentibus supra dictis, contra Kytaos ad bellum processit, & cum diu contra eos pugnasset magnam partem terræ Kytaorum vicerunt: Imperatorem autem eorum concluderunt in sua ciuitate maiori: quam cum tam diu obsiderunt, quod exercitui defecerunt expensæ, & cum non haberent quod manducarent, præcepit illis Cyngis can, quod de decem hominibus vnũ darent ad manducandum. Illi autem de ciuitate pugnant viriliter contra illos sagittis & machinis: Et cum deficerent lapides, pro lapidibus proiecerunt argentum, & maximè liquefactum. Ciuitas enim hæc multis diuinijs erat plena. Et cum diu pugnassent, & eam bello vincere minimè possent, fecerunt vnã magnam viam sub terra ab exercitu vsque ad mediã ciuitatem, & aperientes subito ter-

Tartari populi
Tartar fluuius.

Cyngis ortus &
res geste.

Naymani.

Frates discordantes
oppressi.

Kara Kitai.

Occodj can.
|| Vel Chányl.
Homines syluestres.

De mutua victoria
Mongallorum
& Kytaorum.
Tartarorum Ky-
tana clades.

Nouæ victoriae
litere.
Vel Saruior.
Vel Karauitarum,
Vel Hudirat.

Argentum loco
lapidum in ho-
stem proiectum.

Kytaï viçii.

Cyngis faluatur
Imperator.
Kythæ pars in
ma. i. polit.
Kytaorum litera,
& religio.

Opificiorum
laus.

Thoffuch can
Cyngis filius Co-
manos deuicit.

India minor de-
bellata.

Presbyter Ioan-
nes: eiusdem
stratagemæ.

Victoria de Tar-
taris.

De monstrosis
mulieribus &
canibus mon-
strosa narratio.

Glacies.

Burutabeth re-
gio.Incolarum mo-
res.Terra Kergis
Orientalis.

Nota iter duo-
rum mensium
versus Orientem.

Troglodytæ.

ram, eis uentibus prosterunt in medio ciuitatis, & pugnabant cum hominibus ciuitatis, & illi qui erant extra simili modo pugnabant, & concidentes portas intrauerunt ciuitatem: & occidentes Imperatorem & homines plures, ciuitatem possidebant: & aurum & argentum, & omnes diuitias abstulerunt. Et cum terræ prædictæ Kytaorum suos homines præfecissent, in terram propriam sunt reuersi. Et tunc Imperatore Kytaorum deuictio factus est Imperator. Quandam autem partem terræ Kytaorum, quæ posita est in mari, usque in hodiernum diem nullatenus deuicerunt. Kytaï autem, de quibus superius diximus, homines sunt Pagani, qui habent literam specialem: & habent nouum & uetus Testamentum; & habent uitas patrum, & Eremitas & domos quasi Ecclesias factas, in quibus orant temporibus suis: Et dicunt se quosdam sanctos habere. Vnum Deum colunt: Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum honorant, & credunt uitam æternam, sed minime baptizantur. Scripturam nostram honorant & reuerentur: Christianos diligunt, & Ecclesias faciunt plures. Homines benigni & humani satis videntur: barbam non habent, & in dispositione faciei satis concordant cum Mongalis, non tamen sunt in facie ita lati. Linguam propriam habent: meliores artifices non inueniuntur in toto mundo in omnibus operibus, in quibus solent homines exercitari. Terra eorum est opulenta valde in frumento, uino, auro, argento, & serico, & omnibus rebus in quibus solet sustentari humana natura. Et cum aliquantulum quieuisent, suos exercitus diuiserunt. Vnum de filiis Toffuch nomine, quem etiam Can appellabant, id est Imperatorem, misit cum exercitu contra Comanos, quos multo bello deuicit: & postquam uicerat eos in terram suam reuertebatur. Alium etiam filium misit cum exercitu contra Indos; qui minorem Indiam deuicerunt. Hij autem nigri sunt Saraceni, qui Æthiopes nuncupantur. Hic autem exercitus contra Christianos, qui sint in India maiori in pugnam processit. Quod audiens rex terræ illius, qui uulgò Præbyter Iohannes appellatur, uenit contra eos exercitu congregato. Et faciens imagines cupreas hominum in sella posuit super equos, ponens ignem interius, & posuit hominem cum folle post imaginem cupream super equum: & cum multis imaginibus, & equis taliter præparatis uenerunt contra prædictos ad pugnandum. Et cum ad locum prælij peruenissent, istos equos unum iuxta unum præmiserunt. Viri autem, qui erant retro, posuerunt nescio quid super ignem qui erat in prædicta imagine, & cum folliibus fortiter sufflauerunt. Vnde factum est, quod de fumo illo aer est denigratus. Et tunc super Tartaros cecertur sagittas, ex quibus multi interfecti & vulnerati fuerunt. Et sic cum confusione eos de sinibus suis eiecerunt: Et nunquam audiuius, quod ultra ad eos redierunt. Cum autem per deserta redirent, in quandam terram uenerunt in qua quedam monstra fœmineas imagines habentia reperiuntur. Et cum interrogassent eas per multos interpretes ubi essent uiri terræ illius, responderunt quod in illa terra quæcunque fœminæ nascebantur, habebant formam humanam: Masculi uero formam caninam. Et dum moram protraherent in terra prædicta, Canes in alia parte conuenerunt in unum: Et dum esset hiems asperissima, se omnes proiecerunt in aquam: & post hæc in continentem in puluerem mouebantur, & ita puluis admixtus aquæ super eos congelauit: & dum sæpè hoc fecissent, glacies densa facta est super eos: Vnde cum magno impetu cum Tartaris conuenerunt ad pugnam. At illi quum sagittas super eos iactabant, ac si super lapides sagittassent, retro sagittæ redibant: Alia etiam arma eorum in nullo eos lædere potuerunt. Canes uero insultrum facientes in eos morsibus vulnerauerunt, multos etiam occiderunt, & ita eiecerunt eos de sinibus suis. Et dum reuertetur exercitus ille, uenit ad terram Burutabeth, quos bello uicerunt: qui sunt Pagani. Qui consuetudinem mirabilem imo potius miserabilem habent. Quia cum aliquis patrum suorum humanæ naturæ debitu exsoluit, omnem congregant parentelam, & comedunt eum. Isti filios in barba non habent: immo quoddam ferrum in manibus portant, cum quo barbam semper depilant, si fortè aliquis crinis crescit in ipsa: & multum etiam de tormes sunt. Inde exercitus ille reuertebatur in terram suam, Cyngis can etiam eo tempore quo diuisit exercitus illos, misit in expeditione contra Orientem per terram Kergis, quos bello non uicit: & usque ad Caspios montes peruenit, montes autem illi sunt de lapide adamantino. Vnde eorum sagittas & arma ferrea ad se traxerunt. Homines inter Caspios montes conclusos uiderunt, qui iam montem fregerunt: sed nubes quædam erat posita ante ipsos, ad quam accedere non poterant ullo modo, quia statim moriebantur, cum perueniebant ad illam. Sed antequam peruenirent ad prædictum montem plusquam per mensem uastam solitudinem transierunt. Inde procedentes adhuc contra Orientem plusquam per mensem per magnum desertum iuerunt. Et peruenierunt ad quandam terram, ubi uiderunt uias tritas, sed nullum hominem poterant inuenire. Sed tantum quæsiuerunt per terram, quod inuenerunt hominem cum uxore sua; quos ante Cyngis can adduxerunt. Et cum interrogasset, ubi essent homines terræ illius, responderunt quod in terra sub montibus habitarent. At Cyngis can retenta uxore misit uirum illum

illum cum nuncijs suis mandans hominibus illis vt venirent ad mandatum ipsius. Illi verò euntes ad eos, narrauerunt omnia quæ Cyngis can mandauerat. Qui responderunt quod tali die venirent ad mandatum suum faciendum. Medio vero tempore congregauerunt se per vias occultas sub terra, & venerunt contra istos ad pugnandum: & irruentes subito super eos plurimos occiderunt. At illi, Cyngis can videlicet & sui fugam ineuntes, terram exierunt prædictam, Illos tamen homines, virum scilicet & mulierem secum duxerunt, qui vsque ad mortem in terra Tartarorum fuerunt. Interrogati verò quare sub terra habitarent, dixerunt quod vno tempore anni quum sol oritur, tantus sonitus est, quod homines nulla ratione possunt sustinere. Immo etiam tunc percutiebant in organjs & tympanis, & alijs instrumentis, vt illum sonitum non audirent. Et dum Cyngis de terra illa reuerteretur, defecerunt ei victualia, & habebant maximam famem. Et tunc recentia interiora vnius bestia eos contigit inuenire: quæ accipientes, depositis tamen stercoribus decoxerunt; & coram Cyngis can portantes cum suis illa comedit. Et ex hoc statutum fuit ab eo, vt nec fanguis, nec interiora, nec aliquid de bestia quod manducari potest; exceptis stercoribus, projiciatur. Et deinde in terram propriam est reuersus: & ibidem leges & statuta multiplicia fecit, quæ Tartari non violabiliter obseruant. Ex quibus tantum duo dicemus. Vnum est, quod quicumque in superbia erectus, propria autoritate sine electione principum esse voluerit imperator, sine vlla miseratione debet occidi. Vnde ante electionem ipsius Cuyne propter hoc vnus de principibus, nepos ipsius Cyngis can fuit occisus. Volebat enim sine electione regnare. Aliud statutum est, quod sibi debent subiugare omnem terram: nec cum aliqua gente debent pacem habere, nisi prius eis subdatur, quo vsque veniat tempus occisionis eorum. Debent enim occidi, vt prophetatum est eis: Et illi qui euadere poterunt, vt dicunt, debent illam legem tenere quam tenent alij, qui eos bello deuincunt. Statuit etiam quod per millenarios, & centenarios & Decanos debeat eorum exercitus ordinari. Post hoc ab ictu tonitruï est occisus, peractis suis ordinationibus & statutis. Hic autem habuit quatuor filios: Vnus vocabatur Occoday, secundus Tossuch can, tertius Thaa-day: & nomen quarti ignoramus. Isti quatuor filij cum alijs maioribus qui tunc erant, primum filium videlicet Occoday elegerunt imperatorem, filij autem istius Occoday Cuyne, qui nunc est imperator, Cothen & Cyrenen. Et si plures habuerit filios ignoramus. Filij autem Tossuch can Bati: iste est ditior & potentior post imperatorem: Ordu, iste est tenior omnium ducum: Syban, Bora, Bercuthanth: aliorum filiorum Tossuch can nomina ignoramus. Filij Thaa-day sunt Burin & Chadan, nomina aliorum filiorum nescimus. Alterius autem filij Cyngis can, cuius nomen nescimus, filiorum nomina sunt hæc. Vnus vocatur Mengu, cuius mater est Serocan, Ista domina inter omnes Tartaros, excepta matre imperatoris, est magis nominata: & potentior est omnibus excepto Bati. Alius vocatur Becas, Alios filios habuit plures, sed eorum nomina ignoramus. Hæc sunt ducum nomina, Ordu: iste fuit in Polonia & in Hungaria: Bati, Cathan, Syban, Bureth. Omnes isti fuerunt in Hungaria, Cyrpodan, iste est adhuc vltra mare contra Soldanum Damasci. Isti remanserunt in terra: Mangu, Curhen, Syrennen, Hybilay, Seremum, Synocur, Thuatur, Cyragay, Sybedey, senex quidam miles inter eos, Bora, Berca, Mauci, Choranca: sed iste inter alios est minimus. Alij verò duces sunt plures, sed eorum nomina ignoramus.

Imperator autè Tartarorum habet mirabile dominium super omnes. Nullus audeat in aliqua parte morari, nisi ipse assignet ei. Ipse autem assignat vbi maneant duces: millenarij centenarijs, Centenarij decanis. Insuper quicquid præcipitur in quocunq; tempore, quocunq; loco, siue ad bellum, siue ad mortem, siue ad vitam, sine vlla contradictione obediunt. Etiam si perit filiam virginem vel sororem, sine contradictione dant ei. Aut singulis annis, aut intermissis aliquibus annis virgines colligit ex omnibus finibus Tartarorum. Si ipse vult sibi retinere aliquas retinet: alias dat suis hominibus, sicut videtur ei expedire. Nuncios quoscunq;, quotcunq; & vbi cunq; transmittit, oportet quod dent ei sine mora equos subditios & expensas. Vnde cunq; venerint ei tributa vel nunciij, oportet quod equi, currus, & expensæ similiter dentur eis. Nunciij qui veniunt aliunde in magna miseria sunt in victu pariter & vestitu: quia expensæ viles sunt & pauca: & maximè cum veniunt ad principes, & ibi debent morâ contrahere. Tuncia parum datur decem hominibus, quod inde vix possint viuere duo. Nec etiam in curijs principum, nec in via datur eis comedere, nisi semel in die, & satis parum. Insuper si aliqua iniuriæ sibi fiunt, conqueri de facili minimè possunt. Vnde eos oportet illa patienter portare. Insuper multa tã à principibus, quam ab alijs nationibus & minoribus ab eis exiguntur: & si non daretur, vili pendunt eos, immò quasi pro nihilo habent eos. Et si à magnis viris mittuntur, nolunt ab eis modicum munus habere: sed dicunt: A magno homine venistis, & cur modicum datis? & accipere dedignantur. Et si nunciij benè volunt facere facta sua, oportet eos dare maiora. Idcirco magnam partem rerum, quæ nobis à fidelibus erant datæ, oportuit nos de necessitate muneribus dare. Et

Videtur hic sonitus fieri, & fragore glaciei, & minium de montibus.

Cyngis ten.

Interitus, Liberi.

Nepotes.

Duces.

Imperatoris Tartarorum scilicet utile in omni imperium.

Inhumanitas erga Legatos.

sciendum, quod ita omnia sunt in manu Imperatoris prædicti, quod nemo audeat dicere, hoc est meum vel illius; sed omnia sunt Imperatoris, res, iumenta, & homines. Et super hoc etiam nuper emanauit Imperatoris statutum. Idem dominium per omnia habent duces super homines suos. Diuisi enim sunt homines Tartari, videlicet etiam alij inter duces. Nuncij etiam ducum, quocumque eos transmittunt, & homines tam Imperatoris quam alij omnes equos subdititios & expensas, & qui equos custodiant, & etiam nuncijs seruiant sine contradictione dare tenentur. Imperatori autem iumenta vt habeat ex eis lac ad annum vel ad duos, vel ad tres, sicut placuerit ei, tam duces quam alij pro redditu dare tenentur. Et homines dum eadem facere tenentur dominis suis, Inter eos enim nullus est liber. Et vt breuiter dicam, Quicquid Imperator & Duces volunt, & quantum volunt de rebus suis accipiunt. De personis etiam eorum disponunt per omnia, sicut volunt. Mortuo Imperatore, sicut superius dictum est, conuenerunt Duces & elegerunt Occoday filium Cyngis can prædicti Imperatorem. Qui habitò consilio principum diuisit exercitus. Bati, qui in secundo gradu attingebat ei, misit contra Altisoldanum, & contra terram Bisermanorum. Hij erant Saraceni, & Comanicum loquebantur. Et cum intrasset terram illorum pugnavit contra eos, & bello eos sibi subiecit. Quædam autem ciuitas quæ || Barthra dicitur, diu restitit ei, fecerant enim foueas multas in circuitu ciuitatis & operuerant illas; & quando illi veniebant cædebant in foueas. Vnde non potuerunt capere ciuitatem, donec illas foueas replessent. Homines autem de quadam ciuitate quæ vocatur || Iakint hæc audientes exierunt obuiam eis, se sponte in manus eorum tradentes: vnde ciuitas eorum non erat destructa, sed plures eorum occiderunt, & alios transfulerunt. Et accepto spolio ciuitatis, ipsam alijs hominibus repleuerunt. Et venerunt contra ciuitatem quæ vocatur Orna. Illa ciuitas erat nimium populosa: Christiani ibi erant plures; Gazari videlicet, Rutheni, & Alani, & alij: nec non & Saraceni. Saracenorum enim erat dominium ciuitatis. Hæc autem ciuitas erat diuitijs multum plena. Est enim posita super fluium qui vocatur Don, qui intrat in mare. Vnde est quasi portus: & forum maximum habebat de illa ciuitate alij Saraceni. Et cum non possent aliter deuincere, præciderunt fluium, qui currebat per ciuitatem, & illam cum rebus omnibus submerserunt. Quo facto: postea intrauerunt terram Tortorum, qui similes sunt Pagani; quam deuincens, ierunt contra Russiam, & fecerunt magnam stragem in terra Russiæ, ciuitates & castra destruxerunt, & homines occiderunt: etiam Kiouam quæ erat Metropolis Russiæ obsederunt: & cum diu obsidissent, illam ceperunt, & occiderunt homines ciuitatis. Inde procedentes pugnando destruxerunt totam Russiam. De Russiâ autem & Comania processerunt duces prædicti, & pugnaverunt contra Hungaros & Polonos. Ex quibus Tartaris in Polonia & in Hungaria plures interfecti fuerunt. Et si non fugissent, sed viriliter restitissent Hungari exiissent Tartari de finibus suis: quia tunc habuerunt timorem, quod omnes fugere attentabant. Sed Bati vaginato gladio in faciem eis restitit, dicens: Nolite fugere: quia si fugitis nullus euadet: Et si debemus mori, moriamur omnes: quia futurum est, vt Cyngis can prædixit, quod interfici debeamus: Et si nunc est tempus, sustineamus. Et sic animati sunt & remanserunt, & Hungariam destruxerunt. Inde reuertentes ierunt in terram Morduanorum, qui sunt Pagani, & bello deuicerunt. Inde procedentes contra Bileros, id est, Bulgariam magnam, & ipsam destruxerunt omnino. Inde procedentes ad Aquilonem adhuc contra Bascart, id est, Hungariam magnam, & eos etiam deuicerunt. Inde egredientes ierunt ad Aquilonem, & venerunt ad Parossitas qui habent paruos stomachos & os paruulum, nec manducant, sed decoquunt carnes: quibus decoctis ponunt se inter fumum & ollam, & recipiunt fumum, & de hoc solo reficiuntur: Sed etiam aliquid manducant, hoc valde modicum est. Inde procedentes venerunt ad Samogeds. Hij autem homines tantum de venationibus viuunt: tabernacula & vestes habent tantummodo de bestiarum pelibus. Inde ultra procedentes venerunt ad quandam terram super Oceanum, vbi inuenerunt quædam monstra quæ per omnia formam humanam habebant, sed pedes desinebant in pedes bouinos, & faciem per omnia habebant vt canis: duo verba loquebantur more humano & tertio latrabant vt canis: & sic per interualla temporum latratum interponebant: tum ad naturam suam redibant: & sic intelligi poterat quod dicebant: Inde redierunt in Comaniam, & vsq; nunc quidam ex eis morantur ibidem. Cypodan vero eodem tempore misit Occoday can cum exercitu ad meridiem contra Kergis, quos etiam bello deuicit. Hij autem homines sunt pagani, qui pilos in barba non habent. Quorum consuetudo est talis. Cum pater moritur alicui, præ dolore quasi vnam corrigiam in signum lamenti ab aure vsq; ad aurem de facie sua leuant. Quibus deuictis, ad meridiem iuit contra Armenos. Sed cum per deserta transfret, etiam quædam monstra effigiem humanam habentia inuenerunt: sed non nisi vnum brachium cum manu in medio pectoris, & vnum pedem habebant: & duo sagitarunt

Occoday secundus Imperator Tartarorum.

|| Barthra ciuitas vel Barchin.

Vel Sarguir.

Orna super Don fluium.

Kioua ciuitas.

Morduanorum terra.

Bulgaria magna, Hungaria magna.

Parossiter.

Samogedi.

Oceanus Septentrionalis. Similes Erubiltheri hominibus.

Expeditio Cypodani.

Armeni.

Hij videntur sagittæ balistis.

tarunt cum vno arcu, & isti ita foriter currebant, quod equi eos inuelligare non poterant. Currebant enim saltando super illum vnum pedem, & cum essent fessi taliter cundo, ibant super manum & pedem, remouendo se quasi rota; & sic cum essent fessi iterum currebant secundum modum priorem: aliquos tamen occidebant ex eis. Inde procedentes venerunt in Armeniam, quam bello vicerunt, & partem Georgiae: & alia pars venit ad mandatum eorum; & quadraginta millia yperperorum singulis annis dederunt, & adhuc faciunt idem. Inde procedentes ad terram Soldani Deurum, qui erat satis magnus & potens, cum eo pugnaverunt & deuicerunt. Inde procedentes vltra debellando & vincendo vsq; ad terram Soldani Halapiae & nunc terram illam impugnant: nec postea vsque in hodiernum diem in terram suam fuerunt reuersi. Alius exercitus iuit contra terram Calif de Baldach, quam sibi etiã subdiderunt: Et quadraginta bifantia exceptis Baldachinis & alijs muneribus omni die dant pro tributo: Et omni anno pro Calif, vt ad eos veniat, nuncios mitunt: qui cum tributo munera magna mittit, roganis vt eũ supportent, Ipse vero imperator munera accipit, & nihilominus vt veniat mittit pro eo.

Georgia.

Terra Soldani
Deurum.
Terra Soldani
Halapiae.

Qualiter Tartari se habent in prelijs. Cap. 6.

Disto de imperio, dicendum est hoc modo de bello. Primo de ordinatione acierum. Secundo de armis. Tertio de astutijs in congressione, quarto de crudelitate quam faciunt in captiuos. Quinto de oppugnatione castrorum & ciuitatum. Sexto de perfidia quam exercent cum hijs qui se reddunt eisdem. De ordinatione acierum dicemus hoc modo. Cyngis can ordinauit, vt decem hominibus præponeretur vnus: & ille secundum nos appellatur Decanus, Decem autem Decanis præponeretur vnus, qui centenarius nuncupatur: Decem vero Centenarijs præponeretur vnus qui millenarius nuncupatur: decem millenarijs præponeretur vnus, & ille numerus vocatur tenebre apud eos. Cuncto vero exercitui præponuntur duo duces vel tres, ita tamen quod habeant respectum ad vnum. Cum autem omnes sunt in bello si de decem hominibus fugit vnus vel duo, vel tres, vel etiam plures, omnes occiduntur. Et vt breuiter dicam, nisi communitur cedant, omnes qui fugiunt occiduntur. Item si vnus vel duo aut plures audacter ad pugnam accedunt, & decem alij non sequuntur, etiam occiduntur. Item si vnus de decem vel plures capiuntur, & alij focij sui non liberant eos, etiam occiduntur. Duo arcus vel tres, vel vnum bonum ad minus, & tres pharetras magnas plenas de sagittis & vnam securim, & funes ad machinas trahendas habere debet vnusquisque. Diuites autem habent gladios acutos in fine, ex vna tantum parte incidentes, & aliquantulum curuos: & habent equum armatum, crura etiam tecta. Galeas & loricas quidam habent de corio in hunc modum formatas. Habent quasdam corrigias de boue ad latitudinem vnus manus, & bituminant tres vel quatuor simul, & ligant illas corrigiolis vel cordis. In corrigia superiori ponunt cordulas in fine; in inferiori ponunt in medio, & sic faciunt vsque ad finem. Vnde quum se inclinant in inferiores, corrigia superiores ascendunt & sic duplicantur super corpus, vel triplicantur. De coopertura equi faciunt quinque partes: ex vna parte faciunt vnam, ex alia parte faciunt aliam, quam partem ducunt a cauda vsq; ad caput: quæ ligantur ad sellam, & post sellam in dorso & etiam in collo, super renes etiam partem aliam ponunt, vbi duæ partium ligaturæ iunguntur: in qua pecia faciunt vnum foramen, per quod caudas exponunt: & ante pectus ponunt etiam vnam: quæ omnes protenduntur vsque ad crurium iuncturas. Et ante frontem laminam ferream ponunt, quæ ex vtraque parte colli partibus prædictis ligatur. Lorica vero etiam quatuor partes habet, vna pars protenditur à scemore vsque ad collum; sed est facta secundum dispositionem humani corporis: quia ante pectus est stricta: in rotundum obuoluitur circa corpus à brachijs inferius: Super humeros autem retro ad renes habent aliam peciam, quæ protenditur a collo vsque ad aliam peciam, quæ reuoluitur circa corpus: Super humeros autem istæ duæ peciæ anterior videlicet & posterior, ad duas laminas ferreas quæ sunt in vtroque humero fibulis connectuntur. Et in vtroque brachio vnam habent peciam, quæ ab humero protenduntur vsque ad manus, quæ etiam inferius sunt apte. Et in vtroque crure vnam habent peciam: quæ peciæ omnes fibulis coniunguntur. Galea autem superius est ferrea. Sed illud quod protegit in circuitu collum & gulam de corio fit. Et omnes istæ peciæ de corio sunt formatæ secundum modum superius annotatum. Quidam autem omnia quæ superius diximus habent de ferro in hunc modum formata. Vnam laminam tenuem ad latitudinem vnus digiti faciunt, & ad longitudinem palmæ vnus. Et in hunc modum faciunt laminas multas: & in vna quaque lamina octo foramina paruula faciunt, & interius tres corrigias strictas & fortes ponunt, & laminas vnam super aliam ponunt, quasi ascendendo per gradus: & ligant laminas prædictas ad corrigias tenuibus corrigiolis, quas mit-

tunt

tunt per foramina superius annotata: Et in superiori parte consiunt corrigiolam vnam, vt laminæ prædictæ bene & firmiter cohæreant sibi. Et faciunt ex laminis quatuor corrigiam vnam, & postea ligant per pecias per omnia, sicut superius dictum est. Et ista faciunt tam ad equorum quam ad hominum armaturas. Et faciunt illa ita lucere, quod potest homo in eis faciem suam videre. Aliqui eorū lanceas habent: & in fine ferri lanceæ vnum habent vnciu, cum quo trahunt hominem de sella si possunt. Longitudo sagittarum est duorum pedum & vnus palmæ, & duorum digitorum. Et quia diuersi sunt pedes, mensuram pedum geometricam ponimus. Duodecim grana hordei pollicis transuersio est. Sexdecim pollices transuersi faciunt vnum geometricum pedem. Ferramenta sagittarum sunt acutissima, & ex vtraque parte incidentia quasi gladius biceps, & semper portant limas iuxta pharetram ad acuendum sagittas, Ferramenta prædicta caudam habent acutam ad longirudinem vnus digiti, quam imponunt in lignum, Scutum habent de viminibus vel de virgulis factum. Sagittas habent alias ad sagittandum aues bestias & homines inermes ad trium digitorum latitudinem. Sagittas alias habent diuersimodas ad aues & bestias sagittandas. Quum ad bellum procedere volunt præcursores præmittunt, qui nihil secum portant præter filica sua, equos & arma. Isti nihil rapiunt, domos non comburunt, bestias non occidunt: Sed tamen homines vulnerant & mortificant, & si non possunt aliud, mittunt in fugam; multo libentius tamen occidunt, quam fugant, post istos sequitur exercitus, qui cuncta quæ inuenit accipit, & homines etiam, si inueniri possunt, accipiunt & occidunt. Quum autem ad flumina perueniunt, hoc modo transeunt illa etiam si sunt magna. Maiores vnum rotundum & leue corium habent, in quo in summitate per circuitum crebras faciunt ansas, in quibus funem imponunt, & stringunt ita quod in circuitu faciunt quendam ventrem, quem replent vestibus, & alijs rebus, & fortissime comprimunt ad inuicem: post hoc in medio ponunt sellas & alias res duriores: homines autem in medio sedent: & ligant ad caudam equi nauem hanc taliter præparatam, & vnum hominum qui equum regat faciunt pariter cum equo ante natæ: vel habent aliquando duos remos, & cum illis remigant vltra aquam, & sic transeunt fluuium, Equos veropellunt in aqua, & vnus homo iuxta vnum equum, quæ regit, natat: & alij equi illum sequuntur. Et sic transeunt aquas & flumina magna. Alij vero pauperiores vnam bursam de corio bene consutam vnusquisque tenetur habere: in qua bursa vel in quo sacco vestes & omnes res suas imponunt; & in summitate sacculi fortissime ligant, & suspendunt ad caudam equi, & transeunt, vt supradictum est. Sciendum est, quod cum vident hostes tunc vadunt ad eos, & vnusquisque iacet tres sagittas vel quatuor contra aduersarios: Et si vident quod eos superare non possunt, retro gradiuntur ad suos: Et hoc faciunt in fraudem, vt aduersarij eos sequantur ad loca vbi insidias parauerunt: Et si inimici eorum sequuntur ad prædictas insidias, circumdant eos & sic vulnerant & occidunt. Item si vident quod magnus exercitus est contra eos, aliquando diuertunt ab eo per vnam dietam vel duas, & aliam partem terræ inuadunt & spoliant: & interficiunt homines, & terram destruunt & deuasant. Et si vident quod hoc etiam facere non possunt, cedunt retro ad decem vel duodecim dietas: aliquando etiam morantur in loco tuto, quousque aduersariorum exercitus separetur, & tunc furtim veniunt, & depopulantur totam terram. In bellis etiam astutissimi sunt: quia iam per quadraginta annos & amplius cum alijs gentibus dimicarunt. Cum autem volunt ad pugnam accedere, omnes acies ordinant sicut deberent pugnare. Duces siue principes exercitus bellum non intrant, sed stant à longè contra inimicorum exercitum, & iuxta se habent pueros in equis & mulieres & equos. Et faciunt aliquando imagines hominum, & ponunt super equos. Hoc ideo faciunt, vt multitudo magna bellantium esse credantur. Contra faciem equorum vnam aciem captiuorum & aliarum gentium quæ sunt inter eos transmittunt: & forsitan aliqui Tartari vadunt cum eis, Alias acies fortiorum hominum longe mittunt à dextris & à sinistris, vt non videantur ab aduersarij suis: & sic circumdant aduersarios & colligunt in medium, & pugnare incipiunt ex omni parte. Et cum sunt aliquando pauci, putantur ab aduersarijs qui circumdati sunt, esse multi. Et maxime cum videant illos, qui sunt cum duce vel principe exercitus pueros & mulieres & equos, & homines fictos, vt dictum est supra: quos credunt esse pugnatore: & per hoc terrentur & confunduntur. Et si forte aduersarij bene pugnant, faciunt eis viam vt fugiant: & statim cum fugere incipiunt, ab inuicem separati insequuntur eos, & plures tunc occidunt fuga, quam mortificare possent in bello, Sciendum tamen est, quod si aliud possunt, non libenter cõgrediuntur, sed homines & equos sagittis vulnerant & occidunt. Munitiones in hunc modum expugnant. Si est talis munitio ipsam circumdant, immo aliquando ita sepiunt, vt nullus ingredi vel exire possit, Expugnant fortissime machinis & sagittis: & nec die nec nocte cessant a prælio, vt illi qui sunt in munitioibus non quiescant, Ipsi Tartari quiescunt: quia acies diuidunt & vna succedit alteri in pugnam vt non nimium fatigentur. Et si eam taliter habere non possunt græcū proijciunt ignem. Imo solent aliquando accipere aruinam hominum quos occidunt, & liquefactum proijciunt

Mos tranandi
flumina.

Qualiter muni-
tiones obsident.

super

super domos: Et vbi cunque venit ignis super pinguedinem illam, quali inextinguibiliter ardet. Et si ira non præualeat, & si ciuitas illa vel castrum habeat flumen, obstruunt illud, vel faciunt alium aluicum & submergunt illam munitionem si possunt. Si autem non possunt suffodiunt illam, & sub terra armati in ipsam ingrediuntur. Et cum iam intrauerunt, vna pars ignem imponit vt comburatur: & alia pars cum illius munitionis hominibus pugnat. Si autem nec sic illam vincere possunt, castrum vel munitionem suam faciunt contra illam, vt ab inimicorum iaculis non grauentur, & contra illam multo tempore iacent: nisi forte exte. ius adiutorium exercitus qui pugnat cum eis adhibeat, & vi remoueat ipsos. Sed cum iacent ante munitionem blandi de eis loquuntur, & multa promittunt, ad hoc vt se in eorum manus tradant: Et si illi se eis tradiderint, dicunt: Exite, vt secundum morem nostrum vos muneremus. Et cum illi ad eos exeunt, quærent qui sunt artifices inter eos, & illos referunt: alios autem, exceptis illis quos volunt habere pro seruis cum securi occidunt. Et si aliquibus alijs parcunt, vt dictum est, nobilibus & honestis nunquam parcunt. Et si fortè aliquo casu contingente referuant aliquos nobiles; nec prece nec precio vltra de captiuitate possunt exire. In bellis autem quos cunque capiunt occidunt, nisi forte velint aliquos referuare vt habeant eos pro seruis. Occidendos autem diuidunt per centenarios, vt cum bipenni interficiantur ab eis. Ipsi vero post hoc diuidunt captiuos, & vnicuique seruo ad interficiendum dant decem aut plures vel pauciores, secundum quod maioribus placet.

Pannica fides.

De terris quas eorum dominio subiugarunt. Cap. 7.

Scripto quomodo pugnant, dicendum est de terris, quas eorum dominio subiugarunt. De quo isto modo scribemus. Primo dicemus quomodo faciunt cum hominibus pacem. Secundo de terrarum nominibus quas sibi subdiderunt. Tertio de tyrannide quam exercent in eis. Quarto de terris quæ viriliter resisterunt. Sciendum est quod cum nullis hominibus faciunt pacem, nisi subdentur eis: quia, vt dictum est supra, Cyngis can habent mandatum, vt cunctas si possunt sibi subijciant nationes. Et hæc sunt illa quæ petunt ab eis, vt vadant cum eis in exercitu contra omnem hominem quando placet, & vt dent decimam de omnibus tam de hominibus, quam de rebus. Computant enim decem, & vnum accipiunt. De puellis faciunt illud idem, quos in terram eorum deducunt & tenent eos pro seruis: reliquos numerant & ordinant secundum morem. Sed quando plene habent dominium super eos, si aliquid promiserunt eis nihil obseruant: sed quascunque possunt congrue occasiones inueniunt contra eos. Nam cum essemus in Russia, missus fuit Saracenorum ex parte Cuynthean vt dicebatur & Bari: & præfectus ille a quolibet homine qui habebat tres pueros vnum accipiebat: & quicumque viri non habebant vxores, illos deducebant, & faciebant de mulieribus etiam illud idem quæ viros legitimos non habebant. Pauperes etiam qui mendicando sunt victum quærebant similiter deportabant. Reliquos autem secundum eorum consuetudinem numerant, præcipiens vt vnusquisque iam paruus quam magnus, & infans vnus diei, siue pauper siue diues esset, tale tributum præberet: vt scilicet daret vnâ pellem albi vrsi, & vnum nigrum castorei, & vnum Zabulum, & vnâ nigram pellem cuiusdam animalis quod in terra latibulum habet, cuius nomen nescio in latinum transferre, sed Tentonice dicitur. Ilir: Poloni autem & Rutheni appellant illam Dochon: & vnâ nigram pellem vulpinam. Et quicumque ista non dat, inter Tartaros debet duci, & in eorum redigi seruitutem. Mitunt etiam pro principibus terrarum, vt ad eos veniant sine mora: & cum venerint, debitum honorem nullum recipiunt, sed habentur vt aliæ viles personæ: & oportet vt eis munera magna præsentent, tam ducibus quam vxoribus eorum, & officialibus, millenarijs & centenarijs. Imo omnes generaliter, & ipsi etiam serui ab eis cum magna importunitate munera quærent: Et non solum ab ipsis, sed etiam à nuncijs eorum cum mittuntur. Aliquibus etiam inueniunt occasiones vt eos occidant. Sicut de Michaele & alijs actum est. Aliquos vero alliciunt, quos permittunt redire. Aliquos etiam potionibus perimunt vel veneno. Eorum enim intentio est, vt ipsi soli dominentur in terra. Idcirco quærent occasiones contra nobiles, vt eos occidant. Ab illis vero quos redire permittunt petunt eorum filios aut fratres, quos vltimus nunquam dimitunt. Sicut factum est de filio Ierosai, & de quodam duce Alanorum, & alijs plurimis. Et si moritur pater vel frater siue hæres, filium vel fratrem nunquam dimitunt: immo illius principatum totaliter accipiunt sibi. Sicut de quodam Solangorum vidimus esse factum. Baschathos suos ponunt in terris eorum quos redire permittunt, quibus oportet vt ad nutum tam dices quam alij debeant obedire. Et si homines alicuius ciuitatis vel terræ non faciunt quod volunt, isti Baschathi imponunt eis, quod sunt Tartaris infideles: & sic ciuitatem illam vel terram deltruunt, & homines qui sunt in ea occidunt, per manum validam Tartarorum, qui ex mandato principis illius cui obedi terra illa veniunt eis nescientibus, & subito irruunt super eos: sicut nuper contigit cum in terra

Vrsi albi.

Vel illic.

Dochon.

Solangi.
Baschus, vox Tartarica, qua videntur Turci.

Tartarorum esseimus de quadam ciuitate. Quod ipsummet de Ruthenis fecerunt in terra Comanorum. Et non solum princeps Tartarorum qui terram usurpauit, sed præfectus ipse, & quicunque Tartarus per ciuitatem illam siue terram transtulit quasi dominatur eidem, & maxime qui maior est apud eos. Insuper aurum & argenti, & alia quæ uolunt & quando libet ad imperatorē vadant Tartarorum ad placitandum. Sicut nuper contigit de duobus filijs regis Georgia. Vnus enim erat legitimus, & alter de adulterio natus, qui vocabatur Dauid: legitimus autem Melic vocabatur. Filio adulteræ terræ partem relinquebat pater. Alius vero, qui iunior erat, ueniebat cum matre ad Tartarorum imperatorem, pro eo quod Dauid prædictus ad ipsum iter arripuerat ueniendi. Mater alterius scilicet Melic regina Georgia, per quam maritus tenebat regnum, quia per foeminas illud regnum tenebatur, mortua fuit in uia. Illi autem cum uenerunt dederunt maxima munera: & maxime legitimus filius, qui repetebat terram quam reliquerat pater filio suo Dauid, cum non deberet habere, quia adulteræ filius erat. Ille uero respondit: Licet sum filius concubinæ, peto tamen ut fiat mihi iustitia secundum legem Tartarorum, qui nullam differentiam faciunt inter filios legitimæ & ancillæ: unde fuit data sententia contra filium legitimum, ut ille Dauidi qui maior erat subesset, & terram haberet quiete & pacifice, quam dederat ei pater: & sic donaria quæ dederat, & causam quam contra fratrem suum Dauid habuerat, amisit. Ab illis etiam nationibus quæ longe sunt ab eis, & coniunctæ sunt alijs nationibus quas aliquo modo timent, quæ non sunt eis subiectæ, tributū accipiunt & quasi misericorditer agunt cum eis, ut non adducant exercitum super eos, uel etiam ut alij non terrentur, se tradere eis. Sicut factum est de Obefis siue Georgianis, a quibus quinquaginta uel quadraginta millia, ut dictum est, yperperorum siue Byfantiorū accipiunt pro tributo: alijs ad hoc in pace esse permittunt. Tamen, secundum quod intelleximus ab eis, rebellare proponunt.

Terrarum nomina quas uicerunt sunt hæc. Kytai, Naymani, Solangi, Kara Kytai, siue nigri Kytai, Comana, Tumat, Voyrat, Caranti, Huyur, Sobol, Merkui, Meniti, Baryhyur, Gosmit, Saraceni, Bisermini, Turcomani, Byleri, magna Bulgaria, Baschare, magna Hungaria, Kergis, Colona, Thorati, Buritabeth, Parossiti, Sassi, Iacobiti, Alani, siue Afli, Obefi siue Georgiani, Nestoriani, Armeni, Cangiti, Comani Brutachi, qui sunt Iudæi, Mordui, Torci, Gazari, Samogedi, Perses, Thoas, India minor siue Æthiopia, Ychafi, Rucheni, Baldach, Sarthi: Aliæ terræ sunt plures, sed earum nomina ignoramus. Vidimus etiam viros & mulieres fere de omnibus terris supra nominatis. Hæc autem sunt nomina Terrarum quæ eis uiriliter resisterunt, nec sunt adhuc subditæ eis, India magna, Mangia; Quædam pars Alanorum: Quædam pars Kytarum, Saii. Quædam enim ciuitatem Sayorum prædictorum obsederunt & debellare tentauerunt. At ipsi fecerunt machinas contra machinas eorum, & Tartarorum machinas omnes fregerunt, nec ciuitati appropinquare poterant ad pugnam contra machinas & balistas. Tandem vnâ uiam sub terra fecerunt, & profuerunt in ciuitatē, & alij tentabant incendere ciuitatē, alij pugnant. Homines autem ciuitatis vnâ partem populi ad extinguendū ignem posuerunt, & alia pars fortiter pugnat cum hijs qui intrauerunt ciuitatem, & multos occiderunt ex eis, & alios vulnerauerunt, cōpellenes eos ad suos redire. At ipsi uidentes quod nihil possent facere, & multi homines morentur, recesserunt ab eis. In terra Saracenorū & aliorū ubi sunt quasi inter eos domini, accipiunt omnes artifices meliores, & in omnibus operibus suis ponunt. Alij autē artifices dant eis de opere suo tributum. Segetes omnes conduunt in horreis dominorum: & unicuique vnum pondus facis modicum dant in die: nihil aliud nisi ter in septimana modicum quid de carnibus eis prebent. Et illi hoc tantum artificibus faciunt qui in ciuitatibus commorantur. Item quando dominis placet iuuenes omnes accipiunt, & post se cum omnibus famulis suis ire cogunt: qui de cætero certo sunt numero Tartarorū; immo potius de numero captiuorū: quia etiam inter ipsos sunt numerati, non tamen habentur in reuerentia sicut Tartari; sed habentur pro seruis, & ad omnia pericula ut alij captiui mittuntur. Ipsi enim in bello sunt primi: Etiam si debet palus uel aqua periculosa transiri, eos oportet primo vadum tentare. Ipsos est etiam necesse operari omnia quæ sunt facienda. Ipsi etiam si in aliquo offendunt, uel si non obediunt ad nutum, ut asini uerberantur. Et ut breuiter dicam, modicum quid manducant, & etiam modicum bibunt, & pessime induuntur; nisi forte aliquid possunt lucrari, nisi sunt aurifabri & alij artifices boni. Sed aliqui tam malos dominos habent, quod nihil eis dimittunt, nec habent tempus præ multitudinem operum dominorum, ut sibi aliquid operentur, nisi furentur sibi tempus, quando forsitan debent quietere uel dormire. Et hoc si uxores uel propriam stationem permittuntur habere. Alij autem qui tenentur in domo pro seruis omni miseria sunt repleti. Vidi enim eos ire in braciis sæpissime, & toto corpore nudos in maximo solis ardore. Et in hyeme patiuntur maximum frigus. Vidimus etiam aliquos pedicas & digitos manuum de magno frigore perdidisse. Audiuius etiam alios esse mortuos, uel etiam de magno algore quasi in omnibus membris inuitiles esse factos.

Samogedi aquilonares,

Mangia.

Quomodo bello occurratur Tartaris. Cap. 8.

Disto de terris, quæ obediunt eis, supponendum est quomodo bello occurratur eisdem. Quod videtur nobis hoc modo dicendum. Primo scribendum est quid intendunt. Secundo de armis & ordinatione acierum. Tertio quomodo occurratur astutij eorum in congressione. Quarto de munitione castrorum & ciuitatû. Quinto quid faciendum sit de captiuis eorum. Inuentio Tartarorum est subijcere sibi totum mundum si possunt. Et de hoc Cyngischan habent mandatum, sicut superius dictum est. Idcirco eorum imperator sic in literis suis scribit. Dei fortitudo, Omnium Imperator. Et in superscriptione sigilli sui hoc habet.

Dominus in cælo, & Cuynch Chan super terram. Dei fortitudo, omnium hominum imperatoris sigillum. Et ideo cum nullis hominibus faciunt pacem, vt dictum est, nisi forte se in eorum manibus tradunt. Et quia excepta Christianitate nulla est terra in orbe quam timent, idcirco se ad pugnam præpararunt contra nos. Vnde nouerint vniuersi quod nobis existentibus in terra eorum in solenni curia, quæ iam ex pluribus annis indicta erat, fuimus, vbi elegerunt Cuynch imperatorem in præsentia nostra, qui in lingua eorum dicitur Chan. Qui Cuynch Chan prædictus exiit cum omnibus principibus vexillum contra ecclesiam dei & Romanum imperium, & contra omnia regna Christianorum & populos occidentis, nisi forsitan facerent ea, quæ mandat Domino Papæ, & potentibus ac omnibus Christianorum populis Occidentis: quod nulla ratione faciendum est: tum propter nimiam seruitutem & intolerabilem, quæ est hæcenus inaudita, quam vidimus oculis nostris, in quam redigunt omnes gentes sibi subiectas: tum propterea quod nulla in eis est fides: nec potest aliqua gens confidere in verbis eorum: quia quicquid promittunt non obseruant, quando vident sibi tempora fauere: & subdoli sunt in omnibus tactis & promissis eorum. Intendunt etiam delere omnes principes, omnes nobiles, omnes milites de terra, vt superius dictum est: sed hoc faciunt subdole & artificiose in subditos suos: Tum etiam quia indignum est quod Christiani subdantur eisdem, propter abominaciones eorum, & quia in nihilum redigitur cultus dei, & animæ pereunt, & corpora vltra quâ credi possit multitudine affliguntur. In primo quidem sunt blandi, sed postea vt scorpio cruciant & affligunt. Tum quia pauciores sunt numero, & corpore debiliores quâ populi Christiani. In prædicta autem curia sunt bellatores & principes & exercitus assignati. De decem hominibus mittuntur tres cum familijs eorum, de omni terra potestatis eorum. Vnus exercitus debet intrare per Hungariam: secundus per Poloniam. Veniunt autem pugnaturi continue oostodecem annis. Têpus est etiam eis assignatum, In Martio An. Dom. 1247, si de terra sua mouebunt. Venient autem in tribus vel in quatuor annis vsq; ad Comaniã. De Comania autem insultum facient in terras superius annotatas. Hæc omnia firma sunt & vera, nisi Dominus aliquod impedimentum pro sua gratia faciat eis, Sicut fecit quando venerunt in Hungariã & Poloniã, Debebant enim procedere tunc pro certo triginta annis. Sed interfectus fuit tunc imperator eorum veneno: & propter hoc quieuerunt à prælijs vsq; nunc. Sed modo, quia positus est imperator de nouo, iterum se de nouo ad pugnam incipiunt præparare. Ad hoc sciendum est, quod imperator dixit ore suo, quod vellet mittere exercitum in Liuoniam & Prussiam. Et quoniam omnem terram volunt delere vel in seruitutem redigere, quæ seruitus est intolerabilis nostræ genti, vt superius dictum est: Occurrendum est igitur eis in bello. Sed si vna prouincia non vult alteri opem ferre, terra illa debetur contra quam pugnant, & cum illis hominibus quos capiunt pugnabunt contra aliam terram: & in acie erunt primi. Si male pugnant occidentur ab eis: Si autem bene, ipsi cum promissis adulationibus tenent: & etiam vt ab ipsis non fugiant promittunt eis quod facient eos dominos magnos: & post hoc quando securi esse possunt de ipsis, vt non redeant, faciunt eos infelicissimos seruos. Ac de mulieribus quas volunt in concubinas tenere pro seruitijs faciunt illud idem. Et ita cum hominibus deuictæ prouinciæ destruunt aliam terram. Nec est aliqua prouincia quæ per se possit resistere eis: quia de omni terra potestatis eorum, vt dictum est, homines congregant ad bellum. Vnde si Christiani se ipsos & suã terram, & Christianitatem volunt seruare, oportet quod in vnum conueniant reges, principes & barones, & terrarum rectores, & mittant de cõmuni consilio homines contra eos ad pugnam, antequam ipsi incipiant in terras diffundi. Quoniam postquam incipiunt spargi per terras, vndiq; homines quæruunt, & nullus congrue auxilium alteri potest præbere: quoniam ipsi cateruatim vndiq; quæruunt homines & occidunt. Et si claudunt se in castris, ponunt tria millia vel quatuor millia hominum contra castrum vel ciuitatem, qui obsideant eam; & ipsi nihilominus diffunduntur per terras homines occidentes. Quicumq; autem volunt pugnare cum eis, hæc arma debent habere. Arcus bonos & fortes, & balistas, quas multum timent, & sagittas sufficientes: & bonum dolabrum de bono ferro, & scutum cum longo manubrio. Ferramenta sagittarum de arcu vel de balista debent,

¶ Forte mensibus

Tartari proponunt inuadere Liuoniam & Prussiam.

Temperamentum
ferri,

vt Tartari, quando sunt calida, temperari in aqua cum sale mixta, vt torcia sint ad penetrandum arma eorum. Gladios & etiam lanceas cum vnco, qui valeant ad trahendum eos de sellis: quia de eis facillime cadunt: ac cultellos ac loricas duplicatas; quia illos eorum sagittæ non penetrant: & galeã & arma alia ad protegendum corpus & equum ab armis & sagittis eorum, Et si aliqui non sunt ita bene armati, vt dixi; debent ire post alios vt faciunt Tartari: & trahere contra eos de armis & sagittis. Nec debent parcere pecuniæ, quoniam comparent arma, vt possint animas & corpora, libertatem & res alias conseruare. Acies debent ordinari, vt ipsi, per millenarios, centenarios, & decanos & duces exercitus: qui duces nequaquam debent prælium intrare, sicut nec duces eorum, sed debent exercitus videre & ordinare: legem quæ debent ponere vt simul incedant ad bellum, siue aliàs, sicut sunt ordinati, Et quicumque reliquit alium siue ad bellum procedentem, siue pugnantem, vel quicumque fugerit, nisi omnes cõmuniter cedant, grauissime puniatur: quia tunc pars bellantium sequitur fugientes, & sagittis eorum occidunt, & pars cum hijs qui remanēt pugnant, & sic confundūt & occiduntur remanentes & fugientes. Similiter quicumque conuersus fuerit ad prædam tollendam, antequam omnino sit exercitus contrariorū deuictus, maxima pœna mulctetur, Talis enim apud Tartaros sine ulla miseratione occiditur. Locus ad præliandum est eligendus, si fieri potest vt campus sit planus, & possint vndique videre: & si possunt habeant syluam magnam a tergo vel a latere. ita tamen quod non possunt intrare inter ipsos & syluam: nec debent simul omnes conuenire in vnum, sed facere acies multas, & diuersas ab inuicem, nec tamen multum distantes. Et contra illos qui post veniunt debent vnã aciem mittere qui eis occurrat. Et si Tartari simulant fugam, non multum vadant post eos, nisi forte quantum possunt videre, ne forte ipsos ad paratas insidias trahant, sicut facere solent: Et alia sit parata ad inuandum aciem illam, si fuerit opportunum. Insuper habeant speculatores ex omni parte, vt videant quando veniant aliæ acies Tartarorum retro, à dextris & à sinistris: & semper debent mittere aciem contra aciem quæ eis occurrat. Ipsi enim semper nituntur concludere aduersarios eorum in medio, vnde magnam cautelã debent habere ne hoc facere possint, quia sic exercitus facillime debellatur. Omnes acies hoc debent cauere, ne diu currant post eos, propter insidias quas solent præparare: plus enim fraudulentia quàm fortitudine pugnant. Duces exercitus semper debent esse parati ad mittendum adiutorium, si necesse est, illis qui sunt in pugna, & propter hoc etiam debent vitare inimum cursum post eos: ne forte fatigentur equi eorum; quoniam nostri multitudinem equorum non habent. Sed Tartari illum quem equitant vna die, illum non ascendunt in tribus vel in quatuor diebus post hoc. Vnde non curant si fatigentur equi eorū propter multitudinem quam habent. Et si Tartari cedunt, non tamen nostri debent recedere, vel ab inuicem separari: quia simulando hoc faciunt, vt exercitus diuidatur, & post hoc terram libere ingrediuntur, & eam destruant. Debent etiam cauere vt non faciant nimias expensas, vt solent; ne propter penuriam redire compellantur, & dent Tartaris viam, vt ipsos & alios occidant, & destruant omnem terram; & propter eorum superfluitatem nomen Domini blasphemetur. Et hoc debent facere diligenter: vt si contingat aliquos pugnatores recedere, quod alij loco eorum succedant. Duces etiam nostri debent die nocte que facere exercitum custodiri, ne repente & subito irruant super ipsos: quia Tartari vt dæmones, multas excogitant iniquitates & artes nocendi: Immo tam de die quam de nocte semper debent esse parati: sed nec spoliati debent iacere nec deliciose ad mensam sedere, ne imparati inueniantur, quia Tartari semper vigilant, vt possint nocere. Homines vero terræ qui Tartaros expectant, vel super se timent venire, occultas foueas debent habere, in quibus sagittas, & alia debent reponere, propter duo: vt videlicet Tartari non possint ea habere; & si propitius fuerit eis Deus, valeant ea postea inuenire; Eis fugientibus de terra, debent scœnum & stramina comburere, vt equi Tartarorum ad comedendum minus inueniant. Ciuitates autem & castra si volunt munire, videant prius qualia sint in situ. Situs enim talis debet esse in castris, quod machinis & sagittis expugnari nõ possit; & aquã habeant sufficientem & lignũ, & si fieri potest, quod introitus & exitus eis tolli non possit: & quod habeant homines sufficientes qui possint vicissim pugnare. Et debent vigilare diligenter ne aliqua astutia possint castrum furari. Expensas ad multos annos debent habere sufficientes: custodiant tamen diligenter illas, & in mensura manducent, quia nesciunt quanto tempore eos in castris oportet esse inclusos. Quum enim incipiunt, tunc multis annis obsident vnum castrum. Sic fit hodierna die in terra Alanorum de quodam monte, quem, vt credo, iam obsederunt per duodecem annos; qui viriliter restiterunt, & multos Tartaros & nobiles occiderunt. Alia autem castra & ciuitates, quæ talem situm non habent debent fortiter vallari foueis profundis munitis, & muris bene præparatis; & arcus & sagittas sufficientes: & lapides ac fundas debent habere. Et debent diligenter cauere, quod non permittant Tartaros ponere machinas suas; & suis machinis debent eos repellere. Et si forte aliquo ingenio vel arte erigunt

Obsidio 12. annorum,

Tartari

Tartari machinas suas, debent eas destruere machinis suis si possunt. Balistis etiam, fundis & machinis debent resistere ne ciuitati appropinquent. Alias etiam debent esse parati, vt superius dictum est. De castris & ciuitatibus, quæ sunt in fluminibus positæ, diligenter debent videre ne possint submergi. Sed ad hoc sciendū est, quod Tartari plus diligunt, quod homines claudant se in ciuitatibus, quàm quod pugnent cū eis in campo. Dicunt enim eos esse suos porcellos in hara conclusos. Vnde ponunt eis custodes, vt supradictū est. Si autē aliqui Tartari de equis suis in bello projiciuntur, statim sunt capiendi: quia cum sunt in terra fortiter sagittant, & equos & homines vulnerant & occidunt. Et si seruantur tales, potest esse, quod habeatur pro eis pax perpetua, aut pecunia magna redimantur: quoniā se adinuicem satis diligunt. Sed quomodo Tartari cognoscantur, superius dictum est vbi forma eorum fuit expressa. Tamen quando capiuntur, si debent seruari, ne fugiant diligens est custodia adhibenda. Sunt etiā aliæ multę gentes cū eis, quæ per tormā superius annotatā possunt ab ipsis cognosci. Est etiam hoc sciendum, quod multi in exercitu eorum sunt, qui si viderent tempus, & haberēt fiduciam, quod nostri non occiderent eos, ex omni parte exercitus, sicut ipsi met nobis dixerunt, pugnarent cū eis, & plura mala facerent ipsis, quàm alij, qui sunt eorum aduersarij manifesti.

The long and wonderful voyage of fr̄ier Iohn de Plano Carpini, sent ambassadour by Pope Innocentius the iiii. An. Do. 1246. to the great CAN of Tartaria; wher in he passed through Bohemia, Polonia, Russia, and so to the citie of Kiow upon Boristhenes, and from thence rode continually post for the space of sixe moneths through Comania, ouer the mighty and famous riuers of Tanais, Volga, and laic, & through the countreies of the people called Kangitæ, Eisermi, Kara-Kitay, Naimani, & so to the natiue countrie of the Mongals or Tartars, situate in the extreme North-easterne partes of all Asia: and thence backe againe the same way to Russia, and Polonia, and so to Rome; spending in the whole voyage among the sayd Tartars one whole yeere & aboute foure moneths: Taken out of the 32. booke of Vincentius Beluacensis hys Speculum historiale,

LIBRI XXXII.

De prima missione Fratrum Prædicatorum & Minorum ad Tartaros. Cap. 2.



Occetiā tēpore misit Innocentius III. Papa Fr. Ascelinū de ordine Prædicatorū cū tribus alijs Fratribus, auctoritate, qua fungebantur, de diuersis ordinis sui conuentibus sibi associatis, cum literis Apostolicis ad exercitū Tartarorū, in quibus hortabatur eos, vt ab hominū strage desisterent, & fidei veritatē reciperent. Et ego quidē ab vno Fratrum Prædicatorū, videlicet ad Fr. Simone de S. Quintino, iam ab illo itinere regresso, gesta Tartarorū accepi, illa duntaxat, quæ superius per diuersa loca iuxta congruentiā temporū huic operi inferui. Si quidē & eo tempore quidā Frater ordinis Minorū, videlicet Fr. Iohannes de Plano carpini, cum quibusdam alijs missus fuit ad Tartaros, qui etiam, vt ipse testatur, per annum & quatuor menses & amplius cum eis mansit, & inter eos ambulauit. A summo namq; Pontifice mandatū, vt omnia, quæ apud eos erant, diligenter scrutaretur, acceperat, tam ipse, quàm Fr. Benedictus Polonus eiusdem ordinis, qui suæ tribulationis particeps & socius erat. Et hic ergo Fr. Iohannes de his, quæ apud Tartaros vel oculis proprijs vidit, vel à Christianis fide dignis, qui inter illos captiui erant, audiuit, libellum historicalem conscripsit, qui & ipse ad manus nostras peruenit. De quo etiam hic quasi per epilogum inferere libet aliqua, videlicet ad supplementum eorum, quæ desunt in prædicta Fr. Simonis historia.

Ascelinus.
¶ Vide Mech. uii lib. 1. cap. 5.

Simon Sanguinianus.

Iohannes de Plano Carpini.

Benedictus Polonus.

Libellus historicus alius Iohannis de Plano Carpini.

De situ & qualitate terræ Tartarorum. Cap. 3.

Iohannes de Plano Carpini.

Est in partibus Orientis terra, quæ Mongal siue Tartaria dicitur, in ea scilicet parte sita, in qua Oriens Aquiloni coniungi creditur. Ab Oriente quidem habet terram Kythaorum & eriam Solangorum, à meridie verò terrā Sarracenorum. Inter ¶ Orientē & meridiem terram Hynorum, & ab Occidente prouinciā Naymanorum, ab Aquilone verò circumdatur Oceano. In parte aliqua nimium est montuosa, & in aliqua campestris, sed tora ferè admixta glareâ plurimum arenosa, nec est in centesima parte fructuosa. Nec enim potest fructum portare, nisi aquis fluuiialibus irrigetur, quæ ibi sunt rarissime. Vnde nec villę nec aliquę ciuitates ibidē reperiuntur,

Tartarie descriptio.

¶ Vel Occidentem

Syra orda. excepta vna, quæ Cracurum appellatur, & satis bona esse dicitur. Nos quidem illam non vidimus, sed ad dimidiam dietam prope fuimus, cum apud Syram ordam, quæ curia maior Imperatoris eorum est, essemus. Licet autem aliàs infructifera sit illa terra, tamen alendis pecoribus est apta. In aliqua eius parte sunt aliquæ sylvæ modicæ, alia verò sine lignis est omnino. Itaque tam Imperator quam Principes, & omnes alij sedent, & cibaria sua decoquunt ad focum, de bouum & equorum stercoreibus factum. Ipse quoq; æt inordinatus est ibidem mirabiliter. In media siquidem ætate ibi tonitrua magna & fulgura fiunt, ex quibus plurimi occiduntur homines, & eodem quoq; tempore cadunt ibidem maximæ niues. Sunt & ibi ventorum fugidissimorum tam maximæ tempestates, quòd aliquando vix possunt equitare homines. Vnde cum ante ordam essemus (sic enim apud eos stationes Imperatoris & Principum appellantur) præ venti magnitudine in terra prostrati iacebamus, & videre propter pulueris magnitudinè minimè poteramus. Nunquam ibi pluit in hyeme, sed frequenter in ætate, & tam modicum, ut vix posset aliquando puluerem & radicem graminum madefacere. Ibi quoq; maxima grando cadit sæpè. Vnde cum Imperator electus in sede regni debuit poni, nobis in curia tunc existentibus, tanta cecidit grando, quod ex subita resolutione plusquam CLX. homines in eadem curia fuerunt submersi. Res etiam & habitacula plura fuerunt deducta. Ibi etiam est in ætate subito calor magnus, & repentè maximum frigus.

De forma & habitu & victu eorum. Cap. 4.

Tartarorum species. **M**ongalorum autem siue Tartarorum forma ab omnibus alijs hominibus est remota. Inter oculos enim, & inter genas, lati sunt plus cæteris, genæ quoq; satis prominent à maxillis. Nasum habent planum & modicum, oculos etiam paruos, & palpebras vsq; ad supercilia eleuatas, ac super verticem in modum Clericorum coronas. Ex vtraq; parte frontis rondendo, plusquam in medio crines longos faciunt, reliquos autem sicut mulieres crescere permittunt. De quibus duas cordas faciunt, & vnâ quamq; post aurem ligant. Pedes quoq; modicos habent. Vestes tam virorum quam mulierum vno modo formatæ sunt. Pallijs vel cappis vel capitijs non vtuntur. Tunicas verò miro modo formatas portant de buccarimo, vel purpurato, vel baldaquino. Pellicium habet pilos exterius, sed apertum est à posterioribus. Habet tamen caudalam vnâ vsq; ad genua retrò. Vestes suas non lauant, nec lauari permittunt, & maximè à tempore, quo tonitrua incipiunt, vsquequo desinat illud tempus. Stationes habent rotundas in modum tentorij de virgulis & baculis subtilibus præparatas. Supra verò in medio rotundant habent fenestram, vnde ingreditur lumen, & sumus exire possit: quia semper in medio faciunt ignem: parietes autem & tecta filtro sunt operta. Ostia quoq; de filtro sunt facta. Harum quedam subito soluuntur, & reparantur, & super summarios deferuntur: quædam verò dissolui non possunt sed in curribus portantur. Et quocunq; siue ad bellum siue aliàs vadunt, semper illas secum deferunt. In animalibus valde diuites sunt, vt in Camelis & bobus, capris & ouibus. Iumenta & equos habent in tanta multitudine, quantam non credimus totum mundi residuum habere. Porcos autè & alias bestias non habent. Imperator ac Duces atq; alij magnates in auro & argento ac serico & gemmis abundant. Cibi eorū sunt omnia, quæ mandi possunt. Vidimus eos etiã manducare pediculos. Lac bibūt animalium, & in maxima quantitate, si habent, iumentinum. Porrò in hyeme, quia nisi diuites sint, lac iumentinum non habent, millium cum aqua decoquunt, quod tam tenue faciunt, ut illud bibere valeant. Vnde quilibet eorū scyphum bibit vnū vel duos in mane, & quandoq; nihil amplius manducant in die. In sero autem vniciq; datur de carnibus modicū, & bibunt ex eis brodium. Porrò in ætate quando satis habent de lacte iumentino, carnes comedunt rarò, nisi fortè donetur eis idè, aut venatione bestia aliquam ceperint vel auem.

De moribus eorum bonis & malis. Cap. 5.

Abstemptus. **H**abent autem mores quosdam quidem commendabiles, & quosdam detestabiles. Magis quippe sunt obedientes Dominis suis, quam aliqui qui in mundo sint homines, siue religiosi siue seculares. Nam eos maximè reuerentur, nec illis de facili mentiuntur verbis factis siue: rarò vel nunquam ad inuicem contendunt, bellâq; vel rixâ, vulnera vel homicidia nunquam inter eos contingunt. Prædones etiam ac fures rerum magnarū ibi nequaquã inueniuntur, ideoq; stationes & curus eorū, vbi thesauros habent, seris aut vectibus non firmantur. Si aliqua bestia perdita fuerit, quicunq; inuenit eam vel dimittit, vel ad illos, quid hoc positi sunt, eam ducit. Apud quos ille, cuius est bestia, illam requirit, & absq; vlla difficultate recipit. Vnus alium satis honorat, & familiaritatè ac cibaria, quamuis apud eos sint pauca, liberaliter satis communicat. Satis etiã sunt sufferentes, nec cum ieiunauerint vno die, vel duobus, omnino sine cibo, videntur impa.

impatientes, sed cantant & ludunt, ac si bene comedissent. In equitando multum sustinent frigus, calorem quoque nimium patiuntur. Inter eos quasi nulla placita sunt, & quamuis multum inebrientur, tamen in ebrietate sua nunquam contendunt. Nullus alium spernit, sed iuuat & promouet, quantum congruè potest. Castæ sunt eorum mulieres, nec aliquid inter eos auditur de ipsarum impudicitia. Quædam tamen ex ijs verba turpia satis habent & impudica. Porro erga cæteros homines iisdem Tartari superbissimi sunt, omnesq; nobiles & ignobiles quasi pro nihilo reputantes despiciunt. Vnde vidimus in curia Imperatoris magnum Russiæ ducem, & filium regis Georgianorum, ac Soldanos multos & magnos nullum honorem debitum recipere apud eos. Quinciam Tartari eisdem assignati, quantumcumq; viles essent illos antecedeabant, semperq; primum locum & summum tenebant, imò etiam sæpè oportebat illos post eorum posteriora sedere. Præterea iracundi sunt, & indignantis naturæ multum erga cæteros homines, & vltra modum erga eosdem mendaces. In principio quidè blandi sunt, sed postmodum vt Scorpiones pungunt. Subdoli enim & fraudulentissimi sunt, & omnes homines si possunt astutia circumueniunt. Quicquid mali volunt eis facere, miro modo occultant, vt sibi non possint providere, vel contra eorum astutias remedium inuenire. Immundi quoq; sunt in cibo & potu sumendis, & in cæteris factis suis. Ebrietas apud illos est honorabilis: cumq; multum aliquis biberit, ibidemq; reijcit, non ideo cessat, quin iterum bibat. Ad petendum maximi sunt exactores, tenacissimi retentores, parcissimi donatores. Aliorum hominum occisio apud illos est pro nihilo.

Castitas.

Insolentia aduersus exteros.

Iracundia.

Fraudentia.

Sordiditas.
Temulentia.

Insuperbia.

De legibus & consuetudinibus eorum. Cap. 6.

HOc autem habent in lege siue consuetudine, vt occidant viros & mulieres, si quando inueniantur in adulterio manifestè. Similiter etiam virginem, si fornicata fuerit cum aliquo, occidunt eam cum eo. Præterea si aliquis in præda vel furto manifesto inuenitur, sine vlla miseratione occiditur. Item si quis denudauit consilia, maxime quando volunt ad bellum procedere, dantur ei super posteriora centum plagæ, quanto maiores viuis rusticus cum magno baculo potest dare. Similiter cum aliqui de minoribus offendunt in aliquo, non eis à maioribus suis parcitur, sed verberibus grauius affliguntur. Matrimonio autem generaliter coniunguntur omnibus, etiam propinquis carne, excepta matre & filia & sorore ex eadem matre. Nam fororem tantum ex patre, & vxorem quoq; patris, post eius mortem solent ducere. Vxorè etiam fratris alius frater iunior, post eius mortem, vel alius de parentela, tenetur ducere. Vnde dum adhuc essemus in terra, Dux quidam Russiæ, Andreas nomine, apud Bary, quod equos Tartarorum de terra educeret, & alijs venderet, accusatus est: quod licet non esset probatum, occisus est. Hoc audiens iunior frater, & vxor occisi, pariter venerunt ad præfatum Ducem, supplicare volentes, ne terra auferretur eisdem. At ille paruò præcepit, vt fratris defuncti duceret vxorem, mulieri quoq; vt illum in virum duceret, secundum Tartarorum consuetudinè. Quæ respondit, se potius occidi velle, quam sic contra legem facere. At ille nihilominus eam illi tradidit quamuis ambo renuerent, quantum possent. Itaq; ducentes eos in lectum, clamantem puerum & plorantè super illam posuerunt, ipsosq; commiseri pariter coegerunt. Deniq; post mortem maritorum, vxores Tartarorum non de facili solent ad secunda coniugia transire, nisi forte quis velit sororiam aut nouercam suam ducere. Nulla verò differentia est apud eos inter filiū vxoris & concubinæ, sed dat pater quod vult vniciq;. Itaq; si sunt etiam ex Ducum genere, ita fit Dux filius concubinæ, sicut filius vxoris legitimæ. Vnde cum rex Georgiæ duos filios nuper, vnum scilicet nomine Melich legitimum, alterum verò Dauid ex adulterio natum haberet, moriensq; terræ partem adulteræ filio reliquisset, Melich, cui etiam ex parte matris regnum obuenerat, quia per fœminas tenebatur, perrexit ad Imperatorem Tartarorum, eo quòd & Dauid iter arripuerat ad illum. Ambobus igitur ad curiam venientibus, datiq; maximis muneribus, petebat adulteræ filius, vt fieret ei iustitia secundum morem Tartarorum. Dataq; est sententia contra Melich, vt Dauid, qui maior erat natu, subesset, ac terrà à patre sibi concessam quietè ac pacificè possideret. Cumq; Tartarorum vnus habet vxorum multitudinem, vnaquaq; per se suam habet familiam & stationem. Et vna die Tartatus comedit & bibit & dormit cum vna, altera die cum alia. Vna tamen inter cæteras maior habetur, cum qua frequentius quàm cum alijs commoratur. Et licet, vt dictum est, sint multæ, nunquam tamen de facili contendunt inter se.

Pœna adulterijs.

Furti.

Aræani euulgati.

Leges matrimoniorum.

Andreas Dux
Russiæ.
¶ Vide Herbersteinium de rebus
Moschoui.
pag. 8. b.Melich & Dauid
fratres Georgiani.

πολυγαμία.

De superstitionibus ipsorum. Cap. 7.

QVibusdam verò traditionibus indifferentia quedã esse peccata dicunt, quas vel ipsi vel antecessores eorum confinxerunt. Vnum est, cultellum in ignem figere, vel quocumq; modo ignem cultello tangere, vel etiam de caldaria cum cultello carnes extrahere, vel cum securi

ισθλοθρησκεία.

iuxta ignem incidere. Credunt enim, quòd sic auterri debeat caput igni. Aliud est appodiare se ad flagellum, quo percutitur equus: ipsi enim non vtuntur calcariibus. Item flagello sagittas tangere, iuvenes aues capere vel occidere, cum signo equum percutere, os cum offe alio frangere. Itemq; lac, vel aliquem potum aut cibum super terram effundere, in statione mingere. Quod si voluntariè facit, occiditur, si autem aliter, oportet quòd pecuniam multà incantatori soluat, à quo purificetur. Qui etiam faciat, vt statio cum omnibus, quæ in ipsa sunt, inter duos ignes transeat. Antequam sic purificetur, nullus audet intrare, nec aliquid de illa exportare. Præterea si alicui mortellus imponitur, quem deglutire non possit & illum de ore suo eiecit, foramen sub statione fit, per quod extrahitur, ac sine vlla miseratione occiditur. Iterum si quis calcat super limen stationis Ducis alicuius, interficitur. Multa etiam habent his similia, quæ reputant peccata. At homines occidere, aliorum terras inuadere, ac res illorum diuipere, & contra Dei præcepta vel prohibitiones facere, nullum apud eos est peccatum. De vita æterna & damnatione perpetua nihil sciunt. Credunt tamen, quòd post mortem in alio seculo viuant, gregesque multiplicent, comedant & bibant, & cætera faciant, quæ hic à viuentibus fiunt. In principio lunationis vel in plenilunio incipiunt, quicquid noui agere volunt, ipsamq; Lunam Imperatore magnum appellant, eamq; deprecantes genua flectunt. Omnes, qui morantur in stationibus suis, oportet per ignem purificari. Quæ scilicet purificatio fit hoc modo. Duos quidem ignes faciunt, & duas hastas iuxta eos, vnamq; cordam in summitate harstarum ponunt. Ligantq; super cordam illam quasdam de Bucaramo scissionses, sub qua scilicet corda & ligaturis inter illos ignes transcunt homines, ac bestiarum ac stationes. Sunt etiam duæ mulieres, vna hinc, & alia inde aquam proijciantes, ac quædam carmina recitantes. Cæterum si aliquis à fulgure occiditur, oportet prædicto modo per ignes transire omnes illos, qui in illis stationibus morantur. Sratio siquidem ac lectus & currus, filtra & vestes, & quicquid salium habent, à nullo tanguntur, sed ab hominibus tanquam immunda respiciuntur. Et vt breuiter dicam, omnia purificari credunt per ignem. Vnde quando veniunt ad eos nunciij, vel Principes, aut qualescunq; personæ, oportet ipsos & munerum sua per duos ignes, vt purificentur, transire, ne fortè veneficia fecerint, aut venenum seu aliquid mali attulerint.

De initio imperij siue Principatus eorum. Cap. 8.

Tartaria populi.

TERRA quidem illa Orientalis, de qua dictum est supra, quæ Mongal nominatur, quatuor quondam habuisse populos memoratur. Vnus eorum Yeka Mongal, id est, magni Mongali vocabantur. Secundus Sumongal, id est, aquatici Mongali, qui seipso appellabant Tartaros, à quodam fluuio per eorum terram corrente, qui Tartar nominatur. Tertius appellabatur Merkar. Quartus verò Metrit. Omnes vnam personarum formam & vnam linguam habebant hi populi, quamuis inter se per Principes ac prouincias essent diuisi. In terra Yeka Mongal quidam fuit, qui vocabatur Chingis. Iste cœpit robustus venator esse: didicit enim homines furari, & prædam capere. Ad alias terras ibat, & quoscunque poterat, captiuabat, sibiq; associabat. Homines quoque suæ gentis inclinavit ad se, qui tanquam Ducem sequebantur ipsum ad malè agendum. Cœpit autem pugnare cum Sumongal, siue cum Tartaris, & Ducem eorum interfecit, multoq; bello sibi Tartaros omnes subiecit, & in seruitutem redegit. Post hæc cum istis omnibus contra Merkaras, iuxta terram positos Tartarorum pugnavit, quos etiam bello sibi subiecit. Inde procedens contra Metritas pugnam exercuit, & illos etiam obtinuit. Audientes Naymani, quòd Chingis taliter elcuiatus esset, indignati sunt. Ipsi enim habuerant Imperatorem strenuum valdè, cui dabant tributum cunctæ nationes prædictæ. Qui cum esset mortuus, filij eius successerunt loco ipsius. Sed quia iuvenes ac stulti erant, populum tenere nesciebant, sed ad inuicem diuisi ac scissierant. Vnde Chingi prædicto modo iam exaltato, nihilominus in terras prædictas faciebant insultum, & habitatores occidebant, ac diuipiebant prædam eorum. Quod audiens Chingis, omnes sibi subiectos congregauit Naymani & Karakytay ex aduerso similiter in quandam vallem strictam conuenerunt, & commissum est prælium, in quo Naymani & Karakytay à Mongalis deuicti sunt. Qui etiam pro maiori parte occisi fuerunt, & alij, qui euadere non potuerunt, in seruitutem redacti sunt. In terra prædictorū Karakytarum Occoday Cham, filius Chingischam, postquàm imperator fuit positus, quandam ciuitatem ædificauit, quæ Chanyl appellauit. Prope quam ad Meridiem est quoddam desertum magnū, in quo pro certo syluestres homines habitare dicuntur, qui nullatenus loquuntur, nec iuncturas in cruribus habent, & si quando cadunt, per se surgere non valent. Sed tamen discretionem tantam habent, quòd filtra de lana Camelorum, quibus vestiuntur, faciunt & contra ventum ponunt. Et si quando Tartari pergentes ad eos vulnerant eos sagittis, gramina in vulueribus ponunt, & fortiter ante ipsos fugiunt.

Naymani.
¶ Infra cap. 5.

Frates discordantes opprelli.

Occoday Cham.

Homines syluestres.

De mutua victoria ipsorum & Kythaorum. Cap. 9.

Mongali autem in terram suam reuertentes, se contra * Kythaos ad prælium parauerunt, & castra mouentes, eorum terram intrauerunt. Quod audiens eorum Imperator, venit cum exercitu suo contra illos, & commissum est prælium durū, in quo Mongali sunt deuicti, omnesq; nobiles eorum, qui erant in exercitu, præter septem occisi sunt. Vnde cum illis uolentibus aliquam impugnare regionē, minatur aliquis stragem, adhuc respondent: Olim etiam occisi non nisi septem remansimus, & tamen modò creuimus in multitudinem magnam, ideoq; non terremur de talibus. Chingis autem & alij, qui remanserunt, in terram suam fugerunt. Cumq; quieuisset aliquantulum, præparauit se rursus ad prælium, & processit contra terram Huyroium. Ibi sunt homines Christiani de secta Nestorianorum, Et hos etiam Mongali deuicerunt, eorumq; literam acceperunt; prius enim scripturam non habebant, nunc autem eandem Mongalorum literam appellat. Inde contra terram Saruyur, & contra terram Katanitarum, & contra terram Hudirat processit, quos omnes bello deuicit. Inde in terram suam redijt, & aliquantulum quieuit. Deinde conuocatis omnibus hominibus suis, contra Kythaos pariter processerunt, diuq; contra illos pugnantes, magnam partem terræ illorum uicerunt, eorumq; Imperatorem in ciuitatem suam maiorem concluderunt. Quam & tam longo tempore obsederunt, quod exercitus expensæ omnino defecerunt. Cumq; iam quod manducarent, penitus non haberent, præcipit Chingis cham suis, ut de decē hominibus vnū ad manducandum darent. Illi uero de ciuitate machinis & sagittis uiriliter contra illos pugnabāt, & cum deficerent lapides, argentū & maxime liquefactum proieciabant. Ciuitas siquidē illa multis erat diuitijs plena. Cumq; diu Mongali pugnasent, & eam bello uincere non possent, viam magnā sub terra uiam ab exercitu vsq; ad mediū ciuitatis fecerunt, & prosilientes in mediū eius, contra ciues pugnauerunt. Illi quoque, qui extra remanserant, eodem modo contra illos pugnabant. Deniq; concidentes portas ciuitatis intrauerunt, & imperatorem cum pluribus occidentes urbem possederunt, aurumq; & argentum, & omnes eius diuitias abstulerunt. Et cum illi terræ suos homines præfecissent, in terrā propriam reuersi sunt, Tunc primū Imperator Kythaorum deuictus, factus est Chingis cham imperator. Quandam tamen partē illius terræ, quia posita erat in mari, nullatenus deuicerunt vsq; hodie. Sunt autem Kytai homines pagani, habentes literam specialem, & etiam, ut dicitur, ueteris & noui Testamenti scripturam. Habent etiam uitas patrū & eremitas & domos, in quibus orant temporibus suis, ad modum Ecclesiarum factas, Quosdam etiam sanctos habere se dicunt, & vnum Deum colunt. Christum Iesum Dominum uenerantur, & credunt uitā æternam, sed non baptizantur. Scripturam nostram honorant ac reuerentur. Christianos diligunt, & elemosynas plures faciunt, homines benigni satis & humani uidentur. Barbam non habent, & in dispositione faciei cum Mongalis in parte concordant. Meliores artifices in mundo non inueniuntur in omnibus operibus, in quibus homines exercentur. Terra eorum est opulenta nimis in frumento & uino, auro & serico ac rebus cæteris,

* Raytho & Paulo Veneti sunt Cathay.

Tartarorum Cathayna clades.

Nouæ victoriæ.

Litera.

Argentum loco lapidum in hostem proiectum.

Chingis salutat Imperator.

Cathaynorum littera & religio.

Opificiorum officij.

De pugna ipsorum contra Indiam minorem

& maiorem. Cap. 10.

Cum autem Mongali cum Imperatore suo Chingis cham post præfatam uictoriā aliquantulum quieuisserent, exercitus suos diuiserunt, Imperator siquidem vnum de filijs suis nomine Thosur, quem etiam Can, id est, Imperatorē appellabant, cum exercitu contra Comanos misit, quos ille multo bello deuicit, & postmodum in terram suam redijt. Alium uero filiū cum exercitu contra Indos misit, qui & minorem Indiam subiecit. Hi sunt nigri Saraceni, qui Æthiopes sunt uocati. Hic autem exercitus ad pugnam contra Christianos, qui sunt in India maiori, processit. Quod audiens Rex illius terræ, qui uulgò * Presbyter Iohannes appellatur, contra illos uenit exercitu congregato. Et faciens imagines cupreas hominum, vnamquanq; posuit in sella super equum. Posuit & interius ignem, & hominem cum folle super equum post imaginem. Itaq; cum multis equis & imaginibus, taliter præparatis, ad pugnam contra Mongalos seu Tartaros processerunt. Et cum ad locum prælij peruenissent, equos istos vnum iuxta alium præmiserunt. Viri autem, qui erant retrò, nescio quid super ignem, qui erat intra imagines, posuerunt, & cum follibus fortiter sufflauerunt. Vnde factum est, ut ex Græco igne homines & equi comburerentur, & etiam aer ex fumo denigraretur, Tūque super Tartaros sagittas eiecerunt Indi, ex quibus multi vulnerati fuerunt & interfecti. Sicq; eiecerunt illos cum magnā confusione de suis sinibus, nec vnquam, quod ad ipsos ultra redierint audiuius,

Thosur Can, Chingis F.

India minor debellata.

Regis maioris Indiae stratagemata. * Vide scolion in lib. 1. cap. 5. 1. M. Pauli Veneti.

Victoria:

Qualiter ab hominibus caninis repulsi, Buri-
thabethinos vicerunt. Cap. 11.

CVin autem per deserta redirent, in quandam terram venerunt, in qua, sicut nobis apud Imperatoris curiam per clericos Ruthenos, & alios, qui diu fuerant inter ipsos, firmiter asserendo referebatur, monstra quaedam, imaginem foemineam habentia, reppererunt. Quas cum per multos interpretes interrogassent, vbi viri terræ illius essent, responderunt, quod in illa terra quæcunq; foemine nascébatur, habebant formâ humanam, masculi vero specië caninam. Dumq; moram in terra illa protraherent, Canes in alia fluuij parte conuenerunt. Et cum esset hyems asperissima omnes se in aquam proiecerunt. Post hæc incontinenti sponte in puluerë voluebantur, sicq; puluis admixtus aque super eos congelabatur, & vt ita pluries fecerunt, glacie super eos depressata, cum impetu magno contra Tartaros ad pugnam conuenerunt. At verò cum illi sagittas super eos iaciebant, ac si super lapides sagittassent, retrò sagittæ redibant. Alia quoq; arma eorû in nullo eos lædere poterant. Ipsi verò Canes insultum in Tartaros facientes, moribus vulnerauerunt multos, & occiderunt, sicq; illos de suis simbus eiecerunt. Vnde adhuc inter illos est prouerbiû de hoc factò, quod dicunt ad inuicem ridendo: Pater meus vel frater meus à Canibus fuit occisus. Mulieres autem illorû, quas ceperant, ad terrâ suâ duxerunt, & vsq; ad dië mortis eorû ibidë fuerunt. Cum autë exercitus ille Mongalorum rediret, venit ad terram Burithabeth, cuius habitatores pagani sunt, & hos Tartari bello vicerunt. Hi consuetudinem habent mirabilem, imò potius miserabilem. Cum enim alicuius patris humanæ naturæ soluit debitum, congregant omnë parentelam, & comedunt eum. Hi pilos in barba non habent, imò ferrum quoddam in manibus, sicut vidimus, portant, cum quo semper barbam, si forte crinis aliquis in ea crescit, depilant. Multum etiam deformes sunt. Inde verò ille Tartarorum exercitus in terram suam est reuersus.

De monstris
mulieribus & ca-
nibus monstra
narratio.

¶ Forfan autem
videri allegorica
allusio possit ad
Canibales de qui-
bus Petrus Mar-
tyr Mediolan. de
rebus Oceanicis.

Burithabeth
reg.o.

Incolarum mores

Qualiter à montibus Caspijs, & ab hominibus sub-
terraneis repulsi sunt. Cap. 12.

CHingischam etiã illo tēpore, quo dimisit alios exercitus contra Orientē, per terram Kergis cum expeditione perrexit, quos tamen tunc bello non vicit, & vt nobis dicebatur, ibidë vsq; ad montes Caspios peruenit. At illi montes in ea parte, ad quam applicauerunt, de lapide Adamantino sunt: ideoq; sagittas & arma ferrea illorû ad se traxerunt. Homines autë inter Caspios montes conclusi clamorem exercitus, vt creditur, audientes, montem frangere cœperunt, & cum alio tempore post decem annos redirent Tartari, montem confractum inuenerunt. Cumq; ad illos accedere attentassent, minimè potuerunt: quia nubes quædam erat posita ante ipsos, vltra quam ire nullatenus poterant. Omnino quippe visum amittebant, statim vt ad illam perueniebant. Illi autem ex aduerso credentes, quod Tartari ad illos accedere formidarent, insulorum contra eos fecerunt, sed statim vt peruenerunt ad nubem propter causam prædictam, procedere non potuerunt. Ac verò antequam ad montes prædictos peruenirent Tartari, plusquam per mensem per vastam solitudinem transierunt, & inde procedentes adhuc contra Orientem, plusquam per mensem per magnum desertum perrexerunt. Itaq; peruenerunt ad quandam terram, in qua vias quidam titas videbant, sed neminem inuenire poterant. Tandem quærentes, vnû hominem cum vxore sua reppererunt, quos in præsentiam Chingischam adduxerunt. Qui cum interrogasset illos, vbi homines illius terræ essent, responderunt, quod in terra sub montibus habitarent. Tunc Chingischam retenta vxore, misit ad eos virum illum, mandans illis, vt venirent ad ipsius mandatum. Qui pergens ad illos, omnia narrauit, quæ Chingischam eis mandauit. Illi verò respondentes dixerunt, quod die tali venirent ad ipsum, vt facerent eius mandatum. Ac ipsi medio tempore per vias occultas sub terra se congregantes, ad pugnam contra illos venerunt, & subito super eos irruentes, plurimos occiderunt. Solis quoque sonitus in ortu suo sustinere non poterant, imò tempore, quo oriebatur, oportebat eos vitâ aurem ad terram ponere, & superiorem fortiter obturare, ne sonum illum terribilem audirent. Nec sic tamen cauere poterant, quin hac de causa plurimi ex eis interirent. Videns ergo Chingischam & sui, quod nihil proficerent, sed potius homines suos perderent, fugerunt, ac terra illa exierunt. Illum tamen virum cum vxore sua secum deduxerunt, qui etiam vsque ad mortem in terra eorum fuerunt. Interrogati verò, cur in regione sua sub terra soleant habitare, dixerunt, quod ibi quodam tempore anni, cum oritur Sol, tantus fit sonitus, vt homines nulla ratione valeant sustinere. Quin etiam tunc in organis & tympanis cæterisque musicis instrumentis percutere solent, vt sonitum illum non audiant.

Alia Chingis ex-
peditio.

¶ Vide an Ham-
sem regionem
dicat: de qua
Haythonus
cap. 10.

Troglodytæ.

Fabulosus Solis
orientis sonitus.

De statutis Chingifcham, et morte ipsius, et filijs
ac Ducibus. Cap. 13.

CUm autem de terra illa reuenteretur Chingifcham, defecerunt eis victualia, famemq; patiebantur maximam. Tunc interiora vnius bestiae recentia casu inuenerunt: quae accipientes, depositis tantum stercorebus, decoxerunt, & coram Chingifcham deporrata pariter comederunt. Ideoq; statuit Chingifcham, vt nec sanguis, nec interiora, nec aliquid de bestia, quae manducari potest, projiciatur, exceptis stercorebus, Inde ergo in terram propriam reuersus est, ibiq; leges & statuta edidit, quae Tartari inuolubiliter obseruant, de quibus scilicet iam alias superius dictum est. Post hoc ab ictu tonitruu occisus est. Habuit autem quatuor filios: Occoday vocatur primus, Thosfut Can secundus, Thiaday tertius, quarti nomen ignoramus. Ab his iij, descenderunt omnes Duces Mongalorum. Primus filiorum Occoday est Cuyne, qui nunc est Imperator. Huius fratres Cocten & Chyrenen. Ex filijs autem Thosfut Can sunt Bathy, Ordu, Siba, Bora. Bathy post Imperatorem omnibus dirior est ac potentior, Ordu verò omnium Ducum senior. Filij Thiaday, sunt Hutin & Cadan. Filij autem alterius filij Chingifcham, cuius ignoramus nomen, sunt, Mengu & Bithat & alij plures. Huius Mengu mater Seroctan est, Domina magna inter Tartaros, excepta Imperatoris matre plus nominata, omnibusq; potentior, excepto Bathy. Hæc autem sunt nomina Ducum: Ordu, qui fuit in Polonia, & Hungaria, Bathy quoq; & Huryn & Cadan & Syban & Ouygat, qui omnes fuerunt in Hungaria, Sed & Cypedan, qui adhuc est vltra mare contra quosdam Soldanos Sarracenorum, & alios habitatores terræ transmarinæ, Alij verò remanserunt in terra, scilicet Mengu, Chyrenen, Hubilai, Sinocur, Cara, Gay, Sybedey, Bora, Berca, Corrensa. Alij quoq; Duces eorum plures sunt, quorum nomina nobis ignota sunt.

Chingis lex.

Interitus.
Liberi.
Nepotés.

Duces.

De potestate Imperatoris & Ducum eius. Cap. 14.

Porro Imperator eorum, scilicet Tartarorum, super omnes habet mirabile dominium, Nullus enim audet in aliqua morari parte, nisi vbi assignauerit ipse. Et ipse quidem assignat Ducibus vbi maneant. Duces autem loca Millenarijs assignant, Millenarij verò Centenarijs, & Centenarij Decanis. Quicquid autem eis præcipitur, quocunq; tempore, quocunq; loco, siue ad bellum, siue ad mortem, vel vbi cunq; sine vlla obediunt contradictione. Nam etsi perit alicuius filiam virginem, vel sororem, mox ei sine contradictione exponunt eam, imò frequenter colligit virgines ex omnibus Tartarorum finibus, & si vult aliquas retinere, sibi retinet, alias verò dat suis hominibus. Nuncios etiam quoscunq; & vbi cunq; transmittat, oportet quòd dent ei sine mora equos & expensas. Similiter vnde cunq; veniant ei tributa vel nuncij, oportet equos & curtus & expensas tribui. Ac verò nuncij, qui aliunde veniunt, in magna miseria, & victus & vestitus penuria sunt. Maximeq; quando veniunt ad Principes, & ibi debent moram contrahere. Tunc adeò parum darur decem hominibus, quòd vix inde possent duo viuere. Insuper & si aliqua illis iniuriæ fiunt, minimè conqueri facile possunt. Multa quoque munera tam à principibus quàm à cæteris ab illis peruntur: quæ si non dederint, vilipenduntur, & quasi pro nihilo reputantur. Hinc & nos magnam partem rerum, quæ nobis pro expensis à fidelibus erant datæ, de necessitate oportuit in muneribus dare. Denique sic omnia sunt in manu Imperatoris, quod nemo audet dicere, Hoc meum est vel illius, sed omnia, scilicet res & iumenta ac homines, sunt ipsius. Super hoc etiam nuper emanauit statutum eiusdem. Idem quoq; per omnia dominium habent Duces super sibi subditos homines.

Imperatoris Tartarorum seruire in omnes imperium.

Inhumanitas erga Legatos.

De electione Imperatoris Occoday, & legatione

Ducis Bathy. Cap. 15.

Mortuo, vt supra dictum est, Cyngifcham, conuenerunt Duces, & elegerunt Occoday, filium eius Imperatorem, Qui habito consilio Principum, diuisit exercitus. Misitq; Bathy, qui in secundo gradu attingebat eum, contra terram Altissodan & contra terram Bisminorum, qui Sarraceni erant, sed loquebantur Comanicum, Qui terram illorum ingressus, cum eis pugnavit, eosq; sibi bello subiecit. Quædam autem ciuitas, nomine Barchin, diu restitit eis. Ciues enim in circuitu ciuitatis foueas multas fecerant, propter quas non poterant à Tartaris capi, donec illas repleuissent. Ciues autem vrbis Sarguic hoc audientes, exierunt obuiam eis, spontè in manus eorum se tradentes. Vnde ciuitas eorum destructa non fuit, sed plures eorum occiderunt, & alios transfulerunt, acceptisq; spolijs, vrbem alijs hominibus repleuerunt, & contra ciuitatem Orna perrexerunt, Hæc erat nimium populosa & diuitijs copiosa. Erant enim ibi plures

Occoday furrogatur patri.
Bathy eiusq; expeditio.

Barchin ciuitas.

Sarguic ciuitas.

Orna ciuitas.

plures Christiani, videlicet Gafari & Rutheni, & Alani, & alij nec non & Sarraceni. Eratq; Sarracenorum ciuitatis dominium, Est etiam posita super quendam magnum fluuium, & est quasi portus, habens forum maximum. Cumq; Tartari non possent eos aliter vincere, fluuium, qui per urbem currebat, præciderunt, & illam cum rebus & hominibus submerserunt, Quo facto, contra Russiam perreuerunt, & magnam stragem in ea fecerunt, ciuitates & castra destruxerunt, & homines occiderunt. Kiouiam, Russiæ metropolim, diu obsederunt, & tandem cepērunt, ac ciues interfecerunt. Vnde quando per illam terram ibamus, innumerabilia capita & ossa hominum mortuorum, iacentia super campum, inueniebamus. Fuerat enim vrbs valde magna & populosa, nunc quasi ad nihilum est redacta: vix enim domus ibi remanserunt ducente, quarum etiam habitatores tenentur in maxima seruitute. Porro de Russia & de Comania i artari contra Hungaros & Polonos processerunt, ibiq; plures ex ipsis interfecti fuerunt, & vt iam superius dictum est, si Hungari viriliter restitissent, Tartari ab eis confusi recessissent. Inde reuertentes in terram Morduanorum, qui sunt Pagani, venerunt, eosq; bello vicerunt. Inde contra Byleros, id est, contra Bulgariam magnam profecti sunt, & ipsam omnino destruxerunt. Hinc ad Aquilonem adhuc contra Bastarcos, id est Hungariam magnam processerunt, & illos etiam deuicerunt. Hinc amplius ad Aquilonem pergentes, ad Parossitas venerunt, qui paruos habentes stomachos & os paruum, non manducant, sed carnes decoquunt, quibus decoctis, se super ollam ponunt, & fumum recipiunt, & de hoc solo reficiuntur, vel si aliquid manducant, hoc valde modicum est. Hinc & ad Samogetas venerunt, qui tantum de venationibus viuunt, & tabernacula vestesq; tantum habent de pellibus bestiarum. Inde ad quandam terram super Oceanum peruenerunt, vbi monstra quædam inuenerunt, quæ per omnia formam humanam habebant, sed pedes bouinos, & caput quidem humanum, sed faciem vt canis. Duo verba loquebantur vt homines, tertio latrabant vt canes. Hinc redierunt in Comaniam, & vsq; nunc ibi morantur ex eis quidam.

† *De his regionibus Herbersteinus pag. 8. b. & 91. b. Parei enim hodie utraq; Moschorum Principi. Item de Bulgaria Guaguinus pag. 106. b.*

De legatione Cyrpodan Ducis. Cap. 16.

Expediit
Cyrpodani.

EO tempore misit Occoday Can Cyrpodan Ducem cum exercitu ad meridiem contra Kergis, qui & illos bello superauit. Hi homines sunt Pagani, qui pilos in barba non habent. Quorum consuetudo talis est, vt cum alicuius pater moritur, præ dolore quasi vnam corrigiam in signum lamenti ab aure vsq; aurem de facie sua lenet. His autem deuictis, Dux Cyrpodan contra Armenios iuit ad meridiem cum suis. Qui cum transirent per deserta quædam, monstra inuenerunt, effigiem humanam habentia, quæ non nisi vnum brachium cum manu in medio pectoris, & vnum pedem habebant, & duo cum vno arcu sagittabant, adeoq; fortiter currebant, quod equi eos inuestigare non poterant. Currebant autem super vnum pedem illam saltando, & cum essent fatigati, taliter eundo ibant super manum & pedem, se tanquam in circulo reuoluendo. Cumq; sic etiam fessi essent, iterum secundum priorem modum currebant, Hos Isidorus Cyclopedes appellat. Et ex eis Tartari nonnullos occiderunt. Et sicut nobis à Ruthenis Clericis in curia dicebatur, qui morantur cum Imperatore prædicto, plures ex eis nuncios venērunt in legatione ad curiam Imperatoris, superius annotati, vt possent habere pacem cum illo. Inde procedentes venerunt in Armeniam, quam bello deuicerunt, & etiam Georgiæ partem, Alia verò pars venit ad mandatum eorum, & singulis annis dederunt, & adhuc dant ei pro tributo xx. millia Yperperatum. Hinc ad terram Soldani Deurum, potentis & magni, processerunt, cum quo etiam pugnantes, ipsum deuicerunt. Denique processerunt vltius debellando ac vincendo vsque ad terram Soldani Halapiæ, & nunc etiam terram obtinent, alias quoque terras vltra illas proponentes impugnare: nec postea reuersi sunt in terram suam vsq; hodie. Idemq; exercitus contra terram Caliphi Baldach perrexit, quam etiam sibi subdidit, & vt CCCC. Byzantios, exceptis Baldekinis cæterisq; muneribus, ei quotidie pro tributo daret, obtinuit. Sed & quolibet anno mittunt nuncios ad Caliphum, vt ad eos veniat. Qui cum tributo munera magna transmittens, vt eum supportent, rogat, Ipse autem Imperator Tartarorum munera quidem accipit, & nihilominus vt veniat, pro eo mittit.

Cyclopedes.

Armenia & Georgia subacta.

Soldanus Halapie.

† Calipha Baldacensis.

Qualiter Tartari se habent in prælijs. Cap. 17.

Tartarorum militaris disciplina.

ORdinauit Chingischam Tartaros per Decanos & centenarios & millenarios. Decem quoque millenarijs præponunt vnum, cunctoq; nihilominus exercitui duos aut tres Duces, ita tamen vt ad vnum habeant respectum. Cumq; in bello contra aliquos congregiuntur, nisi communi-

communiter cedant, omnes qui fugiunt, occiduntur. Et si vnus aut duo, vel plures ex decem audacter accedunt ad pugnam, alij verò ex illo Denario non sequuntur, similiter occiduntur. Sed etiam si vnus ex decem vel plures capiuntur, tocij eorum si non eos liberant, ipsi etiam occiduntur. Porro arma debent habere talia. Duos arcus vel vnum bonum ad minus. Tresq; pharetras sagittis plenas, & vnam securim & funes ad machinas trahendas. Diuites autem habent gladios in fine acutos, ex vna parte tantum incidentes, & aliquantulum curuos. Habent & equos armatos, crura etiam tecta, galeas & loricas. Verum loricas & equorum copecturas quidam habent de corio, super corpus artificiosè duplicato vel etiam triplicato. Galea verò superius est de chalybe, vel de ferro: sed illud, quod in circuitu protegit collum & gulam, est de corio. Quidam autem de ferro habent omnia supradicta, in hunc modum formata. Laminas multas tenues ad vnus digiti latitudinem & palmæ longitudinè faciunt, & in qualibet octo foramina paruula facientes, interius tres corrigias strictas & fortes ponunt. Sicq; laminas, vnam alij quasi per gradus ascendendo, supponunt. Itaq; laminas ad corrigias, tenuibus corrigiolis per foramina prædicta immittit, ligant, & in superiori parte corrigiolam vnam ex vtraque parte duplicatam cum alia corrigiola confluunt, vt laminæ simul benè firmiterq; cohæreant. Hæc faciunt tam ad copecturas equorum, quam ad armaturas hominum. Adeoq; faciunt illa lucere, quod in eis potest homo faciem suam videre. Aliqui verò in collo ferri lanceæ vncum habent, cum quo de sella, si possunt, hominem detrahant. Sagittarum eorum ferramenta sunt acutissima, ex vtraque parte quasi gladius biceps incidentia, semperq; iuxta pharetram portant limas ad acuendum sagittas. Habent verò scuta de viminibus, aut de virgulis facta. Sed non credimus, quòd ea soleant portare, nisi ad castra & ad custodiam Imperatoris ac principum, & hoc tantum de nocte. In bellis astutissimi sunt: quia per annos xliij. cum cæteris gentibus dimicauerunt. Cùm autem ad flumina peruenerunt, maiores habent rotundum ac leue corium, in cuius summitate per circuitum ansas crebras facientes, funem imponunt ac stringunt, ita quod in circuitu quasi ventrem efficiunt, quem vestibus ac rebus cæteris replent, fortissimeq; ad inuicem comprimunt. In medio autem ponunt fellas & alias res duriores: ibi quoque sedent homines. Huiusmodi nauim ad equi caudam ligant, & hominem, qui equum regat, pariter nare faciunt, vel habent aliquando duos remos, cum quibus remigant. Equo igitur in aquam impulso, omnes alij equi sequuntur illum, & sic transeunt fluuium. Pauperior autem quilibet vnam bursam vel sacco de corio benè confutum habet, in quo res suas omnes imponit, & in summitate fortiter ligatum, ad equi caudam suspendit, sicq; modo prædicto transit.

Armatura.

Vnus bellorum.
Mos tranandi
flumina.

Qualiter resistendum sit eis. Cap. 18.

NVllam æstimo prouinciam esse, quæ per se possit eis resistere: quia de omni terra potestatis suæ solent homines ad bellum congregare. Et siquidem vicina prouincia non vult eis opem ferre, quam impugnant, delentes illam, cum hominibus, quos ex illa capiunt, contra aliam pugnant. Et illos quidem in acie primos ponunt, & si male pugnant, ipsos occidunt. Itaq; si Christiani eis resistere volunt, oportet quòd Principes ac rectores terrarum in vnum conueniant, ac de communi consilio eis resistant. Habeantq; pugnatōres arcus fortes & balistas, quas multum timent, sagittasq; sufficientes, dolabrum quoq; de bono ferro, vel securim cum manubrio longo. Ferramenta verò sagittarum mote Tartarorum, quando sunt calida, temperare debent in aqua, cum sale mixta, vt fortia sint ad penetrandum illorum arma. Gladios etiam & lanceas cum vncis habeant, qui volunt, ad detrahendū illos de sella, de qua facillimè cadunt. Habeant & galeas & arma cætera, ad protegendum corpus & equum ab armis & sagittis eorum, & si qui non ita sunt armati, debent more illorum post alios ire, & contra ipsos arcibus vel balistis trahere. Et sicut dictum est supra de Tartaris, debent acies suas ordinare, ac legem pugnantibus imponere. Quicumq; conuersus fuerit ad prædam ante victoriam, maximam debet pœnam subire: talis enim apud illos occiditur absq; miseratione. Locus ad prælium, si fieri potest, eligendus est planus, vt vndiq; possint videre, nec omnes debent in vnum conuenire, sed acies multas & diuisas, nec tamen nimis distantes ab inuicem, facere. Contra illos, qui primo veniunt, debent vnam aciem mittere, & alia parata sit ad iuuandum illam opportuno tempore. Habeant & speculatores ex omni parte, qui videant, quando veniunt acies ceteræ. Nam idèd semper debent aciem contra aciem, vt ei occurrant, mittere, quoniam illi semper nituntur aduersarios in medio concludere. Hoc autem acies caueant, ne si etiam illi fugere videantur, diu post illos currant, ne fortè, sicut facere solent, ipsos ad paratas insidias trahant: quia plus fraudulentia quam fortitudine pugnant. Et iterum ne fatigentur equi eorum: quia nostri multitudinem non habent equorum. Tartari verò quos equitant die vna, non ascendunt tribus diebus, vel quatuor postea. Præterea si cedunt Tartari, non idèd debent nostri recedere, vel abin-

Tartarorum de
bulo contra Tar-
tatos gerendo.Ferri tempera-
mentum.

uicem

uicem separari: quoniam hoc simulando faciunt, vt exercitus diuidatur, & sic ad terræ destructionem liberè ingrediantur. Cæterum Duces nostri die noctûque facere debent exercitum custodiri: nec iacere spoliati, sed semper ad pugnam parati: quia Tartari quasi Dæmones semper vigilant, excogitantes artem nocendi. Porro si aliqui Tartarorum in bello de suis equis proijciuntur, statim capiendi sunt, quia quando sunt in terra fortiter sagittant, & equos hominesq; vulnerant.

De itinere Fratris Iohannis de Plano carpini vsque ad *primam custodiam Tartarorum.* Cap. 19.

NOS igitur ex mandato sedis Apostolicæ cum iremus ad Orientis nationes, elegimus prius ad Tartaros proficisci: quia timebamus, ne per illos in proximo Ecclesiæ Dei periculum immineret. Itaq; pergètes, ad regem Boëmorum peruenimus: qui cum esset nobis familiaris, consuluit, vt per Poloniam & Russiam iter ageremus. Habebar enim consanguineos in Polonia, quorum auxilio Russiam intrare possemus. Datisq; literis & bono conductu, fecit & expensas nobis dari per curias & ciuitates eius, quo vsque ad Ducem Slesia Bolezlaum, nepotem eius, veniremus, qui etiam erat nobis familiaris & notus. Hinc & ipse nobis similiter fecit, donec veniremus ad Conradum, Ducem * Lautiscia, ad quem tunc, Dei gratia nobis fauente, venerat Dominus Wasilico, Dux Russiæ, à quo etiam plenius de facto audiuius Tartarorum: quia nuncios illuc miserat, qui iam redierant ad ipsum. Audito autem, quòd oporteret nos illis munera dare, quasdam pelles castorum & aliorum animalium fecimus emi, de hoc, quod datum nobis fuerat in eleemosynam ad subsidiû viæ. Quod agnoscentes Dux Conradus & * Ducissa Cracouia, & Episcopus & quidam milites, plures etiam nobis dederunt huiusmodi pelles. Denique Dux Wasilico à Duce Cracouia, & Episcopo atque Baronibus pro nobis attentè rogatus, secum nos in terram suam duxit, & vt aliquantulum quiesceremus, aliquot diebus nos in expensis suis detinuit. Et cum rogatus à nobis, fecisset Episcopus suos venire, legimus eis literas Domini Papæ, monentis eos, ad sanctæ matris Ecclesiæ vnitatem redire. Ad idem quoque nos ipsi monuimus eos, & induximus, quantum potuimus, tam Ducem quam Episcopos & alios, Sed quia Dux Daniel, frater Wasiliconis prædicti, prætens non erat, quoniam ad Baty profectus erat, non potuerunt eo tempore finaliter respondere. Post hæc Dux Wasilico transiuit nos vsque in Kiouiam metropolin Russiæ, cum seruiente vno, Ibanus tamen in periculo capitis semper propter Lituanos, qui sæpè faciebant insultum super terram Russiæ, & in illis maximè locis, per quos debebamus transire. At per prædictum seruientem eramus securi à Ruthenis, quorum etiam maxima pars occisa vel captiuata erat à Tartaris. Porro in Danilone vsque ad mortem tunc infirmati fuimus. Nihilominus tamen in vehiculo per niuem & frigus magnum trahi nos fecimus. Cum ergò Kiouiam peruenimus, habuimus de via nostra consilium cum millenario ac cæteris ibidem nobilibus, Qui responderunt nobis, quòd si duceremus equos illos, nos tunc habebamus, ad Tartaros, cum essent magnæ niues, morerentur omnes: quia nescirent herbam fodere sub niue, sicut equi faciunt Tartarorum, nec inueniri posset aliquod pro eis ad manducandum, cum Tartari nec stramina nec scænum habeant, nec pabulum. Itaque decreuimus eos illic dimittere cum duobus pueris, deputatis eorum custodiæ. Ideoq; nos oportuit millenario dare munera, vt ipsum haberemus propitium, ad dandum nobis equos subductitios & conductum. Secundo igitur die post festum Purificationis cepto itinere, venimus ad villam Canouæ, que sub Tartaris erat immediatè, Cuius præfectus nobis dedit equos & conductum vsque ad aliam, in qua reperimus præfectum Micheam, omni malicia plenum, Qui tamen acceptis à nobis muneribus secundum velle suum, duxit nos vsq; ad primam custodiam Tartarorum.

Qualiter primò cum socijs suis receptus est à Tartaris. Cap. 20.

CUM ergo in prima sexta feria post diem cinerum, Sole ad occasum tendente, hospitaremur, Tartari super nos armati horribiliter irruerunt, quærentes cuiusmodi homines essemus: cumq; respondissemus, quòd Domini Papæ nuncij essemus, quibusdam cibarijs à nobis acceptis, continuo discesserunt. Porro mane factò, cum surgentes aliquantulum processissemus, maiores illorum, qui erant in custodia, nobis occurrerunt, interrogantes, cur ad eos veniremus? & quid negotij haberemus? Quibus respondimus, Domini Papæ nuncij sumus, qui Christianorum pater est ac Dominus, Hic nos idcirco tam ad Regem quam ad Principes, omnesq; Tartaros, mittit, quia placet ei, quòd omnes Christiani Tartarorû sint amici, & pacem habeant

cum

Itinerarium Iohann. & sociorum legatorum.

Boleslaus Dux Silesiæ.

* Mazouia.

* Grimistaua, vt Mithrasus lib. 1. cap. 9.

Litere Papæ ad Russios.

Daniel, frater Basilij.

Lituani.

Pabulum equorum Tartaric.

Micheas & socij eius.

Papa Christianorum pater & Dominus.

cum ipsis, Desiderat in super, vt apud Deum in cœlo sint magni, & idcirco monet eos tam per nos quàm per literas suas, vt efficiantur Christiani, fidemq; recipiant Domini nostri Iesu Christi, quia non possunt aliter saluari. Mandat præterea, quòd miratur de tanta occisione hominũ, & maximè Christianorum, ac potissimè Hungarorum, Montanorum, & Polonorum, qui sunt ei subiecti, facta per Tartaros, cum in nullo lesissent, aut lædere attentassent eos. Et quia Dominus Deus grauior est super hoc offensus, monet eos, vt à talibus de cætero caueant, & de commissis poenitentiam agant. Super his etiam rogat, vt ei rescribant, quid facere velint de cætero, & quæ sit eorum intentio, Quibus auditis, & intellectis, dixerunt Tartari, se velle equos nobis subdiuctrios vsq; ad Corrensam & ducatum præbere. Statimq; munera petierunt, & à nobis acceperunt. Equis igitur acceptis, de quibus descenderant ipsi, cum eorum ducatu ad Corrensam arripimus iter eundi. Ipsi tamen velociter equitantes, nuncium vnum præmiserunt ad præfatum Ducem cum his verbis, quæ dixeramus eisdem. Est autem Dux iste Dominus omnium, qui positi sunt in custodia contra omnes Occidentis populos, ne fortè subitò & improuidò irruant aliqui super illos. Et iste dicitur habere sexaginta millia hominum armatorum sub se.

Legationis mandata.

Corrensã.

Dux limitis occidentalis.

Qualiter recepti sunt apud Corrensam. Cap. 21.

Cum ergò peruenissemus ad eius curiam, fecit nobis longè à se poni stationem, & misit ad nos procuratores suos, vt quærerent à nobis, cum quo ei vellemus inclinare, id est, quæ ei munera inclinando vellemus offerre. Quibus respondimus, quòd Dominus Papa non mittebat aliqua munera; quia non erat certus, quòd ad illos peruenire possemus, & insuper veneramus per loca valdè periculosa. Veruntamen in quantum de his, quæ habebamus ex gratia Dei & Domini Papæ ad victum nostrum, sicut poterimus, honorabimus ipsũ, Acceptisq; muneribus duxerunt nos ad ordam siue tentorium ipsius, & instructi fuimus, vt ante ostium stationis ter cum sinistro genu inclinaremus, & caueremus attentè, ne pedem super limẽ ostij poneremus, Et postquam intrauimus, oportuit nos coram Duce omnibusq; maioribus, qui ad hoc erant vocati, dicere flexis genibus ea, quæ dixeramus superius, Literas etiam Dom. Papæ obrulimus: sed interpretes, quem de Kyouia, dato pretio, duxeramus, non erat sufficiens ad interpretandũ, nec aliquis alius habebatur idoneus. Hinc equi nobis dati sunt, & tres Tartari, qui nos ducerent festinanter ad ducem Bathy. Ipse est apud eos potentior excepto Imperatore, cui tenentur præ cunctis principibus obedire. Itaq; iter arripimus secunda feria post primã dominicam || xl. & equitando, quantum equi trotare poterant, quoniam habebamus equos recentes ferè ter aut quater omni die, properabamus de mane vsq; ad noctem, imò etiam de nocte sæpissimè, nec tamen ante quartam feriam maioris hebdomadæ potuimus ad ipsum peruenire. Ibamus autem per terram Comanorum, quæ tota est plana, & flumina quatuor habet magna. Primum appellatur * Neper, iuxta quod ex parte Russiæ ambulabat Correnza & Montij, qui maior est illo ex altera parte per campestria. Secundum appellatur * Don, super quod ambulat quidam Princeps, habens in coniugio sororem Baty, qui vocatur Tibon. Tertium dicitur * Volga, quod est magnum valdè, super quod incedit Bathy. Quartum nominatur * Iac, super quod duo millenarij vadunt, vnus ex parte fluminis vna, & alter ex altera. Hi omnes in hyeme ad mare descendunt, & in æstate super ripam eorundem fluminum ad montes ascendunt. Hæc est mare magna, de quo brachium sancti Georgij exit, quod in Constantinopolin vadit. Hæc autem flumina sunt piscibus valdè plena, maximè Volga, intrantq; mare Græciæ, quod dicitur Magnum mare. Super Nepre autem multis diebus iuimus per glaciem. Super littora quoq; maris Græciæ satis periculose per glaciem iuimus in pluribus locis multis diebus. Congelantur enim circa littora vna ad tres leucas inferius. Prius autem quàm ad Bathy perueniremus, duo ex nostris Tartaris præcesserunt, ad indicandum ei omnia verba, quæ apud Corrensam dixeramus.

Mos salutandi Tartaricos proceres.

Bathy eiusque potentia. || Quadragesimæ.

Comania.

* Veteribus Dæ rysthones.
* Tanan.
* Rha.
* Rhymanu.

Pontus Euxinus;

Volga non intrat.

Qualiter recepti sunt apud Bathy magnum Principem. Cap. 22.

Porro cum in finibus terræ Comanorum ad Bathy perueniremus, benè positi fuimus per vnam leucam à stationibus eius. Cumq; duci debuimus ad curiam ipsius, dictum fuit nobis, quòd inter duos ignes transire deberemus. Nos autem hoc nulla ratione facere volebamus. At illi dixerunt nobis: Ite securè, quia pro nulla causa volumus hoc facere, nisi tantum, vt si vos aliquid malum cogitatis Domino nostro, vel portatis venenum, ignis auferat omne malum. Quibus respondimus: quod propter hoc, ne de tali re suspectos redderemus nos, transiremus. Cum igitur ad Ordam peruenissemus, interrogati à procuratore ipsius Eldegay, cum quo inclinare vellemus? idem quod prius apud Corrensam respondimus, datiq; muneribus & acceptis,

Ceremonia per duos ignes transeundi.

Eldegay.

Bathy audit le-
gatos.

Gerit se regificē.

Eiusdem bibendi
ad Symphonie
cantum mos.

Auctoritas.

acceptis, auditis etiam itineris caulis, introduxerunt nos in stationem Principis, prius facta inclinatione, & audita de limine non calcando, sicut prius, admonitione. Ingressi autem flexis genibus, verba nostra proposuimus, deinde literas obtulimus, & ut nobis darentur interpretes ad transferendum eas, rogauimus. Qui etiam in die Parasceue dati fuerunt nobis, & eas in litera Ruthenica, Sarracenicā & in Tartarica diligenter cum ipsis transulimus. Hæc interpretatio Bathy præsentata fuit: quam & legit, & attentè notauit. Tandem ad nostram stationem rediisti fuimus, sed nulla cibaria nobis dederunt, nisi semel aliquantulum millij in vna scutella, scilicet in prima nocte quando venimus. Ille Bathy magnificè se gerit, habens ostiarios & omnes officiales ad modum Imperatoris, & sedet in eminenti loco velut in throno cum vna de vxoribus suis. Alij verò tam fratres sui & filij, quàm alij maiores inferius sedent in medio super bancum, & homines cæteri post eos in terra deortum, sed viri à dextris, & sceminæ à sinistris. Tentoria quoque de panno lineo habet pulchra & magna satis, quæ fuerunt Hungariæ regis. Nec aliquis ad eius tentorium audet accedere præter familiam, nisi vocatus, quantumcunque sit potens & magnus, nisi fortè sciatur, quòd sit voluntas ipsius. Nos etiam dicta causâ sedimus à sinistris: Sic etenim & omnes nuncij faciunt in eundo: sed in redeundo ab Imperatore, semper ponebamur à dextris. In medio ponitur mensa eius prope ostium stationis, super quam apponitur potus in aureis & argenteis vasis. Nec vnquam bibit Bathy, vel aliquis Tartarorum Princeps, maximè quando in publico sunt, nisi canretur ei vel cytharizetur. Et cum equitat, semper portatur solium, vel tentoriolum super caput eius in hasta. Sicq; faciunt cuncti maiores Principes Tartarorum, & etiam vxores eorum. Idem verò Bathy satis est hominibus suis benignus, valdè tamen ab eis timetur, & in pugna est crudelissimus, sagax est multum & astutissimus in bello: quia iam pugnavit tempore longo,

Qualiter recedentes à Bathy per terram Comanorum & Kangittarum transferunt. Cap. 23.

Legati iubentur
ad Cuyne Imperat.
pergere.Comaniæ de-
scriptio.Oceanus septen-
trionalis.Terra Kangitta-
rum.Ieroslaus, Dux
Russiæ.

IN die porò Sabbathi sancti ad stationem fuimus vocati, & exiit ad nos procurator Bathy prædictus, dicens ex parte ipsius, quòd ad Imperatorem Cuyne in terram ipsorum iremus, retentis quibusdam ex nostris sub hac specie, quòd vellent eos remittere ad Dominum Papam, quibus & literas dedimus de omnibus factis nostris, quas deferrent eidem. Sed cum redissent vsq; ad Montij Ducem supradictum, ibi retenti fuerunt vsque ad reditum nostrum. Nos autem in die Pasche officio dicto, & facta comestione qualicunq; cum duobus Tartaris, qui nobis apud Corrensam fuerant assignati, cum multis lacrymis recessimus, nescientes vtrum ad mortem vel vitam pergeremus. Eramus tamen ita infirmi corpore, quòd vix poteramus equitare. In tota siquidem illa quadragesima fuerat cibus noster millium cum aqua & sale tantum, & in alijs similiter diebus ieiuniorum. Nec habebamus aliquid ad bibendum præter niuem in caldario liquefactam. Ibanus autem per Comaniam equitando fortissimè, quoniam habebamus equos recentes quinque aut plures in die, nisi quando per deserta ibamus, & tunc equos meliores atque fortiores, qui possent continuum sustinere laborem, accipiebamus. Et hoc ab ineunte quadragesima vsque ad octo dies post Pascha. Hæc terra Comania ab Aquilone immediatè post Russiam habet Morduynos, Byleros, id est, magnam Bulgariam, Bastarcos, id est, magnam Hungariam, post Bastarcos, Parositas & Samogetas. Post Samogetas, illos, qui dicuntur habere faciem caninam in Oceani littoribus desertis, A meridie habet Alanos, Circassos, Gazaros, Græciam & Constantinopolin, ac terram Iberorum, Cathos, Brutachios, qui dicuntur esse Iudæi, caput radentes per totum, terram quoq; Cithorum atque Georgianorum & Armeniorum & Turcorum, Ab occidente autem Hungariam habet atque Russiam. Et est Comania terra maxima & longa. Cuius populos, scilicet Comanos, Tartari occiderunt, quidam tamen à facie eorum fugerunt, & quidam in eorum seruitutem redacti sunt. Plurimi autem ex eis, qui fugerunt, ad ipsos redierunt. Post hæc intrauimus terram Kangittarum, quæ magnam habet in plurimis locis penuriam aquarum, in qua etiam homines pauci morantur propter aquæ defectum. Vnde homines Ieroslai, Ducis Russiæ, cum ad ipsum in terram Tartarorum perrexerunt, plures eorum in illo deserto præ siti mortui sunt. In hac etiam terra & in Comania multa inuenimus capita & ossa moriuorum hominum, super terram iacentia tanquam sterquilinum. Per hanc itaq; terram iuimus ab octo diebus post Pascha ferè vsque ad Ascensionem Dominicam. Huiusq; habitatores Pagani erant, & tam ipsi quàm Comani non laborabant, sed tantum de animalibus vivebant, nec domos ædificabant, sed in tabernaculis habitabant. Istos etiam Tartari deleuerunt, & habitabant in tertis eorum, illiq; qui remanserunt, redacti sunt in seruitutem ipsorum.

Qualiter ad primam Imperatoris futuri curiam
deuenerunt. Cap.24.

PORRò de terra Kangittarum intrauimus terram Biserminorum, qui loquuntur lingua Comanica, sed legem tenent Sarracenorum. In hac etiam terra inuenimus vrbes innumeras cum castris dirutas, villasq; multas desertas, Huius Dominus dicebatur Altrifoldanus, qui cum tota sua progenie à Tartaris est destructus, Habet autem hæc terra montes maximos. Et à meridie quidem habet Hierusalem & Baldach, totamq; Sarracenorum terram, Atque in finibus illis propinquis morantur duo fratres carnales, Tartarorum Duces, scilicet Burin & Cadan, filij Thiaday, qui fuit filius Chingischam, Ab Aquilone verò terram habet nigrorum Kythaorum & Oceanum. In illa verò moratur Syban, frater Bathy. Per hanc iuimus à festo Ascensionis dominicæ ferè vsque ad viij. dies ante festum sancti Iohan. Baptistæ, Deinde ingressi sumus terram nigrorum Kythaorum, in qua Imperator ædificauit domum, vbi etiam vocati fuimus ad bibendum. Et ille, qui erat ibidem ex parte imperatoris, fecit maiores ciuitatis, & etiam duos filios eius, plaudere coram nobis, Hinc exeuntes, quoddam mare paruum inuenimus, in cuius litore quidam existit mons paruus, In quo scilicet monte quoddam foramen esse dicitur, vnde in hyeme tam inaximè tempestates ventorum exeunt, quòd homines inde vix & cum magno periculo transire possunt. In æstate verò semper quidem ibi ventorum sonitus auditur, sed de foramine tenuiter egreditur. Per huius maris littora plurimis diebus perreximus, quod quidem licet non multum sit magnum, plures insulas habet, & illud in sinistris dimisimus. In terra verò illa habitat Ordu, quem omnium Ducum Tartarorum antiquiorem diximus, & est orda, siue curia patris ipsius, quam inhabitat, & regis vna de vxoribus eius, Consuetudo enim est apud Tartaros, quòd principum & maiorum curiæ non delentur, sed semper ordinantur aliquæ mulieres, quæ illas regant, eisque donariorum partes, sicut Dominis eorum dari solebant, dantur. Sic tandem ad primam Imperatoris curiam venimus, in qua erat vna de vxoribus ipsius.

Terra Biserminorum.

Altrifoldanus.

Montes maximi,

Burin,
Cadan.
Oceanus ab
Aquilone.
Syban, frater
Bathy.
Nigri Cathayni.

Mare paruum.

Plurimis diebus,
Plures insule.

Ordu. cap. 23.

Prime curia Imperatoris.

Qualiter ad ipsum Cuyne, Imperatorem futurum
peruenerunt. Cap.25.

AT verò quia nondum Imperatorem videramus, noluerunt vocare nos, nec intromittere ad Ordam ipsius, sed nobis in tentorio nostro secundum morem Tartarorum valdè benè seruire fecerunt, & vt quiesceremus, nos ibidem per vnam diem tenuerunt. Inde procedentes in vigilia sanctorum Petri & Pauli, terram Naymanorum intrauimus, qui sunt Pagani, In ipsa verò die Apostolorum ibidem cecidit magna nix, & habuimus magnum frigus. Hæc quidem terra monuosa & frigida est supra modum, ibiq; de planicie reperitur modicum, Iltæ quoque duæ nationes prædictæ non laborabant, sed sicut & Tartari in tentorijs habitabant, quas & ipsi deleuerant. per hanc etiam multis diebus perreximus. Deinde terram Mongalorum intrauimus, quos Tartaros appellamus, Per has itaque terras, vt credimus, tribus septimanis equitando fortiter iuimus, & in die Beatæ Mariæ Magdalenz ad Cuyne Imperatorem electum perueniimus. Ideò autem per omnem viam istam valdè festinauimus, quia præceptum erat Tartaris nostris, vt citò nos deducerent ad curiam solennem, iam ex annis pluribus indictam, propter ipsius Imperatoris electionem. Idcirco de mane surgentes, ibamus vsque ad noctem sine comestione, & sæpius tam tardè veniebamus, quòd non comedebamus in sero, sed quod manducare debebamus in vespere, dabatur nobis in mane. Mutatisq; frequentius equis, nullatenus parcebat eis, sed equitabamus velociter ac sine intermissione, quantum poterant equi trotare.

Terra Naymanorum.

Tartaria.

Iulij 22.
Acceleratum legatorum iter.

Qualiter Cuyne Fratres Minores suscepit. Cap.26.

CVM autem perueniimus ad Cuyne, fecit nobis dari tentorium & expensas, quales Tartaris dare solent, nobis tamen melius quàm alijs nuncijs faciebant. Ad ipsum autem vocari non fuimus, eo quòd nondum electus erat, nec adhuc de imperio se intromittebat. Interpretatio tamen literarum Domini Papæ, ac verba etiam à nobis dicta, à prædicto Baty erant ei mandata. Cùm ergo stetissemus ibi per quinque vel sex dies, ad matrem suam nos transmisit, vbi adunabatur curia solennis. Et cùm venissemus illuc, tam extensum erat tentorium magnum, de alba purpura præparatum, eratq; tam grande nostro iudicio, quòd plusquam duo millia hominum poterant esse sub illo, Et in circuitu factum erat ligneum tabularum varijs imaginibus depictum, Illuc ergò perreximus cum Tartaris, nobis ad custodiam assignatis, ibiq; conuenerunt

Cuyne in legatos benignitas.

Tentorium regium.

Comitia. omnes duces, & vnusquisq; cum hominibus suis equitabat in circuitu per planiciem & colles. In prima die vestiti sunt omnes purpuris albis, in secunda verò rubeis. Et tunc venit Cuyne ad tentorium illud. Porro tertia die fuerunt omnes in blauis purpuris, & quarta in optimis Baldakinis. In illo autem tabulato iuxta tentorium erant duæ maiores portæ, per quarum vnã solus Imperator debebat intrare, & ad illam nulla erat custodia, quamuis esset aperta, quia per illam nullus audebat ingredi vel exire: per aliam omnes, qui admittebantur, intrabant, & ad illam custodes cum gladijs & arcibus & sagittis erant. Itaq; si quis tentorio propinquabat vltra terminos, qui positi erant, si capiebatur, verberabatur, si fugiebat, sagitta siue ferro sagittabatur. Multiq; ibi erant, qui in frænis, pectoralibus, sellis & huiusmodi, iudicio nostro, auri circiter viginti marcas habebant. Sic Duces infra tentorium colloquebantur, & de Imperatoris electione tractabant, vt à nobis creditur. Alius autem vniuersus populus longè extra tabulatum collocabatur, & ita ferè vsque ad meridiem morabantur. Tunc incipiebant lac iumentinum bibere, & vsque ad vespas tantum bibebant, quod erat visu mirabile. Nos autem vocauerunt interius, & dederunt nobis cereuisiam: quia iumentinũ lac non bibebamus. Et hoc quidem nobis pro magno fecerunt honore: sed tamen nos compellebant ad bibendum, quod nullatenus poteramus propter consuetudinem sustinere. Vnde ostendimus eis, hoc esse nobis graue, ideoq; nos cessauerunt compellere. Foris autem erat Dux Ieroslaus de Susdal Russiæ, pluresq; Duces Kytharum & Solangorum. Duo quoq; filij regis Georgiæ, nuncius etiam Caliphi de Baldach, qui erat Soldanus, & plus quam decem alij Soldani Sarracenorum, vt credimus. Et sicut nobis à procuratoribus dicebatur, erant ibi nunciorum plus quàm quatuor millia, inter illos, qui tributa portabant, & illos, qui deferebant munera, & Soldanos ac Duces alios, qui ad tradendum seipsos veniebant, & illos, pro quibus ipsi miserant, illosq; , qui terrarum præfecti erant. Hi omnes simul extra tabulatum ponebantur, eisq; simul bibere præbebatur. Nobis autem & Duci Ierozlaio ferè semper ab eis dabatur superior locus, quando cum eis eramus exterius.

Symposium
procerum,

Ieroslaus Dux
Russiæ,
Legati diuersarum
nationum.

Qualiter in imperium sublimatus fuit. Cap. 27.

Imperij Cuyne
pauitiz,

Syza orda.

Aurea orda.

Augusti 15.

Preces solennes.

ET quidem, si benè meminimus, ibidem per septimanas circiter quatuor fuimus. Creditumq; quòd ibi fuit electio celebrata, non tamen ibidem fuit publicata. Propter hoc autem id maxime credebatur, quia semper, quando Cuyne tentorio exibat, eidem cantabatur, & cum virgis speciosis, in summitate lanam coccineam habentibus, inclinabatur, quod alteri Ducum nulli fiebat, quousq; exterius morabatur. Hęc autem statio siue Curia nominatur ab eis Syza orda. Hinc exeuntes, vnanimitè omnes equitauimus per tres aut quatuor leucas ad alium locum, vbi erat in quadã pulchra planicie iuxta riuum inter montes aliud tentorium, quod apud ipsos appellatur Orda aurea, præparatũ. Ibi enim Cuyne debebat poni in sede in die Assumptionis Dominæ nostræ. Sed propter grandinem nimiam, quæ tunc, vt supra dictum est, cecidit, res dilata fuit. Eratq; tentorium in columnis positum, quæ laminis aureis erant tectæ, & clauis aureis cum alijs lignis fixæ. Porro de Baldakino erat tectum superius, sed alij erant panni exterius. Fuimus autem ibi vsq; ad festum Beati Bartholomæi, in quo maxima multitudo conuenit, & contra meridiem versis vultibus stetit. Et quidam ad iactum lapidis longè à cæteris erant, semperq; orationes faciendo, ac genua flectendo, contra meridiem longius, & longius procedebant. Nos autem vtrum incantationes facerent, aut genua Deo vel alteri flecterent, nescientes, nolebamus facere genu flexiones. Cumq; diu ita fecissent, ad tentorium reuersi sunt, & Cuyne in sede imperiali posuerunt, Ducesq; coram eo genua flexerunt. Post hoc idem fecit vniuersus populus, exceptis nobis, qui eis subditi non eramus.

De etate ac moribus ac sigillo ipsius. Cap. 28.

Cuyne etas &
mors.

Studium Christi-
animit.

Masestas.

Hic autem Imperator quando sublimatus est in regnum, videbatur esse circiter xl. vel xlv. annorum. Mediocris erat staturæ, prudens valde, nimis astutus multumq; seriosus, & grauis in moribus. Nec vnquam videbat eum homo de facili ridere, vel aliquam leuitatem facere, sicut dicebant Christiani, qui cum ipso morabantur continuè. Dicebant etiam nobis ascendendo firmiter Christiani, qui erant de familia eius, quòd deberet fieri Christianus. Cuius signum erat, quod ipse Clericos Christianos tenebat, & expensas eis dabat. Habebat etiam semper capellam Christianorum ante maius tentorium suum, vbi cantant Clerici publicè & apertè, ac pulsant ad horas, vt ceteri Christiani secundum mores Græcorum, quantacumq; sit ibi multitudo Tartarorum, vel etiam aliorum hominum. Hoc tamen non faciunt alij Duces ipsorum. Est autem mos Imperatoris ipsius, vt nunquam ore proprio loquatur cum extraneo, quantacumq;

tumcunq; magnus fit, sed audit & responder per interpositam personam, & quodcumq; negotium proponunt, vel Imperatoris responsionem audiunt illi, qui sub eo sunt, quantumcumq; sint magni, flexis genibus vsq; ad finem verborum persistunt. Nec alicui de consuetudine super aliquo negotio loqui licitum est, postquam ab Imperatore definitum est. Habet autem Imperator prædictus procuratorem & protonotarios, atq; scriptores, omnesq; officiales in negotijs tam publicis quam priuatis, exceptis Aduocatis. Nam sine litium vel iudiciorum strepitu secundum arbitrium Imperatoris omnia fiunt. Alij quoque Principes Tartarorum de his, quæ ad illos pertinent, idem faciunt. Hoc autem nouerint vniuersi, quia nobis tunc existentibus in solenni curia, iam ex pluribus annis indicta, idem Cuyne Imperator, de nouo electus, cum omnibus suis Principibus erexit vexillum contra Ecclesiam Dei, ac Romanum Imperium, & contra omnia regna Christianorum & populos Occidentis, nisi fortasse, quod absit, facerent ea, quæ mandabat Domino Papæ, atque potentibus, & omnibus Christianorum populis, videlicet vt ipsi subdantur eis. Nam excepta Christianitate, nulla est terra in orbe, quam timeant, & ideo contra nos ad pugnam se præparant. Huius siquidem Imperatoris pater, scilicet Ocoday, necatus fuerat veneno, & ob hoc à bellis quieuerant tempore pauco. Intentio autem eorum, vt dictum est supra, est, sibi totum subijcere mundum, sicut à Chingischam habent mandatum. Vnde & ipse Imperator in literis suis ita scribit: Dei fortitudo, omnium hominum Imperator. In superscriptione quoque sigilli eius est hoc: Deus in cælo, & Cuyne Cham super terram, Dei fortitudo: omnium hominum Imperatoris sigillum.

Potestas exlex f.

Bellum in Christianos cogitatum.

† *Contra Xenophon: δις τὸν ἴσον ἴσους. Et præclare Aristoteles Politic. lib. 3. cap. 1. 2. in hanc sententiam: Qui legem præesse vult, is velle videtur Deum ac leges imperare: qui autem vult hominem, is etiam bellum adiungit, cum præsertim tale quid sit cupiditas & iracundia: & magistratus & optimus quisq;, à reclusa via detorqueantur &c. Adde quæ è Chrysippo adducuntur ff. li. 1. tit. 3. l. 2.*

De admissione Fratrum & nunciorum ad Imperatorem. Cap. 29.

IN loco illo, vbi positus est Imperator in throno, vocati fuimus coram ipso. Cumq; Chingay protonotarius eius nomina nostra scripsisset, illorūq; à quibus missi eramus, & Ducis Solangorum & aliorum, clamauit alta voce, recitans illa coram Imperatore ac Ducum vniuersitate, Quo factò, flexit vnusquisq; nostrum quater genu sinistrum, & monuerunt, ne tangere mus limen deorsum. Cumq; pro cultellis nos diligentissimè scrutati fuissent, & nullatenus inuenissent, intrauimus ostium ab Orientali parte: quia nullus ab Occidente, nisi solus imperator, audet intrare. Similiter & Dux ab illa parte ingreditur solus, si est tentorium eius, Minores autem non multum curant de talibus. Tunc ergò primum in eius præsentia suam intrauimus stationem, videlicet postquam factus est Imperator ibidem, Omnes queque nuncij tunc ab eo recepti sunt, sed paucissimi tentorium eius intrauerunt. Ibi verò tanta donaria ab ipsis nuncijs fuerunt ei præsentata, quòd quasi videbantur infinita, videlicet in samitis ac purpureis & baldakinis ac cingulis sericis cum auro præparatis, pellibus etiam nobilibus, ceterisq; muneribus, Quoddam etiam Solinum, siue tentoriolum, quòd super caput Imperatoris portatur, fuit eidem præsentatum, quòd totum erat cum gemmis præparatum. Quidam verò præfectus vnus prouincia adduxit ei Camelos multos cum Baldakinis reectos. Similiter sellæ posticæ cum instrumentis quibusdam erant, in quibus homines intemius federe valebant. Equos etiam multos & mulos adducebant eidem phaleratos & armatos, quosdam quidem de corio, & quosdam de ferro. Nos etiam requisiti fuimus, an ei munera dare vellemus: sed iam facultas non erat, quoniam omnia ferè nostra consumpseramus. Ibidem longè à stationibus super montem erant positi curtus plusquam quingenti, qui omnes auro & argento ac sericis vestibus erant pleni. Cunctiq; inter imperatorem & Duces diuisi fuerunt, singuliq; Duces inter homines suos partes suas, vt eis placuit, diuiserunt.

Cuyne audit legatos.

Munera eidem oblata.

Curtus Orientalibus.

De loco diuisionis Imperatoris & matris suæ, & morte

Ierosolai, Ducis Rusiæ.

INde recedentes, venimus ad alium locum, vbi tentorium mirabile, totum de purpura rufa, quòd Kitay dederant, erat positum. Illic interius introducti fuimus, & semper cum intrabamus nobis dabatur ad bibendum cereuisia vel vinum, & etiam carnes coctæ, si volebamus, ad edendum. Eratque solatiolum vnum, de tabulis altè præparatum, vbi thronus Imperatoris erat positus, ex ebore mirabiliter sculptus, in quo etiam erat aurum, & lapides preciosi, si benè meminimus, & illuc ascendebatur per gradus. Eratque rotundum superius, Banci

Tentorium purpureum.

Solium eboreum.

vero erant positi in circuitu sedis, vbi domina sedebant à parte sinistra in scamnis, à dextris autem nemo sedebat superius, sed Duces sedebant in Bancis inferioribus, & hoc in medio. Alij verò sedebant post eos, & quolibet die veniebat dominarum maxima multitudo. Ista verò tria tentoria, de quibus supra diximus, erant valde magna, aliàq; habebant vxores eius de filtro albo satis magna & pulchra. Ibidem Imperator diuisus est à matre sua, quæ iuit in vnam terræ partem, & Imperator in aliam ad iudicia facienda. Capta siquidem erat amica Imperatoris istius, quæ veneno interfecerat patrem eius, eo tempore, quo exercitus eorum in Hungaria fuit. Propter quod etiam exercitus eorum, qui erat in partibus illis, recessit, De qua cum alijs pluribus factum fuit iudicium, & occisi fuerunt. Eodem tempore mortuus fuit Ierozlaus, Dux magnus Soldal, quæ est quædam Russiæ pars. Vocatus enim ad matrem Imperatoris quasi pro honore, vt mandicaret ac biberet de manu ipsius, in continenti ad hospitium est reuersus, infirmatusq; mortuus est post septem dies; totumque corpus eius miro modo glaucum effectum est, dicebaturq; ab omnibus, quod ibidem, vt terram eius liberè ac plenariè possiderent, fuisset impotionatus.

Nex Occoday vindicata, Ieroslaus Dux Ruslie.

Qualiter tandem Fratres ad Imperatorem accedentes, literas dederunt & acceperunt. Cap. 31.

Cuynne cum legatis dissimulanter agit.

DEniq; Tartari nostri nos ad Imperatorem duxerunt: qui cum audisset per illos, nos ad eum venisse, iussit nos ad matrem redire. Volebat enim secundo die, sicut superius dictum est, contra totam Occidentis terram vexillum erigere, quod nos volebat ignorare. Itaque reuersi stetit paucis diebus, & iterum ad ipsum reuersi sumus. Cum quo benè per mensem fuimus in tanta fame ac siti, quòd vix viuere poteramus. Nam expensæ, quæ nobis per dies quatuor dabantur, vix vni sufficiebant. Nec inuenire poteramus aliquid ad emendum, quia forum erat nimis remotum. Sed Dominus nobis quendam Ruthenum, nomine Cosimam, aurifabrum præparauit, qui satis dilectus Imperatori, nos in aliquo sustentauit. Et hic nobis ostendit thronum Imperatoris, quem ipse fecerat, antequam poneretur in sede, & sigillum eiusdem, quod etiam fabricauerat ipse. Post hoc Imperator pro nobis misit, nobisq; per Chingay protonotarium suum dici fecit, vt verba nostra & negotia scriberemus, eiq; porrigeremus, Quod & fecimus. Post plures dies nos iterum vocari fecit, & vtrum essent apud Dominum Papam, qui Ruthenorum vel Sarracenorum, aut etiam Tartarorum literam intelligerent, interrogauit. Cui respondimus, quòd nullam istarum literarum habebamus. Sarraceni tamen erant in terra, sed remoti erant à Domino Papa. Diximus tamen, quia nobis expedire videbatur, quòd in Tartarico scriberent, & nobis interpretarentur, nos autem in litera nostra diligenter scriberemus, & tam literam quàm interpretationem ad Dominum Papam deferremus. Tunc à nobis recesserunt, & ad Imperatorem iuerunt. Porro à die Beati Martini fuimus vocari, Tunc Kadac, totius imperij procurator, & Chingay & Bala, pluresq; scriptores ad nos venerunt, nobisq; literam de verbo ad verbum interpretati fuerunt. Et cum in Latina litera scripsissemus, faciebant sibi per singulas orationes interpretari, volentes scire, si nos in aliquo verbo erraremus. Cum igitur ambæ literæ fuissent scriptæ, fecerunt nos semel ac secundo legere, ne fortè minus aliquid haberemus. Dixerunt enim nobis, videte, quòd omnia benè intelligatis, quia non expediret, quòd non omnia benè intelligeretis. Literas etiam in Sarracenco scripserunt, vt aliquis in partibus nostris inueniri posset, qui eas, si opus esset, legeret.

Cosimas Russus.

Chingay inter-nuncius.

Prudens delictis consilium.

Qualiter licentiati fuerunt. Cap. 32.

VT autem nobis Tartari nostri dixerunt, proposuit Imperator nuncios suos nobiscum mittere. Volebat tamen, vt credimus, quod nos id ab eo peteremus. Sed cum vnus de Tartaris nostris, qui senior erat, nos ad hoc petendum hortaretur, nobis quidem, vt venirent, nequam bonum videbatur. Ideoq; respondimus ei, quòd non erat nostrum petere, sed si sponte ipse Imperator mitteret eos, libenter eos securè conduceremus, Domino adiuuante. Nobis autem ob plures causas vt venirent, non videbatur expedire. Prima quidem fuit, quia timuimus, ne visis dissentionibus aut guerris, quæ sunt inter nos, magis animarentur ad ventendum contra nos. Secunda fuit, timebamus eos exploratores terræ fieri. Tertia verò, quia timebamus eos interfici. Gentes enim nostræ arrogantes sunt & superbæ. Vnde quando seruietes, qui stant nobiscum, ex rogatu Cardinalis, legati scilicet Alemannicæ, in habitu Tartarico ibant ad ipsum, in via ferè lapidati sunt à Teutonicis, & coacti sunt deponere habitum illum. Consuetudo autem est Tartarorum, vt cum illis, qui nuncios eorum occiderint, nunquam faciant pacem; nisi sumant de ipsis vltionem. Quarta etiã causa fuit, quia timebamus ne nobis auferrentur vi.

Legati abhorrent à Tartarorum ad Christianos legatione.

Quinta

Quinta verò causa erat, quia de aduentu eorum nulla foret vtilitas, cum nullum haberent aliud mandatum vel potestatem, nisi quòd literas Imperatoris ad Dominum Papam & ad Principes deferrent, quas videlicet literas ipsi nos habebamus, & malum ex eorum aduentu posse contingere credebamus. Itaq; tertia die post hoc, scilicet in festo beati Briccij nobis dederunt licentiam & literam, Imperatoris sigillo munitam, mittentes nos ad ipsius Imperatoris matrem, quæ vniciq; nostrum dedit pelliceum vnum de pellibus vulpinis, quod habebat pilos de foris, & purpuram vniam. De quibus Tartari nostri furati sunt ex vnaquaq; vnum passum. De illa quoq; quæ dabatur seruienti, meliorem medietatem sunt furati, Quod nos quidem non ignorauimus, sed inde verba mouere nolimus.

Novemb. 13.
Honoratur cō-
meatu & laudib.

Qualiter ab illo itinere redierunt. Cap. 33.

TVnc iter ad reuertendum atripuimus, ac per totam hyemem venimus, iacentes in desertis sæpius in niue, nisi quantum poteramus nobis cum pede locum facere. Ibi quippe non erant arbores, sed planus campus. Et sæpe manè nos inueniebamus totos niue, quam ventus pellebat, coopertos. Sic venientes vsq; ad Ascensionem Domini peruenimus ad Bathy. A quocum inquireretur, quid responderet Domino Papæ, dixit se nolle aliud, nisi quod Imperator diligenter scripserat, demandare. Datuq; nobis de conductu literis, ab eo recessimus, & sabba- tho infra octauas Pentecostes vsq; ad Montij peruenimus, vbi erant socij nostri, ac seruientes, qui fuerant retenti, quos ad nos fecimus reduci. Hinc vsq; Corrensam peruenimus, cui iterum à nobis donaria petenti non dedimus, quia non habebamus. Deditq; nobis duos Comanos, qui erant ex Tartarorum plebe, vsque ad Kiouiam Russiæ. Tartarus tamen noster non dimisit nos, donec exiremus vltimam Tartarorum custodiam. Isti verò alij, qui nobis à Corrensa dati sunt, in sex diebus ab vltima custodia vsq; ad Kiouiam nos duxerunt. Venimus autem illuc ante festum Beati Iohannis Baptistæ xv. diebus. Porrò Kiouientes aduentum nostrum percipientes, occurrunt nobis omnes lætauter. Congratulabantur enim nobis, tanquam à morte suscitatis. Sic fecerunt nobis per totam Russiam, Poloniam & Bohemiam, Daniel & Wasilico frater eius festum nobis magnum fecerunt, & nos contra voluntatem nostram bene per octo dies tenuerunt. Medioq; tempore inter se & cum Episcopis, cæterisq; probis viris, super his, quæ locuti fueramus eisdem, in processu nostro ad Tartaros consilium habentes, responderunt nobis communiter, dicentes: quòd Dominum Papam habere vellent in specialem Dominum, & in patrem, sanctam quoq; Romanam Ecclesiam in dominam & magistram, confirmantes etiam omnia, quæ prius de hac materia per Abbatem suum transmiserant. Et super hoc etiam nobiscum ad Dominum Papam nuncios suos & literas transmiserunt.

Difficilis legato-
rum reditus.

Bathy.

Corrensa.

Iunij 8.
Gratulationes re-
ducibus factæ.
Basilij & Daniel
Principes.

Russi agnoscent
primatum Papæ.

The voyage of Iohannes de Plano Carpini vnto the Northeast parts of the world, in the yeere of our Lord, 1246.

Of the first sending of certaine Friers Prædicants and Minorites vnto the Tartars, taken out of the 32. Booke of Vincentius Beluacensis his Speculum Historiale: beginning at the second Chapter.



ABout this time also, Pope Innocentius the fourth sent frer Ascelline being one of the order of the Prædicants, together with three other Friers (of the same authoritie whereunto they were called) consojted with him out of diuers Couens of their order, with letters Apostolicall vnto the Tartars campe: wherein hee exhorted them to giue ouer their bloudie slaughter of mankind; and to receiue the Christian faith. And I, in verie neede, receiued the relations concerning the deedes of the Tartars onelic, (which, according to the congruence of times, I haue aboue inserted into this my woork) from a Fri- er Minorite, called Simon de Sanct. Quintin, who lately returned from the same voyage. And at that verie time also, there was a certaine other Fri- er Minorite, namely frer Iohn de Plano Carpini, sent with certaine associates vnto the Tartars, who likewise (as himselfe witnes- seth) aboue and conuersed with them a yeere and three moneths at the least. For both he & one Fri- er Benedic- ta Polonian bring of the same order, and a partaker of all his miserie and tribulation, re- ceiued straighe commaundement from the Pope, that both of them shoulde diligently searche out all things that concerned the state of the Tartars. And therefore this Fri- er Iohn hath writ- ten a litle Historie (which is come to our hands) of such things, as with his owne eyes hee saue among

Ascellinus.

Simon Quint-
nianus.
Iohn de plane
Carpini.

Benedic-
tius
Polonus.

among the Tartars, of which he heard from divers Christians worthy of credit, remaining there in captivitie. Out of which historie I thought good by way of conclusion, to insert somewhat for the supply of those things which are wanting in the said Frier Simon.

Of the situation and qualitie of the Tartars land, By

Iohannes de Plano Carpini. Chap. 3.

A description
of Tartaria.

The North
Ocean.

Syra Orda.

The intempe-
rature of the
aire.

What Orda sig-
nifieth.

There is towards the East a land which is called Mongal or Tartaria, lying in that part of the world which is thought to be most North Easterly. On the East part it hath the countrey of Kyrhay and of the people called Solangi: on the South part the countrey of the Saracens: on the South east the land of the Huini: and on the West the province of Naimani: but on the North side it is unitioned with the Ocean Sea. In some part thereof it is full of mountaines, and in other places plaine and smooth grounde, but everie where sandie and barren, neither is the hundredth part thereof fertilefull. For it cannot beare fruite vntlesse it be moistened with river waters, which bee verie rare in that countrey. Wherevpon they haue neither villages, nor cities among them, except one which is called Cracurim, and is said to be a proper towne. We our selues sawe not this towne, but were almost within halfe a dayes iourney thereof, when we remained at Syra Orda, which is the great court of their Emperour. And albeit the foresaid lande is otherwise vnfruitfull, yet is it very commodious for the byinging by of cattell. In certaine places thereof are some small stoe of trees growing, but otherwise it is altogether destitute of woods. Therefore the Emperour, and his noble men and all other warme themselves, and dresse their meate with fires made of the doung of oxen, and horses. The ayre also in that countrey is verie intemperate. For in the midst of Sommer there be great thunders and lighenings, by the which many men are slaine, and at the same time there falleth great abundance of snowe. There bee also such mightie tempestes of colde winde, that sometimes men are not able to sitte on horsebacke. Wherevpon, being neere vnto the Orda (for by this name they call the habitations of their Emperours and noble men) in regarde of the great winde we were constrained to lye crouching on the earth, and could not see by reason of the dust. There is neuer any raine in Winter, but onely in Sommer, albeit in so little quantitie, that sometimes it scarcely sufficeth to alay the dust, or to moisten the rootes of the grasse. There is often times great stoe of haile also. Inso much that when the Emperour elect was to be placed in his Imperiall throne (my selfe being then present) there fell such abundance of haile, that, vpon the sudden melting thereof, more then 160. persons were drowned in the same place: there were manie tentes and other thinges also caried away. Likewise, in the Sommer season there is on the sudden extreme heate, and suddenly againe intollerable colde.

Of their forme, habite, and maner of liuing. Chap. 4.

The shape of
the Tartars.

Their habite.

Like vnto
Frobishers men.

Their taber-
nacles.

Their cattell.

Their victuals.

The Mongals or Tartars, in outward shape, are vnlke to all other people. For they are broader betwene the eyes, and the balles of their cheekes, then men of other nations bee. They haue flat and small noses, litle eyes, and eye liddes standing straight vpright, they are thauen on the crownes like pickeles. They weare their haire somewhat longer about their eares, then vpon their foreheads: but behinde they let it growe long like womans haire, whereof they braise two lockes binding eche of them behind either eare. They haue short feet also. The garments, as well of their men, as of their women are all of one fashion. They vse neither cloakes, hattes, nor cappes. But they weare Jarkets framed after a strange manner, of buckeram, skarlet, or Baldakines. Their Honbes or gownes are happie on the outside, and open behinde, with taitles hanging downe to their hammes. They vse not to washe their garments, neither will in any wise suffer them to bee washed, especially in the time of thunder. Their habitations bee rounde and cunningly made with wickers and staues in manner of a tent, but in the midst of the toppes thereof, they haue a window open to conuey the light in and the smoake out. For their fire is alwayes in the midst. Their walles bee covered with felt. Their doores are made of felte also. Some of these Tabernacles may quickly be taken asunder, and set together againe, and are caried vpon beastes backs. Other some cannot be taken in sunder; but are stowed vpon carts. And whithersoener they goe, be it either to warre, or to any other place, they transport their tabernacles with them. They are very rich in cattell, as in camels, oxen, sheep, and goats. And I thinke they haue more horses and mares then all the world besides. But they haue no kine or other beausts. Their Emperours, Dukes, & other of their nobles doe abound with silk, gold, silver, and precious stones. Their victuals are all things that may be eaten: for we saw some of them eat lice. They

swine

They drinke milke in great quantitie, but especially mares milke, if they haue it: They leeth Mill also in water, making it so thinne, that they may drinke thereof. Euery one of them drinke off a cup full or two in a morning, and sometime they eate nought else all the day long. But in the euening each man hath a little flesh giuen him to eate, and they drinke the broath thereof. Howbeit in summer time, when they haue mares milke enough, they seldeome eate flesh, vnles perhaps it be giuen them, or they take some beast or bird in hunting.

Of their manners both good and bad. Chap. 5.

Their manners are partly praise-worthie, and partly detestable: For they are more obedient vnto their lordes and masters, then any other either clergie or laie-people in the whole world. For they doe highly reuerence them, and will deceiue them, neither in wordes nor deedes. They seldeome or neuer fall out among themselues, and, as for fightings or bawlings, wounds or manslaughteres, they neuer happen among them. There are neither theues nor robbers of great riches to be found, and therefore the tabernacles and cartes of them that haue any treasures are not strengthened with lockes or barres. If any beast goe astray, the finder thereof either lets it goe, or driueth it to them that are put in office for the same purpose, at whose handes the owner of the said beast demaundeth it, and without any difficultie receiuech it againe. One of them honoureth another exceedingly, and bestoweth banquetes very familiarly and liberally, notwithstanding that good victuals are daintie and scarce among them. They are also very hardie, and when they haue fasted a day or two without any maner of sustenance, they sing and are merry as if they had eaten their bellies full. In riding, they endure much cold and extreme heat. There be, in a maner, no contentions among them, and although they vse commonly to be drunken, yet doe they not quarrell in their drunkennes. Noe one of them despiseth another but helpeth and furthereth him, as much as conveniently he can. Their women are chaste, neither is there so much as a word uttered concerning their dishonestie. Some of them will notwithstanding speake filthy and immodest wordes. But towards other people, the said Tartars be most insolent, and they scoyne and set nought by all other noble and ignoble persons whatsoeuer. For we saw in the Emperours court the great duke of Russia, the kings soune of Georgia, and many great Soldanes receiuing no due honour and estimation among them. So that euen the very Tartars assigned to giue attendance vnto them, were they neuer so base, would alwaies goe before them, and take the vpper hand of them, yea, and sometimes would constrain them to sit behinde their backs. Howsoeuer they are angry and of a disdainfull nature vnto other people, and beyond all measure deceitfull, and treacherous towards them. They speake laye in the beginning, but in conclusion, they sing like scorpions. For craftie they are, and full of falshood, circumuenticing all men whom they are able, by their sleights. Whatsoeuer mischief they intend to practise against a man, they keepe it wonderfully secret, so that he may by no meanes prouide for himselfe, nor find a remedie against their conspiracies. They are vmanerly also and vncleanly in taking their meat and their drinke, and in other actions. Drunkennes is honourable among them, and when any of them hath taken moze drinke then his stomacke can well beare, hee casteth it vp and falles to drinking againe. They are most intollerable exacters, most covetous possessours, and most nigardly giuers. The slaughter of other people is accompted a matter of nothing with them.

Their obediecs.

Their abstinence.

Their courtesie.

Their chastity.

Their insolencie against strangers.

Of their lawes and customes. Chap. 6.

Moreover, they haue this law or custome, that whatsoeuer man or woman be manifestly taken in adultery, they are punished with death. A virgine like wise that hath committed fornication, they slay together with her mate. Whosoever be taken in robbetrie or theft, is put to death without all pittie. Also, if any man disclose their secrets, especially in time of warre, he receiuech an hundred blowes on the backe with a bassinado, layd on by a tall fellow. In like sort when any inferiours offend in ought, they finde no fauour at their superiours handes, but are punished with grieuous stripes. They are toynd in matrimony to all in generall, yea, euen to their neare kinsfolkes except their mother, daughter and sister by the mothers side. For they vse to marrie their sister by the fathers side onely, and also the wife of their father after his decease. The yonger brother also, or some other of his kindred, is bound to marry the wife of his elder brother deceased. For, at the time of our aboad in the countrey, a certaine duke of Russia named Andreas, was accused before duke Bary for conueying the Tartars horses out of the land, and for selling them to others: and although it could not be proued, yet was he put to death. His yonger brother and the wife of the party deceased hearing this, came & made their supplication vnto the sozenamed duke, that

Punishments of adultery.

Of theft.

Of secretes disclosed.

Lawes of matrimony.

Andreas duke of Russia.

that the dukedome of Russia might not be taken from them. But he commanded the youth to marrie his deceased brothers wife, and the woman also to take him unto her husband, according to the custome of the Tartars. She answered, that she had rather die, then so hapnously transgresse the law. Howbeit, hee deliuered her vnto him, although they both refused as much as they could. Wherefore carrying them to bed, they constrained the youth, lamenting and weeping, to lie downe and commit incest with his brothers wife. To be shor't, after the death of their husbands, the Tartars wiues be very seldome to marrie the second time, vniclesse perhaps some man takes his brothers wife or his stepmother in marriage. They make no difference betweene the sonne of their wife and of their concubine, but the father giues what he pleaseth vnto each one: For of late the king of Georgia hauing two sonnes, one lawfully begotten called Melich; but the other David, bozne in adulterie, at his death left part of his lande vnto his base sonne. Whereupon Melich (vnto whom the kingdome fell by right of his mother, because it was gouerned before time by women) went vnto the Emperour of the Tartars, David also hauing taken his iourney vnto him. Nowe both of them comming to the court and proffering large giftes, the sonne of the harlot made suite, that he might haue iustice, according to the custome of the Tartars. Well, sentence passed against Melich, that David being his elder brother, should haue superiortie ouer him, and should quietly and peaceably possesse the portion of land granted vnto him by his father. Whensoever a Tartar hath many wiues, each one of them hath her family and dwelling place by her selfe. And sometime the Tartar eateth, drinketh and lieth with one, and sometime with another. One is accompted chiefe among the rest, with whom hee is oftener conuersant, then with the other. And not withstanding (as is hath bin said) they are many, yet do they seldome fall out among themselves.

Melich & David
two brothers.

Of their superstitious traditions. *Chap. 7.*

Ridiculous
traditions.

But by reason of certain traditions, which either they or their predecessors haue deuised, they account some things indifferent to be faults. One is to thrust a knife into the fire, or any way to touch the fire with a knife, or with their knife to take flesh out of the cauldron, or to heve with an hatchet neare vnto the fire. For they think by that means to take away the head or force from the fire. Another is to leane vpon the whip, where with they beate their horses: for they ride not with spurs. Also, to touch arrowes with a whip, to take or kill yong birds, to strike an horse with y^e raine of their handle, and to breake one bone against another. Also, to powze out milke, meate, or any kinde of drinke vpon the ground, or to make water within their tabernacle: which whosoever doth willingly, he is slaine, but ocherwise he must pay a great summe of money to the inchanter to be purified. Who likewise must cause the tabernacle with all things therein, to passe betweene two fires. Before it be on this wise purified, no man dare once enter into it, nor conueigh any thing therout. Besides, if any man hath a moyzell giuen him, which he is not able to swallow, and for that cause casteth it out of his mouth, there is an hole made vnder his tabernacle, by which hee is drawn forth and slaine without all compassion. Likewise, whosoever treads vpon the threshold of any of their dukes tabernacles, he is put to death. Many ocher things there be, like vnto these, which they take for heinous offences. But to slay men, to invade the dominions of other people, and to raffe their goods, to transgresse the commaundements and prohibitions of God, are with them no offences at all. They know nothing concerning eternall life, and euerlasting damnation, and yet they thinke, that after death they shall liue in another world, that they shall multiply their cattell, that they shall eat and drinke and doe ocher things which liuing men performe here vpon earth. At a new moone, or a full moone, they begin all enterprises that they take in hand, and they call the moone the Great Emperour, and worship it vpon their knees. All men that abide in their tabernacles must be purified with fire: Which purification is on this wise, They kindle two fires, and pitch two Tawlines into the ground neere vnto the said fires, binding a corde to the tops of the Tawlines. About the corde they tye certaine tagges of buckram, vnder which corde, and betweene which fires, men, beastes, and tabernacles do passe. There stand two women also, one on the right side, and another on the left casting water, and repeating certaine charmes. If any man be slaine by lightning, all that dwell in the same tabernacle with him must passe by fire in maner aforesaid. For their tabernacles, beds, and cartes, their feltes and garments, and whatsoeuer such things they haue, are touched by no man, yea, and are abandoned by all men as things vncleane. And to bee shor't, they thinke that all things are to be purged by fire. Therefore, when any ambassadours, princes, or ocher personages whatsoeuer come vnto them, they and their giftes must passe betweene two fires to be purified, lest peraduenture they haue practised some witchcraft, or haue brought some popson or other mischief with them.

The Tartars
worship the
moons.

Their custome
of purifying.

Of the beginning of their empire or government. *Chap. 7.*

The East countrey, whereof wee haue entreated, which is called Mongal, is reported to haue had of olde time foure sortes of people. One of their companions was called Yeka Mongal, that is the great Mongals. The second company was called Sumongal, that is, the Water-Mongals, who called themselves Tartars of a certaine riuer running through their countrey named Tarrar. The third was called Merkat, and the fourth Merrit. All these people had one and the same person, attire of body and language, albeit they were diuided by princes and prouinces. In the prouince of Yeka Mongal, there was a certaine man called Chingis. This man became a mighty hunter. For he learned to steale men, & to take them for a pray. He ranged into other countreies taking as many captiues as he could, and ioining them vnto himselfe. Also hee allured the men of his owne countrey vnto him, who followed him as their captaine and ringleader to doe mischief. Then began he to make warre vpon the Sumongals or Tartars, and slew their captaine, and after many conflicts, suboued them vnto himselfe, and brought them all into bondage. Afterward he vsed their helpe to fight against the Merkars, dwelling by the Tartars, whom also hee vanquished in battell. Proceeding from thence, he fought against the Merrites, and conquered them also. The Naimani hearing that Chingis was thus exalted, greatly disdeined thereat. For they had a mighty & puissant Emperour, vnto whom all the foresaid nations payed tribute. Whose sonnes, when he was dead, succeeded him in his Empire. Howbeit, being young and foolish, they knew not howe to gouerne the people, but were diuided, and fell at variance among themselves. Now Chingis being exalted, as is aforesaid, they neuertheless inuaded the forenamed countreies, put the inhabitants to the sword, and carried away their goods for a pray. Which Chingis hauing intelligence of, gathered all his subiects together. The Naimani also, and the people called Karakitay assembled and banded themselves at a certaine straight valley, where, after a battell foughten they were vanquished by the Mongals. And being thus vanquished, they were, the greater part of them, slaine; and others, which could not escape, were carried into captiuitie. In the land of the foresaid Karakitayans, Occoday Cham, the sonne of Chingis Cham, after he was created Emperour, built a certaine citie, which he called Chanyl. Neare vnto which citie, on the South side, there is an huge desert, wherein wilde men are certainly reported to inhabite, which cannot speake at all, and are destitute of toyns in their legges, so that if they fall, they cannot rise alone by themselves. Howbeit, they are of discretion to make feltes of Camels haire, wherewith they clothe themselves, and which they holde against the winde. And if at any time, the Tartars pursuing them, chance to wound them with their arrowes, they put herbes into their wounds, and flye strongly before them.

The people of Tartaria.

The original & the exploits of Chingis.

The Naimani.

The discords of the Tartars.

Occoday Cham.

Of the mutuall victories betweene them, and the people of Kythay. *Chap. 9.*

At the Mongals returning home into their owne countrey, prepared themselves to battell against the * Kythayans: Which their Emperour hearing, set forward against them with his armie, and they fought a cruell battell, wherein the Mongals were overcome, and all their nobles in the armie, except seuen, were slaine. And for this cause, when they, purposing to inuade anie region, are threatned by the inhabitants thereof to be slaine, they doe, to this day, answer: in old time also our whole number besides being slaine, we remayned but seuen of vs aliuie, and yet notwithstanding we are now growen vnto a great multitude, thinke not therefore to daunt vs with such byrags. But Chingis and the residue that remained aliuie, fled home into their countrey: And hauing breathed him a litle, he prepared himselfe to warre, and went forth against the people called Huyri: These men were Christians of the sect of Nestorius. And these also the Mongals overcame, and receiued letters of learning from them: for before that time they had not the arte of wyting, and nowe they call it the hand of letters of the Mongals. Immediately after, he marched against the countrey of Saruyur, and of the Karanites, and against the land of Hudirat; all which he vanquished. Then returned he home into his owne countrey, and breathed himselfe. Afterward, assembling his warlike troupes, they marched with one accord against the Kythayans, and waging warre with them a long time, they conquered a great part of their land, and shut vp their Emperour into his greatest citie: which citie they had so long time besieged, that they began to want necessary prouision for their armie. And when they had no victuals to feede vpon, Chingis Cham commaunded his souldiers, that they should eate euery tenth man of the companie.

Haythou & Paulus Venetus call them * Cathayans.

New victorie Letters.

But

Silver cast at
the encrease in
stead of stones.

Chingis Cham
proclaimed
Emperour.

Part of Cas-
thay in the sea.

The letters, &
the religion of
the Cathayans.

Their excellent
workmanthip.

But they of the cite fought manfully against them, with engines, darters, and arrowes, and when stones wanted they threw silver, and especially melted silver: for the same cite abounded with great riches. Also, when the Mongals had fought a long time and could not preuaile by warre, they made a great trench vnderneath the ground from the armie vnto the middelt of the cite, and there issuing forth they fought against the citicens, and the remnant also without the walles fought in like manner. At last, breaking open the gates of the cite, they entered, and putting the Emperour, with many other to the sword, they tooke possession thereof and conueighed away the golde, silver, and all the riches therein. And hauing appointed certaine deputies ouer the countrey, they returned home into their owne lande. This is the first time, when the Emperour of the Kythayans being vanquished, Chingis Cham obtayned the Empire. But some part of the countrey, because it lyeth within the sea, they could by no meanes conuere vnto this day. The men of Kytay are Pagans, hauing a speciall kinde of writing by themselves, and (as it is reported) the Scriptures of the olde and newe Testament. They haue also receo'd in hystories the liues of their forefathers: and they haue Eremites, and certaine houses made after the manner of our Churches, which in those dayes they greatly re-fozted vnto. They say that they haue diuers Saints also, and they worship one God. They adoze and reuerence CHRIST IESVS our Lozde, and heluee the article of eternall life, but are not baptiz'd. They doe also honourably esteeme and reuerence our Scriptures. They loue Chyistians, and bestowe much almes, and are a very courteous and gentle people. They haue no beardes, and they agree partly with the Mongals in the disposition of their countenance. In all occupations which men practise, there are not better artificers in the whole worlde. Their countrey is exceeding rich, in corne, wine, golde, silke, and other commodities.

Of their warre against *India maior* and *minor.* Chap. 10.

Thosut Can sold
of Chingis.

India minor lit-
tled.

The stratagem
of the king of
India.

And when the Mongals with their emperour Chingis Cham had a while rested themselves after the foresayd victorie, they diuided their armies. For the Emperour sent one of his sonnes named Thosut (whom also they called Can, that is to say, Emperour) with an armie against the people of Comania, whom he vanquished with much warre, and after wards returned into his owne country. But he sent his other sonne with an armie against the Indians, who also subdued India minor. These Indians are the blacke Saracens, which are also called Ethiopians. But here the armie marched forward to fight against Chyistians dwelling in India maior. Which the King of that countrey hearing (who is commonly called Presbiter Iohn) gathered his souldiers together, and came forth against them. And making mens images of copper, he set each of them vpon a saddle on horsebacke, and put fire within them, and plac'd a man with a paire of bellows on the horse backe behinde euery image. And so with many horses and images in such sorte furnished, they marched on to fight against the Mongals or Tartars. And coming neare vnto the place of the battell, they first of all sent those horses in order one after another. But the men that sat behind saide I wrote not what vpon the fire within the images, and blew strongly with their bellows. Whereupon it came to passe, that the men and the horses were burnt with wilde fire, and the ayre was darkened with smoake. Then the Indians cast darters vpon the Tartars, of whom many were wounded and slaine. And so they expelled them out of their dominions with great confusion, neither did we heare, that euer they returned thither againe.

How being repelled by monstrous men shapen like dogs, they ouercame the people of *Burithabeth.* Chap. 11.

A strange res-
port of certain
monstrous wo-
men and dogs.

But returning through the deserts, they came into a certaine countrey, wherein (as it was reported vnto vs in the Emperours court, by certaine clergie men of Russia, and others, who were long time among them, and that by strong and stedfast affirmation) they found certaine monsters resembling women: who being asked by many interpreters, where the men of that land were, they answered, that whatsoeuer women were borne there, were indued with the shape of mankind, but the males were like vnto dogges. And delaying the time, in that countrey they met with the said dogges on the other side of the riuer. And in the midst of sharpe winter, they cast themselves into the water: Afterward they wallowed in the dust vpon the maine land, and so the dust being mingled with water, was frozen to their backs, and hauing often times so done, the ice being strongly frozen vpon them, with great fury they came to fight against the Tartars. And when the Tartars threw their darters, or shot their arrowes among them, they rebounded backe againe,

as if they had lighted vpon stones. And the rest of their weapons coulde by no meanes hurt them. Howbeit, the Dogges made an assault vpon the Tartars, and wounding some of them with their teeth, and slaying others, at length they drave them out of their countrees. And thereupon they haue a Proverbe of the same matter, as yett rise among them, which they speake in telling softe one to another; My father or my brother was slaine of Dogges. The women which they tooke, they brought into their owne countrey, who remayned there till their dying day. And in trauciling homewardes, the sayd armie of the Mongals came vnto the lande of Burihaberh (the inhabitants whereof are Pagans) and conquered the people in battell. These people haue a strange or rather a miserable kinde of custome. For when anie mans father deceaseth, he assemblith all his kindred, and they eate him. These men haue no beards at all, for we saw them carie a certaine iron instrument in their hands, wherewith, if any haire growe vpon their chinne, they presently plucke them out. They are also very deformed. From thence the Tartars armie returned to their owne home.

The region of Burihaberh.

The manners of the people.

How they had the repulse at the *Caspian* mountaynes, and were driuen backe by men dwelling in caues, *Chap. 12.*

Moreouer Chingis Cham, at the same time when he sent other armies against the East, he himselfe marched with a power into the lande of Kergis, which notwithstanding, he conquered not in that expedition, and as it was reported vnto vs, he went on forward euen to the Caspian mountaines. But the mountaines on that part where they encamped themselves, were of adamant, and therefore they drew vnto them their arrowes, and weapons of iron. And certaine men contained within those Caspian mountaynes, hearing, as it was thought, the noyse of the armie, made a breach through, so that when the Tartars returned vnto the same place tenne yeeres after, they found the mountaine broken. And attempting to goe vnto them, they could not: for there stood a cloud before them, beyond which they were not able to passe, being deppriued of their sight so soone as they approached thereunto. But they on the contrary side thinking that the Tartars durst not come nigh them, gaue the assault, & when they came at the cloud, they could not proceed for the cause aforesaid. Also the Tartars, before they came vnto the said mountaines, passed for the space of a moneth and more, through a vast wilderness, & departing thence towards the East, they were about a moneth trauciling through another huge desert. At length, they came vnto a land wherein they saw beaten waies, but could not find any people. Howbeit, at the last, diligently seeking, they found a man & his wife, whom they presented before Chingis Cham: and demanding of them where the people of that countrey were, they answered, that the people inhabited vnder the ground in mountaines. Then Chingis Cham keeping still the woman, sent her husband vnto the, giuing the charge to come at his command. And going vnto them, he declared all things that Chingis Cham had commanded them. But they answered, that they would vpon such a day visite him, to satisfie his desire. And in the meane season, by blinde & hidden passages vnder the earth, assembling themselves, they came against the Tartars in warlike manner, and suddenly issuing forth, they slew a great number of them. This people were not able to endure the terrible noyse, which in that place the Sunne made at his vprising: for at the time of the Sunne rising, they were enforced to lay one eare vpon the ground, and to stoppe the other close, least they should heare that dreadfull sound. Neither could they so escape, for by this meanes many of them were destroyed. Chingis Cham therefore and his company, seeing that they prevailed not, but continually lost some of their number, fled and departed out of that land. But the man and his wife aforesaid they carried along with them, who all their life time continued in the Tartars countrey. Being demanded why the men of this countrey doe inhabit vnder the ground, they sayd, that at a certaine time of the yeare, when the sunne riseth, there is such a huge noyse, that the people cannot endure it. Moreover, they use to play vpon cymbals, drums, and other muscicall instruments, to the ende they may not heare that sounde.

Another expedition of Chingis.

A fabulous narration of the sun rising.

Of the statutes of *Chingis Cham*, of his death, of his sonnes, and of his dukes. *Chap. 13.*

But as Chingis Cham returned out of that countrey, his people wanted victuals, & suffered extreme famine. Then by chance they found fresh entrails of a beest: which theyooke, & casting away the dung thereof, caused it to be sodden, brought it before Chingis Cham, & did eat thereof. And thereupon Chingis Cham enacted; that neither the blood, nor the entrails, nor any other part of a beest

The lawe of Chingis.

beast which might be eaten, should be cast away, saue onely the dunge. Wherefoze he returned thence into his owne land, and there he ordaind lawes and statutes, which the Tartars doe most strictly and inuolably obserue, of the which we haue befoze spoken. He was afterward slaine by a thunderclay. He had foure sonnes: the first was called Occoday, the second Thossur Can, the thir Thiaday: the name of the fourth is vnknown. From these foure descended all the dukes of the Mongals. The first sonne of Occoday is Cuync, who is now Emperour: his brothers be Cocten and Chyrinen. The sonnes of Thossur Can are Bathy, Ordu, Siba, and Bora. Bathy, next vnto the Emperour, is richer and mightier then all the rest. But Ordu is the seignior of all the dukes. The sonnes of Thiaday be Hurin and Cadan. The sonnes of Chingis Cham his other sonne, whose name is vnknown, are Mengu, Bithar, and certaine others. The mother of Mengu was named Seroctan, and of all others most honoured among the Tartars, except the Emperours mocher, and mightier then any subiect except Bathy. These be the names of the dukes: Ordu, who was in Poland and in Hungarie: Bathy also & Hurin & Cadan, and Siban, and Ouygar, all which were in Hungarie. In like maner Cyrpodan, who is as yet beyond the sea, making war against certaine Soldans of the Saracens, and other inhabitants of farre countries. Others remained in the land, as namely Mengu, Chyrinen, Hubilai, Sinocur, Cara, Gay, Sybedey, Bora, Berca, Corrensa. There be many other of their dukes, whose names are vnknown vnto vs.

Of the authoritie of the Emperour, and of his dukes. *Chap. 14.*

Moreouer, the Emperour of the Tartars hath a wonderfull dominion ouer all his subiects. For no man dare abide in any place, vnles he hath assigned him to be there. Also he himselfe appointeth to his dukes where they should inhabite. Like wise the dukes assigne places vnto euery Millenarie, or conductor of a thousand souldiers, the Millenaries vnto each captaine of an 100. the captaines vnto euery cozpozall of ten. Whatsoeuer is giuen them in charge, whensoeuer, or where soeuer, be it to fight or to lose their liues, or howsoeuer it be, they obey without any gainsaying. For if he demandeth any mans daughter, or sister being a virgine, they presently deliuer her vnto him without all contradiction: yea, often times he makes a collection of virgines throughout all the Tartars dominions, and those whom he meanes to keepe, he retaineth vnto himselfe, others he bestoweth vpon his men. Also, whatsoeuer messenger he sendeth, or whither soeuer, his subiects must without delay finde them horses and other necessaries. In like sorte, from what countrey soeuer tribute papers, or ambassadours come vnto him, they must haue horses, carriages, and expences allowed them. Notwithstanding ambassadours comming from other places do suffer great misery, and are in much wante both of victuals, and of apparel: especially when they come to any of the dukes, and there they are constrained to make some lingering abode. Then ten men are allowed so little sustenance, that scarcely two could liue thereof. Likewise, if any iniuries be offered them, they cannot without danger make complaint. Many gifts also are demanded of them, both by dukes and others, which if they doe not bestow, they are basely esteemed, and set at nought. And hereupon, wee were of necessitie enforced to bestowe in giftes a great part of those things which were giuen vs by well disposed people, to defray our charges. To be short, all things are so in the power and possession of the Emperour, that no man dare say, This is mine, or, this is my neighbours; but all, both goods, cattell and men are his owne. Concerning this matter also he published a statute of late. The very same authority and iurisdiction, doe the dukes in like sorte exercise vpon their subiects,

Of the election of Emperour Occoday, and of the expedition of duke Bathy. *Chap. 15.*

After the death of Chingis Cham aforesayd, the dukes assembled themselves and chose Occoday his sonne to be their Emperour. And he, entering into consultation with his nobles, diuided his armies, and sent duke Bathy his nephew against the countrie of Alcisoldan, and against the people called Bifermini, who were Saracens, but spake the language of Comania. The Tartars inuading their countrey, fought with them and subdued them in battel. But a certeine citie called Barchin resisted them a long time. For the citizens had cast by many ditches and trenches about their citie, in regard whereof the Tartars could not take it, till they had filled the said ditches. But the citizens of Sarguit hearing this, came forth to meete them, peeling themselves vnto them of their owne accord. Whereupon their citie was not destroyed, but they slue manie of them and others they carried away captiue, and taking spoiles, they filled the

The death of Chingis.
His sonnes.

His graunds children.

The Tartarian dukes.

The absolute and lordly domination of the Tartarian Emperour ouer his subiects.

Their barbarous inhumaneitie towards ambassadours

Occoday succeedeth his father.

The expedition of Bathy.

The citie of Barchin.

the citie with other inhabitants, and so marched forth against the citie of Orna. This towne was very populous and exceeding rich. For there were many Christians therein, as namely Casarians, Russians, and Alanians, with others, and Saracens also. The government of the citie was in the Saracens hande. It standeth vpon a mighty riuer, and is a kinde of poore towne, hauing a great marie exercised therein. And when the Tartars could not otherwise ouercome it, they turned the said riuer, running through the citie, out of his channell, and so drowned the citie with the inhabitants and their goods. Which being done, they set forward against Russia, and made foule hauocke there, destroying cities and castles and murdering the people. They layd siege a long while vnto Kiow the chiefe citie of Russia, and at length theyooke it and slue the citizens. Whereupon, traueiling through that countrey, wee found an innumerable multitude of dead mens skilles and bones lying vpon the earth. For it was a very large and a populous citie, but it is now in a maner brought to nothing: for there doe scarce remaine 200. houses, the inhabitants whereof are kept in extreame bondage. Howouer, out of Russia and Comania, they proceeded forward against the Hungarians, and the Polonians, and there manie of them were slaine, as is aforesaid: and had the Hungarians manfully withstood them, the Tartars had bene confounded and dyinen backe. Returning from thence, they inuaded the countrey of the Mordvans being pagans, and conquered them in battell. Then they marched against the people called Byleri, or Bulgaria magna, & utterly wasted the countrey. From hence they proceeded towards the North against the people called Baltarci or Hungaria magna, and conquered them also. And so going on further North, they came vnto the Parossix, who hauing little stomachs and small mouthes, eat not any thing at all, but leeching flesh they stand or sitte ouer the potte, and receiuing the steame or smoke thereof, are therewith onely nourished, and if they eat anie thing it is very little. From hence they came to the Samogets, who liue onely vpon hunting, and vse to dwell in tabernacles onely, and to weare garments made of beastes skines. From thence they proceeded vnto a countrey lying vpon the Ocean sea, where they found certaine monsters, who in all things resembled the shape of men, sauing that their feete were like the feete of an ore, and they had in deede mens heads but dogges faces. They spake, as it were, two words like men, but at the third they barked like dogges. From hence they retired into Comania, and there some of them remaine vnto this day.

Orna.

The Mordvans.

Bulgaria magna.
Hungaria magna.

Parossix.

Samogets.

The North
ocean.Northern
monsters.Of the expedition of duke *Cyrpodan*. Chap. 16.

At the same time Occoday Can sent duke *Cyrpodan* with an armie against *Kergis*, who also subdued them in battell. These men are Pagans, hauing no beardes at all. They haue a custome when any of their fathers die, for grieue and in token of lamentation to drawe as it were, a leather thong ouerthwart their faces, from one eare to the other. This nation being conquered, duke *Cyrpodan* marched with his forces Southward against the Armenians. And traueiling through certain desert places, they found monsters in the shape of men, which had each of them but one arme & one hand growing out of the midst of their breast, and but one foote. Two of them vfed to shoore in one bowe, and they ran so swiftly, that horses could not ouertake them. They ran also vpon that one foote by hopping and leaping, and being weary of such walking, they went vpon their hand and their foote, turning themselues round, as it were in a circle. And being wearie of so doing, they ran againe according to their wonted manner. *Isidore* calleth them *Cyclopedes*. And as it was told vs in court, by the clergie men of Russia, who remaine with the foresayd Emperour, many ambassadours were sent from them vnto the Emperours court, to obtaine peace. From thence they proceeded forth into Armenia, which they conquered in battell, and part also of Georgia. And the other part is vnder their iurisdiction, paying as yet euery yeare vnto them for tribute, 20000. pieces of coyne called *Yperpera*. From thence they marched into the dominions of the puissant and mighty Soldan called *Deurum*, whom also they vanquished in fight. And to be short, they went on farther sacking and conquering, euen vnto the Soldan of Aleppo his dominions, and now they haue subdued that land also, determining to inuade other countries beyond it: neither returned they afterward into their owne land vnto this day. Likewise the same armie marched forward against the Caliph of *Baldach* his countrey, which they subdued also, & exacted at his handes the daylie tribute of 400. Byzantines, besides *Baldakines* and other gifts. Also euery yeare they send messengers vnto the Caliph mouing him to come vnto them, Who sending back great gifts together with his tribute beseecheth the to be fauourable vnto him. Wherein the Tartarian Emperour receiueth all his gifts, & yet still neuertheless sends for him, to haue him comr,

Kergis.

Cyclopedes.

Armenia & Geor.
gia conquered.The Soldan of
Aleppo his landThe Caliph of
Baldach.

How the *Tartars* behaue themselves in warre. *Chap. 17.*

The military discipline of the Tartars.

CHingis Cham divided his Tartars by captaines of ten, captaines of an 100. and captaines of a 1000. And ouer ten Gillenaries or captaines of a 1000, he placed, as it were, one Colonel, and yet notwithstanding ouer one whole armie he authozised two or three dukes, but yet so that all should haue especiall regard vnto one of the said dukes. And when they ioine battel against any other nation, vnles they do all with one consent giue backe, enery man that flies is put to death. And if one or two, or moze of ten proceed manfully to the battel, but the residue of those ten draw backe & follow not the company, they are in like maner slaine. Also, if one among ten or moze bee taken, their fellowes, if they rescue the not, are punished with death. Whoeuer they are enioined to haue these weapons following. Two long bowes or one good one at the least, three quiers full of arrows, & one are, and ropes to draw engines withal. But the richer sort haue single edged swords, with sharpe pointes, and somewhat crooked. They haue also armed hozles with their shoulders and breasts defenced, they haue helmets and brigandines. Some of them haue iackets, and caparisons for their hozles made of leather artificially doubled or trebled vpon their bodies. The vpper part of their helmet is of iron or Steele, but that part which compasseth about the necke and the throate is of leather. Howbeit some of them haue all their hozelaid furniture of iron framed in maner following. They beate out many thinne plates a finger broad, and a handfull long, and making in enery one of them eight little holes, they put thereunto three strong and streight leather thongs. So they ioine the plates one to another, as it were, ascending by degrees. Then they tie the plates vnto the said thongs, with ocher small and slender thongs, drawn through the holes aforesayd, and in the vpper part, on each side therof, they fasten one small doubled chong vnto another, that the plates may firmly be knit together. These they make, as well for their hozles caparisons, as for the armour of their men: And they skowze them so bright that a man may behold his face in them. Some of them vpon the necke of their launce haue an hooke, wherewithall they attempt to pull men out of their saddles. The heads of their arrowes are exceedingly sharpe cutting both wayes like a two edged sworde, and they alwaies carie a file in their quiers to whet their arrowheads. They haue targets made of wickers, or of small coddos. Howbeit they doe not (as we suppose) accustom to carrie them, but onely about the tents, or in the Emperours or dukes guardes, & that only in the night season. They are most politique in warres, hauing bene exercised therein with other nations for the space of these 42. yeres. When they come at any riuer, the chiefe men of the company haue a round and light piece of leather, about the borders wherof making many loopes, they put a rope into them to drawe it together like a purse, and so bring it into the rounde forme of a ball, which leather they fill with their garments and other necessaries, trussing it by most strongly. But vpon the midd of the vpper parte thereof, they lay their saddles and other hard things, there also doe the men themselves sit. This their boate they tye vnto an hozse taylor, causing a man to swimme before, & to guide ouer the hozse, or sometime they haue two oares to row themselves ouer. The first hozse therefore being dizen into the water, all the other hozses of the company followe him, and so they passe through the riuer. But the poozer sort of common souldiers haue euery man his leather bag or sachel well sown together, wherin he packs vp all his trinkets, and strongly trussing it by hangs it at his hozles taylor, and so passeth ouer, in maner aforesaid.

Their experience & cunning in warres.

Their maner of passing ouer riuers.

Howe they may be resisted. *Chap. 18.*

IDeeme not any one kingdome or prouince able to resist them: because they vse to take by souldiers out of euery countrey of their dominions. And if so be the neighbour prouince which they inuade, wil not aide them, vtterly wasting it, with the inhabitants therof, whom they take from thence with them, they proceed on to fight against another countrey. And placing their captiues in the forefront of the battell, if they fight not couragiously, they put them to the sworde. Wherefore, if Christians would withstande them, it is expedient, that the prouinces and gouernours of countreies should agree in one, and so by common counsell, should giue them resistance. Their souldiers also must be furnished with strong hand-bowes & crof-bowes, which they greatly dread, & with sufficient arrowes, with maces also of good iron, or an are with a long handle or staffe. When they make their arrow heads, they must (according to the Tartars custome) dip the red-hot into water mingled with salte, that they may be strong to pierce the enemies armour. They that wil may haue swords also & lances with hooks at the ends, to pull the from their saddles, out of which they are easily remoued. They must haue helmets likewise & other armour to defend themselves & their hozles fro the Tartars weapons & arrowes, & they that are vnarmed, must (according to the Tartars custome)

Counsel how to wage warre against the Tartars.

A notable temper of iron of Steele.

march

march behinde their fellows, and discharge at the enemy with long bowes and crof-bowes. And (as it is aboue said of the Tartars) they must orderly dispose their bandes and troups, and ordeine lawes for their souldiers. Whosoever runneth to the pray or spoyle, before the victorie be atchieued, must vndergoe a most seuerer punishment. For such a fellow is put to death among the Tartars without all pitie or mercie. The place of battell must be chosen, if it be possible, in a plaine fielde, where they may see round about, neither must all be in one company, but in manie and seuerall bandes, not very farre distant one from another. They which giue the first encounter must sende one hand before, and must haue another in a readynesse to relieue and second the former in time conuenient. They must haue spies also on euery side to giue them notice when the rest of the enemies bandes approach. For therefore ought they alwayes to send forth hand against hand & troupe against troupe, because the Tartar euer practiseth to gette his enemy in the midst and so to enuiron him. Let our bands take this caueat also, if the enemy retire, not to make any long pursuit after him, lest peraduenture (according to his custome) he might draw them into some secret ambush: for the Tartar fights more by policie then by maine force. And againe, lest our hozles bee tired: for we are not so well storced with hozles as they. Those hozles which the Tartars vse one day, they ride not vpon thzee or foure dayes after. Howeuer, if the Tartars draw homeward, our men must not therefore depart and casseir their bandes, or separate themselves asunder: because they doe this vpon policie, namely to haue our armie diuided, that they may more securely invade and waste the countrey. And in very deepe, our capitaines ought both day and night to keepe their armie in a readines: and not to lie out of their armour, but at all assages, to bee provided for battell. For the Tartars like diuels are alwaies watching and deuising howe to practise mischief. Further more, if in battell any of the Tartars be cast off their hozle backes, they must presently bee layd holde on and taken, for being on foote they shooote strongly, wounding and killing both hozles and men.

Of the iourney of frier * Iohn vnto the first guard
of the Tartars. Chap. 19.

* Iohannes de plano
Carpi.

WE therefore by the commaundement of the sea apostolique setting forth towards the nations of the East, chose first to trauele vnto the Tartars, because we feared that there might be great danger imminent vpon the Church of God next vnto them, by their inuasions. Proceeding on therefore, we came to the King of Bohemia, who being of our familiar acquaintance, aduised vs to take our iourney through Polonia and Russia, for we had kindfolkes in Polonia, by whose assistance, we might enter into Russia. Having giuen vs his letters, he caused our charges also to be defrayed, in all his chiefe houses and cities, till we came vnto his nephew Boleslaus duke of Slesia, who also was familiar and well knowen vnto vs. The like fauour he shewed vs also, till wee came vnto Conradus duke of * Lantiscia, vnto whome then (by Gods especiall fauour towards vs) lord Wasilico duke of Russia was come, from whose mouth we heard more at large concerning the deedes of the Tartars: for he had sent ambassadours thither, who were returned backe vnto him. Wherefore, it being giuen vs to vnderstand, that we must bestow giftes vpon them, we caused certaine skines of beuers and other beastes to be bought with part of that money, which was giuen vpon almes to succour vs by the way. Which thing duke Conradus and the *duches of Cracow, and a bishop, and certaine souldiers being aduertised of, gaue vs likewise more of the same skins. And to be shor, duke Wasilico being earnestly requested by the duke of Cracow, and by the bishop and barons, on our behalfe, conducted vs with him, vnto his owne land, and there for certaine daies, entertained vs at his owne charges, to the ende that we might refresh our selues a while. And when, being requested by vs, he had caused his bishops to resort vnto him, we reade before them the Popes letters, admonishing them to returne vnto the vnitie of the Church. To the same purpose also, we our selues admonished them, and to our abilitie, induced as well the duke as the bishops and others thereto. Howbeit because duke Daniel the brother of Wasilico aforesaid (having as then taken his iourney vnto Bary) was absent, they could not at that time, make a small answer. After these things duke Wasilico sent vs forward with one of his seruants as farre as Kiow the chiefe citie of Russia. Howbeit we went alwayes in danger of our liues by reason of the Lithuanians, who did often invade the borders of Russia, euen in those verie places by which we were to passe. But in regard of the foresayd seruant, wee were out of the Russians daunger, the greatest part of whome were either slaine, or carried into captiuitie by the Tartars. Howeuer, at Danilon wee were seeble euen vnto the death. (Notwithstanding wee caused our selues to be carried in a waggon through the snowe and extreme colde) And being come vnto Kiow, wee consulted with the Pillenary, & other noble men there concerning our iourney. They told vs, that if wee

The iourney
of frier Iohn &
his fellowes
vnto the
gates.

Boleslaus duke
of Slesia.
* Mazouia.

* Grimslau.

Daniel brother
vnto Wasilico.

The Lithuanians

The fodder of
the Tartarian
horses.

carried those horses, which wee then had, vnto the Tartars, great stoze of snowe lying vpon the ground, they would all dye: be cause they knew not howe to digge vp the grasse vnder the snow, as the Tartarian horses doe, neither could there bee ought found for them to eat, the Tartars hauing neither hay nor strawe, nor any other fodder. We determined therefore to leaue them behind at Kiow with two seruants appointed to kerpe them. And wee were constrained to bestow giftes vpon the Pillenary, that we might obtaine his fauour to allowe vs posse horses and a guide. Therefore beginning our iourney the second daye after the feast of the Purification, wee arriued at the towne of Canow, which was immediatly vnder the dominion of the Tartars. The gouernour whereof allowed vs horses and a guide vnto another towne, wherein wee found one Michzas to be gouernour, a man full of all malice and despyght. Who notwithstanding, hauing receiued giftes at our handes, according to his maner conducted vs to the first garde of the Tartars.

Michzas the
malicious.

How he and his company were at the first receiued of the *Tartars.* Chap. 20.

Wherefore, the first saturday next after Ashwednesday, hauing about the Sunnes going downe, taken vp our place of rest, the armed Tartars came rushing vpon vs in vnciuil and horrible maner, being very inquisitive of vs what maner of persons, or of what condition we were: & when we had answered them that we were the Popes Legates, receiuing some victuals at our handes, they immediatly departed. Whereouer in the morning rising and proceeding on our iourney, the chiefe of them which were in the guard met with vs, demanding why, or for what intent and purpose we came thither: and what busines we had with them: vnto whom we answered, We are the legates of our lord the Pope, who is the father & lord of the Christians. He hath sent vs as well vnto your Emperour, as to your princes, and aliother Tartars for this purpose, because it is his pleasure, that all Christians should be in league with the Tartars, and should haue peace with them. It is his desire also that they should become great or in fauour with God in heauen, therefore he admonissheth them alwel by vs, as by his own letters, to become Christians, and to embrace the faith of our Lord Iesu Christ, because they could not otherwile be saued. Whereouer, he giues the to vnderstand, that he much maruelleth at their monstrous slaughters & massacres of mankind, & especially of Christians, but most of al of Hungariás, Mountaineirs, & Polonians, being at his subiects, hauing not iniured them in ought, nor attempted to doe them iniurie. And because the Lord God is grievously offended thereat, he aduiseeth them from henceforth to beware of such dealing, & to repent them of that which they had done. He requesteth also, that they would write an answer vnto him, what they purpose to doe hereafter, and what their intencion is. All which things being heard and vnderstood, the Tartars sayd that they would appoint vs posse horses and a guide vnto Corrensa. And immediatly demanding giftes at our handes, they obtained them. Then receiuing the same horses, from which they dismounted, together with a guide wee tooke our iourney vnto Corrensa. But they riding a swift pace, sent a messenger before vnto the sayd duke Corrensa, to signifie the message, which we had deliuered vnto them. This duke is gouernour of all them, which lie in guard against the nations of the West, least some enemy might on the sudden and at vnawares breake in vpon them. And hee is said to haue 60000. men vnder him.

The contents
of the legacie.

Corrensa.

The duke of,
the Westerne
marches.

How they were receiued at the court of *Corrensa.* Chap. 21.

The maner of
saluting the
Tartarian
princes.

Being come thercoze vnto his court, hee caused our tent to bee placed farre from him, and sent his agents to demand of vs with what we would incline vnto him, that is to say, what giftes we would offer, in doing our obeisance vnto him. vnto whome wee answered, that our lord the Pope had not sent any giftes at all, because he was not certaine that wee should euer bee able to come at them: for we passed through most dangerous places. Notwithstanding, to our abilitie, we will honour him with some part of those things, which haue bene, by the goodnes of God, & the fauour of the Pope, bestowed vpon vs for our sustenance. Hauing receiued our giftes, they conducted vs vnto the Orda or tent of the duke, & we were instructed to bow thysle with our left knee before the dooze of the tence, and in any case to beware, lest wee set our foote vpon the threshold of the sayd dooze. And that after we were entred, wee should rehearse before the duke and all his nobles, the same wordes, which wee had before sayde, kneeling vpon our knees. Then presented wee the letters of our lord the Pope: but our interpreter whome we had hired and brought with vs from Kiow was not sufficiently able to interpret them, neither was there any other esteemed to bee meete for the same purpose. Here certaine posse horses and thre Tartars were appoynted for

vs to conduct vs from hence with al speed vnto duke Bathy. This Bathy is the mightiest prince among them except the Emperour, & they are bound to obey him before all other princes. We began our iourney towards his court the first tuesday in Lent, and riding as fast as our hoxles could trot (for we had fresh hoxles almost thise or foure times a day) we posted from morning till night, yea very often in the night season also, and yet could we not come at him before Maundie thursday. All this iourney we went through the land of Comania, which is al plaine ground, and hath foure mighty riuers running through it: The first is called † Neper, on the side whereof towards Russia, duke Corrensia & Montij marched by and downe, which Montij on the other side vpon the plaines is greater then he. The second is called † Don, vpon the banke whereof marcheth a certain prince hauing in marriage the suster of Bary, his name is Tirbon. The third is called † Volga, which is an exceeding great riuer, vpon the bankes whereof duke Bathy marcheth. The fourth is called † Iaac, vpon which two Millenaries doe march, on each side of the riuer one. All these, in the winter time, descend down to the sea, & in summer ascend backe by the bankes of the said riuers by to the mountains. The sea last named is the † Great sea, out of which the arme of S. George proceedeth, which runneth by Constantinople. These riuers do abound with plenty of fishes, but especially Volga, & they eroneate theselues into the Grecian sea, which is called Mare maior.ouer Neper we went many daies vpon the ice. Along the shoze also of the Grecian sea we went very dangerously vpon the ice in sundry places, & that for many daies together. For about the shoze the waters are frozen thre leagues into the sea. But before we came vnto Bathy, two of our Tartars rode afoze, to giue him intelligence of all the sayings which we had vttered in the presence of Corrensia,

Duke Bathy & his power.

† Borilbenes.

† Tanais.

† Rha.

† Rhyminus.

† Pontus Euxinus. He is becrimed, for albeitt Neper & Don run into Mare maior: yet Volga & Iaac flowe into the Caspian sea.

How we were receiued at the court of the great prince Bathy. Chap. 22.

Moreouer, when we came vnto Bathy in the land of Comania, we were seated a good league distant from his tabernacles. And when we should be conducted vnto his court, it was tolde vs that we must passe betwene two fires. But we would by no means be inducd therewith. Howbeit, they said vnto vs: you may passe through without al danger: for we would haue you to doe it for none other cause, but only that if you intend any mischiefe against our lord, or bying any popson with you, fire may take away all euill. Vnto whom we answered, that to the end we might clear ourselues from all suspicion of any such matter, we were contented to passe through. When therefore we were come vnto the Orda, being demanded by his agent Eldegay with what present or gift we would do our obeisance: Wee gaue the same answer which we did at the court of Corrensia. The gifes being giuen and receiued, the causes of our iourney also being heard, they brought vs into the tabernacle of the prince, first bowing our selues at the dooze, & being admonished, as before, not to tread vpon the thershold. And being entred, we spake vnto him kneeling vpon our knees, & deliuered him our letters, and requested him to haue interpreters to translate them. Who accordingly on good friday were sent vnto vs, and we together with them, diligently translated our sayd letters into the Russian, Tartarian, and Saracen languages. This interpretation was presented vnto Bathy, which he read, & attentiuely noted. At length wee were conducted home againe vnto our owne lodging, howbeit no victuals were giuen vnto vs, except it were once a litle Miller in adich, the first night of our comming. This Bathy carries himselfe very stately & magnificently, hauing porters and all officers after the maner of the Emperour, and sittes in a lofty seate or throne together with one of his wiues. The rest, namely, as well his brethren and sonnes, as other great personages sit vnderneath him in the midst vpon a bench, and others sit downe vpon the ground, behinde him, but the men on the right hand and the women on the left. He hath very faire and large tentes of linnen cloth also, which were once the kings of Hungaria. Neither dare any man come into his tent (besides them of his owne family) vnles he be called, be he neuer so mighty and great, except perhaps it be knownen that it is his pleasure. Wee also, for the same cause, saate on the left hand; for so doe all ambassadozs in going: but in returning from the Emperour, we were alwaies placed on the right hand. In the middelt stands his table, neare vnto the dooze of the tent, vpon the which there is drinke filled in golden and silver vessels. Neither doth Bathy at any time drinke, nor any other of the Tartarian princes, especially being in a publique place, but they haue singing and minstrellie before them. And alwaies, when hee rides, there is a canopie or small tent caried ouer his head vpon the point of a taneline. And so doe all the great princes of the Tartars, & their wiues also. The sayd Bathy is courteous enough vnto his owne men, and yet is hee had in great awe by them: he is most cruel in fight: he is exceedingly prudent and polititique in warre, because he hath now continued a long time in martiall affaires.

A ceremony of passing betwene two fires.

Eldegay.

Bathy heareth the Legates.

He behaues himselfe like a king.

Their custome of drinke at the sound of minstrelie.

How departing from *Bathy*, they passed through the land of *Comania*, and of the *Kangitta*. Chap. 23.

Moreover, upon Easter even we were called unto the tent, and there came forth to mee by the foresaid agent of *Bathy*, saying on his masters behalfe, that we should go into their land, unto the Emperour *Cuyne*, deteining certaine of our company with this pience, that they would send them backe unto the Pope, to whom we gaue letters of al our affaires to deliuer unto him, But being come as farre as duke *Montij* aforesaid, there they were kept untill our returne. Upon Easter day, hauing said our praier, and taken a slender breakfast, in the company of two Tartars, which were assigned unto vs by *Corensa* we departed with many teares, not knowing whether we went to death or to life. And we were so feeble in bodie, that we were scarce able to ride. For all that Lent through, our meat was Millet onely with a little water and salte. And so likewise vpon other fasting daies. Neither had we ought to drinke, but snowe melted in a skillet. And passing through *Comania* we rode most earnestly, hauing change of horses five times or oftener in a day, except when we went through deserts, for then we were allowed better and stronger horses, which could vndergoe the whole labour. And thus farre had we trauielled from the beginning of Lent untill eight daies after Easter. The land of *Comania* on the North side immediately after *Russia* hath the people called *Mordiyne Byleri*, that is, *Bulgaria magna*, the *Bastarci*, that is, *Hungaria magna*, next unto the *Bastarci*, the *Parosita* and the *Samogeta*. Next vnto the *Samogeta* are those people which are sayd to haue dogges faces, inhabiting vpon the desert shores of the Ocean. On the South side it hath the *Alani*, the *Circassi*, the *Gazari*, *Greece* and *Constantinople*; also the land of *Iberia*, the *Catches*, the *Brutaches* who are said to be *Titues* shauing their heads all ouer, the landes also of *Scythia*, of *Georgia*, of *Armenia*, of *Turkie*. On the West side it hath *Hungaria*, and *Russia*. Also *Comania* is a most large and long cuntry. The inhabitants wherof called *Comani* the Tartars slewe, some notwithstanding fled from them, and the rest were subdued vnder their bondage. But most of them that fled are returned againe. Afterward wee entered the lande of the *Kangitta*, which in many places hath great scarcetie of waters, wherein there are but fewe inhabitants by reason of the foresayd defect of water. For this cause diuers of the seruants of *Ierolous* duke of *Russia*, as they were traueling towards him into the land of *Tartaria*, died for thirst, in that desert. As befoze in *Comania*, so likewise in this cuntry, wee found many skulles and bones of dead men lying vpon the earth like a dunghill. Through this cuntry we were traueling from the eight day after Easter vntill *Ascension* day. The inhabitants therof were Pagans, and neither they nor the *Comanians* vsed to till the ground, but liued onely vpon cattell, neither built they any houses but dwelled in tents. These men also haue the Tartars rooted out, and doe possesse and inhabite their cuntry, howbeit, those that remained are reduced into their bondage.

How they came vnto the first court of the new Emperour. Chap. 24.

Moreover, out of the land of the *Kangitta*, we entered into the cuntry of *Bisermini*, who speake the language of *Comania*, but obserue the law of the *Saracens*. In this cuntry we found innumerable cities with castles ruined, & many towne left desolate. The lord of this cuntry was called *Soldan Alci*, who with al his progenie, was destroyed by the Tartars. This cuntry hath most huge mountains. On the South side it hath *Ierusalem* and *Baldach*, and all the whole cuntry of the *Saracens*. In the next territorie adioyning doe inhabite two carnall brothers dukes of the Tartars, namely; *Burin* and *Cadan*, the sonnes of *Thyaday*, who was the sonne of *Chingis Can*. On the North side thereof it hath the land of the blacke *Kythayans*, and the Ocean. In the same countie *Syban* the brother of *Bathy* remaineth. Through this countie we were traueling from the feast of *Ascension*, vntill eight daies befoze the feast of *S. Iohn Baptist*. And then we entered into the land of the blacke *Kythayans*, in which the Emperour built an house, where we were called in to drinke. Also the Emperours deputy in that place caused the chiefe men of the citie and his two sonnes to daunce befoze vs. Departing from hence, wee founde a certaine small sea, vpon the shore whereof stands a little mountaine. In which mountaine is reported to be a hole, from whence, in winter time such vehement tempests of winds doe issue, that traueilers can scarcely, and with great danger passe by the same way. In summer time, the noise in becke of the winde is heard there, but it proceedeth gently out of the hole. Along the shores of the foresaid sea we trauielled for the space of many daies, which although it bee not very great, yet hath it many islandes, and wee passed by leauing it on our left hande. In this lande dwelleth *Ordu*, whome wee sayde to bee auncient vnto all the *Tartarian* dukes. And it is the *Orda* or court of his father which hee inhabiteth, and one of his wiues beareth rule there.

For

Then traueiled
vnto the
22. of July
Eastward of
Volga.

30 description
of Comania.

The North
Ocean.

The land of the
Kangitta.

Ierolous duke of
Russia.

The land of
the Bisermini.

Alci Soldanus.
Huge mount-
taines.

Burin and Cadan

The North
Ocean.
Syban brother
vnto Bathy.
The blacke
Kythayans.

A small sea.

Many daies.

Ordu cap. 13.

For it is a custome among the Tartars, that the Countes or Princes of noble men are not allotted, but alwayes some women are appointed to keepe and gouerne them, vpon whom certain gifts are bestowed, in like sort as they are giuen vnto their Lords, And so at length we arriued at the first court of the Emperour, wherein one of his wiues dwelt.

The first court of the Emperour.

Howe they came vnto *Cuyne* himselfe, who was forthwith to be chosen Emperour. *Chap. 25.*

But because we had not as yet seene the Emperour, they would not inuite vs nor admit vs into his Orda, but caused good attendance and entertainment, after the Tartars fashion, to be giuen vnto vs in our owne tent, and they caused vs to stay there, and to refresh our selues with them one day. Departing thence vpon the euen of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, wee entered into the land of the Naymani, who are Pagans. But vpon the very feast day of the saide Apostles, there fel a mightie snowe in that place, and wee had extreame colde weather. This lande is full of mountaines, and colde beyonde measure, and there is litle plaine ground to bee seene. These two nations last mentioned vsed not to till their grounde, but, like vnto the Tartars, dwelt in tents, which the sayde Tartars had destroyed. Through this countrey wee were traouling many dayes. Then entered wee into the lande of the Mongals, whome wee call Tartars. Through the Tartars lande wee continued our traouile (as wee suppose) for the space of some thre weekes, riding alwayes hastily and with speede, and vpon the day of Marie Magdalene we arriued at the court of *Cuyne* the Emperour elect. But therefore did we make great haste all this way, because our Tartarian guides were straightly commaunded to bying vs vnto the court Imperiall with all speede, which court hath bene these many yeeres, ordained for the election of the Emperour. Therefore rising early, wee traouiled vntill night without eating of any thing, and oftentimes wee came so late vnto our lodging, that we had no time to eate the same night, but that which we should haue eaten ouer night, was giuen vs in the morning. And often changing our hoxses, wee spared no Horse-fleche, but rode swiftly and without intermission, as fast as our hoxses could trot.

The land of Naymani.

The 22. of July.

How *Cuyne* entertained the Minorite Friers. *Chap. 26.*

But when wee were come vnto the court of *Cuyne*, hee caused (after the Tartars manner) a Tent and all expences necessarie to bee provided for vs. And his people entreated vs with more regarde and courtesie, then they did anie other Ambassadors. Howbeit wee were not called before his presence, because hee was not as yet elected, nor admitted vnto his empire. Notwithstanding, the interpretation of the Popes letters, and the message which we deliuered, were sent vnto him by the foresaid Bathy. And hauing stayed there five or sixe dayes, hee sent vs vnto his mother, vnder whome there was mainteyned a verie soleinne and royall court. And being come thither, we saw an huge tent of fine white cloth pitched, which was, to our iudgement, of so great quantitie, that more then two thousand men might stand within it, and round about it there was a wall of planks set by, painted with diuers images. Wee therefore with our Tartars assigned to attende vpon vs; tooke ourourney thither, and there were all the Dukes assembled, eche one of them riding by and downe with his traine ouer the hilles and dales. The first day they were all clad in white, but the second in skarlet robes. Then came *Cuyne* vnto the saide tent. Horeouer, the third day they were all in blew robes, and the fourth in most rich robes of Baldakin cloth. In the wall of boordes, about the tent foresaid, were two great gates, by one of the which gates, the Emperour only was to enter, and at that gate there was no gard of men appointed to stand, although it stood continually open, because none durst go in or come out the same way: all that were admitted, entred by another gate, at which there stood watchmen, with bowes, swords, & arrowes. And whosoever approached vnto the tent beyond the bounds and limit assigned, being caught, was beaten, but if he fled, he was shot at with arrowes or iron. There were many that to our iudgement, had vpon their bydles, trappers, saddles, and such like furniture, to the value of 20. markes in pure gold. The foresaid Dukes (as we thinke) communed together within the tent, and consulted about the election of their Emperour. But all the residue of the people were placed farre away without the walles of board, & in this maner they staid almost til noone. Then began they to drinke marcs milke, & so continued drinking til euen tide, and that in so great quantity, as it was wonderfull. And they called vs in vnto them, and gaue vs of their ale, because we could not drinke their marcs milke. And this they did vnto vs in token of great hono. But they compelled vs to drinke so much, that in regard of our custumary diet, wee coulde by no means endure it. Where vpon, giuing them to vnderstand, that

The curtesie of *Cuyne* towards Ambassadors.

The tent royal.

A generall assemblee.

The banquet of the Nobles.

Ieroflaus Duke
of Sufdal.

Ambassadors
of sundry na-
tions.

that it was hurtful vnto vs, they ceas'd to compel vs any more. Without the doore stood Duke Ieroflaus of Sufdal, in Russia, and a great many Dukes of the Kythayans, and of the Solangi. The two sonnes also of the king of Georgia, the ligier of the Caliph of Baldach, who was a Soldan, and (as we thinke) aboue ten Soldans of the Saracens beside. And, as it was tolde vs by the agents, there were moze then 4000. ambassadoys, partly of such as paide tributes, and such as presented gifts, and other Soldans, and Dukes, which came to yeeld themselues, and such as the Tartars had sent for, and such as were gouernours of lands. All these were placed without the lists, and had drinke giuen vnto them. But almost continually they all of them gaue vs and Duke Ieroflaus the vpper hand, when we were abroad in their companie.

How he was exalted to his Empire. *Chap. 27.*

The begin-
nings of Cuyne
his empire.

Syra Orda.

The golden
Orda.
The 15. of
August.
Woolen cloth.

AND to our remembrance, we remained there, about the space of foure weekes. The election was to our thinking there celebrated, but it was not published and proclaimed there. And it was greatly suspected so to be, because alwayes when Cuyne came forth out of the tent, he had a noyse of musicke, and was bowed vnto, or honoured with faire wands, hauing purple wooll vpon the tops of them, and that, so long as he remained abroad: which seruise was performed to none of the other Dukes. The foresaid tent or court is called by them Syra Orda, Departing thence, wee all with one accord rode 3. or 4. leagues vnto another place, where, in a goodly plaine, by a riuers side, betwene certain mountaines, there was another tent erected, which was called the golden Orda, for there was Cuyne to be placed in the throne Emperiall, vpon the day of the Assumption of our Ladie. But, for the abundance of haile which fell at the same time, as is aboue said, the matter was deferred. There was also a tene erected vpon pillars, which were couered with plates of golde, and were ioyned vnto ocher timber with golden nails. It was couered aboue with Baldakin cloth, but there was ocher cloth spread ouer that, next vnto the ayre. Wee abode there vnto the feast of Saint Bartholome w, what time there was assembled an huge multitude standing with their faces towards the South. And a certaine number of them beeing a stones cast distant from the residue, making continuall prayers, and kneeling vpon their knees, proceeded farther and farther towards the South. Howbeit wee, not knowing whether they used incantments, or whether they bowed their knees to God or to some other, would not kneele vpon the ground with them. And hauing done so a long time, they returned to the tent, and placed Cuyne in his throne imperiall, and his Dukes bowed their knees before him. Afterwarde the whole multitude kneeled downe in like maner, except our selues, for wee were none of his subiects.

Of his age and demeanour, and of his seale. *Chap. 28.*

His inclination
on to Chastian-
itie.

His maiestic.

His labolett and
thoric.

THIS Emperour, when hee was exalted vnto his gouernment, seemed to bee about the age of forty or forty five yeeres. He was of a meane stature, very wise and politicke, and passing serious and graue in all his demeanour. A rare thing it was, for a man to see him laugh or behaue himselfe lightly, as those Christians report, which abode continually with him. Certaine Chistians of his familie earnestly and strongly affirmed vnto vs, that he himselfe was about to become a Christian. A token and argument whereof was, that hee retained diuers Cleargie men of the Christians. Hee had likewise at all times a Chappell of Christians, next vnto his great Tent, where the Clearkes (like vnto other Christians, and according to the custome of the Grecians) doe sing publicly and openly, and ring belles at certaine houres, bee there neuer so great a multitude of Tartars, or of other people in presence. And yet none of their Dukes doe the like. It is the manner of the Emperour neuer to talke his owne selfe with a stranger, though he be neuer so great, but heareth and answereth by a speaker. And when any of his subiects (howe great soeuer they bee) are in propounding anie matter of importance vnto him, or in hearing his answer, they continue kneeling vpon their knees vnto the ende of their conference. Neither is it lawfull for any man to speake of any affaires, after they haue bene determined of by the Emperour. The sayde Emperour, hath in his affaires both publike and priuate, an Agent, and Secretary of estate, with Seribes and all other Officials, except aduocates. For, without the noyse of pleading, or sentence giuing, all things are done according to the Emperours will and pleasure. Other Tartarian princes do the like in those things which belong vnto the. But, be it known vnto al men, that whilst we remained at the said Emperours court, which hath bin ordained and kept for these many yeeres, the sayde Cuyne being Emperour new elect, together with al his princes, erected a flag of defiance against the Church of God, & the Romane empire, and against al Christian

Christian kingdomes and nations of the West, vntlesse peraduenture (which God forbid) they will condescend vnto those things, which he hath inoined vnto our lord the Pope, & to all potentates and people of the Christians, namely, that they will become obedient vnto him. For, except Christendom, there is no land vnder heauen, which they stand in feare of, and for that cause they prepare themselves to battell against vs. This Emperors father, namely Occoday was poisoned to death, which is the cause why they haue for a short space abstained from warre. But their intent and purpose is (as I haue aboue said) to subdite the whole world vnto themselves, as they were commanded by Chingis Can. Hence it is that the Emperour in his letters writeth after this maner: The power of God, & Emperour of all men. Also, vpon his seale, there is this posse ingrauen: God in heauen, and *Cayne Can* vpon earth, the power of God: the seale of the Emperour of all men.

Warre intenc-
ed against all
Christians.

Of the admission of the Friers and Ambassadors
vnto the Emperour. Chap. 29.

In the same place where the Emperour was established into his throne, we were summoned before him. And Chingay his chiefe secretary hauing written downe our names, and the names of them that sent vs, with the name of the Duke of Solangi, & of others, cried out with a loude voice, rehearsing the said names before the Emperour, and the assembly of his Dukes. Which beeing done, each one of vs bowed his left knee foure times, & they gaue vs warning not to touch the threthold. And after they had searched vs most diligently for knives, and could not find any about vs, we entered in at the dooze vpon the East side: because no man dare presume to enter at the West dooze, but the Emperour onely. In like maner, every Tartarian Duke entred on the West side into his tent. Howbeit the inferiour loze doe not greatly regard such ceremonies. This therefore was the first time, when we entred into the Emperours tent in his presence, after he was created Emperour. Likewise all other ambassadours were there receiued by him, but very fewe were admitted into his tent. And there were presented vnto him such abundance of gifts by the saide Ambassadors, that they seemed to be infinite, namely in Samites, robes of purple, and of Baldakin cloth, like girdles wrought with golde, and costly skinnes, with other gifts also. Likewise there was a certaine Sun Canopie, or small tent (which was to bee carried ouer the Emperours head) presented vnto him, being set full of precious stones. And a gouernour of one prouince brought vnto him a companie of camels couered with Baldakins. They had saddles also vpon their backs, with certaine other instruments, within the which were places for men to sitte vpon. Also they brought many horses & mules vnto him furnished wth trappers and caparisons, some being made of leather, and some of iron. And we were demanded whether we would bestow any gifts vpon him or no: But wee were not of abilitie so to doe, hauing in a maner spent all our prouision. There were also vpon an hill standing a good distance from the tents, moze then 500. carts, which were all full siluer and of gold, and like garments. And they were all diuided betwene the Emperour and his Dukes, and euery Duke bestowed vpon his owne followers what pleased him.

Cayne heard of
the Argates.

Gifts present-
ed vnto him.

500. Carts full
of treasure.

Of the place where the Emperour and his mother tooke their
leaves one of another, and of *Ieroslaus* Duke of *Russia*. Chap. 30.

Departing thence, we came vnto another place, where a wonderfull braue tent, all of red purple, giuen by the Kythayans, was pitched. Wee were admitted into that also, and alwaies when we entred, there was giuen vnto vs ale and wine to drinke, & foddren flesh (when we would) to eate. There was also a lofty stage built of boozds, where the Emperours throne was placed, being very curiously wrought out of iutoze, wherein also there was golde and precious stones, and (as we remember) there were certaine degrees or staires to ascend vnto it. And it was round vpon the top. There were benches placed about the saide throne, where on the ladies sate towarde the left hand of the Emperour vpon stooles, (but none sate aloft on the right hande) and the Dukes sate vpon benches below, the said throne being in the midst. Certaine others sate behinde the Dukes, and euery day there resorted great companie of Ladies thither. The three tents whereof we spake before, were very large, but the Emperour his wiues had other great and faire tents made of white felt. This was the place where the Emperour parted companie with his mother: for she went into one part of the land, and the Emperour into another to execute iustice. For there was taken a certaine Concubine of this Emperour, which had poisoned his father to death, at the same time when the Tartars armie was in Hungarie, which, for the same cause returned home. Dozcouez, vpon the foresaide Concubine, and many other of her confederats sentence of iudgement was pronounced, and they were put to death. At the same time *Ieroslaus* the great Duke of *Soldal*, which

A tent of pur-
ple.

A throne of
Iutoze.

The death
of Occoday tea-
kengeb,
Dj, Suldal,
which

which is a part of Russia, deceased. For being (as it were for honours sake) invited to eate and drink with the Emperours mother, and immediatly after the banquet, returning vnto his lodging, he fell sicke, and within seuen dayes, died. And after his death, his body was of a strange blew colour, and it was commonly reported, that the said Duke was poisoned, to the ende that the Tartars might freely and totally possesse his Duke-dome.

How the Friers comming at length vnto the Emperour, gaue, and receiued letters. *Chap. 31.*

Coyne dissenteth with the Legates.

To be short, the Tartars brought vs vnto their Emperour, who when he had heard of them, that we were come vnto him, commanded that we should return, vnto his mother. For he was determined the next day, (as it is abovesaid) to set by a flag of defiance against all countries of the West, which he would haue vs in no case to know. Therefore returning, we staid some few dayes with his mother, and so returned backe again vnto him, with whom we continued for the space of one whole moneth in such extreme hunger and thirst, that we could scarce hold life and soule together. For the provision allowed vs for foure dayes, was scantly sufficient for one day. Neither could we buy vs any sustenance, because the market was too farre off. Howbeit the Lozde provided for vs a Russian goldsmith, named Cosmas, who being greatly in the Emperours fauour, procured vs some sustenance. This man shewed vnto vs the throne of the Emperour, which hee had made, because it was set in the proper place, and his scale, which he also had framed. Afterward the Emperour sent for vs, giuing vs to vnderstand by Chingay his chief Secretary, that wee should write downe our messages & affaires, and should deliuer them vnto him. Which thing we performed accordingly. After many daies he called for vs againe, demanding whether there were any with our Lord the Pope, which vnderstood the Russian, the Saracen, or the Tartarian language? To whom we answered, that we had none of those letters or languages. Howbeit, that there were certaine Saracens in the land, but inhabiting a great distance from our Lord the Pope. And wee saide, that wee thought it most expedient, that when they had written their mindes in the Tartarian language, and had interpreted the meaning thereof vnto vs, we should diligently translate it into our own tongue, and so deliuer both the letter and the translation thereof vnto our Lord the Pope. Then departed they from vs, and went vnto the Emperour. And after the day of S. Martine, we were called for againe. Then Kadac principall agent for the whole empire, and Chingay, and Bala, with diuers other Scribes, came vnto vs, and interpreted the letter word for word. And hauing written it in Latine, they caused vs to interpret vnto them eche sentence, to wit if we had erred in any word. And when both letters were written, they made vs to reade them ouer twice more, least we should haue mistaken ought. For they said vnto vs: Take heed that ye vnderstand all things thoroughly, for if you should not vnderstand the whole matter aright, it might breed some inconuenience. They wrote the said letters also in the Saracen tongue, that there might be some found in our dominions which could reade and interpret them, if need should require.

Cosmas a Russian.

The message of Chingay.

How they were licensed to depart. *Chap. 32.*

The Legates are loath to haue any Ambassadors sent from the Tartars to the Christians.

And (as our Tartars told vs) the Emperour was purposed to send his ambassadors with vs. Howbeit, he was desirous (as we thought) that we our selues should craue that fauour at his hands. And when one of our Tartars being an ancient man, exhorted vs to make the said petition, we thought it not good for vs, that the Emperour should send his ambassadors. Therefore we gaue him answer, that it was not for vs to make any such petition, but if it pleased the Emperour of his owne accord to send them, we would diligently (by Gods assistance) see them conducted in safe-ty. Howbeit, we thought it expedient for vs, that they should not goe, and that for diuers causes. First, because we feared, least they, seeing the dissensions and warres which are among vs, should be the more encouraged to make warre against vs. Secondly, we feared, that they would be instead of spies and intelligencers in our dominions. Thirdly, we misdoubted that they would be slaine by the way. For our nations be arrogant and proud. For when as those seruants (which at the request of the Cardinal, attended vpon vs, namely the legates of Almaine) returned vnto him in the Tartars attire, they were almost stoned in the way, by the Dutch, and were compelled to put off those garments. And it is the Tartars custome, neuer to bee reconciled vnto such as haue slaine their Ambassadors, till they haue reuenged themselves. Fourthly, least they should be taken from vs by mayne force. Fifthly, because there could come no good by their ambassade, for they were to haue none other commission, or authoritie, but onely to deliuer their Emperours letter vnto the Pope, and to the Princes of Christendome, which very same letters wee our selues

felues had, and we knew right well, that much harme might ensue thereof. Wherefore, the third day after this, namely, vpon the feast of Saint Brice, they gaue vs oue passe-ports and a Letter sealed with the Emperours owne seale, sending vs vnto the Emperours mother, who gaue vnto eche of vs a gotwne made of ffore-skinnes, with the furre on the outside, and a piece of purple. And our Tarrars stole a parde out of euery one of them. And out of that which was giuen vnto our seruant, they stole the better halfe. Which false dealing of theirs, we knew well enough, but would make no words thereof.

November 13

They are rewarded with gifts.

How they returned homewards. Chap. 33.

Then taking our iourney to returne, we traauiled all Winter long, lying in the deserts of tentimes vpon the snow, except with our feete wee made a piece of ground bare to lye vpon. For there were no trees, but the plaine champion field. And oftentimes in the morning, we found our felues all covered with snow driuen ouer vs by the wind. And so traauiling till the feast of our Lordes Ascension, we arriued at the court of Bathy. Of whom when wee had enquired, what answer he would send vnto our Lord the Pope, he said that he had nothing to giue vs in charge, but onely that we should diligently deliuer that which the Emperour had written. And, hauing receiued letters for our safe conduct, the thirteenth day after Pentecost, being Saturday, wee were proceeded as farre as Montij, with whome our foresaide associates and seruants remained, which were withheld from vs, and we caused them to be deliuered vnto vs. From hence wee traauiled vnto Corrensa, to whom, requiring gifts the second time at our hands, we gaue none, because we had not where withall. And hee appointed vs two Comanians, which liued among the common people of the Tarrars, to be our guides vnto the cite of Kiow in Russia; Notwith one of our Tartars parted not from vs, till we were past the vtmost gard of the Tarrars. But the other guides, namely the Comanians, which were giuen vs by Corrensa, brought vs from the last garde vnto the cite of Kiow, in the space of fixe dayes. And there we arriued fifteene dayes before the feast of Saint Iohn Baptist. Hozeouer, the Citizens of Kiow hauing intelligence of our appoach, came forth all of them to meete vs, with great ioy. For they reioyced ouer vs, as ouer men that had bene risen from death to life. So like wise they did vnto vs throughout all Russia, Polonia, and Bohemia. Daniel and his brother Wasilico made vs a royall feast, and interteined vs with them against our willes for the space of eight dayes. In the meane time, they with their Bishops, and other men of account, being in consultation together about those matters which we had propounded vnto them in our iourney towards the Tarrars, answered vs with common consent, saying: that they would holde the Pope for their speciall Lord and Father, and the Church of Rome for their Lady & mistresse, confirming like wise al things which they had sent concerning this matter, before our conning, by their Abbate. And for the same purpose, they sent their Ambassadors and letters by vs also, vnto our Lord the Pope.

The fore fourtines of the Legats in returning.

Bathy.

Corrensa.

June 8. How they were welcomed at their returne. Basilius and Daniel Princes.

Itinerarium fratris Willielmi de Rubruquis de ordine fratrum Minorum, Galli, Anno gratie 1253. ad partes Orientales.



Xcellentissimo Domino & Christianissimo, Lodouico Dei gratia Regi Francorum illustri, frater Willielmus de Rubruquis in ordine fratrum Minorum minium salutem, & semper triumphare in Christo. Scriptum est in Ecclesiastico de sapiente, In terram alienarum gentium transibit, bona & mala in omnibus tentabit. Hoc opus, Domine mi Rex, feci: sed vtinam vt sapiens & non stultus. Multi enim faciunt quod facit sapiens, sed non sapienter, sed magis stultè: de quorum numero timeo me esse. Tamen quocunque modo fecerim; quia dixistis mihi quando recessi à vobis, vt omnia scriberem vobis, quæcunque viderem inter Tartaros, & etiam monuistis vt non timerem vobis scribere longas literas, facio quod iniunxistis: Cum timore tamen & verecundia, quia verba congrua mihi non supererunt, quæ debent tantæ scribere Maiestati. Nouerit ergo vestra sancta maiestas, quòd anno Domini millesimo ducentesimo, quinquagesimo tertio, nonas Maii ingressi sumus mare Ponti, quod Bulgari vocant, Maius Mare: & habet mille octo miliaria in longum, vt didici à mercatoribus, & distinguitur quasi in duas partes. Circa medium enim eius sunt duæ prouinciæ terræ, vnà ad Aquilonem, & alia ad meridiem. Illa quæ est ad meridiem dicitur Synopolis; & est castrum & portus Soldani Turchiæ, Quæ verò ad Aquilonem est, est Prouincia quædam, quæ nunc dicitur

Ecclesi. 39. vs. 4.

dicitur

dicitur à Latinis Gafaria, à Græcis verò qui inhabitant eam super litus maris dicitur Cassaria, hoc est Cæsaria. Et sunt promontoria quædam extendentia se in mare, & contra meridiem versus Synopolim, Et sunt trecenta milliaria inter Synopolim & Cassariam, Ita quod sint septingenta milliaria ab istis punctis versus Constantinopolim in longum & latum: & septingenta versus Orientem: hoc est, Hiberiam, quæ est prouincia Georgiæ. Ad prouinciam Gafariæ siue Cafariæ applicuimus, quæ est quasi triangularis, ad Occidentem habens ciuitatem, quæ dicitur Kersoua, in qua fuit Sanctus Clemens marterizatus, Et nauigantes corâ ea vidimus insulam, in qua est templum illud quod dicitur Angelicis manibus præparatum. In medio verò quasi in cuspide ad meridiem habet ciuitatem quæ dicitur Soldaia, quæ ex transuerso respicit Synopolim: Et illuc applicant omnes Mercatores venientes de Turchia volentes ire ad terras Aquilonares, & è contrario venientes de Rossia & terris Aquilonaribus, volentes transire in Turchiam. Illi portant varium & grisiâ, & alias pelles pretiosas. Alij portant telas de cotone siue bombasio, & pannos sericos & species aromaticas, Ad Orientem verò illius prouinciæ est ciuitas quæ dicitur Matruga, vbi cadit fluuius Tanais in mare Pontiper orificium habens latitudinem duodecem milliarium, Ille enim fluuius antequam ingrediatur mare Ponti, facit quoddam mare versus Aquilonem, habens in latitudine & longitudine septingenta milliaria, nusquam habens profunditatem vltra sex passus, vnde magna vasa non ingrediuntur illud. Sed mercatores de Constantinopoli applicantes ad prædictam ciuitatem Matertam, mittunt barcas suas vsque ad flumen Tanaim, vt emant pisces siccatos, sturiones, thofas, borbatas, & alios pisces infinitæ multitudinis. Prædicta verò prouincia Cassaria cingitur mari in tribus lateribus: ad Occidentem scilicet, vbi est Kersoua ciuitas Clementis, ad meridiem vbi est ciuitas Soldaia, ad quam applicuimus, quæ est cuspis prouinciæ, & ad Orientem Maricandis, vbi est ciuitas Materta, & orificium Tanais. Vltra illud orificium est Zikia, quæ non obedit Tartaris: Et Sucui & Hiberi ad Orientem, qui non obediunt Tartaris. Postea versus meridiem est Trapefunda quæ habet proprium Dominum nomine Guidonem, qui est de genere imperatorum Constantinopolitanorum, qui obedit Tartaris: postea Synopolis quæ est Soldani, Turchiæ qui similiter obedit: postea terra Valtacij cuius filius dicitur Astar ab auo materno, qui non obedit, Ab orificio Tanais versus Occidentem vsque ad Danubium totum est subditum. Etiam vltra Dannbium versus Constantinopolim, Valakia, quæ est terra Assani, & minor Bulgaria vsque in Solonomam omnes soluunt eis tributum. Et etiam vltra tributum conductum sumpserunt annis nuper transactis de qualibet domo securim vnâ, & totum frumentum quod inuenerunt in massa. Applicuimus ergò Soldaia in 12. Kalendas Iunij: & præuenerant nos quidam mercatores de Constantinopoli, qui dixerunt venturos illuc nuncios de terra sancta volentes ire ad Sartach, Ego tamen prædicaueram publicè in Ramis Palmarum apud Sanctam Sophiam, quod non essem nuncius, nec vester, nec alicuius, sed ibam apud illos incredulos secundum regulam nostram. Tunc cum applicuissem, monebant me dicti mercatores vt cautè loquerer, quia dixerunt me esse nuncium, & si non dicerem me esse nuncium, quod non præberetur mihi transitus. Tunc loquutus sum hoc modo ad capitaneos ciuitatis, imò ad vicarios capitaneorum, quia capitanei iuerant ad Baatu portantibus tributum, & non fuerant adhuc reuersi, Nos audiuius, dixi, de Domino vestro Sartach in Terra Sancta quod esset Christianus: & gauisi sunt inde vehementer Christiani, & præcipuè Dominus Rex Francorum Christianissimus, qui ibi peregrinatur, & pugnat contra Saracenos, vt eripiat loca sancta de manibus eorum: vnde volo ire ad Sartach, & portare ei literas Domini Regis, in quibus monet eum de vtilitate totius Christianitatis. Et ipsi receperunt nos grater, & dederunt nobis hospitium in ecclesia Episcopali. Et Episcopus ipsius ecclesiæ fuerat ad Sartach, qui multa bona dixit mihi de Sartach, quæ ego postea non inueni, Tunc dederunt nobis optionem vtrum vellemus habere bigas cum bobus ad portandum res nostras vel equos pro sumarijs, Et mercatores Constantinopolitani consuluerunt mihi quod non acciperem bigas, imò quod emerem proprias bigas cooperatas, in quibus apportant Ruteni pelles suas, & in illis includerem res nostras quas vellem quoridie deponere, quia si acciperem equos, oporteret me in qualibet Herbergia deponere & reponere super alios, & præterea equitarem lentiori gressu iuxta boues, Et tunc acquieui consilio eorum malo, tunc quia fui in itinere vsq; Sarthach duobus mensibus, quod potuissem vno mense fecisse, si iuissem equis. Attuleram mecum de Constantinopoli fructus & vinum muscatum, & biscoctum delicatum de consilio mercatorum ad presentandû capitaneis primis, vt facilius pateret mihi transitus: quia nullus apud eos respicitur rectis oculis, qui venit vacua manu. Quæ omnia posui in vna biga, quando non inueni ibi capitaneos ciuitatis, quia dicebat mihi, quod gratissima foret Sarthach, si possem deferre ea vsq; ad eum, Attripuimus ergo iter tunc circa Kalend. Iunij cum bigis nostris quatuor cooperatis & cum alijs duabus quas accepimus ab eis, In quibus portabantur lectisternia ad dormiendû de nocte, & quinque equos dabant nobis ad equitandum, Erasmus enim quinque personæ.

Soldaia.

Matruga ciuitas.

Zikia.

personæ. Ego & socius meus frater Bartholomeus de Cremona, & Goset lator præsentium, & homo dei Turgeinannus, & puer Nicolaus, quem emeram Constantinopoli de nostra electione. Dederunt etiam duos homines qui ducebant bigas & custodiebant boues & equos. Sunt autem alta promontoria super Mare à Kersoua vsque ad orificium Tanais: & sunt quadraginta castella inter Kersouam & Soldaiam, quorum quodlibet fere habet proprium idioma: inter quos erant multi Goti, quorum idioma est Teutonicum. Post illa monrana versus Aquilonem est pulcherrima sylua in planicie, plena fontibus & riuis: Et post illam syluam est planicies maxima, quæ durat per quinque dietas vsque ad extremitatem illius prouinciæ ad aquilonem, quæ coarctatur habens Mare ad Orientem & Occidentem: Ita quod est vnum fossatum magnum ab vno Mari vsque ad aliud. In illa planicie solebant esse Comani antequam venirent Tartari, & cogebant ciuitates prædictas & castra vt darent eis tributum, Et cum venerunt Tartari, tanta multitudo Comanorū intrauit prouinciam illam, qui omnes fugerunt vsque ad ripam Maris, quod comedebant se mutuo viui morientes: secundum quod narrauit mihi quidam mercator, qui hoc vidit: Quod viui deuorabant & lacerabant dentibus carnes crudas mortuorum, sicut canes cadauera. Versus extremitatem illius prouinciæ sunt lacus multi & magni: in quorum ripis sunt fontes salmastri, quorum aqua, quàm cito intrat lacum, efficit salem durum ad modum glaciæ. Et de illis salinis habent Baau & Satach magnos reditus: quia de tota Russia veniunt illuc pro sale: & de qualibet biga onusta dant duas telas de cottone valentes dimidiam Ipperperam. Veniunt & per Mare multæ naues pro sale, quæ omnes dant tributum secundum sui quantitatem. Postquam ergo recessimus de Soldaia, tertia die inuenimus Tartaros: inter quos cum intraueram, vitum fuit mihi recte quod ingrederer quoddam aliud sæculum. Quorum vitam & mores vobis describam prout possum.

De Tartaris & domibus eorum.

Nvsquam habent manentem ciuitatem, sed futuram ignorant. Inter se diuiserunt Scythiam, quæ durat à Danubio vsque ad ortum solis. Et quilibet Capitaneus, secundum quod habet plures vel pauciores homines sub se, scit terminos pascuorum suorum, & vbi debet pascere hyeme & æstate, vere & autumno. In hyeme enim descendunt ad calidiores regiones versus meridiem. In æstate ascendunt ad frigidiores versus aquilonem. Loca pascuosa sine aquis pascunt in hyeme quando est ibi nix, quia niuem habent pro aqua. Domum in qua dormiunt fundant super rotam de virgis cancellatis, cuius tigna sunt de virgis, & conueniunt in vnam paruulam rotam superius, de qua ascendit collum sursum tanquam fumigatorium, quam cooperiunt filtro albo: & frequentius imbuunt etiam filtrum calce vel terra alba & puluere ossium, vt albens splendeat, & aliquando nigro. Et filtrum illud circa collum superius decorant pulchra varietate picturæ. Ante ostium similiter suspendunt filtrum opere polimitario variatum. Consumunt enim filtrum coloratum in faciendo vites & arbores, aues & bestias. Et faciunt tales domos ita magnas; quod habent triginta pedes in latitudine. Ego enim mensuraui semel latitudinem inter vestigia rotarum vnus bigæ viginti pedum: & quando domus erat super bigam excedebat extra rotas in vtroque latere quinque pedibus ad minus. Ego numeraui in vna biga viginti duos boues trahentes vnam domum: Vndecem in vno ordine secundum latitudinem bigæ, & alios vndecem ante illos: Axis bigæ erat magnus ad modum arboris nauis: Et vnus homo stabat in ostio domus super bigam minans boues. Insuper faciunt quadrangulos de virgulis fissis attenuatis ad quantitatem vnus arcæ magnæ: & postea de vna extremitate ad aliam eleuant testudinem de similibus virgis, & ostiolum faciunt in anteriori extremitate: & postea cooperiunt illam cistam siue domunculam filtro nigro imbuto seuo siue lacte ouino, ne possit penetrari pluuia: quod similiter decorant opere polimitario vel plumario. Et in talibus arcis ponunt totam suppellectilem suam & thesaurum: quas ligant foriter super bigas alteras quas trahunt cameli, vt possint transuadare flumina. Tales arcas nunquam deponunt de bigis. Quando deponunt domus suas mansionarias, semper vertunt portam ad meridiem; & consequenter collocant bigas cum arcis hinc & inde prope domum ad dimidium iactum lapidis: ita quod domus stat inter duos ordines bigarum quasi inter duos muros,

¶ Nota.

Matronæ faciunt sibi pulcherrimas bigas, quas nescirem vobis describere nisi per picturam. ¶ Imo omnia depinxissem vobis si sciuissem pingere. Vnus diues Moal siue Tartar habet bene tales bigas cum arcibus ducentas vel centum, Baatu habet sexdecem vxores: quælibet habet vnam magnam domum, exceptis alijs paruis, quas collocant post magnam, quæ sunt quasi camerae; in quibus habitant puellæ. Ad quamlibet istarum domorum appendent ducentæ bigæ. Et quando deponunt domus, prima vxor deponit suam curiam in capite occidentali, & postea aliæ secundum ordinem suum: ita quod vltima vxor erit in capite Orientali: & erit spacium inter curiam vnius dominæ & alterius, iactus vnius lapidis. Vnde curia vnius diuitis Moal apparebit quasi vna magna Villa: tunc paucissimi viri erunt in ea. Vna muliercula ducet 20. bigas vel 30. Terra enim plana est. Et ligant bigas cum bobus vel camelis vnam post aliam: & sedebit muliercula in anteriori minans bouem, & omnes aliæ pari gressu sequentur. Si contingat venire ad aliquem malum passum, soluunt eas & transducunt sigillatim: Vadunt enim lento gressu, sicut agnus vel bos potest ambulare.

De lectis eorum & poculis.

Postquam deposuerint domus versa porta ad meridiem, collocant lectum domini ad partem aquilonatem. Locus mulierum est semper ad latus Orientale hoc est ad sinistrum domini domus cum sedet in lecto suo versa facie ad meridiem: locus verò virorum ad latus occidentale, hoc est ad dextrum. Viri ingredienti domum nullo modo suspenderent pharetram ad partem mulierum, Et super caput Domini est semper vna imago quasi puppa & statuuncula de filtro, quam vocant fratrem domini: alia similis super caput dominæ, quam vocant fratrem dominæ, affixa parieti: & superius inter vtramque illarum est vna paruula, macilenta, quæ est quasi custos totius domus. Domina domus ponit ad latus suum dextrum ad pedes lecti in eminenti loco pelliculam hædinam impletam lana vel alia materia, & iuxta illam statuunculam paruulam respicientem famulas & mulieres. Iuxta ostium ad partem mulieris est iterum alia imago cum vberè vaccino, pro mulieribus quæ mungunt vaccas. De officio faminarum est mungere vaccas. Ad aliud latus ostij versus viros est alia statua cum vberè equæ pro viris qui mungunt equas. Et cum conuenerint ad potandum primo spargunt de potu illi imagini, quæ est super caput domini: postea alijs imaginibus per ordinem: postea exit minister demum cum ciphò & potu, & spargit ter ad meridiem, qualibet vice flectendo genu; & hoc ad reuerentiam ignis: postea ad Orientem ad reuerentiam aeris: postea ad Occidentem ad reuerentiam aquæ: ad aquilonem proijciunt pro mortuis. Quando tenet dominus ciphum in manu & debet bibere, tunc primo antequam bibat, infundit terræ partem suam. Si bibit sedens super equum, infundit antequam bibat, super collum vel crinem equi. Postquam vero minister sic sparserit ad quatuor latera mundi, reuertitur in domum & sunt parati duo famuli cum duobus ciphis & totidem patenis vt deferant potum domino & vxori sedenti iuxta cum sursum in lecto. Et cum habet plures vxores, illa cum qua dormit in nocte sedet iuxta cum in die: & oportet quod omnes aliæ veniant ad domum illam illa die ad bibendum: & ibi tenentur curia illa die: & xenia quæ deferuntur, illa deponuntur in thesauris illius dominæ, Bancus ibi est cum vtre lactis vel cum alio potu & cum ciphis.

De potibus eorum & qualiter prouocant alios ad bibendum.

Faciunt in hyemè optimum potum, de riso, de millio, de melle: claret sicut vinum, Et deferatur eis vinum à remotis partibus. In æstate non curant nisi de Cosmos. Stat semper infra domum ad introitum portæ, & iuxta illud stat citharista cum citharula sua, Citharas & vielas nostras non vidi ibi, sed multa alia instrumenta, quæ apud nos non habentur. Et cum incipit bibere tunc vnus ministrorū exclamat alta voce, HA: & citharista percudit citharam. Et quando faciunt festum magnum, tunc omnes plaudunt manibus & saltant ad vocem citharæ, viri coram Domino, & mulieres coram domina. Et postquam dominus biberit, tunc exclamat minister sicut prius, & tacet citharista: tunc bibunt omnes in circuitu viri & mulieres: & aliquando bibunt cerratim valde turpiter & gulose. Et quando volunt aliquem prouocare ad potū arripiunt eum per aures & trahunt fortiter vt dilatent ei gulam, & plaudunt & saltant coram eo. Item cum aliqui volunt facere magnum festum & gaudium, vnus accipit ciphum plenum, & alij duo sunt ei à dextris & sinistris: & sic illi tres veniunt cantantes vsque ad illum cui debent porrigere ciphum, & cantant & saltant coram eo: & cum porrigit manum ad recipiendum ciphum, ipsi subito

Similiter in
frigida.

subito resiliunt, & iterum sicut prius reuertuntur, & sic illud ei ter vel quater retrahendo ciphum, donec fuerit bene exhilaratus & bonum habeat appetitum, & tunc dant ei ciphum, & cantant & plaudunt manibus & terunt pedibus donec biberit.

De cibarijs eorum.

DE cibis & victualibus eorum noueritis, quod indifferentes comedunt omnia morticina sua. Et inter tot pecora & armenta non potest esse quin multa animalia moriantur. Tamen in aestate quamdiu durat eis cosmos, hoc est lac equinum, non curant de alio cibo. Vnde tunc si contingat eis mori bouem vel equum, siccant carnes scindendo per tenues pecias & suspendendo ad solem & venum, quæ statim sine sale siccantur absque aliquo sapore. De intestinis equorum faciunt andulges meliores quàm de porcis: quas comedunt recentes: reliquas carnes reseruant ad hyemem. De pellibus bouum faciunt vtres magnos, quos mirabiliter siccant ad fumum. De posteriori parte pellicis equi faciunt pulcherrimos foculares. De carne vniuersi arietis dant comedere quinquaginta hominibus vel centum. Scindunt enim minutatim in scutella cum sale & aqua, aliam enim falsam non faciunt, & tunc cum puncto cultelli vel furcinula, quas proprias faciunt ad hoc, cum qua solemus comedere pira & poma cocta in vino, porrigunt cuiuslibet circumstantium buccellam vnâ vel duas, secundum multitudinem comedentium. Dominus antequam proponitur caro arietis in primo ipse accipit quod placet ei: & etiam si dat alicui partem specialem, oportet quod accipiens comedat eam solus, & nemini licet dare ei. Si non potest eorum comedere, asportat secum, vel dat gacioni suo, si est presens, qui custodiat ei: sin aliter, recondit in saptargat suo, hoc est in bursa quadrata, quam portant ad recondendum omnia talia, in qua & ossa recondunt, quando non habent spaciū bene rodendi ea, vt postea rodant, ne pereat aliquid de cibo.

Quomodo faciunt Cosmos.

Ipsum Cosmos, hoc est lac iumentinum fit hoc modo. Extendunt cordam longam super terram ad duos palos fixos in terra, & ad illam cordam ligant circiter horas tres, pullos equarum quas volunt mungere. Tunc stant matres iuxta pullos suos & permittunt se pacifice mungi. Et si aliqua est nimis indomita, tunc accipit vnus homo pullum & supponit ei permittentis parum sugere, tunc retrahit illum, & emunctor lactis succedit. Congregata ergo multitudo lactis, quod est ita dulce sicut vaccinum, dum est recens, fundunt illud in magnum vtrem siue buccellam, & incipiunt illud concutere cum ligno ad hoc aptato, quod grossum est inferius sicut caput hominis & cauatum subtus: & quam cito concutiunt illud, incipit bullire sicut vinum nouum, & acescere siue fermentari, & excutiunt illud donec extrahant butirum. Tunc gustant illud; & quando est temperate pungitium bibunt: pungit enim super linguam sicut vinum raspei dum bibitur. Et postquam homo cessat bibere, relinquit saporem super linguam lactis amygdalini, & multum reddit interiora hominis iucunda, & etiam inebriat debilia capita: multum etiam prouocat vrinam. Faciunt etiam Cara-cosmos, hoc est nigrum cosmos ad vsū magnorum dominorum, hoc modo. Lac equinum non coagulatur. Ratio enim est: quod nullius animalis lac nisi cuius fetet venter non inuenitur coagulum. In ventre pulli equi non inuenitur: vnde lac equæ non coagulatur. Concutiunt ergo lac in tantum, quod omnino quod spissum est in eo vadat ad fundum rectâ, sicut saces vini, & quod purum est remanet superius, & est sicut serum, & sicut mustum album. Fæces sunt albæ multum, & dantur seruis, & faciunt multum dormire. Illud clarum bibunt domini: & est pro certo valde suavis potus & bonæ efficacæ. Bactu habet 30. casalia circa herbergiam suam ad vnâ dietam, quorum vnum quodq; qualibet die seruit ei de tali lacte centum equarum, hoc est, qualibet die lac trium millium equarum, excepto alio lacte albo, quod deferunt alij. Sicut enim in Syria rustici dant tertiam partem fructuum, quam ipsi afferunt ad curias dominorum suorum, ita & isti lac equarum tertie diei. De lacte vaccino primò extrahunt butyrum & bulliunt illud vsque ad perfectâ decoctionem, & postea recondunt illud in vtribus arietinis quos ad hoc reseruant. Et non ponunt sal in butiro: tamen propter magnam decoctionem non putrescit: & reseruant illud contra hyemem. Residuū lac quod remanet post butirum permittunt acescere quantum acrius fieri potest & bulliunt illud, & coagulatur bulliendo, & coagulum illud desiccant ad solem, & efficitur durum sicut scoria ferri. Quod recondunt in saccis contra hyemem: tempore hyemali quando

deficit eis lac, ponunt illud acre coaguatum, quod ipsi vocant gri-ut, in vtre, & super infundunt aquam calidam, & concutiunt fortiter donec illud resoluatur in aqua; quæ ex illo efficitur tota acetosa, & illam aquam bibunt loco lactis. Summè cauent ne bibant aquam puram.

De bestiis quas comedunt, & de vestibus, ac

de venatione eorum.

Magni domini habent casalia versus meridiem, de quibus afferunt eis milium & farinam contra hyemem. pauperes procurant sibi pro anctibus & pellibus commutando. Sclauit etiam implent ventrem suum aqua crassa, & hac contenti sunt. Mures cum longis caudis non comedunt & omne genus murium habens curtam caudam. Sunt etiam ibi multæ marmotes, quas ipsi vocant Sogur: quæ conueniunt in vna feuca in hyeme 20. vel 30. pariter, & dormiunt sex mensibus: quas capiunt in magna multitudine. Sunt etiam ibi, cuniculi habentes longam caudam sicut canis; & in summitate caudæ habent pilos nigros & albos. Habent & multas alias bestiolas bonas ad comedendum: quas ipsi valde bene discernunt. Ceruos non vidi ibi, lepores paucos vidi, gasefos multos. Asinos syluestres vidi in magna multitudine, qui sunt quasi muli. Vidi & aliud genus animalis quod dicitur Arak, quod habet recte corpus arietis & cornua torta, sed tantæ quantitatis, quod vix poteram vna manu leuare duo cornua: & faciunt de cornibus illis ciphos magnos. Habent falcones, gis falcones, & herodios in magna multitudine: quos omnes perant super manum dexteram: & ponunt semper falconi vnam corrigiam paruulam circa collum, quæ pendet ei vsque ad medietatem pectoris: per quam cum proijciunt eum ad prædam, inclinant eum sinistra manu caput & pectus falconis, ne verberetur à vento, vel ne feratur sursum. Magnum ergo partem victus sui acquirunt venatione. De vestibus & habitu eorum noueritis, quod de Cataya & alijs regionibus Orientis, & etiam de Perfide & alijs regionibus austri veniunt eis panni serici & aurei, & tela de bambasio, quibus induuntur in æstate. De Russia, de Moxel, & Maiore Bulgaria & Pascatir, quæ est maior Hungaria, & Kerfis: (quæ omnes sunt regiones ad Aquilonem & plenæ syluis;) & alijs multis regionibus ad latus aquilonare, quæ eis obediunt, adducuntur eis pelles preciosæ multi generis: quas nunquã vidi in partibus nostris: quibus induuntur in hyeme. Et faciunt semper in hyeme duas pelliceas ad minus: vnam, cuius pilus est ad carnem: aliam cuius pilus est extra contra ventum & niues, quæ multoties sunt de pellibus lupinis vel vulpibus vel papionibus. Et dum sedent in domo habent aliam delicatorem. Pauperes faciunt illas exteriores de canibus & capris, quum volunt venari feras, conueniunt magna multitudine & circumdant regionem in qua sciunt feras esse, & paulatim appropinquant sibi, donec concludant feras inter se quasi infra circulum, & tunc sagittant ad eas. faciunt etiam braccas de pellibus. Diuites etiam furrant vestes suas de stupa setæ, quæ est supra modum mollis, & leuis & calida. Pauperes furrant vestes de tela de bambasio, de delicatiori lana quam possunt extrahere: de grossiori faciunt filtrum ad cooperiendum de mos suas & cistas, & ad lectisternia. De lana etiam & tertia parte pilorum equi admixta, faciunt cordas suas. De filtro etiam faciunt pauellas sub tellis, & capas contra pluuiam. Vnde multum expendunt de lana. Habitum virorum vidistis.

Maior
Hungaria.

Nota.

De rasura virorum & ornatu mulierum.

Viri radunt in summitate capitis quadrangulum, & ab anterioribus angulis ducunt rasuram cristæ capitis vsque ad tempora. Radunt etiam tempora & collum vsque ad summum concavitatis cervicis: & frontem anterius vsque ad frontinellam, super quam relinquunt manipulum pilorum descendentium vsque ad supercilia: In angulis occipitis relinquunt crines, quibus faciunt tricas, quas succingunt nodando vsque ad aures. Et habitus puellarum non differt ab habitu virorum, nisi quod aliquantulum est longior. Sed in crastino postquam est nupta radit caluariam suam à medietate capitis versus frontem, & habet tunicam latam sicut cucullam monialis, & per omnia latiore & longiore, fissam ante, quam ligat sub dextro latere. In hoc enim differunt Tartari à Turcis: quod Turci ligant tunicas suas ad sinistram, Tartari semper ad dextram. Postea habent ornamentum capitis, quod vocant botra, quod fit de cortice arboris vel alia materia, quam possunt inuenire, leuiore: & est grossum & rotundum, quantum potest duabus manibus completi; longum vero vnus cubiti & plus, quadrum superius, sicut capitellum vnus columinæ. Istud botra cooperiunt panno serico precioso; & est concavum interius: & super capitellum in medio

medio vel super quadraturā illam ponunt virgulam de calamis pennarum vel cannis gracilibus longitudinis scilicet vnus cubiti & plus: & illam sibi virgulam ornant superius de pennis pavonis, & per longum in circuitu pennulis caudæ malardi, & etiam lapidibus præciosis. Diuites dominæ istud ornamentum ponunt in summitate capitis quod stringunt fortiter cum almucia, quæ foramen habet in summitate ad hoc aptatū, & in isto recondunt crines suos quos recolligūt à parte posteriori ad summitatem capitis quasi in nodo vno & reponunt in illo botta, quod postea fortiter ligant sub gutture. Vnde quum equitant plures dominæ simul & videntur à longe, apparent milites, habentes galeas in capitibus cum lanceis eleuatis. Illud enim botta apparet galea de super lencea. Et sedent omnes mulieres super equos sicut viti diuersificant coxas; & ligant cucullas suas panno serico aerij coloris super renes, & alia fascia stringunt ad mamillas: & ligant vnam peciam albam sub oculis, quæ descendit vsque ad pectus. Et sunt mulieres miræ pinguedinis, & quæ minus habet de nalo pulchrior reputatur. Deturpant etiam turpiter pinguedine facies suas: nunquam cubant in lecto pro puerperio.

De officio mulierum, & operibus earum, ac de *nuptijs earum.*

Officium feminarum est ducere bigas, ponere domus super eas & deponere, mungere vaccas, facere butirum & griut, parare pelles, & consuere eas, quas consuunt filo deneruis. diuidunt enim neruos in minuta filā, & postea illa contorquent in vnum longum filum. Consuunt etiam foculares & foccos & alias vestes, Vestes vero nunquam lauant, quia dicunt quod Deus tunc irascitur, & quod fiant tonitrua si suspendantur ad siccandum: Imo lauantes verberant & eis auferunt. Tonitrua supra modum timent: tunc omnes extraneos emittunt de domibus suis; & inuoluunt se in siltris nigris, in quibus latitant, donec transierit. Nunquā etiā lauant scutellos, imo carne cocta aluē in quo debent ponere eam lauant brodio bulliente de caldaria, & postea refundunt in caldariam. faciunt & filtrum & cooperiunt domos, Viri faciunt solum arcus & sagittas, fabricant strepas & frana, & faciunt cellas, carpentant domos & bigas: custodiunt equos & mungunt equas, concutiunt ipsū cosmos & lac equinum, faciunt vtres in quibus reconditur: custodiunt etiam camelos; & onerant eos. Oues & Capras custodiunt mixtim & mungunt aliquando viri, aliquando mulieres. De lacte ouium inspissato & salso parant pelles, Cum volunt manus vel caput lauare implent os suum aqua & paulatim fundunt de ore suo super manus, & eadem humectant crines suos, & lauant caput suum. De nuptijs eorum noueritis, quod nemo habet ibi vxorem nisi emat eam: vnde aliquando sunt puellæ multum aduultæ ante quam nubant: semper enim tenent eas parentes, donec vendant eas, Seruant etiam gradus consanguinitatis primum & secundum: nullum autem seruant affinitatis. Habent enim simul vel successiue duas sorores. Nulla vidua nubit inter eos, hac ratione; quia credunt quod omnes qui seruiunt eis in hac vita seruiunt in futura. Vnde de vidua credunt, quod semper reuertitur post mortem ad primum maritum. Vnde accidit turpis consuetudo inter eos quod filius scilicet ducit aliquando omnes vxores patris sui, excepta matre. Curia enim patris & matris semper accidit iuniori fillo. Vnde oportet quod ipse prouideat omnibus vxoribus patris sui, quia adueniunt eæ cum curia paterna. Et tunc si vult vitur eis pro vxoribus, quia non reputat sibi iniuriam, si reuertatur ad patrem post mortem. Cum ergo aliquis fecerit pactum cum aliquo de filia accipienda, facit pater puellæ conuiuium, & illa fugit ad consanguineos, vt ibi lateat: Tunc pater dicit, Ecce filia mea tua est, accipe eam vbiunque inueneris: Tunc ille quærit eam cum amicis suis, donec inueniat eam, & oportet, quod vi capiat eam, & ducat eam quasi violenter ad domum.

Pellium parade

De iusticijs eorum & iudicijs, et de morte ac *sepultura eorum.*

De iusticijs eorum noueritis, quod quando duo homines pugnant, nemo audet se intermittere. Etiam pater non audet inuare filium. Sed qui peiorem partem habet, appellat ad curiam domini. Et si alius post appellationem tangat eum, interficitur. Sed oportet quod statim absque dilatione vadat: Et ille qui passus est iniuriam ducit eum quasi captiuum, Neminem puniunt capitali sententia, nisi deprehensus fuerit in facto, vel confessus. Sed quum diffamatus est à pluribus, bene torquent eum, vt confiteatur. Homicidiū puniunt capitali sententia, & etiam coitum cum non sua. Non suam dico vel vxorem vel famulam: Sua enim sclaua licet vti

prout liber. Item enorme furtum puniunt morte. Pro leui furto, sicut pro vno ariete, dummodo non fuerit sæpe deprehensus in hoc, verberant crudeliter. Et si dant centum ictus oportet quod habeant centum baculos, de illis dico, qui verberantur sententia curiæ. Item fallos nuncios, quia faciunt se nuncios & non sunt, interficiunt. Item sacrilegas, de quibus dicam vobis postea plenius, quia tales reputant veneficas. Quando aliquis moritur plangunt vehementer ululando: & tunc sunt liberi quod non dant vestigal vsque ad annum. Et si quis interest morti alicuius adulti, non ingreditur domum ipsius Mangucham vsque ad annum. Si paruulus est qui moritur, non ingreditur vsque post lunationem. Iuxta sepulturam defuncti semper relinquunt domum vnam. Si est de nobilibus, hoc est de genere Chingis, qui fuit primus pater & dominus eorum, illius qui moritur ignoratur sepultura: & semper circa loca illa vbi sepeliunt nobiles suos est vna herbergia hominum custodientium sepuluras. Non intellexi quod ipsi reconduunt thesaurum cum mortuis. Comani faciunt magnum tumultum super defunctum & erigunt ei statuam versa facie ad orientem, tenentem ciphum in manu sua ante vmbelicum, fabricant & diuitibus pyramides, id est domunculas acutas: & alicubi vidi magnas turres de tegulis coctis: alicubi lapideas domos, quamuis lapides non inueniantur ibi. Vidi quandam nouiter defunctum, cui suspenderant pelles sexdecem equorum, ad quodlibet lauis mundi quatuor inter perticas altas: & apposerunt ei cosmos vt biberet, & carnes vt comederet: & tamen dicebant de illo quod fuerat baptizatus. Alias vidi sepulturas versus orientem. Areas scilicet magnas structas lapidibus, aliquas rotundas, aliquas quadratas, & postea quatuor lapides longos erectos ad quatuor regiones mundi circa aream. Et vbi aliquis infirmatur cubat in lecto & ponit signum super domum suam, quod ibi est infirmus, & quod nullus ingreditur: vnde nullus visitat infirmum nisi seruiens eius. Quando etiam aliquis de magnis curijs infirmatur, ponunt custodes longe circa curiam, qui infra illos terminos neminem permittunt transire: timent enim ne mali spiritus vel ventus veniant cum ingredientibus. Ipsos diuinatores vocant tanquam sacerdotes suos.

Qualiter ingressi sunt inter Tartaros, & de

ingratitude eorum.

Quando ergo ingressi sumus inter illos barbaros, visum fuit mihi, vt dixi superius, quod ingrederer aliud sæculum. Circumdederunt enim nos in equis postquam diu fecerant nos expectare sedentes in vmbra sub bigis nigris. Prima quæstio fuit, vtrum vnquam fuisset inter eos, habito quod non: inceperunt impudenter petere de cibarijs nostris, & dedimus de pane biscacto & vino quod artuleramus nobiscum de villa: & potata vna lagena vini, petierunt aliam, dicentes, quod homo non ingreditur domum vno pede, non dedimus eis, excusantes nos quod parum haberemus. Tunc quæsiuerunt vnde veniremus, & quo vellemus ire, dixi eis superiora verba, quod audieramus de Sartach, quod esset Christianus, & quod vellem ire ad eum, quia habebam deferre ei literas vestras. Ipsi diligenter quæsiuerunt, vtrum irem de mea voluntate, vel vtrum mitteret. Ego respondi quod nemo coegit me ad eundem, nec iuissem nisi voluissem: vnde de mea voluntate ibam, & etiam de voluntate superioris mei. Bene caui, quod nunquam dixi, me esse nuncium vestrum. Tunc quæsiuerunt quid esset in bigis, vtrum esset aurum vel argentum, vel vestes preciosæ, quas deferrem Sartach. Ego respondi, quod Sartach videret quid deferremus ei, quando perueniremus ad eum; & quod non intererat eorum ista quærere: sed facerent me deduci vsque ad capitaneum suum, & ipse si vellet mihi præbere ducatum vsque ad Sartach faceret: sin minus, reuerteret. Erat enim in illa prouincia vnus consanguineus Baatu, nomine Scacatai, cui domiuus imperator Constantinopolitanus mittebat literas deprecatorias, quod me permitteret transire. Tunc ipsi acquieuerunt, præbentes nobis equos & boues & duos homines, qui deducerent nos. Et alij qui adduxerant nos sunt reuersi. Prius tamen antequam prædicta darent, fecerunt nos diu expectare petentes de pane nostro pro parvulis suis: Et omnia quæ videbant super famulos nostros, cultellos, chirothecas, bursas, corrigias, omnia admirantes & volentes habere. Excusabam me, quia longa nobis restabat via, nec debebamus ita cito spoliare nos rebus necessarijs ad tantam viam perficiendam. Tunc dicebant quod esset batrator. Verum est quod nihil abstulerint vi: Sed valde importune & impudenter petunt quæ vident. Et si dat homo eis perdit, quia sunt ingrati. Reputant se dominos mundi, & videtur eis, quod nihil debeat eis negari ab aliquo. Si non dat, & postea indigeat seruicio eorum, male ministrant ei. Dederunt nobis bibere de lacte suo vaccino, a quo contractum erat butirum, acetoso valde, quod ipsi vocant Apram: & sic recessimus ab eis. Et visum fuit mihi recte, quod euasissem de manibus dæmonum. In crastino peruenimus ad capitaneum, Ex quo recessimus a Soldaia vsque ad Sartach in duobus mensibus nunquam iacui-

mus in domo nec in tentorio, sed semper sub dio, vel sub bigis nostris, nec vidimus aliquam villam, vel vestigium alicujus ædificij vbi fuisset villa, nisi tumbas Comanorū in maxima multitudine. Illo sero dedit nobis garcio qui ducebat nos bibere cosmos; ad cuius haustum totus fudavi propter horrorem & nouitatem, quia nunquam biberam de eo, valde tamen sapidum videbatur mihi, sicut vere est.

De curia Scacatay, & quod Christiani non bibunt cosmos.

Manc ergo obuiuinus bigis Scacatay. onustis domibus. Et videbatur mihi quod obuiaret mihi ciuitas magua. Mirabar etiam super multitudinē armentorum boum & equorum & gregum ouium: paucos videbam homines qui ista gubernarent. vnde inquisi i quor homines haberet sub se? & dictum fuit mihi, quod non plusquam quingentos, quorum medieta- tem transueramus in alia herbergia. Tunc incepit mihi dicere garcio qui ducebat nos, quod ali- quid oporteret Scacatay dare: & ipse fecit nos stare, & præcessit nunciāns aduentum nostrum. Iam erat hora plusquam tertia, & deposuerunt domos suas iuxta quandam aquam. Et venit ad nos interpretes ipsius, qui statim cognito, quod nunquam fueramus inter illos, poposcit de cibis nostris, & dedimus ei, poscebat etiam vestimentum aliquod, quia dicturus erat verbū nostrum ante dominum suum. Excusauimus nos. Quæsiuit quid portarem domino suo? Accipimus vnum flaskonem de vino; & impleuimus vnum vringal de biscocto & platellum vnum de pō- mis & alijs fructibus. Sed non placebat ei, quia non ferebamus aliquem pannum pretiosum. Sic tamen ingressi sumus cum timore & verecundia. Sedebat ipse in lecto suo tenens citharu- lam in manu, & vxor sua iuxta eum: de qua credebā in veritate, quod amputasset sibi nasum in- ter oculos vt simior esset: nihil enim habebat ibi de naso, & vnixerat locum illum quodam vn- guento nigro, & etiam supercilia: quod erat turpissimum in oculis nostris. Tunc dixi ei verba supradicta. Vbi que enim oportebat nos dicere idem verbum. Super hoc enim cramus bene præ- moniti ab illis qui fuerant inter illos, quod nunquam mutaremus verba nostra, Rogauī etiam eum vt dignaretur accipere munusculum de manu nostra, excusans me, quia monachus eram, nec erat ordinis nostri possidere aurum, vel argentum, vel vestes preciosas. Vnde non habebam aliquid talium, quod possem ei dare: sed de cibis nostris acciperet pro benedictione. Tunc fecit recipi, & distribuit statim hominibus suis qui conuenerant ad potandum. Dedi etiam ei literas Imperatoris Constantinopolitani: (Hoc fuit in octauis ascensionis) Qui statim eas Soldaiam misit vt ibi interpretarentur: quia erant in Græco, nec habebat secum qui sciret literas Græcas. Quæsiuit etiam a nobis, si vellemus bibere cosmos, hoc est, iac iumentinum. Christiani enim Ruteni, Græci, & Alani, qui sunt inter eos, qui volunt stricte custodire legem suam, non bibunt illud: Imo non reputant se Christianos postquam biberunt. Et sacerdotes eorum reconciliant eos, tanquam negassent fidem Christianam. Ego respondi, quod habebamus adhuc sufficienter ad bibendum: & cum ille potus deficeret nobis, oporteret nos bibere illud, quod daretur nobis. Quæsiuit etiam quid contineretur in literis nostris, quas mittebatis Sartach. Dixi quod clausæ erant bullæ nostræ: & quod non erant in eis nisi bona verba & ami- cabilia. Quæsiuit & quæ verba diceremus Sartach? Respondi, Verba fidei Christianæ. Quæsiuit quæ? Quia libenter velle: audire. Tunc exposui ei prout potui per interpretem meum, qui nul- lius erat ingenij, nec alicuius eloquentiæ, symbolū fidei. Quo audito, ipse tacuit & mouit caput. Tunc assignauit nobis duos homines, qui nos custodirent, & equos & boues: & fecit nos bi- gate secum, donec reuerteretur nunciū, quem ipse miserat pro interpretatione literarum impe- ratoris; & iuimus cum eo vsque in crastinum Pentecostes.

Nota diligentes

Qualiter Alani venerunt ad eos in vigilia

Pentecostes.

In vigilia Pentecostes venerunt ad nos quidam Alani, qui ibi dicuntur || Acias, Christiani se- || Vel Akas,
cundum ritum Græcorum; habentes literas Græcas & sacerdotes Græcos: tamen non sunt schismatici sicut Græci; sed sine acceptione personarum venerantur omnem Christianum: & detulerunt nobis carnes coctas, rogantes vt comederemus de cibo eorum, & oraremus pro quodam defuncto eorum. Tunc dixi quod vigilia erat tantæ solennitatis, quod illa die non comederemus carnes. Et exposui eis de solennitate, super quo fuerunt multum gauisi; quia omnia ignorabant quæ spectant ad ritum Christianum, solo nomine Christi excepto. Quæsi- uerunt & ipsi & alij multi Christiani, Ruteni & Hungari, vtrum possent saluari, quia oportebat eos bibere cosmos, & comedere morticina & interfecta à Saracenis & alijs infidelibus:

quæ etiam ipsi Græci & Ruteni sacerdotes reputant quasi morticina vel idolis immolata: quia ignorabant tempora ieiunij: nec poterant custodire etiam si cognouissent. Tunc rectificabar eos prout potui, docens & confortans in fide. Carnes quas detulerant reseruauimus vsque ad diem festum: nihil enim inueniebamus venale pro auro & argento, nisi pro telis & alijs pannis: & illos non habebamus, Quum famuli nostri offerebant eis ipperpera, ipsi fricabant digitis, & ponebant ad nares, vt odore sentirent, vtrum essent cuprum. Nec dabant nobis cibum nisi lac vaccinum acre valde & scetidum. Vinum iam deficiebat nobis. Aqua ita turbabatur ab equis, quod non erat potabilis. Nisi fuisset biscoctum quod habebamus, & gratia dei, fortè fuissetis mortui.

¶ Nota diligentissime.

De Saraceno qui dixit se velle baptizari, et de hominibus qui apparent leprosi.

IN die pente costes venit ad nos quidam Saracenus, qui cum loqueretur nobiscum, incepimus exponere fidem. Qui audiens beneficia dei exhibita humano generi in incarnatione Christi, & resurrectionem mortuorum, & iudicium futurum, & quod ablutio peccatorum esset in baptismo: dixit se velle baptizari. Et cum pararemus nos ad baptizandum eum, ipse subito ascendit equum suum, dicens se iurum domum & habiturum consilium cum vxore sua. Qui in crastino loquens nobiscum, dixit quod nullo modo auderet accipere baptismum, quia tunc non biberet cosmos. Christiani enim illius loci hoc dicebant, quod nullus verus Christianus deberet bibere: & sine potu illo non posset viuere in solitudine illa. A qua opinione nullo modo potui diuertere illum. Vnde noueritis pro certo quod multum elongantur à fide propter illam opinionem quæ iam viguit inter illos per Rutenos, quorum maxima multitudo est inter eos. Illa die dedit nobis ille capitaneus vnum hominem, qui nos deduceret vsque ad Sartach: & duos qui ducerent nos vsque ad proximam herbergiam; quæ inde distabat quinque dietas prout boues poterant ire. Dederunt etiam nobis vnam capram pro cibo & plures vires lactis vaccini, & de cosinos parum: quia illud preciosum est inter illos. Et sic arripentes iter rectè in aquilonem, visum fuit mihi quod vnam portam inferni transissemus. Garciones qui ducebant nos, incipiebant nobis audacter furari, quia videbant nos parum cautos. Tandem amissis pluribus vexatio dabat nobis intellectum. Peruenimus tandem ad extremitatem illius prouinciæ, quæ clauditur vno fossato ab vno mari vsque ad aliud: extra quam erat herbergia eorum apud quos intrassemus: videbantur nobis leprosi omnes: quia erant viles homines ibi collocati, vt reciperent tributum ab accipientibus sal a salinis superius dictis. Ab illo loco, vt dicebant, oportebat nos ambulare quindecim diebus, quibus non inueniremus populum. Cum illis bibimus cosmos: & dedimus illis vnum veringal plenum fructibus & panem biscoctum. Qui dederunt nobis octo boues, vnam capram pro tanto itinere, & nescio quot vires plenas lacte vaccino. Sic mutatis bobus arripuimus iter, quod perfecimus decem diebus vsque ad aliam herbergiam: nec inuenimus aquam in illa via nisi in fossis in conuallibus factis, exceptis duobus paruis fluminibus. Et tendebamus rectè in orientem ex quo exiimus prædictam prouinciæ Casariæ, habentes mare ad meridiem & vastam solitudinem ad aquilonem: quæ durat per viginti dietas alicubi in latitudine: In qua nulla est sylua, nullus mons, nullus lapis. Herba est optima. In hac solebant pascere Comani, qui dicuntur Capchat. A Tentonicis verò dicuntur Valani, & prouincia Valania. Ab Isidoro vero dicitur à flumine Tanai vsque ad paludes Meotidis & Danubium Alania. Et durat ista terra in longitudine a Danubio vsque Tanaim; qui est terminus Asiae & Europæ, itinere duorum mensium velociter equitando prout equitant Tartari: Quæ rota inhabitabatur à Comanis Capchat, & etiam vltra à Tanai vsque Estiliam: Inter quæ flumina sunt decem dietæ magnæ. Ad aquilonem verò istus prouinciæ iacet Russia, quæ vbi que sylua habet, & protenditur à Polonia & Hungaria vsque Tanaim: quæ tota vastata est à Tartaris, & adhuc quotidie vastatur. Præponunt enim Rutenis, quia sunt Christiani, Saracenos: & cum non possunt amplius dare aurum vel argentum, ducunt eos & paruulos eorum tanquam greges ad solitudinem vt custodiant animalia eorum. Vltra Russiam ad aquilonem est Prussia, quam nuper subiugauerunt totam fratres Teutonici. Et certe de facili acquirerent Russiam, si apponerent manum, si enim Tartari audirent, quod magnus sacerdos, hoc est, Papa faceret cruce signari contra eos, omnes fugerent ad solitudines suas.

Salinz

Decem dietæ.

Comani longitudo,
¶ Estilia quæ &
Volga flumen.
Russia.

Prussia

De tedijs quæ patiebantur, & de sepultura Comanorum.

IBbanus ergo versus orientem, nihil videntes nisi cælum & terram, & aliquando mare ad dextram, quod dicitur Mare Tanais, & etiam sepulturas Comanorum, quæ apparebant nobis à duabus

duabus leucis secundum quod solebant parentela eorum tepelu simul. Quam diu eramus in solitudine bene erat nobis: quod tepidum quod patiebar, quum veniebamus ad mansiones eorum non possem exprinere verbis. Volebar enim dux noster, quod ad quoslibet capitaneos ingrederer cum xeno: & ad hoc non sufficebant expenta. Quotidie enim eramus octo persona comedentes viaticum nostrum exceptis termentibus, qui omnes volebant comedere nobiscum. Nos enim eramus quinque, & ipsi tres qui ducebant nos: duo ducentes bigas, & vnus iurur nobiscum vsque ad Sartach. Carnes quas dabam non sufficebant; nec inueniebamus aliquid venale pro moneta. Et cum sedebamus sub bigis nohis pro umbra, quia calor erat ibi maximus illo tempore, ipsi ita importune ingerebant se nobis, quod conculcabant nos, volentes omnia nostra videre. Si arripiebat eos appetitus purgandi ventrem, non elongabant se a nobis, quam possit faba iactari. Imo iuxta nos colloquentes mutuo faciebant immunditias suas: & multa alia faciebant quæ erant supra modum tediosa. Super omnia grauabat me, quod cum volebam dicere eis aliquod verbum ædificationis, interpret meus dicebat, non facietis me predicare; quia nescio talia verba dicere. Et verum dicebat. Ego enim perpendi postea, quum incepti aliquantulum intelligere idioma, quod quum dicebam vnum, ipse totum aliud dicebat, secundum quod ei occurrebat. Tunc videns periculum loquendi per ipsum, elegi magis tacere. Ambulauimus ergo cum magno labore de mansionem in mansionem: ita quod paucis diebus ante festum beatæ Mariæ Magdalenæ veni ad fluum magnum Tanais: qui diuidit Asiam ab Europa, sicut Nilus fluius Ægypti, Asiam ab Africa. In illo loco quo applicuimus fecerunt Baatu & Sartach fieri quoddam casale de Rutenis in ripa orientali, qui transferunt nuncios & mercatores cum nauiculis. Ipsi transtulerunt nos primo & postea bigas ponentes vnam rotam in vna barca & aliam in alia, ligantes barcas ad inuicem; & sic remigantes transibant. Ibi egit dux noster valde sulte. Ipse enim credebat, quod illi de casali deberent nobis ministrare equos, & dimisit animalia quæ adduxeramus in alia biga, vt redirent ad dominos suos. Et quum postulauimus ab eis animalia, ipsi respondebant quod habebant priuilegiu a Baatu, quod non tenerentur ad aliud, nisi transferre euntes & redeuntes: etiam a mercatoribus accipiebant magnum tributum. Stetimus ergo ibi in ripa fluminis tribus diebus. Prima die dederunt nobis magnam borbatam recentem: secunda die panem de siligine & parum de carnibus, quas acceperat procurator villæ ostiatim per diuersas domos. Tertia die pisces siccos, quos habent ibi in magna multitudine. Fluius ille erat ibi tantæ latitudinis, quantæ est Sequana Parisijs. Et antequam peruenissemus ad locum illum, transiuimus multas aquas pulcherrimas & piscosissimas: Sed Tartari nesciunt eos capere: nec curant de pisce nisi sit ita magnus, quod possunt comedere carnes eius, sicut carnes arietinas. Ille fluius est terminus Orientalis Russiæ; & oritur de paludibus quæ pertingunt ad Oceanum ad aquilonem. Fluius vero currit ad meridiem in quoddam magnum Mare septingentorum millium, ante quam pertingat ad Mare Ponti: Et omnes aquæ quas transiuimus vadunt ad illas partes. Habet etiam predictum flumen magnam syluam in ripa Occidentali. Vltra locum illum non ascendunt Tartari versus Aquilonem: quia tunc temporis // circa introitum Augusti incipiunt redire versus meridiem. Vnde aliud est casale inferius vbi transeunt nuncij tempore hyemali. Eramus igitur ibi in magna angustia, quia nec equos nec boues inueniebamus pro pecunia. Tandem postquam ostendi eis, quod laboraui pro comuni vilitate omnium Christianorum, accõmodauerunt nobis boues & homines: nos autem oportebat ire pedibus. Tunc temporis metebant siliginem: triticum non proficiebat ibi bene. Milium habent in magna copia. Mulieres Rutenæ ornant capita sicut nostræ. Supertunica alia sua exterius ornant vario vel griso a pedibus vsque ad genua. Homines portant capas sicut Teutonici: sed in capite portant pileos de filtro acutos in summitate longo acumine. Ambulauimus ergo tribus diebus non inuenientes populum. Et cum essemus valde fatigati & boues similiter, nec sciremus quorsum possemus Tartaros inuenire, accurreunt subito duo equi, quos recepimus cum gaudio magno, & ascenderunt eos dux noster & interpret, vt specularentur quorsum possemus populum inuenire. Tandem quarta die inuentis hominibus gauisi sumus tanquam naufragi venientes ad portum. Tunc acceptis equis & bobus iuimus de mansionem ad mansionem donec peruenimus vsque ad herbergiam Sartach secundo Calendas Augusti.

Calor maximus
ibi in æstate.

Tanais fluius,

Casale Rutenorum.

Latitudo Tanais.

Oceanus.

// Ad introitum
Augusti redeunt
ad meridiem.

De regione Sartach, & de gentibus illius.

Regio ista vltra Tanaim est pulcherrima, habens flumina & syluas ad aquilonem. Sine syluæ maximæ, quas inhabitant duo genera hominum: Moxel scilicet, qui sunt sine lege, puripagani. Ciuitatem non habent sed casulas in syluis. Dominus eorum & magna pars

pars eorum fuerunt interfecti in Alemania, Tartari enim duxerant eos ad introitum Alemania. Vnde ipsi multum commendant Alemanos, sperantes quod adhuc liberabuntur per eos à seruitute Tartarorum. Si mercator veniat ad eos, oportet quod ille apud quem primo descendit provideat ei quamdiu vult esse inter eos. Si quis dormiat cum vxore alterius, ille non curat nisi videar proprijs oculis: vnde non sunt Zelotypi. Abundant apud eos porci, mel, & cera, pelles preciosæ, & falcones. Post illos sunt alij qui dicuntur Merdas, quos latini vocant Merduos, & sunt Saraceni. Post illos est ¶ Etilia, quæ est maior fluius, quam vnquam viderim: & venit ab Aquilone de maiori Bulgaria tendens ad meridiem: & cadit in quendam lacum habentem spacium quatuor mensium in circuitu, de quo postea dicam vobis. Ista ergo duo flumina Tanais & Etilia versus regiones Aquilonis per quas transuimus non distant ab inuicem nisi decem dietis, sed ad meridiem multum diuiduntur ab inuicem. Tanais enim descendit in Mare Ponti: Etilia facit prædictum Mare siue lacum, cum alijs multis fluminibus, quæ cadunt in illum de Perside. Habebamus autem ad meridiem montes maximos in quibus habitant in lateribus versus solitudinem illam Cergis & Alani siue ¶ Acas, qui sunt Christiani & adhuc pugnant contra Tartaros. Post istos prope Mare siue lacum Etiliæ sunt quidam Saraceni qui dicuntur Lesgi, qui similiter obediunt. Post hos est Perta ferrea, quam fecit Alexander ad excludendas Barbaras gentes de Perside: de cuius situ dicam vobis postea, ¶ quia transui per eam in reditu. Et inter ista duo flumina in illis terris per quas transuimus habitabant Comani antequam Tartari occuparent eas.

Merdui Saraceni.
¶ vel Volga
fluius.

¶ Kerkis.
vel Aas.

Lesgi Saraceni.
¶ Reditus eius per
Derbent.

De Curia Sartach & de gloria eius.

INuenimus ergo Sartach prope Etiliam per tres dietas: cuius curia valde magna videbatur nobis: quia habet sex vxores, & filius eius primogenitus iuxta eum duas vel tres: & quælibet habet domum magnam & bigas forte ducentas. Accessit autem ductor noster ad quendam Nestorinum Coiat nomine, qui est vnus de maioribus Curiarum suarum. Ille fecit nos ire valde longe ad domini Iannam, Ita vocant illum qui habet officium recipiendi nuncios. In sero præcepit nobis dictus Coiat, vt veniremus ad eum. Tunc incepit quærere ductor noster quid portarem ei, & cepit multum scandalizari, quum vidit quod nihil parabamus ad portandum. Stetit coram eo, & ipse sedebat in gloria sua & faciebat sonare citharam & saltare coram se. Tunc dixi ei verba prædicta qualiter veniremus ad dominum eius, rogans eum vt iuaret nos vt Dominus eius videret literas nostras, Excusavi etiam me quia monachus eram, non habens, nec recipiens, nec tractans aurum vel argentum vel aliquid preciosum, solis libris & capella in qua seruiuebamus deo exceptis: vnde nullum xenium afferebamus ei nec domino suo. Qui enim propria dimiseram, non poteram portator esse alienorum. Tunc respondit satis mansuete, quod bene faciebam ex quo eram monachus: sic seruarem vorum meum, & non indigebat rebus nostris; sed magis daret nobis de suis, si indigeremus: & fecit nos sedere & bibere de lacte suo. Et post pauca rogauit vt diceremus benedictionem pro eo, quod & fecimus. Quæsiuit & quis esset maior dominus inter Francos, Dixi, Imperator, si haberet terram suam in pace, Non, inquit, sed Rex Franciarum. Audiuerat enim de vobis à domino Baldewyno de Hannonia. Inueni etiam ibi vnum de Socijs domus Dominicæ, qui fuerat in Cypro, qui narrauerat omnia quæ viderat. Tunc reuersi sumus ad hospitium nostrum. In crastino misi ei vnum flasconem de vino Muscato, quod optime se custodierat in tam longa via; & cophinum plenum biscocto quod fuit ei gratissimum, & retinuit illo sero famulos nostros secum. In crastino mandauit mihi quod venirem ad curiam; afferens literas regis & capellam & libros mecum, quia dominus suus vellet videre ea: quod & fecimus, onerantes vnam bigam libris & capella, & aliam panem & vino & fructibus. Tunc fecit omnes libros & vestes explicari, & circumstabant nos in equis multi Tartari & Christiani & Saraceni: quibus inspectis, quæsiuit, si vellem ista omnia dare domino suo, quo audito, expaui, & displicuit mihi verbum, dissimulans tamen respondi, domine rogamus, quatenus dominus noster dignetur recipere panem istum, vinum & fructus non pro xenio quia exiguum quid est, sed pro benedictione, ne vacua manu veniamus coram eo. Ipse autem videbit literas domini regis, & per eas sciet, qua de causa venimus ad eum: & tunc stabimus mandato eius nos & omnes res nostras. Vestes enim sanctæ sunt, & non licet eas contingere nisi sacerdotibus. Tunc præcepit quod induceremus nos ituri coram domino suo: quod & fecimus. Ego autem indutus preciosioribus vestibus accepi in pectore puluinar, quod erat valde pulchrum, & bibulum quod dederatis mihi, psalterium pulcherrimum, quod dederat mihi domina regina, in quo erant picturæ pulchræ. Socius meus accepit missale & crucem, clericus indutus supercilicio accepit thuribulum: sic accessimus ante dominum eius:

& leuauerunt

Coiat Nestorinum.

filtrum quod pendeat ante ostium: ut nos posset videre. Tunc fecerunt flectere genua ter clerico & interpreti: à nobis non requisierunt. Tunc monuerunt nos valde diligenter, ut caueremus ingrediendo & egrediendo ne tangeremus limen domus, & ut cantaremus aliquam benedictionem pro eo. Tunc ingressi sumus cantando, *Salve regina*. In introitu autem ostij stabat bancus cum cosinos & cum ciphis. Et conuenerant omnes vxores eius: & ipsi Moal. Ingredients nobiscum comprimebant nos. Illic Coiac tulit ei thuribulum cum incenso, quod ipse respexit, tenens in manu diligenter: postea tulit ei psalterium quod valde respexit, & vxor eius sedens iuxta eum. Postea tulit bibulum, & ipse quæsiuit, si euangelium esset tibi, Dixi, etiam tota Scriptura Sacra. Accepit etiam crucem in manu sua, & quæsiuit de imagine, vtrum esset imago Christi? Respondi quod sic. Ipsi Nestoriani & Armeni nunquam faciunt super cruces suas figuram Christi. Vnde videntur male sentire de passione, vel erubescunt eam. Postea fecit circumstantes nos retrahere se, ut plenius posset videre ornamenta nostra. Tunc obtuli ei literas vestras cum transcriptis in Arabico & Syriano. Feceram enim eas transferri in Acon in vtraque litera & lingua. Et ibi erant sacerdotes Armeni, qui sciebant Turcicum & Arabicum, & Ille Socius domus Domini qui sciebat Syriacum, & Turcicum & Arabicum. Tunc exiimus & deposuimus vestimenta nostra: & venerunt scriptores & ille Coiac, & fecerunt literas interpretari. Quibus auditis, fecit recipi panem & vinum & fructus: vestimenta & libros fecit nos reportare ad hospitium. Hoc actum est in festo Sancti Petri ad vincula.

Qualiter habuerunt in mandatis adire Baatu

patrem Sartach.

IN crastino mane venit quidam sacerdos frater ipsius Coiac postulans vasculum cum chrismate, quia Sartach volebat illud videre, ut dicebat, & dedimus ei. Hora vespertina vocauit nos Coiac, dicens nobis: Dominus rex scripsit bona verba Domino meo: Sed sunt in eis difficilia, de quibus nihil auderet facere, sine consilio patris sui. Vnde oportet vos ire ad patrem suum, & duas bigas quas adduxistis heri cum vestimentis & libris dimittetis mihi, quia Dominus meus vult res diligentius videre. Ego statim suspicatus sum malum de cupiditate eius, & dixi ei. Domine, non solum illas sed etiam duas quas adhuc habemus relinquemus sub custodia vestra. Non inquit, illas relinquetis, de alijs facietis velle vestrum. Dixi quod hoc nullo modo posset fieri. Sed totam dimitteremus ei, Tunc quæsiuit si vellemus morari in terra? Ego dixi, Si bene intellexistis literas Domini regis, potestis scire, quod sic, Tunc dixit, quod oporteret nos esse patientes multum, & humiles. Sic discessimus ab eo illo sero. In crastino mane misit vnum sacerdotem Nestorinum pro bigis, & nos duximus omnes quatuor. Tunc occurrens nobis frater ipsius Coiacis, sepe rauit omnia nostra ab ipsis rebus quas tuleramus pridie ad curiam, & illa accepit tanquam sua, scilicet libros & vestimenta: & Coiac præceperat, quod ferremus nobiscum vestimenta quibus induci fueramus coram Sartach ut illis indueremur coram Baatu si expediret: quas ille sacerdos abstulit nobis vi, dicens: Tu attulisti eas ad Sartach, modo vis ferre Baatu? Et cum vellem ei reddere rationem, respondit mihi, Ne loquaris nimis, & vade viam tuam. Tunc necessaria fuit patientia, quia apud Sartach, non patebat nobis ingressus; nec aliquis erat, qui nobis exhiberet iusticiam. Timebam etiam de interprete, ne ipse aliquid aliter dixisset, quam ego dixissem ei: quia ipse bene voluisset, quod de omnibus fecissemus xenium. Vnum erat mihi solacium, quia quum persenssi cupiditatem eorum, ego subtraxi de libris Biblium & sententias, & alios libros quos magis diligebam. Psalterium dominæ reginæ non fui ausus subtrahere, quia illud fuerat nimis notatum propter aureas picturas quæ erant in eo. Sic ergo reuersi sumus cum duobus residuis bigis ad hospitium nostrum. Tunc venit ille, qui debebat ducere nos ad Baatu, volens cum festinatione arripere iter: cui dixi quod nulla ratione ducerem bigas, Quod ipse reulit ad Coiac. Tunc præcepit Coiac quod relinqueremus eas apud ipsum cum garcione nostro: quod & fecimus. Sic ergo euntes versus Baatu recta in Orientem, tertia die peruenimus ad Etiliam: cuius aquas cum vidi, mirabar vnde ab Aquilone descenderunt tantæ aquæ. Antequam recederemus à Sartach, dixit nobis supradictus Coiac cum alijs multis scriptoribus curiæ, Nolite dicere quod dominus noster sit Christianus, sed Moal. Quia nomen Christianitatis videtur eis nomen cuiusdam gentis. In tantam superbiam sunt erecti, quod quamuis aliquid forte credant de Christo, tamen nolunt dici Christiani volentes nomen suum, hoc est,

Perueniunt ad Etiliam vel Volgam.

Tartari volunt vocari Moal.

Moal

Moal exaltare super omne nomen. Nec volunt vocari Tartari : Tartari enim fuerunt alta gens de quibus sic didici.

Qualiter Sartach, & Mangucham & Kencham
faciunt reuerentiam Christianis.

Con can.

TEmpore quo Franci ceperunt Antiochiam tenebat monarchiam in illis lateribus A-
quilonis quidam qui vocabatur Concan, Con est proprium nomen : Can nomen dig-
nitatis quod idem est qui diuinator. Omnes diuinatores vocant Can, Vnde principes ci-
cuntur Can, quia penes eos spectat regimen populi per diuinationem. Vnde legitur in hi-
storia Antiochiæ, quod Turci miserunt propter succursum contra Francos ad regnum Con
can. De illis enim partibus venerunt omnes Turci, Iste Con erat Cara-Catay. Cara idem
est quod nigrum. Carai nomen gentis. Vndè Cara-Catay idem est quod nigri Catay, Et hoc
dicitur ad differentiam ipsorum Catay qui erant in Oriente super Oceanum de quibus
postea dicam vobis. Isti Catay erant in quibusdam alpibus per quas transiui, Et in qua-
dam planicie inter illas Alpes erat quidam Nestorinus pastor potens & dominus super
populum, qui dicebatur Yayman, qui erant Christiani Nestorini. Mortuo Con can ele-
uauit se ille Nestorinus in regem, & vocabant eum Nestoriani Regem Iohannem : &
plus dicebant de ipso in decuplo quàm veritas esset. Ita enim faciunt Nestoriani venientes
de partibus illis. De nihilo enim faciunt magnos rumores, Vnde disseminauerunt de Sar-
tach quod esset Christianus, & de Mangu Can & Ken can : quia faciunt maiorem reue-
rentiam Christianis, quàm alijs populis, & tamen in veritate Christiani non sunt. Sic ergo
exiuit magna fama de illo Rege Iohanne. Et quando ego transiui per pascua eius, nullus a-
liquid sciebat de eo nisi Nestorini pauci. In pascuis eius habitat Kencam, apud cuius curiam
fuit frater Andreas : & ego etiam transiui per eam in reditu. Huic Iohanni erat frater quidam
potens, pastor similiter, nomine Vut : & ipse erat ultra Alpes ipsorum Caracatay, distans à
fratre suo spacium trium hebdomadarum & erat dominus cuiusdam Villulæ quæ dicitur Ca-
racarum, populum habens sub se, qui dicebantur Crit, Merkit, qui erant Christiani Nes-
torini. Sed ipse dominus eorum dimisso cultu Christi, sectabatur idola ; habens sacerdotes
idolorum, qui omnes sunt inuocatores dæmonum & sorilegi. Ultra pascua istius ad decem
vel quindecim dietas erant pascua Moal : qui erant pauperissimi homines sine capitaneo &
sine lege, exceptis fortilegijs & diuinationibus, quibus omnes in partibus illis intendunt. Et
iuxta Moal erant alij pauperes, qui dicebantur Tartari. Rex Iohannes mortuus fuit sine
hærede, & ditatus est frater eius Vnc ; & faciebat se vocari Can : & mittebantur arma-
ta greges eius vsque ad terminos Moal, Tunc temporis Chingis faber quidam erat in populo
Moal : & furabatur de animalibus Vnc can quod poterat : In tantum quod conqueisti sunt
pastores Vut domino suo. Tunc congregauit exercitum & equitauit in terram Moal, querens
ipsum Cyngis. Et ille fugit inter Tartaros & latuit ibi. Tunc ipse Vut accepta prædâ Moal
& à Tartaris reuersus est. Tunc ipse Cyngis allocutus est Tartaros & ipsos Moal dicens,
Quia sine duce sumus opprimunt nos vicini nostri. Et fecerunt ipsum ducem & capitaneum
Tartari & Moal. Tunc latenter congregato exercitu irruit super ipsum Vut, & vicit ipsum,
& ipse fugit in Cathaiam, Ibi capta fuit filia eius, quam Cyngis dedit vni ex filijs in vxo-
rem, ex quo ipsa suscepit istum qui nunc regnat Mangu. Tunc ipse Cyngis premittebat v-
bique ipsos Tartaros : & inde exiuit nomen eorum, quia vbique clamabatur, Ecce Tartari
veniunt. Sed per crebra bella modo omnes fere deleti sunt. Vnde isti Moal modo volunt ex-
tinguere illud nomen, & suum eleuare. Terra illa in qua primo fuerunt, & vbi est adhuc
cura Cyngiscan, vocatur Mancherule. Sed quia Tartari est regio circa quam fuit acquisitio
eorum, illam ciuitatem habent pro regali, & ibi prope eligunt suum Can.

Vnde venerunt
Turci.
Caracatay.
Oceanus.

Vel Nayman.
Prebyster Io-
hannes.

Kencham vbi
habitaui.
Frater Andreas
in Curia Ken-
cham.
Vut can, vel Vnc.
Caracarum
Villula.
Crit, & Merkit.
Moal pauperissimi
homines.

Tartarorum
sedes.

Cyngis.

Mangu-can.

Mancherule.

De Rutenis & Hungaris, & Alanis, & de mari Caspio.

DE Sartach autem utrum credit in Christum vel non nescio. Hoc scio quod Christianus non vult dici. Inmodò magis videtur mihi deridere Christianos. Ipse enim est in itinere Christianorum; scilicet Rutenorum, Blacorum, Bulgarorum minoris Bulgariae, Soldainorum, Kerkiforum, Alanorum: qui omnes transeunt per eum quum vadunt ad curiam patris sui deferre ei munera, unde magis amplectitur eos. Tamen si Saraceni veniant, & maius afferant, citius expediuntur. Habet etiam circa se Nestorinos sacerdotes, qui pulsant tabulam, & cantant officium suum.

Est alius qui dicitur Berta super Baatu, qui pascit versus Portam ferream, ubi est iter Saracenorum omnium qui veniunt de Perside & de Turchia, qui euntes ad Baatu, & trans-euntes per eum, deferunt ei munera. Et ille facit se Saracenum, & non permittit in terra sua comedi carnes porcinas. Baatu in reditu nostro præceperat ei, quod transferret se de illo loco ultra Etiliam ad Orientem, nolens nuncios Saracenorum transire per eum, quia videbatur sibi damnosum.

Quatuor autem diebus quibus fuimus in curia Sartach, nunquam prouisum fuit nobis de cibo, nisi semel de modico cosmos. In via verò inter ipsum & patrem suum habuimus magnum timorem. Ruteni enim & Hungari, & Alani serui eorum, quorum est magna multitudo inter eos, associant se viginti vel triginta simul, & fugiunt de nocte, habentes pharetras & arcus, & quemcunque inueniunt de nocte interficiunt, de die latitantes. Et quando sunt equi eorum fatigati veniunt de nocte ad multitudinem equorum in pascuis, & mutant equos, & vnum vel duos ducunt secum, ut comedant quum indigerint. Occursum ergo talium timebat multum Dux noster. In illa via fuissimus mortui fame, si non portauissemus nobiscum modicum de biscocto.

Venimus tandem ad Etiliam maximum flumen. Est enim in quadruplo maius quam Sequana, & profundissimum: Veniens de maiori Bulgaria, quæ est ad Aquilonem, tendens in quendam lacum, siue quoddam mare, quod modò vocant mare Sircan, à quadam ciuitate, quæ est iuxta ripam eius in Perside. Sed Isidorus vocat illud mare Caspium. Habet enim montes Caspios, & Persidem à meridie: montes verò Musihet, hoc est, Assassinorum ad Orientem, qui contiguantur cum montibus Caspijs: Ad Aquilonem verò habet illam solitudinem, in qua modò sunt Tartari. Prius verò erant ibi quidam qui dicebantur Canglæ: Et ex illo latere recipit Etiliam, qui crescit in æstate sicut Nilus Ægypti. Ad Occidentem verò habet montes Alanorum & Lesgi, & Portam ferream, & montes Georgianorum. Habet igitur illud mare tria latera inter montes, Aquilonare verò habet ad planiciem. Frater Andreas ipse circumdedit duo latera eius, meridionale scilicet & Orientale. Ego verò alia duo; Aquilonare scilicet in eundo à Baatu ad Mangu cham, Occidentale verò in reuertendo de Baatu in Syriam. Quatuor mensibus potest circumdari. Et non est verum quòd dicit Isidorus, quòd sit sinus exiens ab Oceano: nusquam enim tangit Oceanum, sed vnde que circumdatur terra.

Berta vel Berca.

Exièta maris, Caspij descriptio.

Canglæ populi, vel Canglitz.

Frater Andreas.

Reprehenditur Isidori error de mari Caspio.

H De

De curia Baatu, & qualiter recepti fuerunt ab eo.

Oceanus Aquilonaris.
Isidorus.
Oceanus Aquilonaris.

Descendit nauis per flumen Volga.
Nota.
30 diebus à Porta ferrea.
Astracan.
Descriptio curiæ Baatu.

Mors sonat medium.

Misit rex Franciæ ad Kencham nuncios.

Johannes de Plano carpini.

Litteræ Regiæ Francorum.

Tota illa regio à latere Occidentali istius maris, vbi sunt Porta ferrea Alexandri, & montes Alaiorum, vsq; ad Oceanum Aquilonarem & paludes Mæotidis vbi mergitur Tanais, solebat dici Albania: de qua dicit Isidorus, quòd habet canes ita magnos, tantæque feritatis, vt tauros premant, leones perimant, Quod verum est, prout intellexi à narrantibus, quod ibi versus Oceanum Aquilonarem faciunt canes trahere in bigis sicut boues propter magnitudinem & fortitudinem eorum. In illo ergo loco vbi nos applicuimus super Etiliam est casale nouum, quod fecerunt Tartari de Rutenis mixtim, qui transponunt nuncios cunctes, & redeunt ad curiam Baatu: quia Baatu est in vltiori ripa versus Orientem: nec transit illum locum vbi nos applicuimus ascendendo in æstate, sed iam incipiebat descendere. De Ianuario enim vsque ad Augustum ascendit ipse, & omnes alij versus frigidam regionem, & in Augusto incipiunt redire. Descendimus ergo in nauis ab illo casali vsque ad curiam eius. Et ab illo loco vsque ad villas maioris Bulgariæ versus Aquilonem, sunt quinque diætæ. Et miror quis Diabolus portauit illuc legem Machometi. A Porta enim ferrea, quæ est exitus Persidis, sunt plusquam triginta diætæ per transversum, solitudinem ascendendo iuxta Etiliam vsque in illam Bulgariam, vbi nulla est ciuitas, nisi quædam casalia propè vbi cadit Etilia in mare. Et illi Bulgari sunt pessimi Saraceni, fortius tenentes legem Machometi, quam aliqui alij. Quum ergo vidi curiam Baatu, expaui; quia videbantur propè domus eius, quasi quædam magno ciuitas protensa in longum, & populus vndiq; circumfusus, vsq; ad tres vel quatuor leucas. Et sicut populus Israel sciebat vnusquisq; ad quam regionem tabernaculi deberet figere tentoria: ita ipsi sciunt ad quod latas curiæ debeant se collocare, quando ipsi deponunt domus. Vnde dicitur curia Orda lingua eorum, quod sonat medium, quia semper est in medio hominum suorum: hoc excepto, quod rectè ad meridiem nullus se collocat, quia ad partem illam aperiuntur portæ Curia: Sed à dextris & à sinistris extendunt se quantum volunt secundum exigentiam locorum: dummodo rectè ante curiam, vel ex opposito curiæ non descendunt. Fuimus ergo ducti ad quendam Saracenum, qui non prouidebat nobis de aliquo cibo: sequenti die fuimus ad curiam, & fecerat extendi magnum tentorium, quia domus non potuisset capere tot homines & mulieres, quos conuenerat. Monuit nos ductor noster vt non loqueremur, donec Baatu præciperet: & tunc loqueremur breuiter. Quasiuit etiam vtrum misisset nuncios ad eos. Dixi qualiter miseratis ad Kencham, & quod nec ad ipsum misisset nuncios, nec ad Sartach literas, nisi credidissetis eos fuisse Christianos: quia non pro timore aliquo, sed ex congratulatione, quia audieratis eos esse Christianos, misistis. Tunc duxit nos ad papilionem, & monebamur, ne tangeremus cordas tentorii, quas ipsi reputant loco liminis domus. Stetimus ibi nudis pedibus in habitu nostro discooperitis capitibus, & eramus spectaculum magnum in oculis eorum. Fuerat enim ibi frater Johannes de Plano carpini, sed ipse mutauerat habitum ne contemneretur; quia erat nuncius Domini Papæ. Tunc inducti fuimus vsque ad medium tentorii, nec requisierunt vt faceremus aliquam reuerentiam genua flectendo, sicut solent facere nuocij. Stetimus ergo coram eo quantum possit dici; Miserere mei Deus: & omnes erant in summo silentio. Ipse vero super solium longum sedebat & latum sicut lectus, totum deauratum, ad quod ascendebatur tribus gradibus, & vna domina iuxta eum. Viri vero diffusi sedebant à dextris domine & à sinistris; quod non implebant mulieres ex parte vna, quia erant ibi solæ vxores Baatu, implebant viri. Bancus verò cum cosmos & ciphis maximis aureis & argenteis; ornatis lapidibus præciosis erat in introitu tentorii. Respexit ergo nos diligentius, & nos eum: & videbatur mihi similis in statura Domino Iohanni de Bello monte cuius anima requiescit in pace. Erat etiam vultus eius tunc perfusus gutta rosea. Tandem præcepit vt loquerer. Tunc ductor noster præcepit vt flecterem genua, & loquerer. Flexi vnum genua tanquam homini: tunc innuit quod ambo flecterem, quod & feci, nolens contendere super hoc, Tunc præcepit quod loquerer. Et ego cogitans quod orarem Dominum, quia flexeram ambo genua, Incepi verba oratione, dicens: Domine, nos oramus Dominum, à quo bona cuncta procedunt, qui dedit vobis ista terrena, vt det vobis post hæc cælestia: quia hæc sine illis vana sunt. Et ipse diligenter auscultauit, & subiunxit: Noueritis pro certo quòd cælestia non habebitis, nisi fueritis Christianus. Dicit enim Deus, Qui crediderit & baptizatus fuerit, saluus erit: qui vero non crediderit, condemnabitur. Ad illud verbum ipse modestè submisit, & alij Moal inceperunt plaudere manus deridendo nos. Et obstupuit interpres meus, quem oportuit me confortare ne timerem. Tunc factò silentio, dixi: Ego veni ad filium vestrum, quia audiuimus quòd esset Christianus, & attuli ei literas ex parte Domini Regis Francorum: ipse misit me huc ad vos. Vos debetis scire

scire qua de causa. Tunc fecit me surgere. Et quaesivit nomen vestrum, & meum, & socij mei, & interpretis, & fecit omnia scribi. Quaesivit etiam, quia intellexerat quod exieratis terram vestram cum exercitu vt haberetis bellum. Respondi, Contra Saracenos violantes domum Dei Hierusalem. Quaesivit etiam si vnquam misissetis nuncios ad eum, Ad vos dixi nunquam. Tunc fecit nos sedere, & dari de lacte suo ad bibendum, quod ipsi valde magnum reputant, quando aliquis bibit cosmos cum eo in domo sua. Et dum sedens respicerem terram, praecipit vt eleuarem vultum, volens adhuc nos amplius respicere, vel forte pro sortilegio: quia habent pro malo omine vel signo, vel pro mala Prognostica, quando aliquis sedet coram eis inclinata facie quasi tristis, maxime quum appodiat maxillam, vel mentum super manum. Tunc exiimus, & post pauca, venit Ductor noster ad nos, & ducens nos ad hospitium, dixit mihi, Dominus Rez rogat, quod retinearit in terra ista: & hoc non potest Baatu facere sine conscientia Mangucham. Vnde oportet quod tu & interpret tuus catis ad Mangucham. Socius vero tuus & alius homo reuertentur ad curiam Sartach ibi expectantes donec reuertaris. Tunc incepit homo DEI Interpres lugere reputans se perditum: Socius etiam meus contestari, quod citius amputarent ei caput, quam quod diuideretur a me. Et ego dixi, quod sine socio non possem ire: Et etiam quod bene indigebamus duobus famulis, quia si contingeret vnum infirmari, non possem solus remanere. Tunc ipse reuersus ad curiam dixit verba Baatu. Tunc praecipit: vadant duo sacerdotes & interpres: & Clericus reuertatur ad Sartach. Ille reuersus dixit nobis summam. Et quando volebam loqui pro Clerico, quod iret nobiscum, dixit, Non loquamini amplius, quia Baatu definiuit, & eo amplius non audeo redire ad curiam. De eleemosyna habebat Goset clericus viginti sex ipperera, & non plus: quorum decem retinuit sibi & puero: & sexdecem dedit homini Dei pro nobis. Et sic diuisi sumus cum lacrimis ab inuicem: Illo redeunte ad curiam Sartach, & nobis ibi remanentibus.

De itinere fratrum versus curiam Mangucham.

IN Vigilia Assumptionis peruenit ipse clericus ad Curiam Sartach: & in crastino fuerunt Sacerdotes Nestorini induti vestimentis nostris coram Sartach. Tunc ducti fuimus ad alium hospitem, qui debebat nobis providere de domo & cibo & equis. Sed quia non habuimus quod daremus ei, omnia male faciebat. Et bigauimus cum Baatu descendendo iuxta Etiliam quinque septimanas. Aliquando habuit socius meus tantam famem, quod dicebat mihi quasi lachrymando: videbatur mihi quod nunquam comederim. Forum sequitur semper Curiam Baatu. Sed illud erat tam longe a nobis, quod non poteramus ire. Oportebat enim nos ire pedibus pro defectu equorum. Tandem inuenerunt nos quidam Hungari, qui fuerant Clericuli, quorum vnus sciebat adhuc cantare multa corde, & habebatur ab alijs Hungaris quasi Sacerdos, & vocabatur ad exequias suorum defunctorum: Et alius fuerat competenter instructus in Grammatica: qui intelligebat quicquid dicebamus ei literaliter, sed nesciebat respondere: qui fecerunt nobis magnam consolationem, afferentes cosmos ad bibendum, & carnes aliquando ad comedendum: qui quum postulassent a nobis aliquos libros, & non haberem quos possem dare, nullos enim habebam, nisi Biblium & breuiarium, dolui multum. Tunc dixi eis, afferte nobis chartas, & ego scribam vobis, quamdiu erimus hic: quod & fecerunt. Et scripsi vtrasque horas Beatae Virginis & officium defunctorum. Quodam die iunxit se nobis quidam Comanus, salutans nos verbis latinis, dicens, Saluete Domini. Ego mirans, ipso resalutato, quaesui ab eo, quis eum docuerat illam salutationem. Et ipse dixit quod in Hungaria fuit baptizatus a fratribus nostris qui docuerant illum eam. Dixit etiam quod Baatu quaesuerat ab eo multa de nobis, & quod ipse dixerat ei conditiones ordinis nostri. Ego vidi Baatu equitantem cum turba sua, & omnes patres familias equitantes cum eo, secundum aestimationem meam non erant quingenti viri. Tandem circa sinem exaltationis sanctae crucis venit ad nos quidam diues Moal, cuius patererat millenarius, quod magnum est inter eos, dicens, Ego vos debeo ducere ad Mangucham, & est iter quatuor mensium: & tantum frigus est ibi, quod finduntur ibi lapides & arbores pro frigore: Videatis vtrum poteritis sustinere. Cui respondi: Spero in virtute Dei, quod nos sustinebimus, quod alij homines possunt sustinere. Tunc dixit: Si non poteritis sustinere, ego relinquam vos in via. Cui respondi, hoc non esset iustum: quia non iuimus pro nobis, nisi missi a Domino vestro: Vnde ex quo vobis committimur, non debetis nos dimittere. Tunc dixit, bene erit. Post

Quinque septimanas iuxta Etiliam descendebant.

Quidam Hungari.

Comanus.

Iter quatuor mensium a Vologae. Ingens frigus.

hoc fecit nos ostendere sibi omnes vestes nostras, & quod sibi videbatur minus necessarium fecit deponere sub custodia hospitis nostri. In crastino attulerunt cuiuslibet nostrum vnam pelliceam villosam arietinam & braccas de eadem, & botas siue bucellos secundum morem eorum cum soccis de filtro; & almucias de pellibus secundum modum eorum. Et secunda die post exaltationem Sanctæ crucis incepimus equitare nos tres habentes signarios: & equitauimus continuè versus Orientem vsque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum, per totam illam terram, & adhuc amplius habitabant Cangle, quædam parentela Romanorum. Ad Aquilonem habebamus maiorem Bulgariam, & ad meridiem prædictum mare Caspium.

26. Septemb.

Cangle populi.
Maior Bulgaria.

De flumine Iagag, & de diuersis regionibus siue nationibus.

Iagag flumen 12.
dicitur à Volga.Pascatir terra,
vel Bascirdouum
terra vel Zabier.Hungari à Pascatir
oriundi.

Nota,

Deut. 32. 21.

¶ Qui fuerunt isti
fratres?Cangle planities
ingens.

POSTquam iuicramus duodecim diebus ab Etilia inuenimus magnum flumen, quod vocant Iagag: & venit ab Aquilone de terra Pascatir descendens in prædictum mare. Idioma Pascatir & Hungarorum idem est: & sunt pastores sine ciuitate aliqua. Et contiguatur maiori Bulgaria ab Occidente. Ab illa terra versus Orientem in latere illo Aquilonari non est amplius aliqua ciuitas. Vnde Bulgaria maior est vltima regio habens ciuitatem. De illa regione Pascatir exierunt Huni, qui postea dicti sunt Hungari. Vnde ipsa est maior Bulgaria. Et dicit Isidorus, quod perniciosus equis claustra Alexandri rupibus Caucasi feras gentes cohibentia transferunt: ita quod vsque in Ægyptum soluebatur eistributum. Deltruxerunt etiam omnes terras vsque in Franciam. Vnde fuerunt maioris potentie, quam sunt adhuc Tartari. Cum illis occurrerunt Blaci & Bulgari & Vandali. De illa enim maiori Bulgaria venerunt illi Bulgari: Et qui sunt vltra Danubium propè Constantinopolin, & iuxta Pascatir sunt Ilac, quod idem est quod Blac: sed B. nesciunt Tartari sonare: à quibus vnerunt illi qui sunt in terra Assani, Vtrosque enim vocant Ilac, & hos & illos lingua Rutenorum & Polonorum, & Boëmorum. Sclauorum est idem idioma cum lingua Vandalorum, quorum omnium manus fuit cum Hunis: & nunc pro maiori parte est cum Tartaris quos Deus suscitauit à remotioribus partibus, populum inulium, & gentem stultam, secundum quod dicit Dominus, Prouocabo eos, id est, non custodientes Legem suam, in eo qui non est populus, & in gente stulta irritabo eos: Hoc complectur ad literam super omnes nationes non custodientes Legem Dei, Hoc quod dixi de terra Pascatir scio per fratres Prædicatores, ¶ qui ierunt illuc ante aduentum Tartarorum. Et ex tunc erant ipsi subiugati à vicinis Bulgari Saraccnis, & plures eorum facti Saraceni. Alia possunt sciri per Chronica: quia constat quod illæ prouinciæ post Constantinopolim, quæ modo dicuntur Bulgaria, Valachia, Sclauonia, fuerunt prouinciæ Græcorum. Hungaria fuit Pannonia, Equitauimus ergo per terram Cangle à festo Sanctæ crucis vsque ad festum Omnium Sanctorum, quolibet die ferè quantum est à Parisijs vsque Aurelianum, secundum quod possum estimare, & plus aliquando: secundum quod habebamus copiam equorum, Aliquando enim mutabamur bis in die vel ter equos. Aliquando ibamus duobus diebus vel tribus, quibus non inueniebamus populum, & oportebat leuius ire. De viginti vel triginta equis nos semper habebamus peiores, quia extranei eramus. Omnes enim accipiebant ante nos equos meliores. Mihi semper providebant de forti equo, quia eram ponderosus valdè: sed vtrum suauiter ambularet vel non, de hoc non audeim facere quæstionem. Nec etiam audebam conqueri, si durè portaret, Sed fortunam suam oportebat vnumquemque sustinere. Vnde oriebatur nobis difficillimus labor: quia multoties fatigabantur equi, antequam possemus peruenire ad populum. Et tunc oportebat nos percutere & flagellare equos, ponere etiam vestes super alios saginarios, mutare equos saginarios; aliquando nos duos ire in vno equo.

De fame & siti, & alijs miserijs quas sustinuerunt in itinere.

DE fame & siti, frigore & fatigatione non est numerus. Non enim dant cibum nisi in sero. In mane dant aliquid bibere, vel sorbere milium. In sero dabant nobis carnes, scapulam arietis cum costis & de brodio ad mensuram bibere. Quando habebamus de brodio carniū ad satietatem optimè reficiebamur. Et videbatur mihi suauissimus potus & maximè

maximè nutiens. Feria sexta permanebam ieiunus vsq; ad noctem, nihil hauriens. Tunc oportebat me in tristitia & dolore comedere carnes. Aliquando oportebat nos comedere carnes femicoctas vel ferè crudas propter defectum materiæ ignis, quando iacebamus in campis & de nocte descendebamus: quia tunc non poteramus benè colligere stercorea equorum vel bouum: aliam materiam ignis rarè inueniebamus; nisi fortè alicubi aliquas spinas. In ripis etiam aliquorum fluminum sunt alicubi sylvar. Sed hoc rarè. In principio despiciebat nos multum Ductor noster, & fastidiebat eum ducere tam viles homines. Postea tamen quando incepit nos melius cognoscere, ducebat nos per curias diuitum Moallorum: & oportebat nos crare pro ipsis. Vnde si habuissim bonum interpretem, habebam oportunitatem feminandi multæ bona. Ille Chingis primus Cham habuit quatuor filios, de quibus egressi sunt multi, qui omnes habent modo magnas curias: & quotidie multiplicantur & diffunduntur per illam Vastam solitudinem, quæ est sicut mare. Per multos ergò illorum ducebat nos Ductor noster. Et mirabantur supra modum, quia volebamus recipere aurum, vel argentum, vel vestes præciosas. Querebant etiam de magno Papa, si esset ita senex sicut audierant: audierant enim quod esset quingentesimo annorum. Querebant de terris nostris si ibi essent multæ oues, & boues, & equi. De Oceano mari non potuerunt intelligere, quod esset sine termino vel sine ripa. In vigilia omnium Sanctorum dimissimus viam in Orientem, || quia iam populus descenderat multum versù meridiem: Et direximus iter per quasdam Alpes rectè in meridiem continuè per octo dies. In illa solitudine vidi multos asinos, quos vocant Colan, qui magis assimilantur mulis: quos multum prosequuti sunt Dux nocte & socij eius, sed nihil profecerunt propter nimiam velocitatem eorum. Septima die inceperunt nobis apparere ad meridiem montes altissimi: & intrauimus planiciem, quæ irrigabatur sicut hortus, & inuenimus terras cultas. In octauis omnium Sanctorum intrauimus villam quandam Saracenorum nomine Kenchat: cuius capitaneus occurrebat extra villam duci nostro cum ceruisia & ciphis. Hic est enim mos eorum; quod de omnibus villis subditis eis, occurratur nuncijs Baatu, & Mangu cham cum cibo & potu. Tunc temporis ibant ibi super glaciem. Et prius à festo Sancti Michaelis habueramus gelu in solitudine. Quæsiui de nomine Prouinciæ illius: sed quia iam eramus in alio territorio nescierunt mihi dicere, nisi à nomine ciuitatis, quæ erat valdè parua. Et descendebat magnus fluuius de montibus, qui irrigabat totam regionem, secundum quod volebant aquam ducere: nec descendebat in aliquod mare, sed absorbebatur à terra: & faciebat etiam multas paludes. Ibi vidi vites, & bibi bis de vino.

Defectus materiæ ignis.

Aliqua lumina.

Vasta solitudo.

||Nota diligenter. Iter versù meridiem octo dierum.

Asini velocissimi. Montes altissimi.

Terra culta. Kenchat villa Saracenorum.

Septimo die Nuntius ibant super glaciem.

Ciuitas valdè parua. Magnus fluuius. Multa paludes. Vites.

De interfectione Ban & habitatione Teutonorum.

Sequenti die venimus ad aliud casale propinquius montibus. Et quæsiui de montibus, de quibus intellexi, quod essent montes Caucafi: qui contiguantur ex vtraque parte maris ab Occidente vsque ad Orientem: & quod transuereramus mare supradictum, quod intrat Etilia. Quæsiui etiam de Talas ciuitate, in qua erant Teutonici serui Buri, de quibus dixerat frater Andreas, de quibus etiam quæsiueram multum in curia Sartach & Baatu. Sed nihil poteram intelligere, nisi quod Ban dominus eorum fuerat interfectus tali occasione. Ipse non erat in bonis pascuis. Et quadam die dum esset ebrius, loquebatur ita cum hominibus suis. Nonne sum de genere Chingis can sicut Baatus (Et ipse erat nepos Baatu vel frater) quare non vadam super ripam Etiliæ, sicut Baatu, vt pascam ibi? Quæ verba relata fuerunt Baatu. Tunc ipse Baatu scripsit hominibus illius, vt adducerent ei dominum ipsorum vincitum: quod & fecerunt. Tunc Baatu quæsiuit ab eo si dixisset tale verbum: & ipse confessus est, tamen excusauit se, quia ebrius erat: (quia solent condonare ebrijs:) & Baatu respondit: Quomodo audebas me nominare in ebrietate tua? Et fecit ei amputari caput. De illis Teutonicis nihil potui cognoscere vsque ad curiam Mangu. Sed in supradicto casali intellexi, quod Talas erat post nos iuxta mōtes per sex dietas. Quando veni ad curiam Mangu cham, intellexi quod ipse Mangu transfulerat eos de licentia Baatu versù Orientem spacio itineris vnus mensis à Talas ad quandam villam quæ dicitur Bolac: vbi fodiunt aurum, & fabricant arma. Vnde non potui ire nec redire per eos. Transiui eundo satis prope, per tres dietas fortè, ciuitatem illam: sed ego ignoravi: nec potuissim etiam declinasse extra viam, si benè sciuissem. A prædicto casali iuimus ad Orientem iuxta montes prædictos: & ex tunc intrauimus inter homines Mangu cham, qui vbiq; cantabant & plaudebant coram ductore nostro: quia ipse erat nuncijs Baatu. Hunc enim honorem exhibent sibi mutuo, vt homines Mangu cham recipiant nuncios Baatu

Casale.

Montes Caucafi contiguantur mari Orientali. Talas, vel Chincitalas ciuitas. Frater Andreas.

Casale.

Bolac villa. Auri fodina.

Intrat ditionem Mangu cham.

Alpes in quibus
habitant Caratay.
Magnus fluvius.

Terra culta,
Equus villa
bona.
Longissime à
Perside.
Lacus quindecim
dieciarum
circuitu.

Cailac magna
villa & plena
mercatoribus.

Contomanni.

prædicto modo: Et similiter homines Baatu nuncios Mangu. Tamen homines Baatu superiores sunt, nec exequuntur ita diligenter. Paucis diebus post hæc intrauimus Alpes, in quibus solebant habitare Caratay: & inuenimus ibi magnum fluvium, quem oportuit nos transire nauigio. Post hæc intrauimus quandam uallem, ubi vidi castrum quoddam destructum, cuius muri non erant nisi de luto, & terra colebatur ibi. Et post inuenimus quandam bonam villam quæ dicitur Equus, in qua erant Saraceni loquentes Persicum: longissime tamen erant à Perside. Sequenti die transgressis illis Alpibus quæ descendeant à magnis montibus ad meridiem, ingressi sumus pulcherrimam planiciem habentem montes altos à dextris, & quoddam mare à sinistris, siue quendam lacum qui durat quindecim dietas in circuitu. Et illa planicies tota irrigabatur ad libitum aquis descendentibus de montibus, quæ omnes recipiuntur in illud mare. In ætate rediimus ad latus Aquilonare illius maris, ubi similiter erant magni montes. In planicie prædicta solebant esse multæ villæ: sed pro maiori parte omnes erant destructæ, ut pascere ibi Tartari: quia optima pascua erant ibi. Vnum magnam villam inuenimus ibi nomine Cailac, in qua erat forum, & frequentabant eam multi mercatores. In illa quieuius quindecim diebus, expectantes quendam scriptorem Baatu, qui debebat esse socius ducis nostri in negotijs expediendis in curia Mangu. Terra illa solebat dici Organum: & solebant habere proprium idioma, & propriam literam: Sed hæc tota erat occupata à Contomannis. Etiam in literatura illa & idiomate solebant facere Nestorini de partibus illis. Dicuntur Organa, quia solebant esse optimi Organistæ vel Citharistæ, ut dicebatur mihi. Ibi primo vidi Idolatrias, de quibus noueritis, quod sunt multæ scætarum in Oriente.

Quod Nestorini et Saraceni sunt mixti & Idolatre.

Iugures populi,
Idolatre.

Cailac.

Primi sunt Iugures, quorum terra contiguatur cum terra prædicta Organum inter montes illos versus Orientem: Et in omnibus ciuitatibus eorum sunt mixti Nestorini & Saraceni, Et ipsi etiã sunt diffusi versus Persidem in ciuitatibus Saracenorum. In prædicta ciuitate Cealac habebant etiam ipsi tres Idolatrias, quarum duas intraui, ut viderem stultitias eorum. In prima inueni quendam, qui habebat cruciculam de atramento super manum suam. Vnde credidi quod esset Christianus: quia ad omnia quæ quærebam ab eo, respondebat ut Christianus. Vnde quæsi ab eo: Quare ergo non habetis crucem & imaginem Iesu Christi? Et ipse respondit, non habemus consuetudinem. vnde ego credidi quod essent Christiani: sed ex defectu doctrine omitterent. Videbam enim ibi post quandam cistam, quæ erat eis loco altaris, super quam ponunt lucernas & oblationes, quandam imaginationem habentem alas quasi Sancti Michaelis: & alias quasi ipsorum tenentes digitos sicut ad benedicendum. Illo sero non potui aliud inuenire. Quia Saraceni in tantum inuicant eos, quod nec etiam volunt loqui inde eis. Vnde quando quærebam a Saracenis de ritu talium, ipsi scandalizabantur. In crastino fuerunt kalendæ & pascha Saracenorum & murani hospitium: ira quod fui hospitatus prope aliam Idolatriam, Homines enim colligunt nuncios, quilibet secutum posse suum vel portionem suam. Tunc intrans Idolatriam prædictam inveni sacerdotes Idololum. In kalendis enim aperiunt templa sua, & ornant se sacerdotes, & offerunt populi oblationes de pane & fructibus. Primum ergo describo vobis ritus communes omnes Idolatarum: & postea istorum Iugurum, qui sunt quasi scæta diuisa ab alijs. Omnes adorant ad Aquilonem complexis manibus: & prosternentes se genibus flexis ad terram, ponentes frontem super manus. Vnde Nestorini in partibus illis nullo modo iungunt manus orando: sed orant extensis palmis ante pectus. Porrigunt templa sua ab Oriente in Occidentem: & in latere Aquilonari faciunt cameram vnam quasi eorum exentem: vel aliter, Si est domus quadrata, in medio domus ad latus aquilonare intercludunt vnam cameram in loco chori. Ibi ergo collocant vnam arcam longam & laram sicut mensam vnam. Et post illam arcam contra meridiem collocant principale idolum: quod ego vidi apud Caracaram, ita magnum sicut pingitur Sanctus Christophorus. Et dixit mihi quidam sacerdos Nestorinus, qui venerat ex Caraya, quod in terra illa est Idolum ita magnum, quod potest videri à duobus dietis, Et collocant alia idola in circuitu, omnia pulcherrime deaurata: Super cistam illam, quæ est quasi mensa vna, ponunt lucernas & oblationes. Omnes portæ templorum sunt apertæ ad meridiem contrario modo Saracenis. Item habent campanas magnas sicut nos. Ideo credo quod orientales Christiani noluerunt habere eas. Ruteni tamen habent & Græci in Gasaria.

fuit apud Caracaram frater Wilhelmus.

De templis eorum & idolis, & qualiter se habent

in officio deorum suorum.

OMnes sacerdotes eorum rasum habent totum caput & barbam; sunt vestiti de croceo, & seruant castitatem, ex quo radunt caput: Et viuunt pariter centum vel ducenti in vna congregatione. Diebus quibus intrant templum, ponunt duo scamna, & sedent è regione chorus contra chorus habentes libros in manibus, quos aliquando deponunt super illa scamna: & habent capita discooperta quadiu insunt in tēplo, legentes in silencio, & tenentes silentium. Vnde cum ingressus fuissē apud Oratorium quoddam eorum, & inuenissē eos ita sedentes, multis modis tentauī eos prouocare ad verba, & nullo modo potui. Habent etiam quocunque vadunt quandam restem centum vel ducentorum nucleorum, sicut nos portamus pater noster: Et dicunt semper hæc verba: *Ou mam Haclani*: hoc est, Deus tu nosti; secundum quod quidem eorum interpretatus est mihi. Et toties expectant remunerationem à Deo, quoties hoc dicendo memoratur Dei. Circa templum suum semper faciunt pulchrum atrium, quod bene includunt muro: & ad meridiem faciunt portam magnam, in qua sedent ad colloquendum, Et super illam portam erigunt perticam longam, quæ emineat si possint, super totam villam. Et per illam perticam potest cognosci, quod domus illa sit templum Idolorum. Ista comunitia sunt omnibus Idolatris. Quando ergo ingressus fui prædictam Idolatriam, inueni sacerdotes sedentes sub porta exteriori, Illi quos vidi, videbantur mihi fratres Franci esse raris barbīs. Tyaras habebant in capitibus cartaceas. Istorum Iugurum sacerdotes habent ralem habitum quocunque vadunt: semper sunt in tunicis croceis satis strictis accincti celsuper recte sicut Franci: & habent pallium super humerum sinistrum descendens inuolutū per pectus & dorsum ad latus dextrum sicut diaconus portans casulam in quadragesima. Istorum literas acceperunt Tartari. Ipsi incipiunt scribere sursum, & ducunt lineam deorsum, & eodem modo ipsi legunt & multiplicant lineas a sinistra ad dextram. Isti multum vtuntur cartis & characteribus pro sortilegio. Vnde templa sua plena sunt breuibis suspensis. Et Mangu-cham mittit vobis literas in idiomate Moal & literatura eorum. Isti comburunt mortuos suos secundum antiquum modum, & recondunt puluerem in summitate pyramidis. Cum ergo sedissem iuxta prædictos sacerdotes, postquam ingressus fueram templum & vidissem idola eorum multa magna & parua: quæsiui ab eis, quid ipsi crederent de Deo. Qui responderunt, Non credimus nisi vnum Deum. Et ego quæsiui. Creditis quod ipse sit spiritus vel aliquid corporale? Dixerunt, credimus quod sit spiritus. Et ego: Creditis quod nunquam sumperit humanam naturam? Dixerunt, minime. Tunc ego: ex quo creditis, quod non sit nisi vnus spiritus, quare facitis ei imagines corporales, & tot insuper? Et ex quo non creditis quod factus sit homo, quare facitis ei magis imagines hominum, quàm alterius animalis? Tunc responderunt, Nos non figuramus istas imagines Deo. Sed quando aliquis diues moritur ex nostris, vel filius, vel vxor, vel aliquis charus eius facit fieri imaginem defuncti, & ponit eam hic: & nos veneramus eam ad memoriam eius. Quibus ego, Tunc ergo non facitis ista nisi propter adulationem hominum. Immo dixerunt ad memoriam. Tunc quæsiuerunt à me quasi deridendo: vbi est Deus? Quibus ego, Vbi est anima vestra? Dixerunt, in corpore nostro. Quibus ego, Nonne est vbique in corpore tuo & totum regit, & tamen non videtur? Ita Deus vbique est, & omnia gubernat, inuisibilis tamen, quia intellectus & sapientia est. Tunc cum vellem plura ratiocinari cum illis, interpret meus fatigatus, non valens verba exprimere, fecit me tacere. Istorum sectæ sunt Moal siue Tartari, quantum ad hoc, quod ipsi non credunt nisi vnum Deum: tamen faciunt de filtro imagines defunctorum suorum, & induunt eas quinque pannis preciosissimis, & ponunt in vna biga vel duabus, & illas bigas nullus audeat tangere: & sunt sub custodia diuinorum suorum, qui sunt eorum sacerdotes, de quibus postea narabo vobis. Isti diuinatores semper sunt ante curiam ipsius Mangu & aliorū diuitem: pauperes enim non habent eos; nisi illi qui sunt de genere Chingis. Et cum debent bigare, ipsi præcedunt, sicut columna nubis filios Israel, & ipsi considerant locum metandi castra, & post deponunt domos suas, & post eos rota curia. Et tunc cum sit dies festus siue kalendæ ipsi extrahunt prædictas imagines & ponunt eas ordinate per circuitum in domo sua. Tunc veniunt Moal & ingrediuntur domum illam, & inclinant se imaginibus illis & venerantur illas. Et illam domum nemini ingredi extraneò licet: Quadam enim vice volui ingredi & multum durè increpatus fui.

Tyaræ cartaceæ,

Chinenses ita etiam scribunt.

Sortilegi.

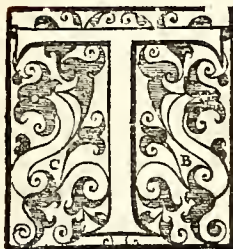
Bombusio mortuorum.

De diuersis nationibus, & de illis qui comedere
solebant parentes suos.

Prædicti vero Iugures, qui sunt mixti cum Christianis & Saracenis, per frequentes disputationes, vt credo, peruenerunt ad hoc, quod non credunt nisi vnum deum. Et isti fuerunt habitantes in ciuitatibus, qui post obediuerunt Chingis Cham: vnde ipse dedit regis eorum suam. Et ipsa Caracarum est quasi in territorio eorum: Et tota terra regis sue presbyteri Iohannis & Vut fratris eius circa terras eorum: Sed isti in pascuis ad aquilonem, illi Iugures inter montes ad meridiem, Inde est quod ipsi Moal sumpserunt literas eorum. Et ipsi sunt magni scriptores eorum: & omnes fere Nestorini sciunt literas eorum. Post istos sunt ipsi Tangut ad orientem inter montes illos, homines fortissimi, qui ceperunt Chingis in bello. Et pace facta dimissus ab eis, postea subiugauit eos. Isti habent boues fortissimos habentes caudas plenas pilis sicut equi, & ventres pilosos & dorsa. Bassiores sunt alijs bobus in tibijs, sed ferociores multum. Isti trahunt magnas domos Moallorum: & habent cornua gracilia, longa, acutissima: ita quod oportet semper secare summitates eorum. Vacca non permittit se iniungi nisi canteretur ei, Habent etiam naturam bubali quia si vident hominem indutum rubeis, insulant in eum volentes interficere. Post illos sunt Tebet homines solentes comedere parentes suos defunctos, vt causa pietatis non facerent aliud sepulchrum eis nisi viscera sue. Modo tamen hoc dimiserunt, quia abominabiles erant omni nationi. Tamen adhuc faciunt pulchros ciphos de capitibus parentum, vt illis bibentes habeant memoriam eorum in iocunditate sua. Hoc dixit mihi qui viderat. Isti habent multum de auro in terra sua. Vnde qui indiget auro, fodit donec reperiat, & accipiat quando indiget, residuum condens in terra: quia si reponeret in arca vel in thesauro, crederet quod Deus auferret ei aliud quod est in terra. De istis hominibus vidi personas multum deformes. Tangut vidi homines magnos sed fuscos. Iugures sunt mediocri staturæ sicut nostri. Apud Iugures est fons & radix ideomatis Turci & Comanici. Post Tebet sunt Langa & Solanga, quorum nuncios vidi in curia: Qui adduxerant magnas bigas plusquam decem, quarum quælibet trahebatur sex bobus. Isti sunt parui homines & fusci sicut Hispani: & habent tunicas si cut supertunicale diaconi manicis parum strictioribus: & habent in capitibus mitras sicut episcopi. Sed pars anterior est parum interior quam posterior, & non terminatur in vnum angulum: sed sunt quadræ desuper, & sunt de stramine rigidato per calorem magnum, & limato in tantum, quod fulget ad radium solis sicut speculum vel galea bene burnita. Et circa tempora habent longas betedas de eadem materia assutas ipsi mitræ; quæ se extendunt ad ventrum sicut duo cornua egressiua de temporibus. Et quando ventus nimis iacet eas plicat eas per medium mitræ superius à tempore in tempus: & iacent sicut circulus extransuerso capitis. Et principalis nuncius quando veniebat ad curiam, habebat tabulam de dente elephantino ad longitudinem vnius cubiti, & ad latitudinem vnius palmi, rasam multum: Et quodcumque loquebatur ipsi Cham, vel alicui magno viro, semper aspiciebat in illam tabulam, ac si inueniret ibi ea quæ dicebat: nec respiciebat ad dexteram vel sinistram, nec in faciem illius cui loquebatur. Etiam accedens coram domino & recedens nusquam respicit nisi in tabulam suam. Ultra istos sunt alij homines, vt intellexi pro vero, qui dicuntur Muc, qui habent villas, sed nulla animalia sibi appropriant: tamen sunt multi greges & multa armenta in terra ipsorum, & nullus custodit ea. Sed cum aliquis indiget aliquo, ascendit collem & clamat, & omnia animalia audientia clamorem accedunt circa illum, & permittunt se tractari quasi domesticæ. Et si nuncius vel aliquis extraneus accedat ad regionem illam, ipsi includunt eum in domo, & ministrant ei necessaria, donec negocium eius fuerit expeditum. Quia si iret extraneus per regionem, animalia ad odorem eius fugerent, & efficerentur syluestria. Ultra est magna Cathaya, cuius incolæ antiquitus vt credo dicebantur Seres. Ab ipsis enim veniunt optimi pannifera. Et ille populus dicitur Seres a quodam oppido eorum. Bene intellexi, quod in illa regione est oppidum habens muros argenteos & propugnacula aurea. In ista terra sunt multæ prouinciæ, quarum plures adhuc non obediunt Moallis, Et inter*

Aliqua desiderantur.

The iournal of frier *William de Rubruquis* a French
man of the order of the minorite friers, vnto the East parts
of the worlde. An.Dom. 1253.



In his most Soueraigne, & most Christian Lozd Lewis, by Gods grace the renowned king of France, frier William de Rubruk, the meanest of the Minorites order, wisheth health & continual triumph in CHRIST.

Ecclus. 39. ver. 4.

It is written in the booke of Ecclesiasticus concerning the wise man: He shall trauell into forren countries, and good and euill shall he trie in all things. The very same action (my lozd and king) haue Iatchieued: howbeit I wish that I haue done it like a wise man, and not like a foolc. For many there be, that performe the same action which a wise man doth, not wisely but more vndiscreetly: of which number I feare

my selfe to be one. Notwithstanding howsoeuer I haue done it, because you commanded mee, when I departed from your highnes, to write all things vnto you, which I should see among the Tartars, and you wished me also that I should not feare to write long letters, I haue done as your maiestie intoided me: yet with feare and reuerence, because I want wordes and eloquence sufficient to write vnto so great a maiestie. Be it knowen therefore vnto your sacred Maiestie, that in the yeare of our Lozd 1253, about the Moneth of May, we entered into the sea of Pontus, which the Bulgarians call the great sea. It containeth in length (as I learned of certaine merchants) 1008 miles, and is in a maner, diuided into two parts. About the midst thereof are two prouinces, one towards the North, and another towards the South. The South prouince is called Synopolis, and it is the castle and port of the Soldan of Turkie: but the North prouince is called of the Latines, *Gasaria*: of the Greeks, which inhabit vpon the sea shore thereof, it is called *Casaria*, that is to say *Cæsaria*. And there are certaine head lands stretching forth into the sea towards Synopolis. Also, there are 300. miles of distance betweene Synopolis and *Casaria*. In so much that the distance from those points or places to Constantinople, in length and breadth is about 700. miles: and 700. miles also from thence to the East, namely to the countrey of *Hiberia* which is a prouince of *Georgia*. At the prouince of *Gasaria* or *Casaria* we arrived, which prouince is, in a maner, three square, hauing a citie on the West part thereof called *Kerfoua*, wherein *S. Clement* suffered martyrdom. And sayling before the said citie, we sawe an island, in which a Church is sayd to be built by the hands of angels. But about the midst of the said prouince toward the South, as it were, vpon a sharpe angle or point, standeth a citie called *Soldaia* directly ouer against Synopolis. And there doe all the Turkie merchants, which traffique into the North countreies, in their iourney outward, arrive, and as they returne homeward also from *Russia*, and the said Northern regions, into *Turkie*. The foresaid merchants transport thither ermines and gray furs, with other rich and costly skinned. Others carrie clothes made of cocton or bombast, and silke, and diuers kinds of spices. But vpon the East part of the said prouince standeth a citie called *Matriga*, where the riuer *Tanais* dischargeth his streames into the sea of Pontus, the mouth whereof is twelue miles in breadth. For this riuer, before it entereth into the sea of Pontus, maketh a little sea, which hath in breadth and length seuen hundred miles, & it is in no place thereof about sixe paces deepe, wherevpon great vessels cannot sayle ouer it. Howbeit the merchants of Constantinople, arriving at the foresaid citie of *Matriga*, send their barkes vnto the riuer of *Tanais* to buy dried fishes, *Sturgeons*, *Cholles*, *Barbils*, and an infinite number of other fishes. The foresaid prouince of *Casaria* is compassed in with the sea on three sides thereof: namely on the West side, where *Kerfoua* the citie of *Saint Clement* is situate: on the South side the citie of *Soldaia* whereat we arrived: on the East side *Maricandis*, and there stands the citie of *Matriga* vpon the mouth of the riuer *Tanais*. Beyond the sayd mouth standeth *Zikia*, which is not in subiection vnto the Tartars: also the people called *Sueni* and *Hiberi* towards the East, who likewise are not vnder the Tartars dominion. Howouer towards the South, standeth the citie of *Trafesunda*, which hath a gouernour proper to it selfe, named *Guydo*, being of the linage of the emperours of Constantinople, and is subiect vnto the Tartars. Next vnto that is Synopolis the citie of the Soldan of Turkie, who likewise is in subiection vnto them. Next vnto these lyeth the countrey of *Vastacius*, whose sonne is called *Astar*, of his grandfather by the mothers side, who is not in subiection. All the land from the mouth of *Tanais* Westward as farre as *Danubius* is vnder their iurisdiction. Nea beyond *Danubius* also, towards Constantinople, *Valakia*, which is the land of *Assanus*, and *Bulgaria minor* as farre as *Solonia*, doe all pay tribute vnto them. And besides the

Gasaria.

Soldaia.

The citie of *Matriga.*

|| *Matriga.*

Zikia.

tribute

tribute imposed, they haue also, of late yeares, exacted of euery household an arc, and all such cozne as they found lying on heapes. We arriued therefore at Soldaia the twelfth of the Kalends of June. And diuers merchants of Constantinople, which were arriued there before vs, reported that certaine messengers were coming thicher from the holy land, who were desirous to trauell vnto Sarrach. Notwithstanding I my self had publicly giuen out vpon Palme Sunday within the Church of Sancta Sophia, that I was not your nor any other mans messenger, but that I traualled vnto those infidels according to the rule of our order. And being arriued, the said merchants admonished me to take diligent heed what I spake: because they hauing reported me to be a messenger, if I should say the contrary, that I were no messenger, I could not haue free passage granted vnto me. The I spake after this maner vnto the gouernours of the citie, or rather vnto their Licutenants, because the gouernours themselves were gone to pay tribute vnto Baaru, & were not as yet returned. We heard of your lord Sarrach (quoth I) in the holy land, that he was become a Christian: and the Christians were exceeding glad therof, & especially the most Christian king of France, who is there now in pilgrimage, & fighteth against the Saracens to redeme the holy places out of their handes: wherefore I am determined to go vnto Sarrach, & to deliuer vnto him y letters of my lord the king, wherein he admoniseth him concerning the good and commoditie of all Christendome. And they receiued vs with gladnes, and gaue vs entertainment in the eathedall Church. The bishop of which Church was with Sarrach, who told me many good things concerning the saide Sarrach, which afterward I found to be nothing so. Then put they vs to our choyce, whether we woulde haue cartes and oren, or packe horses to transport our cariages. And the marchants of Constantinople aduised me, not to take cartes of the citizens of Soldaia, but to buy couered cartes of mine owne, (such as the Russians carrie their skins in) and to put all our cariages, which I would daily take out, into them: because, if I should vse horses, I must be constrained at euery baite to take downe my cariages, and to lift them vp againe on sundry horses backs: and besides, that I should ride a more gentle pace by the oren drawing the cartes. Wherefore, contenting my selfe with thete euil counsel, I was traueiling vnto Sarrach 2. moneths which I could haue done in one, if I had gone by horse. I brought with me from Constantinople (being by the marchants aduised so to doe) pleasant fruits, muscadel wine, and delicate bisket bread to present vnto the gouernours of Soldaia, to the end I might obtaine free passage: because they looke fauourable vpon no man which commeth with an emptie hand. All which thinges I bestowed in one of my cartes, (not finding the gouernours of the citie at home) for they told me, if I could carrie them to Sarrach, that they would be most acceptable vnto him. We tooke our iourney therefore about the kalends of June, with sower couered cartes of our owne and with two other which wee borrowed of them, wherein we carried our bedding to rest vpon in the night, and they allowed vs five horses to ride vpon. For there were iust fise persons in our company: namely, I my selfe and mine associate fricr Bartholomew of Cremona, and Goset the bearer of these presents, the man of God Turgemannus, and Nicolas my seruant, whome I bought at Constantinople with some part of the almes bestowed vpon me. Whereouer, they allowed vs two men, which draue our carts and gaue attendance vnto our oren and horses. There be high promontories on the sea shore from Kersoua vnto the mouth of Tanais. Also there are fortie castles betweene Kersoua and Soldaia, euery one of which almost haue their proper languages: amongst whome there were many Gothes, who spake the Dutch tongue. Beyond the said mountaines towards the North, there is a most beautiful wood growing on a plaine full of fountaines & freshets. And beyond the wood there is a mightie plaine champion, continuing fise dayes iourney vnto the very extremitie and borders of the said prouince northward, and there it is a narrow Isthmus or neck land, hauing sea on the East & West sides therof, insomuch that there is a ditch made frō one sea vnto the other. In the same plaine (before the Tartars sprang vp) were the Comanians wont to inhabite, who compelled the foze sayd cities and castles to pay tribute vnto them. But when the Tartars came vpon them, the multitude of the Comanians entred into the foze sayd prouince, and fled all of them, euen vnto the sea shore, being in such extreame famine, that they which were alive, were constrained to eate vp those which were dead: and (as a marchant reported vnto me who sawe it with his owne eyes) that the living men deuoured and coze with their teeth, the raw flesh of the dead, as dogges would gnawe vpon carrion. Towards the borders of the sayd prouince there be many great lakes: vpon the banks whereof are salt pits or fountaines, the water of which so soone as it entereth into the lake, becometh hard salte like vnto ice. And out of those salte pittes Baaru and Sarrach haue great reuenues: for they repayze thicher out of all Russia for salte: and for each cartte loade they giue two webbes of cotton amounting to the value of half an Yperpera. There come by sea also many ships for salt, which pay tribute euery one of them according to their burden. The third day after wee were departed out of the precincts of Soldaia, we found the Tartars, amongst whome being entered,

Frict Bartholomewus de Cremona.

The necke of Taurica Chersonacul.

The Tartars.

tered, me thought I was come into a new world. Whose life and maners I wil describe vnto your Highnes as well as I can.

Of the Tartars, and of their houses. Chap. 2.

They haue in no place any settled citie to abide in, neither knowe they of the celestfall citie to come. They haue diuided all Scythia among themselves, which stretcheth from the riuer Danubius euen vnto the rising of the sunne. And euery of their captaines, according to the great or small number of his people, knoweth the bounds of his pastures, and where he ought to feed his cattel winter and summer, Spring and autumnne. For in the winter they descend vnto the warme regions southward. And in the summer they ascend vnto the colde regions northward. In winter when I knowe I yeth vpon the ground, they feede their cattell vpon pastures without water, because then they vse snow in stead of water. Their houses wherein they sleepe, they ground vpon a round foundation of wickers artificially wrought and compacted together: the rooffe whereof consisteth (in like sort) of wickers, meeting aboute into one little roundell, out of which roundell ascendeth upward a necke like vnto a chimney, which they couer with white felte, and oftentimes they lay mortar or white earth vpon the sayd felt, with the powder of bones, that it may shine white. And sometimes also they couer it with blacke felte. The sayd felte on the necke of their house, they doe garnish ouer with beautifull varietie of pictures. Besoze the dooze likewise they hang a felt curiously painted ouer. For they spend all their coloured felte, in painting vines, trees, birds, and beasts there vpon. The sayd houles they make so large, that they containe thirtie foote in breadth. For measuring once the breadth betweene the wheele-ruts of one of their cartes, I found it to be 20 feete ouer: and when the house was vpon the carte, it stretched ouer the wheeles on each side fise secte at the least. I told 22. oren in one teauie, drawing an house vpon a cart, eleuen in one order according to the breadth of the carte, and eleuen more besoze them: the axle tree of the carte was of an huge bignes like vnto the mast of a ship. And a fellow stood in the dooze of the house, vpon the foremost of the carte vziuing forth the oren. For euer, they make certaine fouresquare baskets of small slender wickers as big as great chestes: and after ward, from one side to another, they frame an hollow liddo or couer of such like wickers, and make a dooze in the fore side thereof. And then they couer the sayd chest or little house with black felt rubbed ouer with tallow or sheeps milke to keepe the raine from soaking through, which they decke likewise with painting or with feathers. And in such chests they put their whole houthold stuffe & creature. Also the same chests they do strongly bind vpon other cartes, which are drawn with camels, so ynd they may wade through riuers. Neither do they at any time take down the sayd chests from off their cartes. When they take down their dwelling houses, they turne the doozes alwayes to the South: & next of all they place the cartes laden with their chests, here & there, within half a stoncs cast of y house: insomuch that the house standeth between two ranks of cartes, as it were, between two wals. The marrons make for themselves most beautifull cartes, which I am not able to describe vnto your maiestie but by pictures onlie: for I would right willingly haue painted al things for you, had my skill bin ought in that art. One rich Moal or Tatar hath 200. or 100. such cartes with chests. Duke Baacu hath sixteene wiues, euery one of which hath one great house, besides other little houles, which they place behind the great one, being as it were chambers for their maidens to dwel in. And vnto euery of the said houles do belong 200. cartes. When they take their houses from off the cartes, the yncipal wife placeth her court on the West frontier, and so all the rest in their order: so that the last wife dwel- leth vpon the East frontier: and one of the said ladies courts is distant from another about a stoncs cast. Where vpon the court of one rich Moal or Tatar will appeare like vnto a great village, very few men abiding in the same. One woman will guide 20. or 30. cartes at once, for their coun- tries are very plaine, and they binde the cartes with camels or oren, one behind another. And there sittes a wench in the foremost carte vziuing the oren, and al the residue follow on a like pace. When they chance to come at any bad passage, they let them loose, and guide them ouer one by one: for they goe a slowe pace, as fast as a lambe or an oxe can walke.

The benefite of a painter in strange countreys.

Of their beds, and of their drinking pots. Chap. 3.

Having taken downe their houses from off their cartes, and turning the doozes Southward, they place the bed of the master of the house, at the North part thereof. The womens place is alwayes on the East side, namely on the left hand of the good man of the house sitting vpon his bed with his face Southwards: but the mens place is vpon y West side, namely at the right hand of their master. When they enter into the house, wil not in any case hang their quiers on the

the womens side. Over the masters head there is alwayes an image, like a puppet, made of felte, which they call the masters brother: and another ouer the head of the good wife or mistresse, which they call her brother being fastened to the wall: and aboue betwene both of them, there is a litle leane one, which is, as it were the keeper of the whole houle. The good wife or mistresse of the house placeth aloft at her beds scete, on the right hand, the skinne of a Kidde stuffed with wooll or some other matter, and neare vnto that a litle image of puppet looking towards the maidens and women. Next vnto the dooze also on the womens side, there is another image with a cowes vdder, for the women that milke the kine, for it is the duety of their women to milke kine. On the other side of the dooze next vnto the men, there is another image with the vdder of a mare, for the men which milke mates. And when they come together to drinke and make merie, they spynckle parte of their drinke vpon the image which is aboue the masters head: afterward vpon other images in order: then goeth a seruant out of the house with a cuppe full of drinke spynckling it thise towards the South, and bowing his knee at euery time: and this is done for the honour of the fire. Then performeth he the like superstitious idolatrie towards the East, for the honour of the ayre: and then to the West for the honour of the water: & lastly to the North in the behalfe of the dead. When the maister holdeth a cuppe in his hande to drinke, befoze he tasteth thereof, hee powzeth his part vpon the ground. If he drinkech sitting on horse backe, hee powzeth out part thereof vpon the necke or maine of his horse befoze hee himselfe drinkech. After the seruant aforesaide hath so discharged his cuppes to the fower quarters of the worlde, hee returneth into the house: and two other seruants stand ready with two cuppes, and two balons, to carrie drinke vnto their master and his wife, sitting together vpon a bed. And if he hath moze wiues then one, she with whome hee slept the night befoze, sitteth by his side the daye following: and all his other wiues must that day resort vnto the same house to drinke: and there is the court holden for that day: the giftes also which are presented that daye are layd vp in the chests of the layd wife, And vpon a bench stands a vessell of milke or of other drinke and drinkeing cuppes.

Of their drinckes, and how they prouoke one another to drinking. *Chap. 4.*

In winter time they make excellent drinke of Rife, of Pill, and of horie, being well and high coloured like wine. Also they haue wine brought vnto them from farre countries. In summer time they care not for any drinke, but Cosmos. And it standeth alwayes within the entrance of his dooze, and nere vnto it stands a minstrell with his fidele. If sawe there no such citerens and vials as ours commonly be, but many other musicall instruments which are not used among vs. And when the master of the house begins to drinke, one of his seruants cryeth out with a lowde voice H A, and the minstrell playes vpon his fidele. And when they make any great sollemne feast, they all of them clap their hands & daunce to the noyle of musique, the men befoze their master and the women befoze their mistresse. And when the master hath drunke, then cries out his seruant as befoze, and the minstrell stayeth his musique. Then drinke they all around both men and women: and sometimes they carowse for the victozy very filthily and drunkenly. Also when they will prouoke any man, they pul him by the eares to the drinke, and so lug and draw him strongly to stretch out his throate clapping their handes and dauncing befoze him. Hozeouer when some of them will make great feasting and reioycing, one of the company takes a full cuppe, and two other stand, one on his right hand and another on his left, and so they three come singing to the man who is to haue the cuppe reached vnto him, still singing and dauncing befoze him: and when he stretcheth forth his hand to receiue the cuppe, they leape suddenly backe, returning againe as they did befoze, and so hauing deluded him thrice or fower times by drawing backe the cuppe vntill he be merie, and hath gotten a good appetite, then they giue him the cuppe, singing and dauncing and stamping with their feete, vntill he hath done drinkeing.

Of their foode and victuals. *Chap. 5.*

Concerning their foode and victuals, be it knowen vnto your Highnesse that they do, without difference or exception, eat all their dead carrions. And amongst so many dooues it cannot be, but some cattell must needes die. Howbeit in summer, so long as their Cosmos, that is, their mates milke tasteth, they care not for any foode. And if they chance to haue an ore or an horse dye, they drie the flesh thereof: for cutting it into thin slices and hanging it vp against the Sunne and the wind, it is presently dried without sale, and also without stenche or corruption. They make

They vse the
like custome
in Florida.

Drying of flesh
in the wind.

make better puddings of their hoyle's then of their hogs, which they eate being new made: the rest of the flesh they reserve vntill winter. They make of their ore skins great bladders or bags, which they doe wonderfully dry in the smoake. Of the hinder part of their hoyle hides they make very fine sandals & pantofles. They giue vnto 50. or an 100. men the flesh of one ram to eat. For they mince it in a bowle with salt and water (other sauce they haue none) and then with the point of a knife, or a litle forke which they make for the same purpose (such as wee vse to take roasted peares or apples out of wine withal) they reach vnto euery one of the company a morsell or twaine, according to the multitude of guesstes. The master of the house, before the rams flesh be distributed, first of all himselfe taketh thereof, what he pleaseth. Also, if he giueth vnto any of the company a speciall part, the receiuer therof must eat it alone, and must not impart ought therof vnto any other. Not being able to eate it by all, he carries it with him, or deliuerit vnto his boy, if he be present, to keepe it: if not, he puts it vp into his Saptargat, that is to say, his foure square buget, which they vse to carry about with them for the sauing of all such prouision, and wherein they lay by their bones, when they haue not time to gnaw them througely, that they may burnish them after ward, to the end that no whit of their food may come to nought.

How they make their drinke called *Cosmos*. Chap. 6.

Their drinke called *Cosmos*, which is mares milke, is prepared after this maner. They fasten along line vnto 2. posts standing firmly in the ground, & vnto the same line they tie the young soles of those mares, which they mean to milke. Then come the dams to stand by their soles gently suffering themselves to be milked. And if any of them be too unruly, then one takes her sole, & puts it vnder her, letting it suck a while, and presently carrying it away againe, there comes another man to milke the said mare. And hauing gotten a good quantity of this milke together (being as sweet as cowes milke) while it is newe they powre it into a great bladder or bag, and they beat the said bag with a piece of wood made for the purpose, hauing a club at the lower ende like a mans head, which is hollow within: and so soone as they beat vpon it, it begins to boile like newe wine, & to be sower and sharpe of taste, and they beate it in that maner till butter come thereof. Then taste they thereof, and being indifferently sharpe they drinke it: for it bitech a mans tongue like the wine of raspes, when it is drunk. After a man hath taken a draught therof, it leaueth behind it a taste like the taste of almond milke, and goeth downe very pleasantly, intoxicating weakc haines: also it causech vaine to be auoied in great measure. Like wise Caracosmos, that is to say black *Cosmos*, for great lords to drinke, they make on this maner. First they beat the said milke so long till the thickest part thereof descend right downe to the bottome like the lees of white wine, and that which is thin and pure remaineth aboue, being like vnto whay or white must. The said lees or dregs being very white, are giuen to seruants, and will cause them to sleepe exceedingly. That which is thinne and cleare their masters drinke: and in very deed it is maruellous sweete and hole some liqour. Duke Baacu hath thirty cottages or granges within a daies journey of his abiding place: euery one of which serueth him daily with the Caracosmos of an hundred mares milke, and so all of them together euery day with the milke of 3000. mares, besides white milke which other of his subiects bring. For euen as the husbandmen of Syria bestow the third part of their fruites and carie it vnto the courts of their lords, euen so doe they their mares milke euery third day. Out of these cowes milke they first churme butter, boyling the which butter vnto a perfect decoction, they put it into rams skines, which they reserve for the same purpose. Neither doe they salte their butter: and yet by reason of the long seeching, it putrifiech not: and they keepe it in store for winter. The churmilke which remaineth of the butter, they let alone till it be as soure as possibly it may be, then they boile it and in boiling, it is turned all into curdes, which curds they drie in the sun, making them as hard as the drosse of iron: and this kind of food also they store vp in sachel's against winter. In the winter season when milke faileth them, they put the foresaid curds (which they cal *Gry-ve*) into a bladder, and pouring hot water thereinto, they beat it lustily till they haue resolved it into the said water, which is thereby made exceedingly soure, and that they drinke in stead of milke. They are very scrupulous, and take diligent heed that they drinke not fayre water by it selfe.

Of the beastes which they eat, of their garments, and of their maner of hunting. Chap. 7.

Great lords haue cottages or granges towards the South, from whence their tenants bring them Millet and meale against winter. The poozer sort provide themselves of such necessaries, for exchange of rams, & of other beastes skins. The Tartars slaues fill their bellies with thick water, & are therewithall contented. They wil neither eate mife with long taitles, nor any kinde of mife with thoyr taitles. They haue also certaine litle beastes called by the Sogur, which lie in a caine

twenty or thirty of them together, at the whole winter sleeping there for the space of six moneths: and these they take in great abundance. There are also a kind of conies having long tayles like vnto cats: & on the outside of their tayles grow blacke & white haire. They haue many other small beasts good to eat, which they know and discern right well. I saw no Deere there, & but a few hare, but a great number of Rabbits. I saw wild asses in great abundance, which be like vnto Hyles. Also I saw another kind of beast called Arrak, hauing in al resemblance the body of a ram, & crooked hornes, which are of such bignes, that I could scarce lift by a paire of them with one hand: & of these hornes they make great drinking cups. They haue Falcons, Gierfalcons, & other haukes in great plenty: all which they carry vpon their right hands: & they put alwaies about their Falcons necks a string of leather, which hangeth down to the middell of their gorges, by the which string, when they call them off the fist at their game, with their left hand they bow downe the heads & breasts of the sayd haukes, least they should be tossed vp & downe, & beaten with the wind, or least they should soare too high. Wherefore they get a great part of their victuals, by hunting & hauking. Concerning their garments and attire by it knowen vnto your Maiestie, that out of Cataya & other regions of the East, out of Persia also and other countries of the South, there are brought vnto them stufes of silke, cloth of gold, & cotton cloth, which they weare in time of summer. But out of Russia, Moxel, Bulgaria the greater, & Pascarir, that is Hungaria the greater, and out of Kerfis (all which are Northern regions & full of woods) & also out of many other countries of the North, which are subiect vnto them, the inhabitants bring them rich and costly skins of diuers sortes (which I neuer saw in our countries) where withal they are clad in winter. And alwaies against winter they make themselves two gownes, one with the fur inward to their skin, & another with the furre outward, to defend them from wind & snow, which for the most part are made of woodues skins, or Fox skins, or els of Hapions. And when they sit within the house, they haue a finer gowne to weare. The poorer sort make their vpper gowne of dogs or of goats skins. When they goe to hunt for wild beasts, there meets a great company of them together, & inuironing the place round about, where they are sure to find some game, by litle & litle they approach on al sides, til they haue gotten the wild beasts into the middell, as it were into a circle, & then they discharge their arrowes at them. Also they make themselves breeches of skins. The rich Tartars somtimes fur their gownes with pelluce or silke shag, which is exceeding soft, light, & warme. The poorer sort do line their clothes with cott cloth which is made of the finest wooll they can pick out, & of the outer part of the said wooll, they make felt to cover their houses and their chests, and for their bedding also. Of the same wooll, being mixed with one third part of horse haire, they make all their cordage. They make also of the said felt coverings for their stooles, and caps to defende their heads from the weather: for all which purposes they spend a great quantity of their wooll. And thus much concerning the attyre of the men.

Our falconers use the left fist. Another strange custome, which I leane to be scanned by falconers themselves.

Great expence of wooll.

Of the fashion which the *Tartars* vse in cutting their haire, and of the attire of their women. *Chap. 8.*

The men haue a plot foure square vpon the crownes of their heads, and from the two foremost corners they haue, as it were, two seames downe to their temples: they haue also their temples and the hinder part of their head euen vnto the nape of the necke: likewise they haue the forepart of their scalp downe to their foreheads, & vpon their foreheads they leaue a locke of hayre reaching downe vnto their eye browes: vpon the two hindermost corners of their heads, they haue two lockes also, which they twine and braid into knots and so bind and knit them vnder each eare one. Moreover their womens garments differ not from their mens, sauing that they are somewhat longer. But on the morrowe after one of their women is married, she shaues her scalp from the middell of her head down to her forehead, & weares a wide garment like vnto the hood of a Nunne, yea larger and longer in all parts then a Nunnes hood, being open before and girt vnto them vnder the right side. For here in doe the Tartars differ from the Turkes: because the Turkes fallen their garments to their bodies on the left side: but the Tartars alwaies on the right side. They haue also an ornament for their heads which they call Borca, being made of the barke of a tree, or of some such other lighter matter as they can find, which by reason of the thic kness & roundnes thereof cannot be holden but in both hands together: & it hath a square sharp spire rising fro the top thereof, being more then a cubite in length, & fashioned like vnto a pinacle. The said Borca they couer al ouer with a piece of rich silke: & it is hollow within: & vpon the middell of the sayd spire or square toppe, they put a bunch of quills or of slender canes a cubite long and more: & the sayd bunch, on the top thereof, they beautifie with Peacocks feathers, & round about al the length thereof, with the feathers of a Pardals tail, & with precious stones also. Great ladies weare this kind of ornament vpon their heads binding it strongly with a certain hat or cappe, which hath an hole in the crowne, fit for the spire to come

come through it: & vnder the foresaid ornament they couer the haire of their heads, which they gather by round together frō the hinder part thereof to the crowne, & so lay them by in a knoc or bundle within the said Boita, which afterward they bind strongly vnder their throates. Hereupon when a great company of such gentlewomen ride together, and are beheld a far off, they seem to be soundiers with helmes on their heads carrying their launces vpright: for the said Boita appeareth like an helmet with a launce ouer it. At their women sit on horsebacke bestriding their horses like men: & they bind their hoods or gownes about their waistes with a skie coloured silke skarfe, & with another skarfe they girde it about their breasts: & they bind also a piece of white silke like a muffler or maske vnder their eyes, reaching down vnto their breast. These gentlewomen are exceeding fat, & the lesser their noses be, the fairer are they esteemed: they daube ouer their sweet faces with greafe too shamefully: and they neuer lie in bed for their trauel of childbirth.

Of the duties inioined vnto the Tartarian women, and of their labours, and also of their mariages. Chap. 9.

The duties of women are, to daine cares: to lay their houses vpon carts & to take them downe againe: to milke kine: to make bucker & Gry-vt: to dresse skins & to sow them, which they vsually sowe with thread made of sinewes, for they diuide sinewes into slender threads, & then twine the into one long thread. They make sandals & locks & other garments. Howbeit they neuer wash any apparel: for they say that God is then angry, & that deadly thunder wil ensue, if washed garments be hanged forth to drie: yea, they beat such as wash, & take their garments frō them. They are wonderfully afraid of thunder: for in the time of thunder they thrust all strangers out of their houses, & then wrapping themselves in black felt, they lie hidden therein, til the thunder be ouerpast. They neuer wash their dishes or bowles: yea, when their flesh is sodden, they wash the platter wherein it must be put, with scalding hot broth out of the pot, & then polye the said broth into the pot againe. They make felte also, & couer their houses therewith. The duties of the men are to make bowes & arrowes, stirrops, bydles, and saddles: to build houses & carts, to keepe horses: to milke mares: to churne Cosmos and mares milke, & to make bags wherein to put it: they keepe camels alwaies & lay burthens vpon them. As for sheepe & goates they tend and milke them, as well the men as the women. Which sheeps milke thicked & salted they dresse and tan their hides. When they wil wash their hands or their heads, they fill their mouthes full of water, & spouting it into their hands by little and little, they spynckle their haire & wash their heades therewith. As touching mariages, your Highnes is to vnderstand, that no man can haue a wife among them till he hath bought her: whereupon sometimes their maids are very stale before they be married, for their parents alwaies keepe the till they can sel them. They keepe the first and second degrees of consanguinitie inuolable, as we do: but they haue no regard of the degrees of affinity: for they wil marrie together, or by succession, two sisters. Their widows marie not at al, for this reason: because they beleue, that al who haue serued them in this life, shall do them seruice in the life to come also. Whereupon they are perswaded, that euery widow after death shall returne vnto her owne husband. And here hence ariseth an abominable & filthy custome among them, namely that the sonne marrieth sometimes all his fathers wiues except his owne mother: for of the court or house of the father or mother falleth by inheritance alwaies to the ponger son. Whereupon he is to prouide for all his fathers wiues, because they are part of his inheritance as well as his fathers possessions. And then if he will he vseth them for his owne wiues: for he thinks it no iniurie or disparagement vnto himselfe, although they returne vnto his father after death. Therfore whē any man hath bargained with another for a maid, the father of the said damosel makes him a feast: in the meane while she flecth vnto some of her kinsfolks to hide her selfe. Then saith her father vnto the bydegrome: Loe, my daughter is yours, take her where soeuer you can find her. Then he and his friends seek for her till they can find her, and hauing found her hee must take her by force and carry her, as it were, violently vnto his owne house.

Of their execution of iustice and iudgement: and of their deaths and burials. Chap. 10.

Concerning their lawes or their execution of iustice, your Highnes is to be aduertised, that when two men fight, no third man dare intrude himself to part them. Yea, the father dare not help his owne sonne. But he that goes by the worst must appeale vnto the court of his lord. And who soeuer els offereth him any violence after appeale, is put to death. But he must go presently without all delay: and he that hath suffered the iniury, carrieth him, as it were captiue. They punish no man with sentence of death, vnles hee bee taken in the deed doing, or confesseth the same. But being accused by the multitude, they put him vnto extreame torture to make him confesse the cruety. They punish murder with death, and carnall copulation also with any

other besides his owne. By his own, I meane his wife or his maid seruant, for he may vse his slaue as he listeth himself. Vicious theft also or felony they punish with death. If of a light theft, as namely for stealing of a ram, the party (not being apprehended in the deed doing, but otherwise detected) is cruelly beaten. And if the executioner laies on an 100. strokes, he must haue an 100. stauces, namely for such as are beaten vpon sentence giuen in the court. Also counterfeite messengers, because they feine themselves to be messengers, when as indeed they are none at all, they punish with death. Sacrilegious persons they vse in like maner (of which kind of malefactours your Maiesty shall vnderstand moze fully hereafter) because they esteeme such to be witches. When any man dieth, they lament & howle most pitifully for him: & the said mourners are free from paying any tribute for one whole yeare after. Also whosocuer is present at the house where any one growen to mans estate lieth dead, he must not enter into the court of Mangu-Can til one whole yere be expired. If it were a child deceased he must not enter into the said court til the next moneth after. Neere vnto the graue of the partie deceased they alwaies leaue one cottage. If any of their nobles (being of the Gokot Chingis, who was their first lord & father) deceaseth, his sepulcher is unknowen. And alwayes a-hor those places where they interre their nobles, there is one house of men to keep the sepulchers. I could not learn that they vse to hide treasures in the graues of their dead. The Comaniás build a great toomb ouer their dead, & erect the image of the dead party thereupon, with his face towards the East, holding a drinking cup in his hand, before his nauel. They erect also vpon the monuments of rich men, Pyramides, that is to say, little sharpe houses or pinnacles: & in some places I saw mighty towers made of brick, in other places Pyramides made of stones, albeit there are no stones to be found thereabout. I saw one newly buried, in whose behalfe they hanged by 16. horse hides, vnto each quarter of the world 4, betweene certain high posts: & they set besides his graue Cosmos for him to drink, & flesh to eat: & yet they sayd that he was baptizd. I beheld other kinds of sepulchers also towards the East: namely large flowres or pauements made of stone, some round & some square, & then 4. long stones pitched vpright, about the said pauement towards the 4. regions of the world. When any man is sicke, he lieth in his bed, & causeth a signe to be set vpon his house, to signifie that there lieth a sicke person there, to the end that no man may enter into the sayd house: whereupon none at all visite any sicke party but his seruant only. Howouer, when any one is sicke in their great courts, they appoint w. schynen to stand round about the said court, who wil not suffer any person to enter within the precincts thereof. For they feare least euill spirits or winds should come together with the parties that enter in. They esteeme of soothsayers, as of their priests.

Of our first entrance among the *Tartars*, and of their ingratitude. *Chap. II.*

And being come amongst those barbarous people, me thought (as I said before) that I was entred into a new world: for they came flocking about vs on horse back, after they had made vs a long tyme to waite for them sitting in the shadow, vnder their black carts. The first question which they demanded was whether we had euer bin with them here tofore, or no: And giuing the answer that we had not, they began impudently to beg our victuals fro vs. And we gaue them some of our bisccket & wine, which we had brought with vs from the towne of Soldaia. And hauing drunke off one flaggon of our wine they demanded another, saying, that a man goeth not into the house with one foote. Howbeit we gaue them no more, excusing our selues that we had but a litle. Then they asked vs, whence we came, & whither we were bound: I answered them with the words aboue mentioned: that we had heard concerning duke Sartach, that he was become a Christian, & that vnto him our determination was to trauel, hauing your Maiesties letters to deliuer vnto him. They were very inquisitiue to know whether I came of mine own accord, or whether I were sent: I answered that no man compelled me to come, neither had I come, vnles I my selfe had bin willing: & that therefore I was come according to mine own wil, & to the will of my superiour. I tooke diligent heed neere to say that I was your Maiesties ambassadoz. Then they asked what I had in my carts; whether it were gold or siluer, or rich garments to carie vnto Sartach: I answered that Sartach should see what we had brought, when we were once come vnto him, & that they had nothing to do to aske such questions, but rather ought to conduct me vnto their capitaine, and that he, if he thought good, should cause me to be directed vnto Sartach: if not, that I would returne. For there was in the same prouince one of Baatu his kinsmen called Scacati, vnto whom my lord the Emperoz of Constantinople had written letters of request, to suffer me to passe through his territory. With this answer of ours they were satisfied, giuing vs horses & oxen, & two men to conduct vs. Howbeit before they would allow vs the foze sayd necessaries for our iourney, they made vs to awayt a long while, begging our bread for their pong bzats, wondering at all things which they sawe about our seruants, as their knives, gloves, purses, & points, and desiring to haue them. I excused my selfe that

we had a long way to trauel, & that we must in no wise so soon deprive our selues of things necessary, to finish so long a iourney. Then they said that I was a very varlet. True it is, that they tooke nothing by force from me: howbeit they will beg that which they see very importunately & shamelessly. And if a man bestow ought vpon the, it is but cost lost, for they are thankles wretches. They esteeme themselves lords & think y nothing should be denied the by any man. If a man giues them nought, & afterward stands in neede of their seruice, they will do right nought for him. They gaue vs of their cowes milke to drinke after y butter was churmed out of it, being very sower, which they cal Apram. And so we departed from the. And in verie deed it seemed to me y we were escaped out of the hands of diuels. On the morrow we were come vnto the captain. From the time wherein we departed from Soldaia, till we arrived at the court of Sarrach, which was the space of two moneths, we neuer lay in house or tent, but alwaies vnder the starry canopy, & in the open aire, or vnder our carts. Neither yet saw we any village, nor any mentio[n] of building where a village had bin, but the graues of the Comanians in great abundance. The same euening our guide which had conducted vs, gaue vs some Cosmos. After I had drunke therof I sweat most extremely for the nouelty and strangenes, because I neuer dranke of it before. Notwithstanding me thought it was very sauoy, as indeed it was.

Of the court of Scacatai: and how the Christians drinke no Cosmos. Chap. 12.

On the morrowe after we met with the cartes of Scacatai laden with houses, and me thought that a mighty citie came to meete me. I wodered also at the great multitude of huge ounces of oxen, & horses, and at the flocks of sheepe. I could see but a fewe men that guided all these matters: whereupon I inquired how many men he had vnder him, & they told me that he had not aboue 500. in all, the one halfe of which number we were come past, as they lay in another lodging. Then the seruant which was our guide told me, that I must present somwhat vnto Scacatai: & so he caused vs to stay, going himselfe before to giue notice of our comming. By this time it was past three of the clocke, and they vnladed their houses nere vnto a certain water: And there came vnto vs his interpreter, who being aduertised by vs that wee were neuer there before, demanded some of our victuals, & we peebled vnto his request. Also he required of vs some garment for a reward, because he was to interpret our sayings vnto his master. Howbeit we excused our selues as well as wee could. Then he asked vs, what we would present vnto his Lord: And we tooke a flagon of wine, & filled a maund with bisket, & a platter with apples & other fruits. But he was not contented therewith, because we brought him not some rich garment. Notwithstanding we entred so into his presence with feare and bashfulness. We sate vpon his bed holding a citron in his hand, and his wife sate by him: who (as I verily thinke) had cut and pared her nose betweene the eyes, that she might seeme to be more flat and saddle-nosed: for she had left her selfe no nose at all in that place, hauing annointed the very same place with a black ointment, and her eye browes also: which sight seemed most ugly in our eies. Then I rehearsed vnto him the same wordes, which I had spoken in other places before. For it stode vs in hand to vse one and the same speech in all places. For we were well forewarned of this circumstance by some which had been amongst the Tartars, that we should neuer varie in our tale. Then I besought him, that he would vouchsafe to accept that small gifte at our hands, excusing my selfe that I was a Donke, and that it was against our profession to possesse gold, or siluer, or precious garments, and therefore that I had not any such thing to giue him, howbeit he should receiue some part of our victuals in stead of a blessing. Whereupon he caused our present to be receiued, and immediately distributed the same among his men, who were mette together for the same purpose, to drinke and make merrie. I deliuered also vnto him the Emperoz of Constantinople his letters (this was eight dayes after the feast of Ascension) who sent them forth with to Soldaia to haue them interpreted there: for they were written in Grecke, and he had none about him that was skillfull in the Greeke tongue. We asked vs also whether we would drinke any Cosmos, that is to say in ares milke: (For those that are Christians among them, as namely the Russians, Grecians, and Alanians, who keep their own law very strictly, wil in no case drinke thereof, yea, they accompt themselves no Christians after they haue once drunke of it, & their priests reconcile them vnto the Church as if they had renouced the Christian faith.) I gaue him answer, that we had as yet sufficient of our owne to drinke, and that when our drinke failed vs, we must be constrained to drinke such as should be giuen vnto vs. We enquired also what was contained in our letters, which your Paicstie sent vnto Sarrach? I answered: that they were sealed by, and that there was nothing contained in them, but good and friendly wordes. And he asked what wordes wee would deliuer vnto Sarrach? I answered: the wordes of Christian faith. We asked again what these wordes were: For he was very desirous to heare the. Then I expounded vnto him as well as I

It cameat right
worthy the
noting.

could, by mine interpreter, (who had no wit nor any utterance of speech) the Apostles creed. Which after he had heard, holding his peace, he shooke his head. Then hee assigned vnto vs two men, who shoulde giue attendance vpon our selues, vpon our horses, and vpon our Oren. And hee caused vs to ride in his companie, till the messenger whome hee had sent for the interpretation of the Emperours letters, was returned. And so wee traueiled in his companie till the morrow after Pentecost.

Howe the Alanians came vnto vs on Pentecost or Whitson euen. *Chap. 13.*

Vpon the euen of Pentecost, there came vnto vs certaine Alanians, who are there called ^{* Or, Akas.} Acias, being Christians after the maner of the Grecians, vsing greeke bookes and Grecian priests: howbeit they are not schismaticques as the Grecians are, but without acceptis of persons, they honour al Christians. And they brought vnto vs sodden flesh, requesting vs to eat of their meat, and to pray for one of their company being dead. Then I sayd, because it was the euen of so great and so solemne a feast day, that we would not eat any flesh for that time. And I expounded vnto them the solemnitie of the sayd feast, whereat they greatly reioyced: for they were ignozant of all things appertaining to Christian religion, except only the name of Christ. They and many other Christians, both Russians, and Hungarians demanded of vs, whether they might be saued or no, because they were constrained to drinke Cosmos, & to eat the dead carcales of such things, as were slaine by the Saracens, and other infidels: Which euen the Greeke & Russian priests themselves also esteeme as things strangled or offered vnto idoles: because they were ignozant of the times of fasting, neither could they haue obserued them albeit they had knowen them. Then instructed I them as well as I could and strengthened them in the faith. As for the flesh which they had brought we reserued it vntill the feast day. For there was nothing to be sold among the Tartars for gold & siluer, but only for cloth and garments, of the which kind of merchandise wee had none at all. When our seruants offered them any coine called Yperpera, they rubbed it with their fingers, and put it vnto their noses, to try by the smell whether it were copper or no. Neither did they allow vs any foode but cowes milke onely which was very lowze & filthy. There was one thing most necessary greatly wanting vnto vs, for the water was so foule and muddy by reason of their horses, that it was not meete to be drunk. And but for certaine biscet, which was by the goodnes of God remaining vnto vs, we had vndoubtedly perished.

Cloth is the
chiefe marchā.
sile in Tartarie.

Of a Saracen which said that he would be baptized: and of certaine men which seemed to be lepers. *Chap. 14.*

Vpon the day of Pentecost there came vnto vs a certain Saracen, vnto whome, as hee talked with vs, we expounded the Christian faith. Who (hearing of Gods benefits exhibited vnto mankind by the incarnation of our Saviour Christ, and the resurrection of the dead, & the iudgement to come, & that in baptilme was a washing away of sinnes) sayd, that hee would be baptized. But when we prepared our selues to the baptizing of him, he suddenly mounted on horsebacke, saying that he would goe home and consult with his wife what were best to be done. And on the morrow after he told vs, that he durst in no case receiue baptilme, because then he should drinke no more Cosmos. For the Christians of that place affirme that no true Christians ought to drinke thereof: and that without the said liqour he could not liue in that desert. From which opinion, I could not for my life remoue him. Wherefore be it knowen of a certainty vnto your highnes, that they are much estranged from the Christian faith by reason of that opinion which hath bin broached & confirmed among them by the Russians, of whom there is a great multitude in that place. The same day Scacaray the captaine aforesayd gaue vs one man to conduct vs to Sartach, and two other to guide vs vnto the next lodging, which was distant from that place five dayes iourney for oren to trauell. They gaue vnto vs also a goate for victuals, and a great many bladders of cowes milke, & but a little Cosmos, because it is of so great estimation among them. And so taking our iourney directly toward the North, me thought that wee had passed through one of hell gates. The seruants which conducted vs began to play the bold theeues with vs, seeing vs take so little heed vnto our selues. At length hauing lost much by their theeuery, harime taught vs wisdome. And then we came vnto the extremity of that prouince, which is fortified with a ditch from one sea vnto another: without the bounds wherof their lodging was situate. Into the which, so sooue as we had entred, al the inhabitants there seemed vnto vs to be infected with leprosie: for certain base fellows were placed there to receiue tribute of al such as tooke salt out of the salt pits aforesaid. From that place

Salt pits.

they

they told vs that we must trauele fifteen daies iourney, before we should find any other people. With them wee thanke Cosmos, and gaue vnto them a basket full of fruites and of biscet. And they gaue vnto vs eight oxen and one goate, to sustaine vs in so great a iourney, and I knowe not how many bladders of milke. And so changing our oxen, we tooke our iourney which we finished in tenne dayes, arriuing at another lodging: neither found we any water all that way, but onely in certaine ditches made in the valleyes, except two small riuers. And from the tittle wherein wee departed out of the foresaid prouince of Casaria, we traualled directly Eastward, hauing a Sea on the South side of vs, and a waste desert on the North, which desert, in some places, reacheth twenty dayes iourney in breadth, and there is neither tree, mountaine, nor stone therein. And it is most excellent pasture. Here the Comanians, which were called Caphac, were wont to feede their cattell. Howbeit by the Dutch men they are called Valani, and the prouince it selfe Valania. But Ildore calleth all that tract of land stretching from the riuer of Tanais to the lake of Meotis, and so along as farre as Danubius, the countrey of Alania. And the same land continueth in length from Danubius vnto Tanais (which diuideth Asia from Europe) for the space of two moneths iourney, albeit a man should ride poste as fast as the Tartars vse to ride: and it was all ouer inhabited by the Comanians, called Caphac: yea and beyond Tanais, as farre as the riuer of Edil or Volga: the space betwene the two which riuers is a great and long iourney to bee traualled in ten dayes. To the North of the same prouince lieth Russia, which is full of wood in all places, and stretcheth from Polonia and Hungaria, euen to the riuer of Tanais: and it hath bene wasted all ouer by the Tartars, and as yet is daily wasted by them.

Ten dayes iourney.

The length of Comania.

Russia.

Of our afflictions which we sustained: and of the Comanians maner of buriall. Chap. 15.

They preferre the Saracens before the Russians, because they are Christians, and when they are able to giue them no more golde nor silver, they dye them and their children like flockes of sheepe into the wilderness, constraining them to keepe their cattell there. Beyond Russia lieth the countrey of Prussia, which the Dutch knights of the order of Saint Maries hospitall of Ierusalem haue of late wholly conquered and subdued. And in very deede they might easily winne Russia, if they would put to their helping hand. For if the Tartars should but once know, that the great Priest, that is to say, the Pope did raise the ensigne of the crosse to bee displayed against them, they would flee all into their desert and solitarie places. We therefore went on towards the East, seeing nothing but heauen and earth, and sometimes the sea on our right hand, called the Sea of Tanais, and the sepulchres of the Comanians, which appeared vnto vs two leagues off, in which places they were wont to burie their kinred altogether. So long as we were traueiling through the desert, it went reasonably well with vs. For I cannot sufficiently expresse in words the irkesome and tedious troubles which I sustained, when I came at any of their places of abode. For our guide would haue vs goe in vnto euery Captaine with a present, and our expenses would not extend so farre. For we were euery day eight persons of vs spending our waifaring prouision, for the Tartars seruants would all of them eate of our victuals. We our selues were five in number, and the seruants our guides were three, two to drive our carts, and one to conduct vs vnto Sacrach. The flesh which they gaue vs was not sufficient for vs: neither could we finde any thing to be bought for our money. And as we sat vnder our carts in the coole shadowe, by reason of the extreame and vehement heate which was there at that time, they did so importunately and shamelesly intrude themselues into our companie, that they would euen tread vpon vs, to see whatfoeuer things we had. Pausing list at any time to ease themselves, the filthy lozels had not the maners to withdraue themselves farther from vs, then a beane can bee cast. Yea, like vile slouens they would lay their tails in our presence, while they were yet talking with vs: many other things they committed, which were most tedious and loathsome vnto vs. But aboue all things it grieued me to the very heart, that when I would utter ought vnto them, which might tend to their edification, my foolish interpreter would say: you shall not make me become a Preacher now: I tell you, I cannot nor I will not rehearse any such wordes. And true it was which he saide, For I perceiued after ward, when I began to haue a litle smattering in the language, that when I spake one thing, he would say quite another, whatsoeuer came next vnto his witlesse tongues end. Then seeing the danger I might incurre in speaking by such an interpreter, I resolved much rather to holde my peace, and thus we traueiled with great toile from lodging to lodging, till at the length, a fewe dayes before the feast of Saint Marie Magdalene, we arriued at the banke of the mightie riuer Tanais which diuideth Asia from Europa, euen as the riuer Nilus of Egypt disioyneth Asia from Africa. At the same place where wee arriued, Baatu and Sartach did cause a certaine cot-

Prussia.

Extreame heate in Sommer.

Tanais.

cage to be built, vpon the Gallerne banke of the riuer, for a companie of Ruffians to dwell in & to the ende they might tranſpoſe Ambaſſadours and merchants in ferrie-boates ouer that part of the riuer. Firſt they ferried vs ouer, and then our carts, putting one wheele into one ſpiter, and the other wheele into another ſpiter, hauing bounde both the ſpitters together, and ſo they prowe them ouer. In this place our guide played the foolle moſt extrimely. For hee imagining that the ſaid Ruffians, dwelling in the cottages, ſhould haue prouided vs horſes, ſent home the beaſts which we brought with vs, in another cart, & they might returne vnto their owne maſters. And when we demaunded to haue ſome beaſts of the, they answered, that they had a priuiledge from Baatu, wherby they were bound to none other ſeruiſe, but only to ferry ouer goods & commers: and that they receiued great tribute of marchants in regard therof. We ſtaid therfore by the ſaid riuer ſide three daies. The firſt day they gaue vnto vs a great freſh turbut: the ſecond day they beſtowed rye bread, and a litle fleſh vpon vs, which the parriſcyer of the village had taken by at euerie houſe for vs: and the third day dyed fiſhes, which they haue there in great abundance. The ſaide riuer was euen as broad in that place, as the riuer of Sein is at Paris. And beſoze we came there, we paſſed ouer many goodly waters, and full of fiſh: howbeit the barbarous and rude Tartars know not how to take them: neither do they make any reckoning of any fiſh, except it be ſo great, that they may pay vpon the fleſh therof, as vpon the fleſh of a ram. This riuer is the limite of the Eaſt part of Ruffia, and it ſpringeth out of the ſennes of Maoris, which ſennes ſtrech vnto the North Ocean. And it runneth Southward into a certain great ſea 700. miles about, beſoze it fallerh into the ſea called Pórus Euxinus. And al the riuers, which we paſſed ouer, ran with full ſtream into thoſe quarters. The ſoze ſaid riuer hath great ſtoze of wood alſo growing vpon the Weſt ſide thereof. Beyond this place the Tartars aſcend no farther vnto the North: for at that ſeaſon of the yere, about the firſt of Auguſt, they begin to returne backe vnto the South. And therfore there is another cottage ſomewhat lower, where paſſengers are ferried ouer in Winter time. And in this place wee were dyuen to great extrimity, by reaſon that we could get neither horſes, nor oren for any money. At length, after I had declared vnto them, that my coming was to labour for the common good of all Chriſtians, they ſent vs oren & men; howbeit we our ſelues were faine to trauel on foote. At this time they were reaping their rye. Wheat proſpereth not wel in that ſoile. They haue the ſeed of Willium in great abundance. The Ruffian women attire their heads like vnto our women. They imboder their ſafeguards or gownes on the outſide, from their feet vnto their kners with particoloured or grey ſuffe. The Ruffian men weare caps like vnto the Dutch men. Alſo they weare vpon their heads certain ſharpe, & high-crowned hats made of felt, much like vnto a ſugar loafe. Then trauelled we 3. daies together, not finding any people. And when our ſelues and our oren were exceeding weaty and faine, not knowing how far off we ſhould find any Tartars, on the ſudden, there came two horſes running towards vs, which we cooke with great ioy, and our guide and interpyeter mounted vpon their backs, to ſee, how far off they could deſcry any people. At length vpon the fourth day of our iourney, hauing found ſome inhabitants, we reioyced like ſea-faring men, which had eſcaped out of a dangerous tempeſt, and had newly recouered the haven. Then hauing taken freſh horſes, and oren, we paſſed on from lodging to lodging, till at the laſt, vpon the ſecond of the Kalends of Auguſt, we arrived at the habitation of Duke Sartach himſelfe.

The breadth
of Tanais.

He is much
decreas'd.

About the be-
ginning of Au-
guſt, the Tar-
tars returne
Southward.

Of the dominion of Sartach, and of his Subjects. Chap. 16.

The region lying beyond Tanais, is a very goodly countrey, hauing ſtoze of riuers and woods toward the North part thereof. There be mighty huge woods which two ſorts of people do inhabit. One of them is called Moxel, being meere Pagans, and without law. They haue neither townes nor cities, but only cottages in y woods. Their lord & a great part of themſelues were put to the ſword in high Germanie. Wherevpon they highly commend the braue courage of the Almans, hoping as yet to be deliuered out of the bondage of the Tartars, by their meanes. If any merchant come vnto them, he muſt prouide things neceſſary for him, with whom he is firſt of all entertained, all the time of his abode among them. If any lieth with another mans wife, her husband, vnles he be an eiewitnes therof, regardeth it not: for they are not iealous ouer their wiues. They haue abundance of hogs, and great ſtoze of hony & ware, and diuers ſorts of rich & coſtly ſkins, and plenty of falcons. Next vnto them are other people called Merclas, which the Latines cal Merdui, and they are Saracens. Beyond them is the riuer of Etilia or Volga, which is y mightieſt riuer that euer I ſaw. And it iſſureth from the North part of Bulgaria the greater, & ſo trending along Southward, diſimboqueeth into a certain lake containing in circuit the ſpace of 4. moneths trauel, whereof I will ſpeak hereafter. The two ſoze ſaid riuers, namely Tanais & Etilia, otherwiſe called Volga, towards the Northzen regions throug the which we trauelled, are not diſtanc aſunder aboue 7. daies iourney,

but

The people of
Moxel are Pa-
gans.

The people
called Merdui
being Saracens.

The circuit of
the Caſpian
ſea.

but Southward they are diuided a great space one from another. For Tanais descenderth into the sea of Pontus: Etilia maketh the foresaid sea of lake, with the help of many other riuers which fall therinto out of Persia. And we had to the South of vs huge high mountaine, vpon the sides wherof, towards the said desert, doe the people called Cergis, and the Alani or Acas inhabit, who are as yet Christians, & wage warre against the Tartars. Beyond the, next vnto the sea of lake of Etilia, there are certaine Saracens called Lesgi, who are in subiection vnto the Tartars. Beyond these is Porta ferrea, or the yron gate, nowe called Derbent, which Alexander built to exclude the barbarous nations out of Persia. Concerning the situation whereof, your maiestie shall vnderstand moze about the end of this Treatise: for I trauided in my returne by the very same place. Betwene the two foresaid riuers, in the regions through the which we passed did the Comanians of olde time inhabit, before they were oucrun by the Tartars.

Kergis of Aas.

The Saracens called Lesgi.

He returned by Derbent.

Of the Court of Sartach, and of the magnificence thereof. Chap. 17.

As we found Sartach lying within three daies iourney of the riuer Etilia: whose Court seemed vnto vs to be very great. For he himselfe had sixe wiues, and his eldest sonne also had three wiues: euery one of which women hath a great house, & they haue eche one of them about 200. cartes. Our guide went vnto a certaine Nestorian named Coiac, who is a man of great authoritie in Saracens Court. He made vs to goe very farre vnto the Lozbes gate. For so they call him, who hath the office of enterreining Ambassadors. In the euening Coiac commanded vs to come vnto him. Then our guide began to enquire what we would present him withal, & was exceedingly offended, when he saw that we had nothing ready to present. We stood before him, and he sate maiestically, hauing mulicke and dauncing in his presence. Then I spake vnto him in the wordes before recited, telling him, for what purpose I was come vnto his lozbe, and requesting so much fauour at his hands, as to bring our letters vnto the sight of his Lord. I excused my selfe also, that I was a Honke, not hauing, nor receiuing, nor vsing any golde, or siluer, or any other precious thing, saue onely our bookes, and the vestimentes wherein wee serued God: and that this was the cause why I brought no present vnto him, nor vnto his Lord. For I that had abandoned mine owne goods, could not be a transport of things for other men. Then he answered very courteously, that being a Honke, and so doing, I did well: for so I should obserue my vow: neither did himselfe stand in neede of ought that we had, but rather was readie to bestow vpon vs such things as we our selues stood in neede of: and he caused vs to sit downe, and to drinke of his milke. And presently after he requested vs to say our deuotions for him: and we did so. We enquired also who was the greatest Prince among the Franckes: And I laide, the Emperour, if he could intop his owne dominions in quiet. No (quoth he) but the king of France. For he had heard of your Highnes by lord Baldwine of Henault. I found there also one of the Knights of the Temple, who had bene in Cyprus, and had made report of all things which he sawe there. Then returned wee vnto our lodging. And on the morow we sent him a flagon of Dulcabel wine (which had lasted very well in so long a iourney) and a boze full of bisket, which was most accepeable vnto him. And he kept our seruants with him for that euening. The next morning he commanded me to come vnto the Court, and to bring the kings letters and my vestimentes, and bookes with me: because his Lozbe was desirous to see them. Which we did accordingly, lading one cart with our bookes and vestimentes, and another with bisket, wine, and fruites. Then he caused all our bookes and vestimentes to be laide forth. And there stood round about vs many Tartars, Christians and Saracens on horseback. At the sight whereof, he demanded whether I would bestow all those things vpon his Lord or no: Which saying made me to tremble, and grieved me full sore. Howbeit, dissembling our griefe as well as we could, we shapd him this answer: Sir, our humble request is, that our Lozbe your master would vouchsafe to accept our bread, wine, and fruites, not as a present, because it is too meane, but as a benediction, least we should come with an emptie hand before him. And he shall see the letters of my soueraigne Lord the king, and by them he shall vnderstand for what cause we are come vnto him, and then both our selues, and all that we haue, shall stand to his curtesie: for our vestimentes be holy, and it is vnlawfull for any but Priests to touch them. Then he commanded vs to inuest our selues in the saide garments, that we might goe before his Lord: and wee did so. Then I my selfe putting on our most precious ornaments, tooke in mine armes a very faire cushion, and the Bible which your Maiestie gaue me, and a most beautifull Psalter, which the Queenes Grace bestowed vpon me, wherein there were goodly pictures. Mine associate tooke a missal and a crosse: and the cleerke hauing put on his surplesse, tooke a censer in his hand. And so wee came vnto the presence of his Lord: and they lifted by the felt hanging before his dooze, that hee might behold

Coiac the Nestorian.

behold vs. Then they caused the clearke and the interpreter thise to bow the knee: but of vs they required no such submission. And they diligently admonished vs to take heed, that in going in, and in coming out, we touched not the threshold of the house, and requested vs to sing a benediction for him. Then we entered in, singing *Salve Regina*. And within the entrance of the dooze, stood a bench with cosmes, and drinking cups thereupon. And all his wiuues were there assembled. Also the Moals of rich Tartars thrusting in with vs pressed vs close. Then Coiar caried vnto his lord the censer with incense, which he beheld very diligently, holding it in his hand. Afterward hee caried the Psalter vnto him, which he looked earnestly vpon, and his wife also that sat beside him. After that he caried the Bible: then Sartach asked if the Gospel were contained therein? *Yea* (said I) and all the holy scriptures besides. He tooke the crosse also in his hand, and demanded concerning the image, whether it were the image of Christ or no: I said it was. The Nestorians & the Armenians doe neuer make the figure of Christ vpo their crosses. Wherefore either they seem not to think wel of his passion, or els they are ashamed of it. Then he caused them that stood about vs, to stand aside, that he might more fully behold our ornaments. Afterward I deliuered vnto him your *Haistes* letters, with the translation thereof into the Arabike, & Syriake languages. For I caused them to be translated at Acon into the character, & dialect of both the saide tongues, And there were certain Armenian priests, which had skil in the Turkish & Arabian languages. The aforesaid knight also of the order of the Temple had knowledge in the Syriake, Turkish, & Arabian tongues. Then we departed forth, and put off our vestiments, and there came vnto vs certaine Scribes together with the aforesaid Coiar, & caused our letters to be interpreted. Which letters being heard, he caused our bread, wine and frutes to be received. And he permitted vs also to carie our vestiments and bookes vnto our owne lodging. This was done vpon the feast of S. Peter ad vincula.

No good consequence.

How they were giuen in charge to goe vnto Baatu the Father of Sartach. *Chap. 18.*

The next morning betimes came vnto vs a certaine Priest, who was brother vnto Coiar, requesting to haue our bore of *Chrysme*, because Sartach (as he said) was desirous to see it: and so we gaue it him. About euentide Coiar sent for vs, saying: *My lord your king wrote good words vnto my lord and master Sartach. Howbeit there are certaine matters of difficultie in them concerning which he dare not determine ought, without the aduise and counsell of his father. And therefore of necessitie you must depart vnto his father, leauing behind you the two carts, which you brought hither yester day with vestiments and bookes, in my custodie: because my lorde is desirous to take more diligent view therof. I presently suspecting what mischiefe might ensue by his countenance, said vnto him: Sir, we will not onely leaue those with you, but the two other carts also, which we haue in our possession, will we commit vnto your custodie: you shall not (quoth he) leaue those behinde you, but for the other two carts first named, we will satisfie your request. I saide that this could not conueniently be done: but needes we must leaue all with him. Then he asked, whether we meant to tarie in the land? I answered: If you thoroughly vnderstand the letters of my lorde the king, you know that we are euen so determined. Then he replied, that we ought to bee patient and lowly: and so we departed from him that euening. On the morrowe after he sent a Nestorian Priest for the carts, and we caused all the foure carts to be deliuered. Then came the aforesaid brother of Coiar to meet vs, and separated all those things, which we had brought the day before vnto the Court, from the rest, namely, the bookes and vestiments, and tooke them away with him. Howbeit Coiar had commanded, that we should carie those vestiments with vs, which wee ware in the presence of Sartach, that we might put them on before Baatu, if neede should require: but the said Priest tooke them from vs by violence, saying: thou hast brought them vnto Sartach, and wouldest thou carie them vnto Baatu? And when I would haue rendered a reason, he answered: be not talkatiue, but goe your wayes. Then I saue that there was no remedie but patience: for wee could haue no access vnto Sartach himselfe, neither was there any other, that would doe vs iustice. I was affaide also in regard of the interpreter, least he had spoken other things then I saide vnto him: for his will was good that we should haue giuen away all that wee had. There was yet one comfort remaining vnto me: for when I once perceiued their conetous intent, I conueyed from among our bookes the Bible, and the sentences, and certaine other bookes which I made speciall account of. Howbeit I durst not take away the Psalter of my soueraigne Lady the Queene, because it was too wel known, by reason of the golden pictures therein. And so we returned with the two other carts vnto our lodging. Then came he that was appointed to be our guide vnto the court of Baatu, willing vs to take our iourney in all poste-halle: vnto whom I said, that I would in no case haue the carts to goe with me. Which thing he declared vnto Coiar. Then Coiar commaun-*

ded, that we should leaue them and our seruant with him: And we did as he commanded. And so traueling directly Eastward towards Baatu, the third day we came to Ecilia of Volga: the streams whereof when I beheld, I wondered from what regions of the North such huge and mighty waters should descend. Before we were departed from Sartach, the foresaid Coiar, with many other Scribes of the court said vnto vs: doe not make report that our Lord is a Christian, but a Moal. Because the name of a Christian seemeth vnto them to be the name of some nation. So great is their pride, that albeie they beleue perhaps some things concerning Christ, yet will they not be called Christians, being desirous that their owne name, that is to say, Moal should be exalted about all other names. Neither wil they be called by the name of Tartars. For the Tartars were another nation, as I was informed by them.

They are come as farre as Volga.

The Tartars will be called Moal.

Howe Sartach, and Mangu-Can, and Ken-Can doe reuerence vnto Christians. *Chap. 19.*

At the same time when the French-men tooke Antioch, a certaine man named Con Can had dominion ouer the Northzen regions, lying thereabouts. Con is a proper name: Can is a name of authority or dignitie, which signifieth a diuiner or soothsayer. All diuiners are called Can amongst them. Whereupon their princes are called Can, because that vnto them belongeth the gouernment of the people by diuination. Wee doe reade also in the historie of Aniochia, that the Turkes sent for aide against the French-men, vnto the kingdome of Con Can. For out of those parts the whole nation of the Turkes first came. The said Con was of the nation of Kara-Catay, Kara signifieth blacke, and Catay is the name of a countrey. So that Kara-Catay signifieth the blacke Catay. This name was giuen to make a difference betwene the foresaid people, and the people of Catay, inhabiting Eastward ouer against y^e Ocean sea: concerning whom your maiesty shall vnderstand moze hereafter. These Catayans dwelt vpon certaine Alpes, by the which I traualled. And in a certain plaine countrey within those Alpes, there inhabited a Nestorian shepheard, being a mighty gouernour ouer the people called Yayman, which were Christians, following the sect of Nestorius. After the death of Con Can, the said Nestorian exalted himselfe to the kingdome, and they called him King Iohn, reporting ten times moze of him then was true. For so the Nestorians which come out of those parts, vse to doe. For they blaze abroade great rumors, and reports vpon iust nothing. Whereupon they gaue out concerning Sartach, that he was become a Christian, and the like also they reported concerning Mangu Can, and Ken Can: namely because these Tartars make moze account of Christians, then they doe of other people, and yet in very deede, themselves are no Christians. So like wise there went forth a great report concerning the said king Iohn. Howbeit, when I traualled along by his territories, there was no man that knew any thing of him, but onely a fewe Nestorians. In his pastures or territories dwelleth Ken Can, at whose Court Friar Andrew was, And I my selfe passed by it at my returne. This Iohn had a brother, being a mightie man also, and a shepheard like himselfe, called Vur, and he inhabited beyond the Alpes of Cara Catay, being distant from his brother Iohn, the space of thre weekes iourney. He was lord ouer a certain village, called Cara Carum, hauing people also for his subiects, named Crit, or Merkit, who were Christians of the sect of Nestorius. But their Lorde abandoning the worship of Christ, followed after idoles, retaining with him priests of the saide idoles, who all of them are worshippers of devils and sozcerers. Beyond his pastures some teime or fifteene dayes iourney, were the pastures of Moal, who were a poore and beggerly nation, without gouernour, and without Lawe, except their soothsayings, and their diuinations, vnto the which detestable studies, all in those partes doe apply their mindes. Neere vnto Moal were other poore people called Tartars. The foresaid king Iohn died without issue male, and thereupon his brother Vur was greatly enriched, and caused himselfe to be named Can: and his troues and flockes raunged ouer vnto the borders of Moal. About the same time there was one Cyngis, a blacke smich among the people of Moal. This Cyngis stole as many cattel from Vur Can, as he could possibly get: insomuch that the shepheards of Vur complained vnto their Lord. Then provided he an armie, and marched vpon into the countrey of Moal to seeke for the saide Cyngis. But Cyngis fledde among the Tartars, and hidde himselfe amongst them. And Vur hauing taken some spoiles boch from Moal, and also from the Tartars, returned home. Then spake Cyngis vnto the Tartars, and vnto the people of Moal, saying: Sirs, because we are destitute of a gouernour and Captaine, you see howe our neighbours do oppresse vs. And the Tartars and Moals appointed him to be their Chieftaine. Then hauing secretly gathered together an armie, he brake in suddenly vpon Vur, and ouercame him, and Vur fledde into Caraya. At the same time was the daughter of Vur taken, which Cyngis

This historie of Presbiter Iohn in the North-east, is alleadged as large by Gerardus Mercator in his general mappe. From whence the Turkes first sprang.

An Ocean sea.

Nayman.

Presbiter Iohn.

The place of Ken Kan his abode.

Vur Can, or Vur Can.

The billage of Cara Carum, Crit and Merkit.

Moal in olde times a beggerly people. The place of the Tartars.

Cyngis.

Mangu-Can.

marrried vnto one of his sonnes, by whom she conceiued, & brought forth the great Can, which now reigneth, called Mangu-Can. Then Cyngis sent þ̄ Tartars befoze him in al places where he came: and thereupon was their name published and spread abroade: for in all places the people woulde trie out: Loe, the Tartars come, the Tartars come, Howbeit, through continuall wartes, they are nowe, all of them in a maner, consumed and brought to nought. Whereupon the Moals indēuour what they can, to extinguisht the name of the Tartars, that they may exalt their owne name. The country wherein they first inhabited, and where the Court of Cyngis Can as yet remaineth, is called Mancherule. But becaule Tarraria is the region, about which they haue obtained their conquests, they esteeme that as their royall and chiefe citie, and there for the most part doe they elect their great Can.

Mancherule.

Of the Ruffians, Hungarians, and Alanians: and of the Caspian Sea. Chap. 20.

Berra.

NOW, as concerning Sarrach, whether he belceues in Christ, or no, I knowe not. This I am sure of, that he will not be called a Christian. Hea rather he seemeth vnto mee to deride and scoffe at Christians. He lieth in the way of the Christians, as namely of the Ruffians, the Valachians, the Bulgarians of Bulgaria the lesser, the Soldaianes, the Kerkis, and the Alanians: who all of them passe by him, as they are going to the Court of his father Baatu, to carie giftes: whereupon he is moze in league with them. Howbeit, if the Saracens come, and bring greater giftes then they, they are dispatched sooner. He hath about him certaine Nestorian Priestes, who pray vpon their beades, and sing their deuotions. Also, there is another vnder Baatu called Berra, who feedeth his cattell toward Porta ferrea, or Derbent, where lieth the passage of all those Saracens, which come out of Persia, and out of Turkie to goe vnto Baatu, and passing by, they giue rewards vnto him. And he professeth himselfe to be a Saracene, and will not permit swines flesh to be eaten in his dominions. Howbeit, at the time of our returne, Baatu commanded him to remoue himselfe from that place, and to inhabite vpon the East side of Volga: for hee was unwilling that the Saracens messengers should passe by the saide Berra, because he sawe it was not for his profite. For the space of foure dayes while we remained in the court of Sarrach, we had not any victuals at all allowed vs, but once onely a litle Cosmos. And in our iourney betweene him and his father, we traueiled in great feare, for certaine Ruffians, Hungarians, and Alanians being seruants vnto the Tartars (of whom they haue great multitudes among them) assemble themselues twentie or thirtie in a companie, and so secretly in the night conueying themselues from home, they take bowes and arrowes with them, and whome soeuer they finde in the night season, they put him to death, hiding themselues in the day time. And hauing tired their hoxses, they goe in the night vnto a company of ocher hoxses feeding in some pasture, and change them for newe, taking with them also one or two hoxses besides, to eate them when they stand in neede. Our guide therefore was soze a fraide, least we should haue met with such companions. In this iourney wee had died for famine, had we not caried some of our bicket with vs. At length we came vnto the mighty riuer of Ecilia, or Volga. For it is foure times greater, then the riuer of Sein, and of a wonderfull depth: and issuing forth of Bulgaria the greater, it runneth into a certaine lake or sea, which of late they cal the Hircan sea, according to the name of a certain citie in Persia, standing vpon the Hoze thereof. Howbeit Isidore calleth it the Caspian sea. For it hath the Caspian mountaines and the land of Persia situate on the South side thereof: and the mountaines of Muschet, that is to say, of the people called Assassini towards the East, which mountaines are conioyned vnto the Caspian mountaines: but on the North side thereof lieth the same desert, wherein the Tartars doe now inhabite. Howbeit heretofore there dwelt certaine people called Changla. And on that side it receiuieth the streams of Ecilia; which riuer increaseth in Sommer time, like vnto the riuer Nilus in Egypt. Upon the West part thereof, it hath the mountaines of Alani, and Lesgi, and Porta ferrea, or Derbent, and the mountaines of Georgia. This Sea therefore is compassed in on thzee sides with the mountaines, but on the North side with plaine grounde. Frier Andrew, in his iourney traueiled round about two sides therof, namely the South and the East sides: and I my selfe about ocher two, that is to say, the North side in going from Baatu to Mangu-Can, and in returning likewise: and the West side in comming home from Baatu into Syria. A man may trauel round about it in foure moneths. And it is not true which Isidore reporteth, namely that this Sea is a bay or gulfe comming forth of the Ocean: for it doeth, in no part thereof, ioyne with the Ocean, but is intironed on all sides with lande.

Changla.

Frier Andrew.

Of the court of Baatu: and howe we were interteined
by him. Chap. 21.

AL the region extending from the West Hoze of the foresaid sea, where Alexanders Iron gate,
A other wise called the citie of Derbent, is situate, and from the mountaines of Alania, all along
by the fennes of Meois, whereinto the river of Tanais falleth, and so forth, to the North Ocean,
was wont to be called Albania, of which countrey I sidore reporteth, that there be dogs of such an
huge stature, and so fierce, that they are able in fight to match bulles, and to master lions. Which is
true, as I understand by diuers, who tolde me, that there towards the North Ocean they make
their dogges to draw in carts like oren, by reason of their bignesse and strength. Moreover, vpon
that part of Ecilia where we arrived, there is a new cottage built, wherein they haue placed Tar-
tars and Russians both together, to ferrie ouer, and transport messengers going and conuning to
and fro the court of Baatu. For Baatu remaineth vpon the farther side towards the East. Neither
ascendeth hee in Sommer time moze Northward then the foresaide place where we arrived, but
was euen then descending to the South, from Januarie vntill August both he and all other Tar-
tars ascend by the banks of riuers towards cold and Northly regions, and in August they begin to
returne backe againe. We passed downe the streame therfore in a barke, from the foresaid cottage
vnto his court. From the same place vnto the villages of Bulgaria the greater, standing toward the
North, it is fittie dayes iourney. I wonder what deuill caried the religion of Mahomet thither, for,
from Derbent, which is vpon the extreame borders of Persia, it is about 30. daies iourney to passe
ouerthwart the desert, and so to ascend by the banke of Ecilia, into the foresaid countrey of Bul-
garia. All which way there is no citie, but onely certaine cottages neere vnto that place where Ecilia
falleth into the sea. Those Bulgarians are most wicked Saracens, moze earnestly professing the da-
nable religion of Mahomet, then any other nation what soeuer. Moreover, when I first beheld the
court of Baatu, I was astonied at the sight thereof: for his houses or tents seemed as though they
had bene some huge and mighty citie, stretcheing out a great way in length, the people ranging vp
and downe about it for the space of some thye or foure leagues. And euen as the people of Israel
kne w euer y man, on which side of the tabernacle to pitch his tent: euen so euer y one of them know-
eth right well, towards what side of the court he ought to place his house when he takes it from off
the cart. Where vpon the court is called in their language Horda, which significth, the midst: because
the gouernour or chieftaine among the indwells alwaies in the middelt of his people: except onely
that directly towards the South no subiect or inferiour person placeth himselfe, because towards
that region the court gates are set open: but vnto the right hand, and the left hand they extend the-
selues as farre as they will, according to the conueniencie of places, so that they place not their hou-
ses directly opposite against the court. At our arrival we were conducted vnto a Saracen, who pro-
vided not for vs any victuals at all. The day following, we were brought vnto the court: and Baa-
tu had caused a large tent to be erected, because his house or ordinarie tent could not containe so ma-
ny men and women as were assembled. Our guide admonished vs not to speake, till Baatu had gi-
uen vs commandement so to doe, and that then we should speake our mindes briefly. Then Baatu
demanded whether your Maestie had sent Ambassadors vnto him or no: I answered, that your
Maestie had sent messengers to Ken-Can: and that you would not haue sent messengers vnto him,
or letters vnto Sarrach, had not your Highnes bene perswaded that they were become Christians:
because you sent not vnto them for any feare, but onely for congratulation, and curtesies sake, in
regard that you heard they were conuerted to Christianitie. Then led he vs vnto his pavilion: and
wee were charged not to touch the cordes of the tent, which they account in stead of the threshold
of the house. There we stood in our habite bare-footed, and bare-headed, and werr a great and
strange spectacle in their eyes. For indeede frter Iohn de Plano Carpini had vvn there before my
coming: howbeit, because he was the Popes messenger, he changed his habit that he might not be
countenued. Then we were brought into the very midst of the tent, neither required they of vs to do
any reuerence by bowing our knees, as they vse to doe of other messengers. Wee stood therfore
before him for the space wherein a man might haue rehearsed the Psalme, Miserere mei Deus: and
there was great silence kept of all men. Baatu himselfe sate vpon a seate long and broad like vnto a
bed, guilt all ouer, with thye staires to ascend thereunto, and one of his ladies sate beside him. The
men there assembled, sate downe scattering, some on the right hand of the saide Lady, and some on
the left. Those places on the one side which the women filled not vp (for there were onely the wiues
of Baatu) were supplied by the men. Also, at the very entrance of the tent, stood a bench furnished
with colmas, and with stately great cuppes of siluer, and golde, being richly set with precious
stones. Baatu beheld vs earnestly, and we him: and he seemed to me to resemble in personage, Mon-

The North
Ocean.The North
Ocean.He descends
downe the ri-
uer Volga in a
barke.

Asracan.

The descripti-
on of Baatu his
court.Horda signifi-
eth the midst.Iohn de Plano
Carpini

ſieur Iohn de beau mont, whoſe ſoule reſteth in peace. And hee had a freſh ruddie colour in his countenance. At length he commanded vs to ſpeake. Then our guide gaue vs direction, that we ſhould bow our knees & ſpeake. Whereupon I bowed one knee as vnto a man: then he ſignified that I ſhould kneele vpon both knees: and I did ſo, being loath to contend about ſuch circumſtaunces. And again he commanded me to ſpeake. Then I thinking of praier vnto God, becauſe I kneeled on both my knees, began to pray on this wiſe: Sir, we beſeech the Lord, from whom all good things doe proceed, and who hath giuen you theſe earthly benefices, that it would pleaſe him hereafter to make you partaker of his heauenly bleſſings: becauſe the former without theſe are but vain and inprofitable. And I added further, Be it known vnto you of a certainty, that you ſhal not obtain the hopes of heauen, vnles you become a Chriſtian: for God ſaith, Whoſo euer beleueth & is baptiz'd, ſhal be ſau'd: but he that beleueth not, ſhal be condemn'd. At this word he modeſtly ſmiled: but the other Moals began to clap their hands, and to deride vs. And my ſilly interpreter, of whom eſpecially I ſhould haue receiued comfort in time of need, was himſelf abashed & utterly daſht out of countenance. Then, after ſilence made, I ſaid vnto him, I came vnto your ſonne, becauſe we heard that he was become a Chriſtian: and I brought vnto him letters on the behalfe of my ſouereigne Lord the king of France: and your ſonne ſent me hither vnto you. The cauſe of my coming therefore is beſt known vnto your ſelfe. Then he cauſed me to riſe vp. And he enquired your maieties name, and my name, and the name of mine aſſociate and interpreter, and cauſed them all to be put down in writing. He demaunded likewiſe (becauſe he had bene informed, that you were departed out of your owne countreys with an armie) againſt whom you waged warre: I answered: againſt the Saracens, who had defiled the houſe of God at Ieruſalem. He asked alſo, whether your Highnes had euer before that time ſent any meſſengers vnto him, or no: To you ſir: (ſaid I) neuer. Then cauſed he vs to ſit downe, and gaue vs of his milke to drinke, which they account to be a great fauour, eſpecially when any man is admitted to drinke Cosmos with him in his own houſe. And as I ſate looking downe vpon the ground, he commanded me to liſe vp my countenance, being deſirous as yet to take moze diligent view of vs, or els perhaps for a kinde of ſuperſtitious obſeruation. For they eſteeme it a ſigne of ill lucke, or a prognodication of euill vnto them, when any man ſits in their preſence, holding downe his head, as if he were ſad: eſpecially when he leanes his cheeke or chinne vpon his hand. Then we departed forth, and immediatly after came our guide vnto vs, and conducting vs vnto our lodging, ſaide vnto me: Your maſter the King requereth that you may remaine in this land, which requeſt Baatu cannot ſatiffie without the knowledge and conſent of Mangucan. Wherefore you, and your interpreter muſt of neceſſity goe vnto Mangucan. Howbeit your aſſociate, and the other man ſhall returne vnto the court of Sartach, ſtaying there for you, till you come backe. Then began the man of God mine interpreter to lament, eſteeming himſelfe but a dead man. Mine aſſociate alſo proteſted, that they ſhould ſooner chop off his head, then withdrawe him out of my companie. Howeuer I my ſelfe ſaide, that without mine aſſociate I coulde not goe: and that we ſtood in neede of two ſeruants at the leaſt, to attend vpon vs, becauſe, if one ſhould chance to fall ſicke, we coulde not be without another. Then returning vnto the court, he told theſe ſayings vnto Baatu. And Baatu commanded ſaying: let the two prieſts and the interpreter goe together, but let the clarke returne vnto Sartach. And coming againe vnto vs, hee tolde vs euen ſo. And when I would haue ſpoken for the clarke to haue had him with vs, he ſaide: No moze words: for Baatu hath reſolued, that ſo it ſhall be, and therefore I dare not goe vnto the court any moze. Goſet the clarke had remaining of the almes money beſtowed vpon him, 26. Yperperas, and no moze; 10. whereof he kept for himſelfe and for the lad, and 16. he gaue vnto the man of God for vs. And thus were we parted aſunder with teares: he returning vnto the court of Sartach, and our ſelues remaining ſtill in the ſame place.

Of our journey towards the Court of Mangu Can.

Chap. 22.

Vpon Aſſumption euen our clarke arriued at the court of Sartach. And on the morrow after, the Neſtorian prieſtes were adozned with our veſtments in the preſence of the ſaide Sartach. Then wee our ſelues were conducted vnto another hoſte, who was appointed to provide vs houſeroome, victualles, and horſes. But becauſe wee had not ought to beſtowe vpon him, hee did all things vntowardly for vs. Then wee rode on forwarde with Baatu, deſcending along by the banke of Etilia, for the ſpace of five weekes together: Sometimes mine aſſociate was ſo extremelie hungrie, that hee would tell mee in a manner weeping, that it lared with him as though hee had neuer eaten any thing in all his life before. There is a faire or market following the court of Baatu at all times: but it was ſo farre diſtant from vs that we coulde

not

The letters of
the French
king.

They trauell
five weekes by
the banke of
Etilia.

not haue recourse thercunto. For wee were constrained to walke on foote for want of horses. At length certaine Hungarians (who had sometime bene after a sort Clergie men) found vs out: and one of them could as yet sing many songs without booke, and was accounted of other Hungarians as a Priest, and was sent for vnto the funerals of his deceased country men. There was another of them also precisely well instructed in his Grammar: for hee could vnderstand the meaning of anything that wee spake, but could not answer vs. These Hungarians were a great comfort vnto vs, bringing vs Cosmos to drinke, yea, and sometimes flesh for to eat also: who, when they requested to haue some bookes of vs, and I had not any to giue them (for indeede we had none but onely a Bible, and a bzeuinarie) it grieued mee exceedingly. And I saide vnto them: Bring mee some inke and paper, and I will write for you so long as we shall remaine here: and they did so. And I copied out for them Horas beatae Virginis, and Officium defunctorum. Moreover, vpon a certaine day, there was a Comanian that accompanied vs, saluting vs in Latine, and saying: Saluete Domini. Wondering thereat and saluting him againe, I demaunded of him, who had taught him that kinde of salutation: Hee saide that hee was baptized in Hungaria by our Frriers, and that of them hee learned it. He saide moreover, that Baacu had enquired many things of him concerning vs, and that hee tolde him the estate of our order. Afterwarde I sawe Baacu riding with his companie, and all his subiects that were householders or masters of families riding with him, and (in mine estimation) they were not fiae hundred persons in all. At length about the ende of Holy roode, there came a certaine rich Moal vnto vs (whose father was a Millenarie, which is a great office among them) saying: I am the man that must conduct you vnto Mangucan, and wee haue thither a iourney of foure moneths long to trauell, and there is such extreme colde in those parts, that stones and trees doe euen rite asunder in regarde thereof. Therefore I would wish you thoroughly to aduise your selues, whether you be able to indure it or no. Vnto whom I answered: I hope by Gods helpe that we shall be able to brooke that which other men can indure. Then he saide: if you cannot indure it, I wil forsake you by the way. And I answered him: it were not iust dealing for you so to doe: for wee goe not thither vpon any businesse of our owne, but by reason that we are sent by your lord. Wherefore sithence we are committed vnto your charge, you ought in no wise to forsake vs. Then he saide: all shall be well. Afterwarde he cauled vs to shewe him all our garments: and whatsoeuer hee deemed to be lesse needfull for vs, he willed vs to leaue it behind in the custodie of our horse. On the morrow they brought vnto ech of vs a furred gowne, made all of rammes skines, with the wool still vpon them, and breeches of the same, and bootes also of bulkins according to their fashion, and shoes made of felt, and hoods also made of skines after their maner. The second day after Holy rood, we began to set forward on our iourney, hauing three guides to direct vs: and we rode continually Eastward, till the feast of All Saints. Throughout all that region, and beyonde also did the people of Changle inhabit, who were by parentage descended from the Romanes. Vpon the North side of vs, wee had Bulgaria the greater, and on the South, the foresaid Caspian sea.

Hungarians,

Comanians

Journey of 4. months from Voiga.

The 16. of September.

46. dayes. D, Kangit.

D, Iac.

Of the riuier of Iagac: and of diuers regions or nations. Chap. 23.

HAVING traueiled twelue dayes iourney from Etilia, wee found a mightie riuier called Iagac: which riuier issuing out of the North, from the land of Pascacir, descended into the foresaid sea. The language of Pascacir, and of the Hungarians is all one, and they are all of them shepheards, not hauing any cities. And their country bordereth vpon Bulgaria the greater, on the West frontier thereof. From the North east part of the said country, there is no citie at all. For Bulgaria the greater is the farthest country that way, that hath any citie therein. Out of the forenamed region of Pascacir, proceeded the Hunnes of olde time, who afterwarde were called Hungarians. Next vnto it is Bulgaria the greater. Isidore reporteth concerning the people of this nation, that with swift horses they traueiled the impregnable walles and boundes of Alexander, (which, together with the rocks of Caucasus, serued to restrain those barbarous and blood-thirstie people from inuading the regions of the South) in somuch that they had tribute paid vnto them, as farre as Egypt. Likewise they wasted all countreys euen vnto France. Wherevpon they were more mightie then the Tartars as yet are. And vnto them the Blacians, the Bulgarians, and the Vandals ioyned themselves. For out of Bulgaria the greater, came those Bulgarians. Moreover, they which inhabit beyond Danubius, neere vnto Constantinople, and not farre from Pascacir, are called Iac, which (saying the prononciation) is al one with Blac, (for the Tartars cannot pronounce the letter B) from whom also descended the people which inhabit the land of Assani. For they are both of the called Iac (both these, & the other) in y languages of the Russians, y Polonians, & the Bohemians.

Iac twelue dayes iourney from Volga. Pascacir.

The Hungarians descended from the Balcider.

Valachians:

Deut. 32. v. 21.
Rom. 10. v. 19.

The Sclauonians speake all one language with the Vandals, all which banded themselves with the Hunnes: and now for the most part, they vnitte themselves vnto the Tartars: whō God hath railed vpon from the vtmost partes of the earth, according to that which the Lord saith: I will prouoke them to enuy (namely such as keepe not his Law) by a people, which is no people, and by a foolish nation will I anger them. This prophetic is fulfilled, according to the literal sense thereof, vpon all nations which obserue not the Law of God. All this which I haue written concerning the land of Palscatir, was told me by certaine Friers prædicants, which traauiled thither before euer the Tartars came abroad. And from that time they were subdued vnto their neighbors the Bulgarians being Saracens, wherupon many of them proued Saracens also. Other matters concerning this people, may be knowne out of Chronicles. For it is manifest, that those prouinces beyond Constantinople, which are now called Bulgaria, Valachia, & Sclauonia, were of old time prouinces belonging to the Greekes. Also Hungaria was heretofore called Pannonia. And wee were riding ouer the land of Cangle, from the feast of Holy roode, vntill the feast of All Saints: traueiling almost euery day (according to mine estimation) as farre, as from Paris to Orleans, and sometimes farther, as we were prouided of poste horses: for some dayes we had change of horses twice or thise in a day. Sometimes we traauiled two or thre daies together, not finding any people, and then we were constrained not to ride so fast. Of 20. or 30. horses we had alwayes the woorst, because wee were strangers. For euery one tooke their choice of the best horses before vs. They prouided mee alwayes of a strong horse, because I was very copulent & heauy: but whether he ambled a gentle pace or no, I durst not make any question. Neither yet durst I complaine, although he trotted full soze. But euery man must be contented with his lot as it fell. Wherupon wee were exceedingly troubled: for oftentimes our horses were tired before we could come at any people. And then wee were constrained to beate and whip on our horses, and to lay our garments vpon other emptye horses: yea and sometimes two of vs to ride vpon one horse.

Cangle an huge
plaine coun-
trep.

Of the hunger, and thirst, and other miseries, which wee sustained in our iourney. Chap. 24.

OF hunger and thirst, colde and wearinesse, there was no end. For they gaue vs no victuals, but onely in the euening. In the morning they vsed to giue vs a little drinke, or some sodden Miller to sup off. In the euening they bestowed flesh vpon vs, as namely, a shoulder and breast of rams mutton, and euery man a measured quantitie of bzoath to drinke. When we had sufficient of the flesh-bzoath, we were maruellously wel refreshed. And it seemed to me most pleasant, and most nourishing drinke. Euery Saterday I remained fasting vntil night, without eating or drinking of ought. And when night came, I was constrained, to my great grief and sorrow, to eat flesh. Sometimes we were faine to eat flesh halfe sodden, or almost rawe, and all for want of feluel to seethe it withal: especially when we lay in the fields, or were benighted before we came at our iourneys end: because we could not then conueniently gather together the doung of horses or ore: for other feluel we found but selddome, except perhaps a few thornes in some places. Like wise vpon the bankes of some riuers, there are woods growing here and there. Howbeit they are very rare. In the beginning our guide highly disdaind vs, and it was tedious vnto him to conduct such base fellows. Afterward, when he began to know vs somewhat better, he directed vs on our way by the courts of rich Moals, and we were requested to pray for them. Wherefore, had I caried a good interpreter with me, I should haue had oppoytunitie to haue done much good. The foresaid Chingis, who was the first great Can or Emperour of the Tartars, had foure sonnes, of whome proceeded by naturall descent many children, euery one of which doeth at this day enioy great possessions: and they are daily multiplied and disperled ouer that huge and waste desert, which is, in dimensions, like vnto the Ocean Sea. Our guide therefore directed vs, as we were going on our iourney, vnto many of their habitations. And they maruelled exceedingly, that we would receiue neither gold, nor silver, nor precious and costly garments at their hands. They inquired also, concerning the great Pope, whether he was of so lasting an age as they had heard: For there had gone a report among them, that he was 500. yeeres olde. They inquired like wise of our countreis, whether there were abundance of sheep, oxen, & horses or no: Concerning the Ocean sea, they could not conceiue of it, because it was without limits or banks. Upon the euen of y^e feast of All Saints, we forsook the way leading towards the East, (because the people were now descended very much South) and we went on our iourney by certaine Alpes, or mountaines directly Southward, for the space of 8. dayes together. In the foresaid desert I saw many asses (which they cal Colan) being rather like vnto mules: these did our guide & his companions chase very eagerly: howbeit, they did but lose their labour: for the beastes were too swift for them. Upon the 7. day there appeared to the South of vs huge high

Certaine ri-
uers.

Eight dayes
iourney south-
ward.
Asses swift of
foote.
High mount-
taines.

mountaines,

mountaines, and we entred into a place which was well watered, and fresh as a garden, and found land tilled and manured. The eight day after the feast of All Saints, we arriued at a certain towne of the Saracens, named Kenchar, the gouernour whereof met our guide at the townes end with ale and cups. For it is their maner at all townes and villages, subiect vnto them, to meet the messengers of Baatu and Mangu-Can with meate and drinke. At the same time of the yere, they went by on the yee in that countrey. And before the feast of S. Michael, we had frost in the desert. I enquired the name of that prouince: but being now in a strange territoie, they could not tell mee the name thereof, but onely the name of a very smal citie in the same prouince. And there descended a great riuier downe from the mountaines, which watered the whole region, according as the inhabitants would giue it passage, by making diuers chanelles and sluices: neither did this riuier exonerate it selfe into any sea, but was swallowed up by an hideous gulfe into the bowels of the earth: and it caused many fennes or lakes. Also I saw many vines, and drinke of the wine thereof.

Spanned grounds. Kenchar a village of the Saracens.

The 7. day of Nouember. A great riuier.

Many lakes. Vines.

How Ban was put to death: and concerning the habitation of the Dutch men. Chap. 25.

The day following, we came vnto another cottage neere vnto the mountains. And I enquired what mountains they were, which I vnderstood to be the mountains of Caucasus, which are stretched forth, & continued on both parts to the sea, from the West vnto the East: and on the West part they are conioyned vnto the foresaid Caspian sea, wherinto the riuier of Volga dischargeth his streams. I enquired also of the city of Talas, wherein were certaine Dutchmen seruants vnto one Buri, of whom Frict Andrew made mention. Concerning whom also I enquired very diligently in the courts of Sarrach & Baatu. Howbeit I could haue no intelligence of them, but onely that their lord & master Ban was put to death vpon the occasion following: This Ban was not placed in good and fertile pastures. And vpon a certain day being drunken, he spake on this wise vnto his men. Am not I of the stocke and kindred of Chingis Can, as well as Baatu? (for in very verbe he was brother or nephew vnto Baatu.) Why then doe I not passe and repasse vpon the banke of Ecilia, to feed my cattel there, as freely as Baatu himselfe doeth: Which speeches of his were reported vnto Baatu. Whereupon Baatu wote vnto his seruants to bring their Lorde bound vnto him. And they did so. Then Baatu demanded of him whether he had spoken any such wordes: And hee confessed that he had. Howbeit, (because it is the Tartars maner to pardon drunken men) he excused himselfe that he was drunken at the same time. Howe durst thou (quoth Baatu) once name mee in thy drunkenesse: And with that hee caused his head to be chopt off. Concerning the foresaid Dutchmen, I could not vnderstand ought, till I was come vnto the court of Mangu-Can. And there I was informed that Mangu-Can had remoued them out of the iurisdiction of Baatu, for the space of a moneths iourney from Talas Eastward, vnto a certaine village, called Bolac: where they are set to dig gold, and to make armour. Whereupon I could neither goe nor come by them. I passed very neere the saide citie in going forth, as namely, within thre dayes iourney thereof: but I was ignorant that I did so: neither could I haue turned out of my way, albeit I had knowen so much. From the foresaide cottage we went directly Eastward, by the mountaines aforesaid. And from that time we trauailed among the people of Mangu-Can, who in all places sang and daunced before our guide, because hee was the messenger of Baatu. For this curtesie they doe alfoord eche to other: namely, the people of Mangu-Can receiving the messengers of Baatu in maner aforesaid: and so likewise the people of Baatu intertaining the messengers of Mangu-Can. Notwithstanding the people of Baatu are moze surlie and stoute, and shewe not so much curtesie vnto the subiectes of Mangu-Can, as they doe vnto them. A fewe dayes after, wee entered vpon those Alpes where the Cara Carayans were wont to inhabite. And there wee found a mightie riuier: inso-much that wee were constrained to imbarke our selues, and to saile ouer it. Afterward we came into a certaine valley, where I saw a castle destroyed, the walles whereof were onely of mudde: and in that place the ground was tilled also. And there wee founde a certaine village, named Equius, wherein were Saracens, speaking the Persian language: howbeit they dwell an huge distance from Persia. The day following, hauing passed ouer the foresaide Alpes which descended from the great mountains Southward, we entred into a most beautiful plaine, hauing high mountaines on our right hande, and on the left hande of vs a certaine Sea or lake, which containeth fiftene dayes iourney in circuite. All the foresayde plaine is most commodiously watered with certaine freshets distilling from the said mountaines, all which do fall into the lake. In Sommer time wee returned by the North shore of the saide lake, and there were great mountaines on that side also. Vpon the forenamed plaine there were wont to be great store of villages: but for the most part they were all wasted, in regarde of the fertile pastures, that the Tartars might

A cottage. The mountains of Caucasus are extended vnto the Eastern Sea. The citie of Talas, or Chincitals. Frict Andrew.

The village of Bolac.

He entred into the territories of Mangu-Can.

Certain Alpes wherein the Cara Carayans inhabited. A mightie riuier. Ground tilled. Equius.

A lake of fiftene dayes iourney in compasse.

Cailac a great
citie, and full
of merchants.

feede their cattel there. Wee found one great citie there named Cailac, wherein was a matt, and great stoep of Merchants frequenting it. In this citie wee remained fifteene dayes, staying for a certaine Scribe or Secretarie of Baatu, who ought to haue accompanied our guide for the dispatching of certaine affaires in the court of Mangu. All this countrey was wont to be called Organum: and the people thereof had their proper language, and their peculiar kinde of writing. But it was altogether inhabited of the people called Contomanni. The Nestorians likewise in those parts used the very same kinde of language and writing. They are called Organa, because they were wont to be most skilfull in playing vpon the Organes or citherne, as it was reported vnto me. Here first did I see worshippers of idoles, concerning whom, bee it known vnto your maiestie, that there be many sects of them in the East countreies.

Contomanni.

How the Nestorians, Saracens, and Idolaters are ioy- ned together. *Chap. 26.*

The people
called Iugures
idolaters.

The first sort of these idolaters are called Iugures: whose land bordereth vpon the foresaid land of Organum, within the said mountains Eastward: and in all their cities Nestorians do inhabit together, and they are dispersed likewise towards Persia in the cities of the Saracens. The citizens of y^e foresaid city of Cailac had 3. idole-Temples: and I entred into two of them, to beholde their foolish superstitions. In the first of which I found a man hauing a crosse painted with ink vpon his hand, wherupon I supposed him to be a Christian: for he answered like a Christian vnto all questions which I demanded of him. And I asked him, Why therefore haue you not the crosse with the image of Iesu Christ therupon? And he answered: We haue no such custome. Wherupon I conjectured that they were indeede Christians: but, that for lacke of instruction they omitted the foresaide ceremonie. For I saw there behind a certaine chest (which was vnto them in steed of an altar, wherupon they set candles and oblations) an image hauing wings like vnto the image of Saine Michael, and other images also, holding their fingers, as if they would blesse some body. That evening I could not find any thing els, if of the Saracens doe onely inuite men thither, but they will not haue them speake of their religion. And therfore, when I enquired of the Saracens concerning such ceremonies, they were offended therat. On the morrow after were the Kalends, and the Saracens feast of Pascheouer. And changing mine Inne or lodging the same day, I tooke by mine abode neere vnto another idole-Temple. For the citizens of the said cite of Cailac doe curiously inuite, & louingly intertaine all messengers, euery man of them according to his abilitie and position. And entering into the foresaid idole-Temple, I found the Priests of the said idoles there. For alwayes at the Kalends they set open their Temples, and the priests adorne themselves, and offer by the peoples oblations of bread and fruits. First therefore I will describe vnto you those rites and ceremonies, which are common vnto all their idole-Temples: and then the superstitions of the foresaid Iugures, which be, as it were, a sect distinguished from the rest. They doe all of them worship towards the North, clapping their hands together, and prostrating themselves on their knees vpon y^e earth, holding also their foreheads in their hands. Wherupon the Nestorians of those parts will in no case ioyne their hands together in time of prayer: but they pray, displaying their hands before their breasts. They extend their Temples in length East and West: and vpon the North side they build a chamber, in manner of a Vestry for themselves to goe forth into. Or sometimes it is otherwise. If it be a foure square Temple, in the midst of the Temple towards the North side thereof, they take in one chamber in that place where the quire should stand. And within the said chamber they place a chest long and broad like vnto a table: and behinde the saide chest towards the South stands their principall idole: which I sawe at Caracaram, and it was as bigge as the idole of Saine Christopher. Also a certaine Nestorian priest, which had bin in Catay, saide that in that countrey there is an idole of so huge a bignes, that it may be seen two daies iourney before a man come at it. And so they place other idoles round about the foresaid principall idole, being all of them finely gilt ouer with pure golde: and vpon the saide chest, which is in manner of a table, they set candles and oblations. The doores of their Temples are alwayes opened towards the South, contrary to the custome of the Saracens. They haue also great belles like vnto vs. And that is the cause (as I thinke) why the Christians of the East will in no case vse great belles, notwithstanding they are common among the Russians, and Grecians of Galaria.

Frier William
was at Caracaram.

Of their Temples and idoles: and howe they behaue them- selues in worshipping their false gods: *Chap. 27.*

All their Priests had their heads and beards shauen quite ouer: and they are clad in saffron coloured garments: and being once shauen, they lead an vnmarrid life from that time forward: and

and they lue an hundred or two hundred of them together in one clouster or couent. Upon those dayes when they enter into their temples, they place two long soozmes therein: and so sitting vpon the sayd soozmes like singing men in a quier, namely the one halfe of them directly ouer against the other, they haue certaine books in their hands, which sometimes they lay downe by them vpon the soozmes: and their heads are bare so long as they remaine in the temple. And there they reade softly vnto themselves, not vtering any voice at all. Whereupon comming in amongst them, at the time of their superstitious deuotions, and finding them all sitting mute in maner aforesayde, I attempted diuers waies to prouoke them vnto speach, and yet could not by any means possible. They haue with them also whither soeuer they goe, a certaine string with an hundred or two hundred nuchels thereupon, much like to our bea-roule which we cary about with vs. And they doe alwayes utter these words: *Om mam Haclani*, God thou knowest: as one of them expounded it vnto me. And so often doe they expect a reward at Gods hands, as they pronounce these words in remembrance of God. Round about their temple they doe alwayes make a faire court, like vnto a churchyard, which they enuiron with a good wall: and vpon the South part thereof they build a great portal, wherein they sit and conferre together. And vpon the top of the said portall they pitch a long pole right vp, exalting it, if they can, about all the whole towne besides. And by the same pole all men may knowe, that there stands the temple of their idoles. These rites and ceremonies aforesayd be common vnto all idolaters in those parts. Going vpon a time towardes the foresayd idole-temple, I found certain priests sitting in the outward portall. And those which I sawe, seemed vnto me, by their shauen beards, as if they had bene French men. They wore certaine ornaments vpon their heads made of paper. The priests of the foresayde Iugures doe vse such attire whither soeuer they goe. They are alwayes in their saffron coloured iackets, which be very straight being laced or buttoned from the bosome right downe, after the French fashion. And they haue a cloake vpon their left shoulder descending before and behind vnder their right arme, like vnto a deacon carrying the housel-bore in time of lent. Their letters of kind of writing the Tartars did recite. They begin to write at the top of their paper drawing their lines right downe: and so they reade and multiply their lines from the left hand to the right. They doe vse certaine papers and characters in their magical practises. Whereupon their temples are full of such short scroules hanging round about them. Also Mangu-Can hath sent letters vnto your Maestie written in the language of the Moals or Tartars, and in the foresayd hand or letter of the Iugures. They burne their dead according to the ancient custome, and lay by the ashes in the top of a Pyramis. Now, after I had sit a while by the foresayd priests, and entred into their temple and seene many of their images both great and small, I demanded of them what they beleued concerning God: Whether they answered: We beleue that there is onely one God. And I demanded farther: Whether do you helue that he is a spirit, or some bodily substance: They saide: We beleue that he is a spirit. Then said I: Doe you beleue that God euer tooke mans nature vpon him: They answered: Noe. And againe I said: Sithence ye beleue that he is a spirit, to what end doe you make so many bodily images to represent him: Sithence also you beleue not that hee was made man: why doe you resemble him rather vnto the image of a man then of any other creature: Then they answered saying: we frame not those images wherby to represent God. But when any rich man amongst vs, or his soune, or his wife, or any of his friends deceaseth, hee causeth the image of the dead party to be made, and to be placed here: and we in remembrance of him doe reuerence thereunto. Then I replied: you doe these things onely for the friendship and flatterie of men. Noe (said they) but for their memozy. Then they demanded of me, as it were in scoffing wise: Where is God? To whom I answered: where is your soule: They said, in our bodie. Then saide I, is it not in euery part of your bodie, ruling and guiding the whole bodie, and yet notwithstanding is not seene or perceived: Then so God is euery where and ruleth all things, and yet is he inuisible, being vnderstanding and wisdome it selfe. Then being desirous to haue had some moze conference with them, by reason, that mine interpreter was weary, and not able to expresse my meaning, I was constrained to keepe silence. The Moals or Tartars are in this regard of their sect: namely they beleue that there is but one God: howbeit they make images of felt, in remembrance of their deceased friends, couering them with fine most rich and costly garments, and putting them into one or two carts, which carts no man dare once touch: and they are in the custody of their soothsayers, who are their priests, concerning whom I will giue your Highnesse moze at large to vnderstand hereafter. These soothsayers or diuiners do alwayes attend vpon the court of Mangu and of other great personages. As for the poorer or meaner sorte, they haue them not, but such onely as are of the stocke and kindred of Chingis. And when they are to remoue or to take any journey, the said diuiners goe before them, euen as the cloudie pillar went before the children of Israel. And they appoint ground where the tents must be pitched, and first of all they take down their

2 Bookes.

Paper.
So do the people of China vse to write, drawing their lines perpendicularly downward, & not as we doe from the right hand to the left.

owne houses: & after them the whole court doth the like. Also vpon their festiual daies or kalends they take forth the foresayd images, and place them in order rounde, or circle wise within the house. Then come the Moals of Tartars, and enter into the same house, bowing themselves before the said images and worship them. Moreover, it is not lawfull for any stranger to enter into that house. For vpon a certaine time I my selfe would haue gone in, but I was chidden full well for my labour.

Of diuers and sundry nations: and of certaine people which were wont to eate their owne parents. *Chap. 28.*

But the foresayd Iugures (who liue among the Christians, and the Saracens) by their sundry disputations, as I suppose, haue bene brought vnto this, to beleue, that there is but one onely God. And they dwell in certaine cities, which after ward were brought in subiection vnto Chingis Can: wherupon he gaue his daughter in marriage vnto their king. Also the citie of Caracaram is selfe in a manner within their territory: and the whole countrey of king or Presbyter Iohn, & of his brother Vurlyeth neere vnto their dominions: sauing, that they inhabite in certaine pastures Northward, and the sayde Iugures betweene the mountaines towards the South. Whereupon it came to passe, that the Moals receiued letters from them. And they are the Tartars principall scribes: & al the Nestorians almost can skill of their letters. Next vnto them, between the foresayd mountaines Eastward, inhabiteth the nation of Tangut, who are a most valiant people, and tooke Chingis in battell. But after the conclusion of a league her was set at libertie by them, and after ward subdued them. These people of Tangut haue oren of great strength, with tailes like vnto hozles, and with long shagge haire vpon their backs and bellies. They haue legges greater then other oren haue, and they are exceedingly fierce. These oren drawe the great hozles of the Moals: and their hoznes are slender, long, streight, and most sharpe pointed: insemuch that their owners are faine to cut off the endes of them. A cowe will not suffer her selfe to be coupled vnto one of them, vntles they whistle or sing vnto her. They haue also the qualities of a Buffe: for if they see a man clothed in reb, they run vpon him immediately to kill him. Next vnto them are the people of Teber, men which were wont to eate the carcases of their deceased parents: that for pities sake, they might make no other sepulchre for them, then their owne bowels. Howbeit of late they haue left off this custome, because that thereby they became abominable and odious vnto al other nations. Notwithstanding vnto this day they make fine cups of the skulls of their parents, to the ende that when they drinke out of them, they may amidst all their iollities and delights call their dead parents to remembrance. This was tolde mee by one that saw it. The sayd people of Teber haue great plentie of golde in their land. Whosoever therefore wanteth golde, diggeth till he hath found some quantitie, and then taking so much thereof as will serue his turne, he layeth by the residue within the earth: because, if he should put it into his chest or storhouse, hee is of opinion that God would withhold from him all other gold within the earth. I sawe some of those people, being very deformed creatures. In Tangut I saw lusty tall men, but byowne and swart in colour. The Iugures are of a middle stature like vnto our French men. Amongst the Iugures is the originall and roote of the Turkish, and Comanian languages. Next vnto Teber are the people of Langa and Solanga, whose messengers I saw in the Tartars court. And they had brought more then ten great cartes with them, euery one of which was drawn with fire oren. They be litle byowne men like vnto Spaniards. Also they haue iackets, like vnto the bypper vestment of a deacon, sauing that the sleeves are somewhat streighter. And they haue miters vpon their heads like bishops. But the fore part of their miter is not so hollow within as the hinder part: neither is it sharpe pointed or cornered at the toppe: but there hang downe certaine square flappes compacted of a kinde of straw which is made rough and rugged with extreme heat, and is so trinited, that it glittereth in the sunne beames, like vnto a glasse, or an helmet well burnished. And about their temples they haue long bands of the foresayd matter fastened vnto their miters, which bouer in the wind, as if two long hoznes grew out of their heads. And when the winde tosseth them by and downe too much, they tie them ouer the midd of their miter from one temple to another: and so they lie circle wise ouerthwart their heads. Moreover their principall messenger coming vnto the Tartars court had a table of elephants tooth about him of a cubite in length, and a handfull in breadth, being very smoothe. And whensoever hee spake vnto the Emperour himselfe, or vnto any other great personage, hee alwayes beheld that table, as if hee had found therein those things which hee spake: neither did he cast his eyes to the right hand, nor to the left, nor vpon his face, with whom he talked. Yea, going too and fro before his lord, hee looketh no where but only vpon his table. Beyond the (as I vnderstand of a certainty) there are other people

The countrey
of Presbyter Iohn

Tangut.

Strange oren.

The people of
Teber.

Abundance of
golde.

The stature of
the people of
Tangut, and of
the Iugures.

Langa & Solanga

The people of
Solanga resemble
the Spaniards

A table of ele-
phants tooth.

people called Muc, hauing vilages, but no one particular man of them appoynting any cattell vnto himselfe. Notwithstanding there are many flockes and dzones of cattell in their countrey, & no man appoynted to keepe them. But when any one of them standeth in neede of any beast, hee ascendeth vnto an hill, and there maketh a shout, and all the cattell which are within hearing of the noyse, come flocking about him, and suffer themselues to be handled and taken, as if they were tame. And when any messenger or stranger cometh into their countrey, they shut him vp into an house, ministring there things necessary vnto him, vntill his businesse he dispatched. For if aie stranger should trauell through that countrey, the cattell would flee away at the very sent of him, and so would become wilde. Beyond Muc is great Cathaya, the inhabitants wherof (as I suppose) were of olde time, called Seres. For from them are brought most excellent stufes of silke. And this people is called Seres of a certain towne in the same countrey. I was credible informed, that in the said countrey, there is one towne hauing wailes of siluer, and bulwarkes or towers of golde. There be many prouinces in that land, the greater part wherof are not as yet subdued vnto the Tartars. And amongst *

The people called Muc.

Great Cathaya:

Somewhat is wanting.

Part of the great Charter granted by king *Edward* the first to the Barons of the Cinque portes, in the sixt yeere of his reigne 1278. for their good seruices done vnto him by sea: wherein is mention of their former ancient Charters from *Edward* the Con- fessor, *William* the Conqueror, *William Rufus*, *Henry* the second, king *Richard* the first, king *John*, and *Henry* the third continued vnto them.



Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, & duke of Gascoigne, to all Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Carles, Barons, Iustices, Shyriks, Prouosts, Officers, & to all Wayliffes and true subiects greeting. You shall knowe that for the faithfull seruice that our Barons of the five Portes hitherto to our predecessors kings of England, & vnto vs lately in our armie of Wales haue done, and for their good seruice to vs and our heires kings of England, truly to be continued in time to come, we haue granted & by this our Charter confirmed for vs and our heires, to the same our Barons and to their heires, all their liberties and freedoms. So that they shall be free from all toll, and from all custome; that is to say from all lastage, tallage, passage, cariage, riuage, asponlage, and from all wycke, and from all their sale, carping and recarping through all our realme and dominion, with Locke and souke, toll and theme. And that they shall haue Infangthese, and that they shall be wycke free, lastage free, and louecopfree. And that they shall haue Denne and Strande at great Yarmouth, according as it is contained in the ordynance by vs thereof made perpetually to be obserued. And also that they are free from all shires and hundredes: so that if any person will plead against them, they shall not aunswere nor pleade otherwise then they were wont to plead in the time of the lord, king *Henrie* our great grandfather: And that they shall haue their findelles in the sea and in the land: And that they be free of all their goods and of all their marchandises as our freemen. And that they haue their honours in our court, and their liberties throughtout all the land wheresoeuer they shall come. And that they shall be free for euer of all their lands, which in the time of *Lord Henrie* the king our father they possessed: that is to say in the 44. yere of his reign, from all maner of summonces before our Iustices to any maner of pleadings, iourneying in what shire soeuer their lands are. So that they shall not be bound to come before the Iustices aforesaid, except any of the same Barons doe implead any man, or if any man be impleaded. And that they shall not pleade in any other place, except where they ought, and where they were wont, that is to say, at Shepeway. And that they haue their liberties and freedoms from henceforth, as they and their predecessors haue had them at any time better, more fully and honourably in the time of the kings of England, *Edward*, *William* the first, *William* the second, *Henrie* the king our great grandfather, and in the times of king *Richard*, and king *John* our grandfathers, and lord king *Henrie* our father, by their Charters: as the same Charters which the same our Barons thereof haue, and which we haue seene, doe reasonably testifie. And we forbid that no man vniuilly trouble them nor their marchandise vpon our forseiture of ten pounds. So neuertheless, that when the same Barons shall faile in doing of Justice or in receiuing of Justice, our Warden, and the wardens of our

The fishing at Great Yarmouth

Henry the thirde

Edward the con- fessor.

57 Shippes of
the Cinque
Portes bound
to serue the
king 15 dayes
at their owne
costs.

heires of the Cinque Portes, which for the time shall be, their Portes and libertics may enter for to doe their full Justice. So also that the sayd Barons and their heires, do unto vs and to our heires kings of England by the prate their full seruice of 57. Shippes at their costs by the space of fiftene dayes at our somoune, or at the somoune of our heires. We haue granted also unto them of our speciall grace that they haue Dutfanghtyse in their lands within the Portes aforesayd, in the same maner that Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Carles and Barons, haue in their manours in the countie of Kent. And they be not put in any Assises, Iuries, or Recognisances by reason of their foireine tenure against their will: and that they be free of all their owne wines for which they do trauaile of our right pyse, that is to say, of one tunne before the mast, and of another behind the mast. We haue granted furthermore unto the said Barons for vs and our heires, that they for euer haue this libertie, that is to say, That we or our heires shall not haue the wardship or mariages of their heires by reason of their landes, which they holde within the libertics and Portes aforesayde, for the which they doe their seruice aforesayd: and for the which wee and our progenitoys had not the wardships and mariages in tyme past. But we our aforesayd confirmation vpon the libertics and freedoms aforesayde, and our grants following to them of our especiall grace, of newe we haue caused to be made, sauing alwaies in al things our kingly dignitie: And sauing unto vs and to our heires, plea of our crowne, life and member. Wherefore we will and surely command for vs and our heires that the aforesaid Barons and their heires for euer haue all the aforesaid libertics and freedoms, as the aforesaid Charters do reasonably testifie. And that of our especiall grace they haue outfanghtyse in their lands within the Portes aforesaid after the maner that Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Carles and Barons haue in their manours in the county of Kent. And that they be not put in Assises, Iuries, or Recognisances by reason of their foireine tenure against their will. And that they bee free of their owne wines for which they trauaile of our right pyse or custome, that is to say of one tunne of wine before the mast, and of another tunne behinde the mast. And that likewise for euer they haue the libertie aforesayde: that is to say: That wee and our heires haue not the wardships or mariages of their heires by reason of their landes which they holde within the libertics and Portes aforesayd, for which they doe their seruice aforesaid, and for which wee and our predecessoys the wardships and mariages haue not had in tymes past. But our aforesaid confirmation of their libertics and freedoms aforesaid and other grants following to them of our especiall grace of newe we haue caused to bee made. Sauing alwayes and in all things our regall dignitie. And sauing unto vs and our heires the pleas of our crowne of life and member as is aforesayd. These being witnesses, the reuerend father Robert of Portuens Cardinall of the holie Church of Rome, frier William of Southhampton Prior pounicial of the friers preachers in England, William of Valencia our vnckle, Roger of the dead sea, Roger of Clifford, Master Robert Samuel deane of Sarum, Master Robert of Scarborough the Archdeacon of East Riding, Master Robert of Seyton, Bartholomew of Southley, Thomas of Wayland, Walter of Hoptan, Thomas of Normannel, Steuen of Pennefter, Frances of Bonaua, Iohn of Lenetores, Iohn of Mettingham and others. Given by our hand at Westminster the fourteenth day of June, in the sixth yeare of our reigne,

Thomas Walsingham writes that he had once 1100. strong shippes.

The roll of the huge flecte of *Edward* the third before Calice, extant in the kings great wardrobe in London, whereby the wonderfull strength of England by sea in those dayes may appeare.

The South flecte.

The Kings	{ Shippes Hariners	25. 419.	Hope	{ Shippes Hariners	2. 59.
London	{ Shippes Hariners	25. 662.	New Hithe	{ Shippes Hariners	5. 49.
Aileford	{ Shippes Hariners	2. 24.	Margat	{ Shippes Hariners	15. 160.
Or, Norne	{ Shippes Hariners	2. 24.	Motue	{ Shippes Hariners	2. 22.
Maydstone	{ Shippes Hariners	2. 51.	Feuersham	{ Shippes Hariners	2. 25.

Sandwich

Sandwich	{ Ships Mariners	22. 504.	Hithe	{ Ships Mariners	6. 122.
Douer	{ Ships Mariners	16. 336.	Shoreham	{ Ships Mariners	20. 329.
Wight	{ Ships Mariners	13. 220.	†Soford	{ Ships Mariners	5. 80. †Or, Seford.
Winchelfey	{ Ships Mariners	21. 596.	Newmouth	{ Ships Mariners	2. 18.
Waymouth	{ Ships Mariners	15. 263.	Hamowl- hooke	{ Ships Mariners	7. 117.
Lyme	{ Ships Mariners	4. 62.	Hoke	{ Ships Mariners	11. 208.
Seton	{ Ships Mariners	2. 25.	Southhāp- ton	{ Ships Mariners	21. 576.
Sydmouth	{ Ships Mariners	3. 62.	Leyming- ton	{ Ships Mariners	9. 159.
Exmouth	{ Ships Mariners	10. 193.	Poole	{ Ships Mariners	4. 94.
Tegmouth	{ Ships Mariners	7. 120.	Warham	{ Ships Mariners	3. 59.
Dartmouth	{ Ships Mariners	31. 757.	Swanzey	{ Ships Mariners	1. 29.
Portsmouth	{ Ships Mariners	5. 96.	Ilfercombe	{ Ships Mariners	6. 79.
Plimouth	{ Ships Mariners	26. 603.	†Patricke- stowe	{ Ships Mariners	2. 27. †Or, Padflow.
Loo	{ Ships Mariners	20. 315.	Polerwan	{ Ships Mariners	1. 60.
Yalme	{ Ships Mariners	2. 47.	Wadworth	{ Ships Mariners	1. 14.
†Fowey	{ Ships Mariners	47. 770. †Or, Foy.	Kardife	{ Ships Mariners	1. 51.
Bristol	{ Ships Mariners	22. 608.	Bridgwater	{ Ships Mariners	1. 15.
Tenmouth	{ Ships Mariners	2. 25.	Kaermar- then	{ Ships Mariners	1. 16.
Hasting	{ Ships Mariners	5. 96.	Cailechef- worth	{ Ships Mariners	1. 12.
Romney	{ Ships Mariners	4. 65.	Mulbrooke	{ Ships Mariners	1. 12.
Rye	{ Ships Mariners	9. 156.	Summe of the South fleet	{ Ships Mariners	493 9630

The North fleet.

Bamburgh	{ Ships Mariners	1. 9.	Newcastle	{ Ships Mariners	17. 314.
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Walcrich

Walcrich	{ Ships Mariners	1. 12.	Or, Yermouth. Yernimouth	{ Ships Mariners	43. 1950.02 1075.
Hertilpoolc	{ Ships Mariners	5. 145.	Donwich	{ Ships Mariners	6. 102.
Hull	{ Ships Mariners	16. 466.	Orford	{ Ships Mariners	3. 62.
Yorke	{ Ships Mariners	1. 9.	Goford	{ Ships Mariners	13. 303.
Rauenfer	{ Ships Mariners	1. 27.	Herwich	{ Ships Mariners	14. 283.
Woodhoule	{ Ships Mariners	1. 22.	Ipfwich	{ Ships Mariners	12 339.
Stockhithe	{ Ships Mariners	1. 10.	Mersey	{ Ships Mariners	1. 6.
Barton	{ Ships Mariners	3. 30.	New Brickelley. Brightling- sey	{ Ships Mariners	5. 61.
Swinefleete	{ Ships Mariners	1. 11.	Colchester	{ Ships Mariners	5. 90.
Salkfleet	{ Ships Mariners	2. 49.	Whitbanes	{ Ships Mariners	1. 17.
Grimesby	{ Ships Mariners	11. 171.	Malden	{ Ships Mariners	2. 32.
Waynefleet	{ Ships Mariners	2. 49.	Derwen	{ Ships Mariners	1. 15.
Wrangle	{ Ships Mariners	1. 8.	Boston	{ Ships Mariners	17. 361.
Or, Linne	{ Ships Mariners	16. 382.	Swinhum- ber	{ Ships Mariners	1. 32.
Blackney	{ Ships Mariners	2. 38.	Barton	{ Ships Mariners	5. 91.
Scarbo- rough	{ Ships Mariners	1. 19.	The Summe of the North fleete	{ Ships Mariners	217. 4521.

The summe total of all the { Ships 700.
English fleete { Mariners 14151.

Estrangers their ships and mariners.

Bayon	{ Ships Mariners	15. 439.	Flanders	{ Ships Mariners	14. 133.
Spayne	{ Ships Mariners	7. 184.	Gelderland	{ Ships Mariners	1. 24.
Ireland	{ Ships Mariners	1. 25.			

The summe of all the Estrangers { Ships 38.
Mariners 805.

The summe of expences at well of wages, & prets, as for the expences of the kings houses, and for other gifts and rewards, shippes and other things necessary to the parties of France and Normandie, and before Calice, during the siege there, as it appeareth in the accompts of William Norwel keeper of the kings Wardrobe, from the 21. day of April in the 18 yeere of the reigne of the said king, unto the foure and twentieth day of November in the one and twentieth yeere of his reigne, is iii. hundredth xxxvii. thousand li. ix. s. iiii. d.

A note out of Thomas Walsingham touching the huge Fleete of eleuen hundred well furnished ships wherewith king Edward the third passed ouer vnto Calais in the yeere 1359.

Anno gratia 1359. Iohannes Rex Franciæ sub vmbra pacis, & dolose obtulit Regi Angliæ Flandriam, Picardiam, Aquitaniam, aliasque terras quas equitauerat & vastarar: pro quibus omnibus ratificandis idem Rex Edwardus in Franciam nuncios suos direxit; quibus omnibus Franci contradixerunt. Vnde morus Rex Angliæ, celeriter se & suos præparauit ad transfretandum, ducens secum principem Walliæ Edwardum suum primogenitum, ducem Henricum Lancastriæ, & ferè procetes omnes, quos comitabantur vel sequebatur pæne mille currus, habuitque apud Sandwich instructas optime vndecies centum naues, & cum hoc apparatu ad humiliandum Francorum fastum Franciam nauigauit, relicto domino Thoma de Woodstock filio suo iuniore admodum paruulo, Anglici regni custode, sub tutela tamen.

The same in English.

In the yeere of our Lord 1359. Iohn the French king craftily, and vnder pretence of peace, offered vnto Edward the third king of England, Flanders, Picardie, Gascoigne, and other territories which he had spoyled and wasted: for the ratifying of which agreement, the foresaid king Edward sent his ambassadoys into France, but the Frenchmen gainesaid them in all their articles and demaunds. Whereupon the king of England being prouoked, speedily prepared himselfe and his forces to crosse the seas, carping with him Edward Prince of Wales his heire apparant, and Henry duke of Lancaster and almost all his Nobles, with a thousand wagons and cartes attending vpon them. And the said king had at Sandwich eleuen hundred ships exceedingly well furnished: with which preparation he passed ouer the seas, to abate the Frenchmens arrogancie: leauing his ponger sonne Thomas of Woodstocke, being very tender of age, as his vicegerent in the Realme of England; albeit not without a protectour, &c.

The voyage of Nicholas de Lynnæ a Franciscan Frier, and an excellent Mathematician of Oxford, to all the Regions situate vnder the North pole, in the yeere 1360. and in the raigne of Edward the 3. king of England.



Vod ad descriptionem partium Septentrionalium attinet, eam nos accipimus ex Itinerario Iacobi Cnoyen Buscoducensis, qui quædam ex rebus gestis Arthuri Britanni citat, maiorem autem partem & potiora, à Sacerdote quodam apud Regem Noruegiæ, An. Dom. 1364. didicit. Descenderat is ex illis quos Arthurus ad has habitandas insulas miserat, & referebat, An. 1360. Minoritam quendam Anglum Oxoniensem Mathematicum in eas insulas venisse, ipsisque relictis ad vteriora arte Magica profectum descripsisse omnia, & Astrolabio dimensum esse in hanc subiectam formam ferè, vti ex Iacobo collegimus. Euripos illos quatuor dicebat tanto impetu ad interiorum voraginem rapi, vt naues semel ingressæ nullo vento retroagi possent, nequè verò vnquam tantum ibi ventum esse, vt molæ frumentariæ circumagendæ sufficiat. Simillima his habet Giraldus Cambrensis (qui floruit, An. 1210.) in libro de mirabilibus Hyberniæ, sic enim scribit. Non procul ab insulis Hebridibus, Islandia, &c. ex parte Boreali, est maris quædam miranda vorago, in quam à remotis partibus omnes vndique fluctus marini tanquam ex conducto fluunt, & recurrunt, qui in secreta naturæ penetrabilia se ibi transfundentes, quasi in Abyssum vorantur. Si verò nauem hæc fortè transire contigerit, tanta rapitur, & attrahitur fluctuum violentia, vt eam statim irreuocabiliter vis voracitatis absorbeat.

Quatuor voragines huius Oceani, à quatuor oppositis mundi partibus Philosophi describunt, vnde & tam marinos fluctus, quam & Æolicos flatus causaliter peruenire nonnulli coniectant.

The words of Gerardus Mercator, in the front of his general map, vpon the description of the North partes.

The same in English.

T Duching the description of the North partes, I haue taken the same out of the voyage of James Cnoyen of Hartzeuan Buske, which allegeth certaine conquests of Arthur king of Britaine: and the most part, and chiefest things among the rest, he learned of a certaine priest in the king of Nozwapes court, in the yeere 1364. This priest was descended from them which king Arthur had sent to inhabite these Islands, and he reported that in the yeere 1360, a certaine English Frier, a Franciscan, and a Mathematician of Oxford, came into those Islands, who leauing them, and passing further by his Magicall Arte, described all those places that he sawe, and tocke the height of them with his Astrolabe, according to the forme that I (Gerard Mercator) haue set downe in my mappe, and as I haue taken it out of the aforesaid James Cnoyen. Dee sayd that those foure Indraughts were drawne into an inward gulfe or whirlpoole, with so great a force, that the ships which once entred therein, could by no meanes be driuen backe againe, and that there is neuer in those parts so much winde blowing, as might be sufficient to driue a Cozne mill.

Giraldus Cambrensis (who flozished in the yeere 1210, vnder king John) in his booke of the miracles of Ireland, hath certaine words altogether alike with these, videlicet:

There is a notable whirlpoole on the coast of Nozwap, called Palestrandre, about the latitude of 68.

Not farre from these Islands (namely the Hebrides, Island &c.) towards the North there is a certaine woonderful whirlpoole of the sea, whereinto all the waues of the sea from farre haue their course and recourse, as it were without stoppe: which, there conueying themselues into the secret receptacles of nature, are swallowed vp, as it were, into a bottomlesse pit, and if it chance that any shippe doe passe this way, it is pulled, and drawen with such a violence of the waues, that elswoones without remedy, the force of the whirlpoole deuoureth the same.

The Philosophers describe foure indraughts of this Ocean sea, in the foure opposite quarters of the world, from whence many doe coniecture that as well the flowing of the sea, as the blasts of the winde, haue their first originall,

A Testimonie of the learned Mathematician master

John Dee, touching the foresaid voyage of
Nicholas De Linna.



A Nno 1360. (that is to wit, in the 34. yeere of the reigne of the triumphant king Edward the third) a frier of Oxford, being a good Astronomer, went in company with others to the most Nozthen Islands of the world, and there leauing his company together, hee traualled alone, and purposely described all the Noztherne Islands, with the indrawing seas: and the record thereof at his returne he deliuered to the king of England. The name of which booke is Inuencio Fortunata (aliter fortunæ) qui liber incipit a gradu 54. vsque ad polum. Which frier for sundry purposes after that did five times passe from England thither, and home againe.

Inuencio Fortunata.

It is to be noted, that from the haucn of Linne in Nozfolke (whereof the foresaid Franciscan frier tooke his name) to Island, it is not aboue a fortnights sailing with an ordinarie winde, and hath bene of many yeeres a very common and vsuall trade: which further appeareth by the priuileges granted to the fishermen of the towne of Blacknie in the said Countie of Nozfolke, by king Edward the third, for their exemption and freedome from his ordinarie seruice, in respect of their trade to Island.

An. 2. & 4. & 31. Edwardi tertij.

The voyage of Henry Earle of Derby, after Duke of

Hereford, and lastly king of England, by the name of Henry

the fourth, An. Dom. 1390. into Prussia and

Lettowe, against the infidels, recor-

ded by Thomas of Walsingham,

An. Dom. 1390.



Dominus Henricus Comes de Derby per idem tempus profectus est in le Pruus, vbi cum adiutorio marescalli dictæ patriæ, & cuiusdam Regis vocati Wytot deuicit exercitum Regis de Lettowe, captis quatuor ducibus, & tribus peremptis, & amplius quam trecentis, de valentioribus exercitus supradicti pariter interemptis. Ciuitas quoque vocatur Will, in cuius castellum Rex de Lettowe nomine Skirgalle confugerat, potenti virtute dicti Comitis maximè

[Alias Vilna.]

maximè, atque suorum capta est. Namque qui fuerunt de familia sua primi inurum ascenderant, & vexillum ejus super muros, cæteris vel torpentibus vel ignorantibus, posuerunt. Captaque sunt ibi vel occisa quatuor millia plebanorum, fratre Regis de Poleyn inter cæteros ibi perempto, qui aduersarius nostri fuit. Obsessumque fuit castrum dictæ Ciuitatis per quinque hebdomadas: Sed proper infirmitates, quibus vexabatur exercitus magistri de Pruys & de Lifland noluerunt diutius expectare. Facti sunt Christiani de gente de Leitowe octo. Et magister de Lifland duxit secum in suam patriam tria millia captiuorum,

The same in English.

ABout the same time L. Henry the Earle of Derby trauailed into Prussia, where, with the helpe of the Marshall of the same Prouince, and of a certaine king called Wyrot, hee vanquished the armie of the king of Lettowe, with the captiuitie of foure Lithuanian Dukes, and the slaughter of thre, besides more then threer hundred of the principall common souldiers of the sayd armie which were slaine. The Citie also which is called Wil or Vilna, into the castle whereof the king of Lettow named Skirgalle fled for his sauegard, was, by the valour of the sayd Earle especially and of his followers, surprisid and taken. For certaine of the chiefe men of his familie, while others were stoutheull or at least ignorant of their intent, skaling the walles, aduanced his colours thereupon. And there were taken and slaine foure thousand of the common souldiers, and amongst others was slaine the king of Poland his brother, who was our professed enemie. And the castle of the foresaid Citie was besieged for the space of five weekes: but by reason of the infirmities and inconueniences wherewith the whole armie was annoyed, the great masters of Prussia and of Lifland would not stay any longer. There were conuerted of the nation of Lettowe eight persons vnto the Christian faith, And the master of Lifland carried home with him into his countrey threer thousand captiues.

The voyage of Thomas of Woodstocke Duke of Gloucester into Prussia, in the yeere 1391. written by Thomas Walsingham.

Eodem tempore dux Glouerniæ Dominus ¶ Thomas de Woodstock, multis mercentibus, iter apparauit versus le Pruys: quem non Londinensium gemitus, non communis vulgi moeror retinere poterant, quin proficisci vellet. Nam plebs communis tam Vrbanam quam rustica metuebant quod eo absente aliquod nouum detrimentum succresceret, quo præfente nihil tale timebant. Siquidem in eo spes & solatium totius patriæ reposita videbantur. Ipse verò mox, vt fines patriæ suæ transijt, illicò aduersa agitata fortuna, nunc hæc nunc illàc turbibus procellosis circumfertur; & in tantum destituitur, vt de vita etiam desperaret. Tandem post Daciam, post Norwagiam, post Scoticam barbariem non sine mortis pauore transcursum, peruenit Northumbriam, & ad castellum se contulit de Tinmemutha velut asylum antiquitus norum sibi: vbi per aliquot dies recreatus, iter assumpsit versus manerium suum de Plasby, magnum apportans gaudium toti regno, tam de ejus euasione, quam de aduentu suo.

¶ Filius natus natus Edwardi 3.

Redites;

The same in English.

At the same time the Duke of Gloucester Lord Thomas of Woodstock (the yongest sonne of Edward the thirde) to the great grieue of many, tooke his iourney towards Prussia: whom neither the Londoners moones nor yet the lamentation of the communitie could restraine from his intended expedition. For the common people both of the Citie and of the countrey feared lest in his absence some newe calamitie might happen; which they feared not while he was present. For in him the whole nation seemed to repose their hope and comfort. Howbeit hauing scarce passed as yet the bounds of his owne countrey, he was immediatly by hard fortune tossed vp and downe with dangerous stormes and tempests, and was brought into such distresse, that he despaired euen of his owne life. At length, hauing not without danger of death, sailed along the coastes of Denmarke, Norway, and Scotland, he returned into Northumberland, and went to the castle of Tinmouth as vnto a place of refuge knowne of olde vnto him: where, after hee had refreshed himselfe a fewe dayes, hee tooke his iourney toward his Mannour of Plasby, bringing great ioy vnto the whole kingdome, as well in regard of his safetie as of his returne.

The verses of Geofrey Chaucer in the knights Prologue, who living in the yeere 1402. (as hee writeth himselfe in his Epistle of Cupide) shewed that the English Knights after the losse of Acon, were wont in his time to trauaile into Prussia and Lettowe, and other heathen lands, to aduance the Christian faith against Infidels and miscreants, and to seeke honour by feats of armes.

The English Knights Prologue.



A Knight there was, and that a worthie man,
that from the time that he first began
to riden out, he loued Cheualtrie,
trouth, honour, freedome, and Curtesie,
full worthy was he in his lordes warre :

Long trauaile. As well in Chyristendome as in Weathennesse,
and euer had honour for his worthynesse.

Alexandria. At Alisandre hee was, when it was wonne :
full oft time hee had the bourd begon
abouen all nations in Pruce,

Lettove, Ruce. In Lettove had hee riden, and in Ruce,
no Chyristen man so oft of his degree :

Algezer in Granada. In Granade at the siege had hee
At Algezer : and ridden in Belmarye :
At Leyes was hee, and also at Satalye,
when they were wonne : and in the great see
at many a Noble armie had hee bee.

Satalie in the mapne of Asia At mortall battailes had he bin sifteene,
And foughten for our faith at Tramissen,
in listes thries, and aye slayne his foe :

Tremisen in Barbarie. This ilke worthie Knight had bin also,
sometime with the lord of Palathye
apenst another Weathen in Turkie.

Or, Palice Written in the lustie moneth of May
Froylart lib. 3. in our Palace, where many a million
cap. 40. of louers true haue habitation,
Turkie. The yeere of grace ioyfull and iocond,
The time when Chaucer wrote, is thus
mentioned in the end of his
letter of Cupide. a thousand, foure hundred and second.

The original, proceedings and successe of the Northren
domestical and forren trades and traffiques of this Isle of
Britain from the time of Nero the Emperour, who deceased in the
yeere of our Lord 70. vnder the Romans, Britons, Saxons, and
Danes, till the conquest: and from the conquest, vntill
this present time, gathered out of the most
authenticall histories and records
of this nation.

A testimonie out of the fourteenth Booke of the Annales
of Cornelius Tacitus, proouing London to haue bene a famous Mart
Towne in the reigne of Nero the Emperour, which died in the yeere of
Christ 70.



Suctonius mira constantia medios inter hostes Londinium perrexit, cognomento
quidem coloniz non insigne, sed copia negotiatorum & comeatu maxime celebre.

The same in English.

But Suctonius with wonderfull constancie passed through the midst of his enemies,
vnto London, which though it were not honoured with the name and title of a
Romane

Romane Colonie, yet was it most famous for multitude of Merchants and concourse of people.

A testimonie out of Venerable Beda (which died in the yeere of our Lord 734.) proving London to have bene a Citie of great traffike and Marchandize not long after the beginning of the Saxons reigne.

Beda Ecclesiæ histon-
Gentis Anglo-
rum lib. 2, cap. 3.



Nno Dominicæ incarnationis sexcentesimo quarto Augustinus Britanniarum Archiepiscopus ordinavit duos Episcopos, Mellitum videlicet & Iustum Mellitum quidem ad prædicandum provincie Orientalium Saxonum, qui Tamesi fluvio dirimuntur à Cantia, & ipsi Orientali Mari contigui, quorum Metropolis Londonia Ciuitas est, super ripam præfati fluminis posita, & ipsa multorum emporium populorum, terra marique venientium.

The same in English.

In the yeere of the incarnation of Christ 604. Augustine Archbishop of Britaine consecrated two Bishops, to wit Mellicus and Iustus. He appoynted Mellicus to preach to the East Saxons, which are divided from Kent by the riuer of Thames, and border upon the Easterne sea, whose chiefe and Metropolitane Citie is London, seated upon the banke of the aforesayd riuer, which is also a Parte Towne of many nations, which repayze thither by sea and by land.

The league betweene Carolus Magnus and Offa King of Mercia concerning safe trade of the English Marchants in all the Emperours Dominion. This Offa died in the yeere of our Lord

795.



Quæ interea Carolum magnum Regem Francorum frequentibus legationibus amicum paravit: quamvis non facile quod suis artibus conduceret in Caroli animo inuenerit. Discordarunt antea, adeo vt magnis motibus utrobique concurrentibus, etiam negociatorum commeatus prohiberentur. Est Epistola Albinus biniuiscerei index, cuius partem hic apponam.

Malmshur. de
gestis Regum
Anglorum lib. 2,
cap. 4.

Nescio quid de nobis venturum sit. Aliquid enim dissentionis diabolico somento inflammante, nuper inter Regem Carolum & Regem Offam exortum est: ira vt utrinque nauigatio interdicta negociantibus cesset, Sunt qui dicant nos pro pace in illas partes mittendos. Et nonnullis interpositis, Nunc, inquit, ex verbis Caroli foedus firmum inter eum & Offam compactum subijciam. Carolus gratia Dei Rex Francorum, & Longobardorum, & patricius Romanorum, viro venerando & fratri charissimo Offæ Regi Merciorum salutem, Primo gratias agimus omnipotenti deo, de salute animarum, de Catholicæ fidei sinceritate, quam in vestris laudabiliter paginis reperimus exaratam. De peregrinis vero qui pro amore Dei, & salute animarum suarum beatorum Apostolorum limina desiderant adire, cum pace sine omni perturbatione vadant. Sed si aliqui, non religioni feruientes, sed luca sectantes, inueniantur inter eos, locis opportunis statuta soluant telonia. Negociatores quoque volumus vt ex mandato nostro patrocinium habeant in Regno nostro legitime. Et si aliquo loco iniusta affligantur oppressione, reclamant ad nos vel nostros iudices, & plenam videbimus iustitiam fieri.

Nauigatio in-
terdicta.

Negotiatorum
Anglicanorum
patrocinium.

The same in English.

In the meane season Offa by often legacies solicited Charles le maigne the king of France, to be his friend: albeit he could not easily finde king Charles any whit inclined to further and promote his craftie attempts. Their mindes were so alienated before, that, bearing haury stomachs on both parts, euen the mutuall traffique of their Merchants was prohibited. The Epistle of Albinus is a sufficient testimonny of this matter: part whereof I will here put downe.

Traffique pro-
hibited.

I know not (quoth he) what will become of vs. For there is of late, by the instigation of the deuill, some discorde and variance sprung vp betweene king Charles and king Offa: insomuch

Navigation
forbidden,

that sailing to and fro is forbidden unto the Marchants of both their dominions. Some say that we are to be sent, for the obtaining of a peace, into those partes. And againe, after a few lines. Nowe (quoth he) out of Charles his owne words, I will make report of the league concluded betweene him and Offa.

A league be-
tweene Carol.
Mag. and K. Offa.

Charles by the grace of God king of the Franks and Lombards and Senatour of the Romanes, unto the reuerend and his most deare brother Offa king of the Mercians sendeth greeting. First we doe render vnto almighty God most humble thanks for the saluation of soules, and the sinceritie of the Catholique faith, which we, to your great commendation, haue found signified in your letters. As touching those pilgrimes, who for the loue of God and their owne soules health, are desirous to resort vnto the Churches of the holy Apostles, let them goe in peace without all disturbance. But if any be found amongst them not honouring religion, but following their owne gaine, they are to pay their ordinarie customes at places conuenient. It is our pleasure also and commandement, that your marchants shall haue lawfull patronage and protection in our dominions. Who, if in any place they chance to be afflicted with any iniust oppression, let them make their supplication vnto vs, or vnto our Judges, and we will see iustice executed to the full.

Protection of
the English
Marchants.

An ancient testimonie translated out of the olde Saxon lawes,
containing among other things the aduancement of Marchants for their thrise
crossing the wide seas, set downe by the learned Gentleman Master William Lam-
bert pagina 500. of his perambulation of Kent.

It was sometime in English lawes, that the people and the lawes were in reputation: and then were the wisest of the people worship-worthy, euery one after his degree: Earle, and Churle, Thein, and vader-Thein. And if a churle thriued so, that hee had fully five hides of his owne land, a Church and a Kitchen, a Belhouse, and a gate, a seate, and a seuerall office in the Kings hall, then was he thenceforth the Theins right worthy. And if a Thein so thriued, that he serued the king, and on his message rid in his houshold, if he then had a Thein that followed him, the which to the kings iourney five hides had, and in the kings seate his Lord serued, and thise with his errand had goue to the king, he might afterward with his forcoch his lords part play at any great neede. And if a Thein did thriue so, that he became an Earle; then was he afterward an Earles right worthy. And if a Marchant so thriued, that he passed thrise ouer the wide seas, of his owne craft, he was thenceforth a Theins right worthy. And if a scholar so prospered thorrow learning that he degree had, and serued Christ, he was then afterward of dignitie and peace so much worthy, as thereunto belonged: vntesse he forfeited so, that he the vse of his degree vlcne might.

William of
Malmsh. lib. 2.
cap. 9. de gestis
Regum Anglorum.

A testimonie of certaine priuiledges obtained for the English
and Danish Marchants of Conradus the Emperour and Iohn the Bishop of
Rome by Canutus the King of England in his iourney to Rome, extracted out
of a letter of his written vnto the Cleargie of England.



It vobis notum quia magna congregatio nobilium in ipsa solemnitate Pascali, Romæ cum Domino Papa Ioanne, & imperatore Conrado erat, scilicet omnes principes gentium a monte Gargano, vsque ad istum proximum Mare: qui omnes me & honorifice susceperunt, & magnificis donis honorauere. Maxime autem ab imperatore donis varijs & muneribus pretiosis honoratus sum, tam in vasis aureis & argenteis, quam in pallijs & vestibus valde pretiosis. Locutus sum igitur cum ipso imperatore, & Domino Papa, & principibus qui ibi erant, de necessitatibus totius populi mei, tam Angli quam Dani, vt eis concederetur lex æquior, & pax securior in via Romæ adeundi, & ne tot clausuris per viam arcerentur, & propter iniustum teloneum fatigaretur. Annuitque postulatis Imperator, & Rodolphus Rex, qui maxime ipsarum clausurarum dominatur, cunctique principes edictis firmanunt, vt homines mei tam Mercatores, quam alij orandi gratia viatores, absque omni anguria clausurarum & teloneariorum, cum firma pace Romam eant & redeant.

The same in English

YOU are to vnderstand, that at the feast of Easter, there was a great company of Nobles with Pope Iohn and Conradus the Emperour assembled at Rome, namely all the princes of the nations from mount Garganus vnto the West Ocean Sea. Who all of them honourably inter-
 teined mee, and welcomed mee with rich and magnificent gifts; but especially the Emperour be-
 stowed diuers costly presents and rewards vpon mee, both in vessels of golde and siluer, and also
 in cloakes and garments of great value. Wherefore I conferred with the Emperour himselfe
 and the Pope, and with the other Princes who were there present, concerning the necessities of
 all my subjects both Englishmen and Danes; that a more favourable law & secure peace in their
 way to Rome might bee graunted vnto them, and that they might not bee hindered by so many
 stops & impediments in their iourney, and wearied by reason of iniust exactions. And the Empe-
 rour condescended vnto my request, and king Rodolphus also, who hath greatest authoritie ouer
 the foresaid stops and streights, and all the other princes confirmed by their Edicts, that my sub-
 jects, as well Marchants, as others who trauailed for deuotions sake, should without all hindre-
 rance and restraint of the foresaid stops and customers, goe vnto Rome in peace, and returne
 from thence in safetie.

Garganus a
 mountaine of
 Apulia in Italie.

The flourishing state of Marchandise in the Citie
 of London in the dayes of Willielmus Malmesburiensis,
 which died in the yeere 1142. in the reigne of K. Stephen.

HAud longe a Rosa quasi viginti quinque milliarijs est Londonia Ciuitas no-
 bilis; opima ciuium diuitijs, conlripata negociatorum ex omni terra, &
 maxime ex Germania venientium, commercijs. Vnde fit vt cum vbique in
 Anglia caritas victualium pro sterili prouentu messium fit, ibi necessaria di-
 strahantur & emantur minore, quam alibi, vel vendentium compendio, vel
 ementium dispendio. Peregrinas inuehit merces Ciuitatis sinibus Tamesis
 fluius famosus, qui citra urbem ad 80. milliaria fonticulo susus, vltra plus 70. nomen profert,

Guliel. Malmesb.
 de gestis pont.
 Anglorum lib. 2.

The same in English.

NOT farre from Rochester, about the distance of five and twenty miles, standeth the Noble
 Citie of London, abounding with the riches of the inhabitants, and being frequented with
 the traffique of Marchants resorting thither out of all nations, and especially out of Germanie.
 Whereupon it commeth to passe, that when any generall dearth of victuals falleth out in Eng-
 land, by reason of the scarcitie of corne, things necessary may there be provided and bought with
 lesse gaine vnto the sellers, and with lesse hinderance and losse vnto the buyers, then in any other
 place of the Realme. Outlandish wares are conueighed into the same Citie by the famous riuer
 of Thames: which riuer springing out of a fountaine 80. miles beyond the Citie, is called by
 one and the selfe same name, 70. miles beneath it.

Germanic.

The foresaid William of Malmesburie writeth of
 traffike in his time to Bristowe in his fourth booke de
 gestis pontificum Anglorum, after this maner.

In eadem valle est vicus celeberrimus Bristow nomine, in quo est nauium portus ab Hi-
 bernia & Norwegia & cæteris transmarinis terris venientium receptaculum, ne scilicet
 genitalibus diuitijs tam fortunata regio peregrinarum opum frauderetur commercio.

The same in English.

In the same valley stands the famous Towne of Bristow, with an Haven belonging therunto,
 which is a commodious and safe receptacle for all ships directing their course for the same, from
 Ireland, Norway, and other outlandish and frozen countreys: namely that a region so fortunate
 and blessed with the riches that nature hath vouchsafed thereupon should not bee destitute of the
 wealth and commodities of other lands.

Norway.

The league betweene *Henry the second and Fredericke Barbarossa Emperour of Germanie*, wherein is mention of friendly traffike betweene the Marchants of the Empire and England, confirmed in the yeere of our Lord 1157. recorded in the first Booke and seuenenth Chapter of Raduicus Canonicus Frisingensis, being an appendix to Otto Frisingensis.



Bidem tunc affuere etiam Henrici Regis Angliæ missi, varia & preciosa donaria multo lepore verborum adornata præstantes. Inter quæ papilionem vnum quantitate maximum, qualitate optimum perspeximus. Cuius si quantitatem requiris, non nisi machinis & instrumentorum genere & adminiculo leuari poterat: si qualitatem, nec materia nec opere ipsum putem aliquando ab aliquo huiusce apparatusu superatum iri. Literas quoque mellito sermone plenè pariter direxerit, quarum hic tenor fuit. Præcordiali amico suo, Frederico Dei gratia Romanorum imperatori inuictissimo, Henricus Rex Angliæ, dux Normanniæ, & Aquitaniæ, & Comes Andegauensis, salutem, & veræ dilectionis concordiam. Excellentiæ vestræ quantas possumus referimus grates, dominantium optime, quod nos nuncijs vestris visitare, salutare literis, muneribus præuenire, & quod his charius amplectimur, pacis & amoris inuicem dignatus estis fœdera inchoare. Exultauimus, & quodammodo animum nobis crescere, & in maius sensimus euehi dum vestra promissio, in qua nobis spem dedistis, in disponendis Regni nostri negocijs, alacriores nos reddidit, & promptiores. Exultauimus inquam, & tota mente magnificentiæ vestræ assutreximus, id vobis in sincero cordis affectu respondentes, quod quicquid ad honorem vestrum spectare nouerimus, pro posse nostro effectui mancipare parati sumus, Regnum nostrum, & quicquid vbiq; nostræ subijcitur ditioni vobis exponimus & vestræ committimus potestati, vt ad vestrum nutum omnia disponantur, & in omnibus vestri fiat voluntas imperij. Sit igitur inter nos & populos nostros dilectionis & pacis vnitas indiuisa, commercia tuta: Ita tamen vt vobis, qui dignitate præminetis, imperandi cedat autoritas, nobis non deerit voluntas obsequendi. Et sicut vestræ Serenitatis memoriam vestrorum excitat in nobis munerum largitio, sic vos nostri quoque reminisci præoptamus, mittentes quæ pulchriora penes nos erant, & vobis magis placitura. Attendite itaque dantis affectum, non data, & eo animo quò dantur accipite. De manu beati Iacobi, super qua nobis scripsistis, in ore magistri Herberti & Guilielmi Clerici nostri verbû posuimus. Teste Thoma Cancellario apud Northanton.

Commercia inter
Germanos &
Anglos,

The same in English.

There were present also the same time, the messengers of Henry king of England presenting diuers rich and precious gifts, and that with great learning & eloquence of speech. Amongst the which we saw a pavilion, most large in quantity, & most excellent in quality. For if you desire to know the quantitie thereof, it could not be erected without engines and a kinde of instruments, and maine force: if the qualitie, I thinke there was neuer any furniture of the same kinde, that surpassed the same either in suffice or workemanship. The said king directed his letters also, full of sugred speeches, the tenour whereof was this that followeth.

To his entirely beloued friend Frederick by the grace of God Emperour of the Romanes most inuincible, Henry king of England, duke of Normandie and Aquitaine, Earle of Anjou witheth health and concord of sincere amitie. We doe render vnto your highnes (most renowned and peerelesse Prince) exceeding great thanks for that you haue so graciously vouchsafed by your messengers to visite vs, in your letters to salute vs, with your gifts to present vs, and (which wee doe moze highly esteeme of then all the rest) to begiune a league of peace and friendship betweene vs. We reioyced, and in a maner sensibly felt our selues to bee greatly emboldened, and our courage to encrease, whilst your promise, whereby you put vs in good comfort, did make vs moze cheerefull and resolute, in managing the affaires of our kingdome. We reioyced (I say) & in our secret cogitations did humble obeisance vnto your Maiestie, giuing you at this time to vnderstand fro the sincere & vnfeined affection of our heart, that whatsoever we shal know to tend vnto your honour, we are, to our power most ready to put in practise. Our kingdome, and what soeuer is vnder our iurisdiction we doe offer vnto you, and commit the same vnto your highnesse, that all matters may be disposed according to your direction, and that your pleasure may in all things be fulfilled. Let there be therefore betweene our selues and our subiects, an indiuisible vnite of friendship and peace, and safe trade of Marchandize: yet so, as that vnto you (who excell in dignitie) authoritie in commanding may bee ascribed, and diligence in obeying shall not want in vs. And as the liberalitie of your rewards doeth often put vs in remembrance of your Maiestie, euen so in like maner sending vnto your Highnesse the most rare things

things in our custodie, and which we thought should be most acceptable vnto you, Wee doe most heartily wish that your selfe also would not altogether bee vniuersall of vs. Haue respect therefore not vnto the gifts, but vnto the affection of the giuer, and accept of them with that minde, wherewith they are offered vnto you.

Concerning the haue of S. James, about which you wrote vnto vs, we haue sent you word by M. Herbert, and by William the Clerke. Witnes Thomas our Chancelour at Northanton.

**A generall safe conduct graunted to all forreine Marchants by
king Iohn in the "first yeere of his reigne, as appeareth in the Records of the
Tower, Anno 1. Regis Ioannis.** ¶ 1199.



Iohannes Dei gratia &c. Maiori & Comunitati Londinensi salutem, Sciatis voluntatem esse nostram, quod omnes Mercatores de quacunq; fuerint terra saluum habeant conductum ire & redire cum mercibus suis in Angliam. Voluimus etiam quod eandem habeant pacem in Anglia, quam Mercatores de Anglia habent in terris illis vnde fuerunt egressi. Et ideo vobis præcipimus, quod hoc faciatis denunciari in Balliua vestra, & firmiter teneri; pernuentes eos ire & redire sine impedimento per debitas & rectas & solitas consuetudines in Balliua vestra. Teste Galfredo filio Petri comite Essexiæ apud Kinefard 5. die Aprilis.

Solita me-
torum consue-
tudines.

In eadem forma scribitur vicecomiti Sudsex, Maiori & communitati Ciuitatis Winton, Balliuo de Southampton, Balliuo de Lenne, Balliuo Kent, Vicecomiti Norfolkciæ & Suffolciæ, Vicecomiti dorset & Sommerset, Baronibus de quinque portibus, Vicecomiti de Southampton sire, Vicecomiti de Herteford & Essex, Vicecomiti Cornubiæ & Deuon.

The same in English

Iohn by the grace of God &c. to the Mayor and communitie of London, greeting. You are to vnderstand, that it is our pleasure, that all Marchants of what nation soeuer, shall haue safe conduct to passe and repasse with their Marchandize into England. It is our will also, that they be vouchsafed the same fauour in England, which is graunted vnto the English Marchants in those places from whence they come. And therefore we giue you in charge, that you cause this to be published, and proclaimed in your bailiwicke, & firmitly to be obserued, permitting them to goe & come, without impediment, according to the due, right and ancient customes vsed in your said Bailiwicke. Witnesse Geofry Fitz-Peter Earle of Essex at Kinefard the 5. day of April.

The ancient
customs of
Marchants.

The same forme of writing was sent to the sherife of Sudsex, to the Mayor and communitie of the Citie of Winchester, to the Bailly of Southampton, the Bailly Lenne, the Bailly of Kent, the sherife of Norfolk and Suffolke, the sherife of Dorset and Sommerfet, the Barons of the Cinque-ports, the sherife of Southampton-shire, the sherife of Hertford and Essex, the sherife of Cornewal and Deuon,

**Literæ regis Henrici tertij ad Haquinum Regem Norwegiæ
de pacis fœdere & intercurfu mercandisandi** ¶ Anno 1. Henrici 3.

¶ 1216.



Henicus Dei gratia &c. Haquino eadem gratia Regi Norwegiæ salutem, Immenfas nobilitati vestræ referimus gratiarum actiones de his quæ per literas vestras & prudentem virum Abbatem de Lisa, nobis significastis, volentes & desiderantes fœdus pacis & dilectionis libenter nobiscum inire, & nobiscum confœderari. Bene autem placet & placebit nobis quod terre nostræ cõmunes sint, & Mercatores & homines qui sunt de potestate vestra libere & sine impedimento terram nostram adire possint, & homines & Mercatores nostri similiter terrâ vestram. Dum tamen literas vestras patentes super hoc nobis destinetis, & nos vobis nostras transmittemus. Interim autem bene volumus & concedimus, quod Mercatores tam de terra vestra quàm nostra eant, veniant, & recedant per terras nostras, Et si quid vestræ sederit voluntati, quod facere valeamus, id securè nobis significetis. Detinuimus autem adhuc Abbatem prædictum, vt de nauî vestra & rebus in ea contentis pro posse nostro restitutionem fieri faceremus: per quem de statu nostro & Regni nostri vos certificare curabimus, & quàm citius &c. Teste me ipso apud Lambithe decimo die Octobris.

Eodem modo scribitur S. Duci Norwegiæ ibidem & eodem die.

The letters of King *Henry* the third vnto *Haquinus*

*King of Norway concerning a treatie of peace
and mutuall traffique of marchan-
dize, &c,*

HENRY by the grace of God, &c. vnto *Haquinus* by the same grace King of Norway, sendeth greeting. Wee render vnto your highnesse vnspokeable thanks for those things which by your letters, and by your discrete subject the *Abbat of Lisa*, you haue signified vnto vs, and also for that you are right willing and desirous to begin and to conclude betweene vs both, a league of peace and amitie. And wee for our part both nowe are, and hereafter shalbe well contented, that both our lands be common, to the ende that the *Marchants* and people of your dominions may freely and without impediment resort vnto our land, and our people and *Marchants* may likewise haue recourse vnto your territories. Provided, that for the confirmation of this matter, you send vnto vs your letters patents, and wee will send ours also vnto you. Howbeit in the meane while wee doe will and freely graunt, that the *Marchants* both of our and your lands, may goe, come, and returne to and from both our Dominions. And if there be ought in your minde, whereby we might stand you in any stead, you may boldly signifie the same vnto vs. Wee haue as yet deteined the foresaid *Abbat*, that wee might, to our abilitie, cause restitution to be made for your ship, and for the things therein contained: by whome wee will certifie you of our owne estate, and of the estate of our kingdome so soone, &c. Witnesse our selfe at *Lambich* the tenth of *October*.

Another letter in the same forme and to the same effect was there and then sent vnto *S. Duke of Norway*.

Mandatum pro *Coga Regis Norwegiæ Anno 13.*

Henrici 3.

Mandatum est omnibus *Balliuis portuum* in quos ventura est *Coga de Norwegia*, in qua venerint in *Angliam* milites *Regis Norwegiæ* & *Mercatores Saxonix*, quod cum prædictam *Cogam* in portus suos venire contigerit, saluò permittant ipsam *Cogam* in portibus suis morari, quamdiu necesse habuerit, & libere sine impedimento inde recedere quando voluerint, Teste Rege.

The same in English.

A Mandate for the King of *Norway* his Ship

called the Cog.

WEe will and commaund all bailifes of *Portes*, at the which the *Cog of Norway* (wherein certaine of the king of *Norwaie* his souldiers, and certaine *Marchants* of *Saxonic* are comming for *England*) shall touch, that, when the foresaid *Cog* shall chance to arriue at any of their *Hauens*, they doe permit the said *Cog* safely to remaine in their said *Hauens* so long as neede shall require, and without impediment also freely to depart thence, whensoever the gouernours of the sayd ship shall thinke it expedient. Witnesse the King.

Carta pro Mercatoribus de *Colonia* anno 20. *Hen-*

rici 3. Confirmata per Regem Edwardum primum

*S. Iulij Anno Regni 18, prout extat in ro-
tulo cartarum de Anno 18.*

*Regis Edwardi
primi.*

¶ Antiqua con-
suetudo *Gild-
halle Colonien-
sum Londini.*

REx Archiepiscopis &c. salutem. Sciatis nos quietos clamasse pro nobis & hæredibus nostris dilectos nostros, *Ciues de Colonia*, & mercandisam suam de illis duobus solidis, ¶ quos solebant dare de *Gildhalla sua London*, & de omnibus alijs

alijs consuetudinibus & demandis, quæ pertinent ad nos in London, & per totam terram nostram; & quod liberè possunt ire ad ferias, per totam terram nostram & emere & vendere in villa London & alibi, salua libertate Ciuitatis nostræ London. Quare volumus & firmiter præcipimus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris, quod prædicti ciues de Colonia prænominatas libertates & liberas consuetudines habeant per totam terram nostram Angliæ sicut prædictum est. His testibus, venerabili patre Waltero Caerleolensi Episcopo, Willielmo de Ferrarijs, Gilberto Basset, Waltero de Bello campo, Hugone Dispenser, Waltero Marescallo, Galfrido Dispenser, Bartholomæo Pech, Bartholomæo de Saukeuill, & alijs. Data per manum venerabilis patris Radulphi Ciciatrensis Episcopi, Cancellarij nostri apud Dauintre Octauo die Nouembris, Anno Regni nostri vicesimo.

The same in English

A Charter graunted for the behalfe of the Marchants
of Colen in the twentieth yeere of Henry the third, confirmed by King Edward the first, as it is extant in the
roule of Charters, in the eighteenth
yeere of King Edward
the first.

The King vnto Archbishops &c. greeting. Be it knowen vnto you, that wee haue quite claimed, and for vs and our heires released our welbeloued the Citizens of Colen and their marchandize, from the payment of those two shillings which they were wont to pay out of their Guildhall at London, and from all other customes and demaunds, which pertaine vnto vs, either in London, or in any other place of our Dominions: and that they may safely resort vnto Fapers throughout our whole Kingdome, and buy and sell in the Citie of London. Wherefore we will and firmly command for vs and our heires, that the forenamed Marchants of Colen may enioy the liberties and free priuiledges aboue-mentioned, throughout our whole kingdome of England as is aforesaid. Witnesses, the reuerend father Walter Bishop of Carliu, William de Ferrarijs, Gilbert Basset, Walter de Beau-champ, Hugh Dispenser, Walter Marescall, Geofrie Dispenser, Bartholomew Peach, Bartholomew de Saukeuill and others. Given by the hand of the reuerend father Ralph Bishop of Chichester and our Chauncellour at Dauintre, the eight day of Nouember, in the twentieth yeere of our reigne.

The ancient custome of the Colonsers Guildhall in London.

Carta Lubecensibus ad septennium concessa.

Anno 41. Henrici 3.

Henicus dei gracia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hiberniæ, dux Normanniæ, Aquitaniæ, & Comes Andegaviæ, omnibus Balliis suis salutem. Sciatis nos ad instantiam dilecti & fidelis fratris nostri Ricardi Comitis Cornubiæ in Regem Romanorum electi, suscepisse in protectionem & defensionem nostram & saluum & securum conductum nostrum Burgenses de Lubek in Alemania cum omnibus rebus & mercandis quas in Regno nostrum deferent, vel facient deferri. Et eis concessimus, quod de omnibus rebus & mercandis suis nihil capiatur ad opus nostrum vel alterius contra voluntatem eorundem; sed libere vendant & negociantur inde in Regno prædicto, prout sibi viderint expedire. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod dictis Burgensibus vel eorum nuncijs in veniendo in terram nostram cum rebus & mercandis suis, ibidem morando, & inde recedendo, nullum inferatis, aut ab alijs inferri permittatis impedimentum aut grauamen. Nec eos contra quietantiam prædictam vexetis, aut ab alijs vexari permittatis. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes per septennium durantes: Dum tamen iidem Burgenses interim bene & fideliter se habuerint erga præfatum electum fratrem nostrum. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium vndecimo die Maij Anno Regni nostri quadragesimo primo. Hæc litera duplicata est, pro Burgensibus & mercatoribus Dacis, Brunswig, & Lubek.

Ricardus Comes Cornubiæ Rex Romanorum.

Carta condicio- nalis.

The

The same in English.

The charter of Lubek granted for seuen yeeres, obtained
in the one and fortieth yeere of Henry the third.

HENRY by the grace of God King of England, Lord of Ireland, Duke of Normandie and Aquiraine, and Earle of Anjou, to all his Bailiffs sendeth greeting. Know ye that at the instant request of our welbeloued and trusty brother Richard Earle of Cornewal being of late elected king of the Romanes, we haue receiued vnder our protection and defence, and vnder our safe and secure conduct, the citizens of Lubek in Alemain, with all their goods and wares, which they shall bring or cause to be brought into our kingdome. We haue also granted vnto them, that of all their goods and merchandize, nothing shal be seized vnto the vse of our selues, or of any other without their owne consent, but that they may freely sell and exercise traffike therewith, according as they shall thinke expedient. And therefore we straightly command you, that neither your selues do offer, nor that you permit any other to offer any impediment or molestation vnto the said Burgers or vnto their messengers, either at their coming into our land, with their goods and merchandize, in the time of their abode there, or at their departure from thence, and that pee neither molest them your selues, nor yet suffer them by others to be molested, contrary to the aforesaid Charter. In testimonie whereof, we haue caused these our Letters to be made Patents, during the space of seuen yeeres next following.

Provided, that the sayd Burghers doe in the meane time behaue themselves well and faithfully towards our foresaid elected brother. Witnesse our selues at Westminster the eleuenth day of March, in the one and fortieth yeere of our reigne,

This Letter was doubled, namely for the Burghers, and the Marchants of Denmarke, of Brunswig, and of Lubecke,

Carta pro Mercatoribus Alemannia, qui habent domum

in London, quæ Gildhalla Teutonicorum vulgariter nuncupatur Anno 44. Henrici tertij, & Anno primo & 29. Edwardi primi renouata & confirmata.



AD instantiam Serenissimi principis Richardi Romanorum Regis charissimi fratris nostri concedimus mercatoribus Alemannia, illis videlicet qui habent domum in Ciuitate nostra London, quæ Gildhalla Teutonicorum vulgariter nuncupatur, quod eos vniuersos manutenebimus per totum Regnū nostrum in omnibus iisdem libertatibus & liberis consuetudinibus, quibus ipsi nostris & || progenitorum nostrorum temporibus vsi sunt & gauisi. Ipsosque extra huiusmodi libertates & liberis consuetudines non trahemus, nec trahi aliquatenus permittemus. In cuius rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes,

¶ Nota antiquitatem.

The same in English.

A charter for the Marchants of *Almaine*, who haue an house

at London commonly called † the Guildhall of the Dutch,
graunted in the 44. yeere of Henry the third, renewed
and confirmed in the 1. & 29. yeere of
Edward the first.

‡ The Siltiard.

AT the instant request of the most gracious Prince Richard king of the Romanes our most deare brother, wee doe graunt vnto the Marchants of Alemain (namely vnto those that haue an house in our citie of London, commonly called the Guildhall of the Dutch Marchants) that we will, throughout our whole Realme, maintaine all and euery of them, in all those liberties and free customes, which both in our times, and in the times of our progenitors, they haue vsed and enioyed. Neither will we inforce them beyond these liberties and free customes, nor in any wise permit them to be inforced. In witness whereof, wee haue caused these our letters to be made patents.

¶ Note the antiquitie.

Mandatum regis Edwardi primi de mercatoribus alienigenis.

Mercatores extranei vendant mercimonia sua in ciuitate London &c. infra quadraginta dies post ingressum suum, anno 3. Edwardi primi.

The same in English.

A mandate of king Edward the first concerning outlandish marchants.

We will and command that outlandish marchants doe sell their wares in the citie of London &c. within forty dayes of their arruall.

The great Charter granted vnto forreine marchants
by king Edward the first, in the 31 yeare of his reigne
commonly called *Carta mercatoria*, Anno
Domini 1303.



Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, Dominus Hiberniæ, dux Aquitaniæ, Archiepiscopus, Episcopus, Abbatibus, Prioribus, Comitibus, Baronibus, Iustitiarijs, Vicecomitibus, præpositis, ministris, & omnibus balliuis & fidelibus suis salutem. Circa bonum statum omnium mercatorum subscriptorum regnorum, terrarum, & prouinciarum, videlicet Alemanniæ, Franciæ, Hispaniæ, Portugalliæ, Nauaræ, Lombardiæ, Thuscæ, Prouinciæ, Cataloniæ, ducatus nostri Aquitaniæ, Tholofaniæ, Caturuni, Flandriæ, Brabantię, & omnium aliarum terrarum & locorum extraneorum, quocunq; nomine censeantur, venientium in regnum nostrum Angliæ & ibidem conuersantium nos præcipua cura sollicitat, qualiter sub nostro dominio tranquillitatis & plenæ securitatis immunitas eisdem mercatoribus futuris temporibus præparetur. Vt itaque vota ipsorum reddantur ad nostra & regni nostri seruitia promptiora, ipsorum petitionibus fauorabiliter annuentes, & pro statu eorundem plenius assecurando, in forma que sequitur ordinantes, pro nobis & hæredibus nostris in perpetuum subscripta dictis mercatoribus duximus concedenda.

In primis videlicet quod omnes mercatores dictorum regnorum & terrarum saluè & secure sub tuitione & protectione nostra in dictum regnum nostrum Angliæ, & vbique infra potestatem nostram alibi veniant cum mercandis suis quibuscunq; de muragio, pontagio & pannagio liberi & quieti. Quodque infra idem regnum & potestatem nostram in ciuitatibus, burgis, & villis mercatorijs possunt mercari duntaxat in grosso tam cum indigenis seu incolis eiusdem regni & potestatis nostræ prædictæ, quàm cum alienigenis, extraneis, vel priuatis. Ita tamen quod merces, quæ vulgariter merceriæ vocantur, ac species, minutatim vendi possint, prout antea fieri consuevit. Et quod omnes prædicti mercatores mercandis suas, quas ipsos ad prædictum regnum & potestatem nostram adducere, seu infra idem regnum & potestatem nostram emere, vel aliàs acquirere contigerit, possint quo voluerint tam infra regnum & potestatem nostram prædictam, quàm extra ducere vel portare facere, præterquam ad terras manifestorum & notiorum hostium regni nostri, solucndo consuetudines quas debebunt: vinis duntaxat exceptis, quæ de eodem regno seu potestate nostra, postquam infra idem regnum seu potestatem nostram ducta fuerint, sine voluntate & licentia speciali non liceat eis educere quoquo modo.

Item quod prædicti mercatores in ciuitatibus, burgis, & villis prædictis pro voluntate sua hospitari valeant, & morari cum bonis suis ad gratiam ipsorum, quorum sunt hospitia siue domus.

Item quod quilibet contractus per ipsos mercatores cum quibuscunq; personis vnde cunq; fuerint super quocunq; genere mercandis in initus, firmus sit & stabilis, ita quod neuter mercatorum ab illo contractu possit recedere, vel resiliire, postquam denarius Dei inter principales personas cōtrahentes datus fuerit & receptus. Et si forsan super cōtractu eiusmodi contentio oriatur, fiat inde probatio aut inquisitio secundū vsus & consuetudines feriatū & villarū,

1.
Exceptio contra
notorios regni
hostes.

2.

3.

vbi dictum contractum fieri contigerit & iniuri.

4. Item promittimus præfatis mercatoribus pro nobis & hæredibus nostris in perpetuum concedentes, quod nullam prisam vel arrestationem, seu dilationem occasione prisæ de cætero de mercimonijs, mercandis seu alijs bonis suis per nos vel alium seu alios pro aliqua necessitate vel casu contra voluntatem ipsorum mercatorum aliquatenus faciemus, aut fieri patiemur, nisi statim soluto precio pro quo ipsi mercatores alijs eiusmodi mercimonia vendere possint, vel eis aliter satisfacto, ita quod reputent se contentos: Et quod super mercimonia, mercandis, seu bona ipsorum per nos vel ministros nostros nulla appreciatio aut estimatio imponetur.

Lex mercatoria.

5. Item volumus quod omnes balliui & ministri feriarum, ciuitatum, burgorum, & villarum mercatoriarum mercatoribus antedictis conquerentibus coram ijs celerem iustitiam faciant de die in diem sine dilatione secundum legem mercatoriam, de vniuersis & singulis quæ per eandem legem poterunt terminari. Et si forte inueniatur defectus in aliquo balliuorum vel ministrorum prædictorum, vnde iidem mercatores vel eorum aliquis dilationis incommoda sustinuerint vel sustineant, licet mercator versus partem in principali recuperauerit damna sua, nihilominus balliuus vel minister alius versus nos, prout delictum exigit puniatur. Et punitionem istam concedimus in fauorem mercatorum prædictorum pro eorum iustitia maturanda.

6. Item quod in omnibus generibus placitorum, saluo casu criminis pro quo infligenda est poena mortis, vbi mercator implacitatus fuerit, vel alium implacitauerit, cuiuscunque conditionis idem implacitatus extiterit, extraneus vel priuatus, in nundinis, ciuitatibus, siue Burgis, vbi fuerit sufficiens copia mercatorum prædictarum terrarum, & inquisitio fieri debeat, sit medietas inquisitionis de eisdem mercatoribus, & medietas altera de probis & legalibus hominibus loci illius vbi placitum illud esse contigerit. Et si de mercatoribus dictarum terrarum numerus non inueniatur sufficiens, ponentur in inquisitione illi qui idonei inuenientur ibidem, & residij sint de alijs bonis hominibus & idoneis de locis in quibus placitum illud erit.

7. Item volumus, ordinamus, & statuimus, quod in qualibet villa mercatoria & feria regni nostri prædicti & alibi infra potestatem nostram pondus nostrum in certo loco ponatur, & ante ponderationem statera in præsentia emporis & venditoris vacua videatur, & quod brachia sint equalia: & ex tunc ponderator ponderet in æquali. Et cum stateram posuerit in æquali statim amoueat manus suas, ita quod remaneat in æquali: quodque per totum regnum & potestatem nostram sit vnum pondus & vna mensura: & signis standardi nostri signentur: Et quod quilibet possit habere stateram vnus quaternionis, & infra, vbi contra domini loci, aut libertatem per nos & antecessores nostros concessam illud non fuerit, siue contra villarum & feriarum consuetudinem hæctenus obseruatam.

Lex mercatoria, quæsi

8. Item volumus & concedimus, quod aliquis certus homo fidelis & discretus Londini residens assignetur iustitarius mercatoribus memoratis, coram quo valeant specialiter placitare, & debita sua recuperare celeriter, si Vicecomites & Maiores eis non facerent de die in diem celeris iustitiæ complementum: Et inde fiat Commissio extra Cartam præsentem concessa mercatoribus antedictis: scilicet de his quæ sunt inter mercatores & mercatores secundum legem mercatoriam deducenda.

Antiquæ Custumæ.

9. Item ordinamus & statuimus, & ordinationem illam statutumque pro nobis & hæredibus nostris in perpetuum volumus firmiter obseruari, quod pro quacunque libertate, quam nos vel hæredes nostri de cætero concedemus, præfati mercatores suprascriptas libertates vel earum aliquam non amittant. Pro prædictis autem libertatibus & liberis consuetudinibus obtinendis, & prisis nostris remittendis iidem suprascripti mercatores vniuersi & singuli pro se & omnibus alijs de partibus suis nobis concorditer & vnanimiter concesserunt, quod de quolibet dolio vini, quod adduceat vel adduci facient infra regnum & potestatem nostram, & vnde marinarijs fretum soluere tenebuntur, soluent nobis & hæredibus nostris nomine Custumæ duos solidos vltra antiquas custumas debitas & in denarijs solui consuetas nobis, aut alias infra quadraginta dies, postquam extra naues ad terram posita fuerint dicta vina. Item de quolibet sacco lanarum, quem dicti mercatores, aut alij nomine ipsorum ement & è regno educunt, aut emi & educi facient, soluent quadraginta denarios de incremento vltra custumam antiquam dimidię marçę, quæ prius fuerat perfoluta. Et pro lasta coriorum extra regnum & potestatem nostram vehendorum dimidiam marcã supra id quod ex antiqua custumã ante soluebatur. Et similiter de trecentis pellibus lanitis extra regnum & potestatem nostram ducendis quadraginta denarios vltra certum illud, quod de antiqua

antiqua cultuma fuerat prius darum. Item duostolidos de quolibet scarlato & panno tincto in grano. Item decem & octo denarios de quolibet panno, in quo pars grani fuerit intermixta. Item duodecem denarios de quolibet panno alio sine grano. Item duodecem denarios de qualibet æris quintalla.

Cumque de præfatis mercatoribus nonnulli eorum alias exercere soleant mercandifas, vt de Auerio ponderis, & de alijs rebus subtilibus, sicut de pannis Tarsensibus, de serico, & cindallis, de seta & alijs diuersis mercibus, & de equis etiam & alijs animalibus, blado & alijs rebus & mercandifis multimodis, quæ ad certam custumam facile poni non poterunt, ijdem mercatores concesserunt dare nobis & heredibus nostris de qualibet libra argenti estimationis seu valoris rerum & mercandifarum huiusmodi, quocunque nomine cenſentur, tres denarios de libra in introitu rerum & mercandifarum ipsarum in regnum & potestatem nostram prædictam infra viginti dies postquam huiusmodi res & mercandifæ in regnum & potestatem nostram adductæ & etiam ibidem exoneratæ seu venditæ fuerint. Et similiter tres denarios de qualibet libra argenti in educatione quarumcunque rerum & mercandifarum huiusmodi emparum in regno & potestate nostris prædictis ultra custumas nobis aut alijs ante datas. Et super valore & estimatione rerum & mercandifarum huiusmodi de quibus tres denarij de qualibet libra argenti sicut prædicitur sunt soluendi, credatur eis per literas, quas de Dominis aut socijs suis ostendere poterunt: Et si literas non habeant stetur in hac parte prædictorum mercatorum, si præſentes fuerint, vel valetorum suorum in eorundem mercatorum absentia, iuramentis.

Liceat in super socijs de societate prædictorum mercatorum infra regnum & potestatem nostram prædictas, lanas vendere alijs suis socijs, & similiter emere ab ijsdem absque custuma soluenda. Ita tamen quod dictæ lanæ ad tales manus non deueniant, quod de custuma nobis debita defraudemur. Et præterea est sciendum, quod postquam supradicti mercatores semel in vno loco infra regnum & potestatem nostram custumam nobis concessam superius pro mercandifis suis in forma soluerint supradicta, & suum habeant inde warantum, siue huiusmodi mercandifæ infra regnum & potestatem nostram remaneant, siue exterius deferantur, (exceptis vinis, quæ de regno & potestate nostris prædictis sine voluntate & licentia nostra sicut prædictum est, nullatenus educantur:) Volumus, ac pro nobis, ac heredibus nostris concedimus, quod nulla exactio, prisæ, vel præstatio, aut aliquod onus super personas mercatorum prædictorum, mercandifas seu bona eorundem aliquatenus imponatur contra formam expressam superius & concessam. His testibus veracibus principalibus, Roberto Cantuariensi Archiepiscopo totius Angliæ primate, Waltero Couentriæ & Lichfeldiæ episcopo, Henrico de Lacy Lincolnienſe, Humfredo de Bohun comite Herfordienſe & Essexiæ & Constabulo magno Angliæ, Adomaro de Valentia, Galfrido de Gaymal, Hugone de Lespensor, Waltero de Bello campo, senescallo hospitijs nostri, Roberto de Burijs, & alijs. Datum per manum nostram apud Winderſore, primo die Februarij, anno regni nostri xxxj.

The aforesaid generall Charter in English.

Edward by the grace of God king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, to Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Carles, Barons, Iustices, Vicounts, gouernours, officers, and all bayliffes, and his faithfull people sendeth greeting. Wee haue speciall care for the good estate of all marchants of the kingdomes, lands, and countreys following: to wit of Almaine, France, Spaine, Portugal, Nauarre, Lombardie, Florence, Prouence, Catalonie, of our duchie of Aquitaine, Tholosa, Caturlune, Flanders, Brabant, and of all other forreine countreys and places by what name soeuer they be called, which come into our kingdome of England, and there remayne, that the sayd marchants may liue in quiet and full securtie vnder our dominion in time to come. Wherefore that their hearts desires may bee moze readily inclined to our seruice and the seruice of our kingdome, wee fauourably agreeing to their petitions, for the fuller asring of their estate, haue thought good to graunt to the sayd marchants for vs and our heires for euer these priuiledges vnder written, ordaining in forme as followeth.

First, that all marchants of the sayd kingdomes and countreys may come into our kingdome of England, and any where else into our dominion with their marchandises whatsoeuer safely and securely vnder our defence and protection without paying wharfrage, pontage, or parrage. And that in Cities, Boroughs, and market townes of the sayd kingdome and dominion they may traffique onely by the great as well with the naturall subiects and inhabitantes of our aforesayde kingdome and dominion, as with forreiners, straungers, or priuate persons. Yet so, that marchandises which are commonly called mercerie wares,

and spices, may be sold by the small, as heretofore hath bin accustomed. And that all the aforesaid marchants may carry or cause to be carried whither they will, as well within our realme or dominion, as out of the same; saving unto the countreys of the manifest and knowne enemies of our kingdome, those marchandises which they shall bring into our foresayd realme and dominion, or buy, or otherwise purchase in our sayd realme and dominion, paying such customes as they ought to doe: except one ly wines, which it shall not be any wayes lawfull for them to carry out of our sayd realme and dominion without our speciall favour and licence, after they be once brought into our realme and dominion.

In exception
for trafficking
with known
enemies of the
kingdome.

2. Item that the aforesaid marchants may at their pleasure lodge & remaine with their goods in the cities, boroughs, and townes aforesaid, with the good liking of those which are owners of their lodgings.

3. Item that every bargaine made by the said marchants with any maner of persons, of what places soever they be, for any kind of marchandise what soever, shall be firme & stable, so that none of both the marchants shall shrinke or give backe from that bargaine, after that the earnest penie be once giuen and taken betwene the principall bargainers. And if peradventure any strife arise about the same bargaine, the triall and inquirie thereof shall be made according to the uses and customes of the saydes and townes where it chanced that the said bargaine was made and contracted.

4. Item, we promise the aforesaid marchants granting for ever for vs and our heires, that from hence forth we will not in any wise make nor cause to be made any stay or arrest, or any delay by reason of arrest of their wares, marchandises or other goods, by our selues, or by any other or others for any neede or accident against the will of the sayd marchants, without present payment of such a price as the marchants would haue sold those marchandises for to other men, or without making of them other satisfaction, so that they shall hold themselves well contented: and that no price or valuation shall be set upon their wares, marchandises, & goods by vs or by any officer of ours.

5.
Where is this
law now be-
come?

5. Item, we will that all bayliffes and officers of saydes, cities, boroughs, and market townes shall doe speedie iustice from day to day without delay according to the lawe of Marchants to the aforesaid marchants when they shall complaine before them, touching all and singular causes, which may be determined by the same law. And if default be found in any of the bayliffes or officers aforesaid, where by the sayd marchants or any of them haue sustained, or do sustaine any damage through delay, though the marchant recover his losses against the partie principall, yet the bayliffe or other officer shall be punished to vs ward, according to the qualitie of the default. And wee doe grante this punishment in favour of the aforesaid marchants in regard of the hastening of their iustice.

6. Item, that in al maner of pleas, saving in case where punishment of death is to be inflicted, where a marchant is impleaded, or sueth another, of what condition soever hee bee which is sued, whether stranger or home borne, in saydes, cities, or boroughs, where sufficient numbers of marchants of the foresayd countreys are, and where the triall ought to bee made, let the one halfe of the Jurie be of the sayd marchants, and the other halfe of good and lawfull men of the place where the suite shall fall out to bee: and if sufficient number of marchants of the sayd countreys cannot bee found, those which shall be found fit in that place shall be put upon the iurie, and the rest shall be chosen of good and fit men of the places where such suit shall chance to be.

7. Item we will, we ordaine, and wee appoint, that in every market towne and sayde of our realme aforesaid and elsewhere within our dominion our weight shall bee set in some certiane place; and that before the weighing the balance shall bee scene empty in the presence of the buyer and of the seller, and that the scales bee equall: and that afterward the weigher weigh in the equall balance. And when hee hath set the balances euen, let him straightway remoone his hands, so that the balance way remayne euen: And that throughout all our kingdome and dominion there be one weight and one measure, and that they be marked with the marke of our standard. And that every man may haue a weight of one quarter of an hundred, and vnder, where the same hath not bin contrary to the liberty of the lord of the place, and contrary to the libertie granted by vs and our predecessors, or contrary to the custome of townes and saydes which hath hitherto bene obserued.

8. Item we will and we grant that some certiane saythfull and discrete man resident in London be appointed to doe Justice to the aforesaid marchants, before whome they may haue their suites decided, and may speedie recover their debts, if the Shiriffes and Maior should not from day to day giue them speedy iustice. And hereof let a Commission be made: which we grant unto the aforesaid marchants besides this present Charter: to wit of such things as betwene marchant and marchant are to be decided according to the lawe of marchants.

9. Item we ordaine and appoynt, and wee will that this ordinance and statute shall firmly bee obserued for ever for vs and our heires, that the aforesaid marchants shall not loose the aforesaid liberties

heries nor any of them, for any libertie whatlocuer, which wee or our heires hereafter shall grant. And for the obtaining of the aforesayd liberties and free customes, and for remission of our arreting of their goods, the aforesayd marchants all and euery of them for themselves and all other of their parties with one accorde and one consent haue granted vnto vs, that of euery tunne of wine, which they shall bring or cause to be brought into our realme and dominion, for which they shall be bound to pay freight vnto the mariners, besides the olde customes which are due and were woont to be payd vnto vs, they will pay vnto vs and to our heires in the name of a custome two shillings in money, either out of hande, or else within fortye dayes after the sayd wines shall be brought on land out of the shippes. Item for euery sacke of wooll, which the sayd marchants or others in their name shall buy and carie out of the realme, or cause to be brought and caried out, they will pay fortye pence aboue the old custome of halfe a marke, which was payed heretofore: And for a last of hides to be carped out of our realme and dominion halfe a marke aboue that which heretofore was payed by the olde custome. And like wise for thre hundred Felles with the wooll on them to be transported out of our realme and dominion fortye pence, aboue that certaine rate which befoze was payed by the olde custome: Also two shillings vpon euery scarlate and euery cloth dyed in graine. Item eightene pence for euery cloth wherein any kind of graine is mingled. Item twelue pence vpon euery cloth dyed without graine, Item twelue pence vpon euery quintall of copper,

And whereas sundrie of the aforesayd marchants are woont to exercise other marchandises, as of Hauer de pois, and other fine wares, as sarrenets, lawnes, cindalles, and like, and diuers other marchandises, and to sell hoxles and other beastes, cozne, and sundrie other things and marchandises, which cannot easly be reduced vnto a certaine custome: the sayd marchants haue granted to giue vnto vs, and to our heires of euery pound of siluer of the estimation and value of these kinde of goods and marchandises, by what name locuer they be called, thre pence in the pound in the bringing in of these goods into our realme and dominion aforesaid, within twentie dayes after these goods and marchandises shall be brought into our realme and dominion, and shall be there vnladen and solde. And likewise thre pence vpon euery pound of siluer in the carrying out of any such goods and marchandises which are bought in our realme and dominion aforesayd aboue the customes befozetime payd vnto vs or any of our progenitozs. And touching the value and estimation of these goods and marchandises, where of thre pence of euery pound of siluer, as is aforesayd, is to be payd, credite shall be giuen vnto them vpon the letters which they are able to shewe from their masters or parteners. And if they haue no letters in this behalfe, we will stand to the othe of the aforesayd marchants if they be present, or in their absence to the othes of their seruants,

Wherouer, it shall be lawfull for such as be of the company of the aforesayd marchants within our realme and dominion aforesayd, to sell wooll to other of their company, and likewise to buy of them without paying of custome. Yet so, that the said woolls come not to such hands, that wee be defrauded of the custome due vnto vs. And furthermore it is to be vnderstood, that after that the aforesaid marchants haue once payd in one place within our realme and dominion, the custome aboue granted vnto vs in forme aforesayd for their marchandises, & haue their warrant therof, whether these marchandises remaine within our kingdome or be caried out (excepting wines, which in no wise shall be caried forth of our realme and dominion aforesayd, without our fauour & licence as is aforesayd) we wil and we grant for vs and our heires, that no execution, attachment, or loane, or any other burthen be layd vpon the persons of the aforesayd marchants, vpon their marchandises or goods in any case, contrary to the forme befoze mentioned and granted. The faithfull & principall witnesses of these pntesses are these, Robert Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, Walter bishop of Couëtre and Lichfield, Henry Lacie of Lincolne, Humfrey de Bohume, Carle of Herford and Essex, high Constable of England, Adomare of Valencia, Geofrey of Gaymal, Hugh Spenser, Walter Beauchampe Sencschall of our house, Robert of Bures, and others. Given by our owne hand at Windesore the first day of February, in the yere of our reigne xxxi.

**De mercatoribus Angliæ in Norwegia arestatis, &
eorum mercimonijs dearrestandis literæ Edwardi secundi
anno sexto regni sui, Haquino regi Norwegiæ.**

Magnifico principi domino Haquino Dei gratia regi Norwegiæ illustri, amico suo charissimo Edwardus eadē Dei gratia rex Angliæ, Dom. Hiberniæ, & dux Aquitaniæ salutē cū dilectione sincera. Miramur nō modicū & in intimis conturbamur de grauaminibus

Villa de Tonnes-
bergh.

& oppressionibus quæ subditis nostris infra regnum vestrum causa negociandi venientibus his diebus plus solito absque causa rationabili, sicut ex graui querela didicimus, inferuntur. Nuper siquidem Willihelmus filius Laurentij de Waynsfleete, Simon filius Alani de eadem, Guido filius Mathei & eorum socij mercatores nostri nobis conquerendo monstrarunt, quod cum ipsi quoddam homines & seruientes suos cum tribus nauibus suis ad partes regni vestri, ad negociandum ibidem transmiserunt: & naues illæ in portu villæ vestræ de Tonnesbergh halece & alijs bonis diuersis vsque ad magnam summam oneratæ fuissent: Et licet nauis nauium prædictarum hominibusque & seruientibus prædictis à regno vestro liberè cum nauibus & bonis prædictis ad partes Angliæ redeundi vestras fieri feceritis de cõductu, postmodum tamen ante quã naues illæ propter venti contrarietate portum prædictum exire potuerunt, quidam balliui vestri naues prædictas cum hominibus & bonis omnibus tunc existentes in eisdem, occasione mortis, cuiusdam militis nuper balliui vestri in Vikia per malefactores & piratas, dum naues prædictas in portu supradicto sicut præmittitur remanserunt supra mare vt dicitur interfecti, de mandato vestro vt dicebant arrestarunt, & diu sub arresto huiusmodi detinebant, quousque videlicet homines & marinarij prædicti de quadraginta libris sterlingorũ certo die statuto ad opus vestrum pro qualibet nauis prædictarum soluendis inuiti & coacti securitatem inuenissent: Et similiter de eisdem nauibus cum hominibus prædictis infra portum prædictum citra festũ natiuitatis Sancti Ioannis Baptistæ proximo futuro ad standum tunc ibidem de personis & nauibus suis vestræ gratiæ seu voluntatis arbitrio reducendis tres obsides vterius liberassent: quod ipsis valde graue censetur, & auditu mirabile auribus audientium non immerito reputatur. Et quia contra rationem & æquitatem, omnemque iustitiam fore dinoscitur, atque legem, quòd delinquentium culpæ seu demerita in personis vel rebus illorum qui criminis rei conscij vel participes, seu de huiusmodi delinquentium societate non fuerunt, aliquo modo vlciscantur, vestram amicitiam affectuose requirimus & rogamus, quatenus præmissa diligenti meditatione zelo iustitiæ ponderantes, obsides prædictos iubere velitis ab hostiamento huiusmodi liberari, dictamque securitatem relaxari penitus & resolu. Scientes pro certo, quod si malefactores prædicti, qui dictam militem vestrum, vt dicitur, occiderunt, alicubi infra regnum seu potestatem nostram poterunt inueniri, de ipsis iustitiam & iudicium secundum legem & consuetudinem eiusdem regni fieri faciemus. Non enim possumus his diebus æquanimitè tolerare, quod naues prædictæ seu alia de regno nostro, quæ semper promptè ad nostrum seruitium esse debent, extra idem regnum ad partes remotas se diuerterint sine nostra licentia speciali. Quid autem ad hanc nostram instantiam faciendum decreueritis in præmissis, nobis si placeat rescribaris per præsentium portatorem. Datæ apud Windesore decimo sexto die Aprilis.

The same in English.

The letters of *Edward* the second vnto *Haquinus* king of *Norway*, concerning the English marchants arrested in *Norway*, and their goods to be freed from arrest.



The mighty Prince, lord Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous king of Norway his most deare friend, Edward by the same grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere loue. We maruell not a litle, and are much disquieted in our cogitations, considering the greiuances and oppressions, which (as we haue bene informed by pittifull complaints) are at this present, moze then in times past, without any reasonable cause inflicted vpon our subiects, which doe vsually resort vnto your kingdome for traffiques sake. For of late one William the sonne of Laurence of Wainfleete, and one Simon the sonne of Alan of the same towne, and Guido the sonne of Mathew, and their associates our marchants, in complayning wise declared vnto vs: that hauing sent certaine of their factors and seruants, with thye shippes into your dominions, there to exercise traffique, and the sayd shyps being laden in the hauen of your towne of Tonnesbergh, with Herrings and other commodities, to a great value: and also the said mariners, men, and seruants of the foze sayd shippes, being licenced by vertue of the safe conduct which you had granted them, freely to retorne from your kingdome vnto the parts of England with their shyps and goods aforesayd, but afterward not being able to depart out of your hauen by reason of contrary windes: certaine of your bayliffes vpon occasion of the slaughter of a knight being himselfe also of late your bayliffe of Vikia, committed by malefactors and Pirates vpon the sea, whilst the sayd shippes remained in the hauen aforesayd, did at your commandement (as they say) arrest, and for a long season also deteined

The towne of
Tonnesbergh.

deceined vnder that arrest, the foresaid ships, with all the men and goods that were in them: namely vntill such time, as the men and mariners aforesaid (beeing dzinen perforce, and constrained therunto) should lay in sufficient securitie for the payment of foztie pounds sterling, vpon a certain day appointed, vnto your vse, for euery of the foresaid ships: and also vntill they had moztouer deliuered threer pledges, for the bringing of the saide ships and men backe againe into the foresaid haven, before the feast of the natiuities of S. Iohn the Baptist next ensuing, then and there to stand vnto your fauour and curtesie, as touching the said persons, and those ships of theirs: which dealing, the parties themselves take very grieuoussly, yea, and all others that heare thereof thinke it to be a strange and vnwouced course. And because it is most vndoubtedly contrary to all reason, equitie, iustice, and lawe, that the faults or demerits of offenders should in any fozt be punished in such persons, or in their goods, as neither haue bene accessory nor partakers in the crime, nor haue had any society with the saide offenders: we doe heartily intreat and request your Dignities, that weighing and pondering the matter in the balance of iustice, you would of your loue and friendship, command the foresaid pledges to be set at libertie, and the saide securitie vicerly to be releasd and acquitted. And know you this for a certaintie, that if the foresaid malefactors, who (as it is reported) steele your Knight aforesaid, shall any where within our realme and dominions be found, we wil cause iustice and iudgement to be executed vpon them, according to the Lawe and custome of our sayde Realme. For we cannot in these times conueniently and well indure, that the ships aforesaid, or any other ships of our kingdome (which ought alwayes to be in a readinesse for our seruice) should without speciall licence, depart out of our saide kingdome, vnto foztaine dominions. Nowe, what you shall thinke good at this our request to perfoztme in the premisses, may it please you by the bearer of these presents to returne an answer vnto vs, Geuen at Windfore the 16. of April.

Another Letter of *Edward the second*, to *Haquinus King*
of Norway, in the behalfe of certaine English

Marchants.

Magnifico Principi Dom. Haquino Dei gratia regi Norwegia illustri, amico suo charissimo, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Anglia, dominus Hybernia, & dux Aquitania, salutem cum dilectione sincera, Querelam dilectorum Mercatorum nostrorum Thomae de Swyn de Waynfleete, & Simonis filij Alani de eadem recepimus, continentem, Quod cum ipsi nuper quosdam seruientes suos infra regnum vestrum pro suis ibidem exercendis mercimonijs transmississent, Thesaurarius vester bona & mercimonia praedictorum Thomae & Simonis ad valenciam quadraginta librarum, quae seruientes praedicti in villa de Northberne in sua custodia habuerunt, die Sancti Michaelis vltimo praeterita fecit absque causa rationabili arrestandi, & ea adhuc taliter arrestata detinet iniuste, in ipsorum Thomae & Simonis damnum non modicum & depauperationem manifestam, Et quia eisdem mercatoribus nostris subuenire volumus, quatenus suadem iustitiam poterimus in hac parte, vestram amicitiam requirimus cum affectu, quatenus audita querela praedictorum Thomae & Simonis, vel ipsorum atturnatorum super restitutione bonorum & mercimonia praedictorum impendere velitis eisdem celeris iustitiae complementum: Ita quod pro defectu exhibitionis iustitiae super arrestatione praedicta non oporteat nos pro mercatoribus nostris praedictis de alio remedio providere, Nobis autem quid ad hanc nostram instantiam duxeritis faciendum, rescribere velitis per presentium portitorem. Datae vt supra.

Northberne
villa.

The same in English.

The mightie Prince Lord Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous King of Norway, his most deare friend Edward by the same grace of God king of England, Lorde of Ireland, and Duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere loue. Wee receiued the complaint of our welbelo- ued Merchants Thomas de Swyn of Waynfleet, and Simon the sonne of Alanus of the same towne: the contents whereof are, that whereas of late, the saide parties sent certaine of their seruants to traffike in your kingdome, your Treasurer vpon the feast of S. Michael last past, without any iust or reasonable occasion, caused the goods and merchandise of the foresaid Thomas and Simon, to the value of foztie pound, which their said seruants had vnder their custodie at the towne of Northberne, to be arrested, and as yet also iniurioussly deteined the same vnder the same arrest, to the great bairage and impouerishing of the sayd Thomas and Simon. And forasmuch as our desire is to succour these our marchants to far forth as we can, Justice requiring no lesse in this behalfe,

we

wee doe right earnestly request you, that having heard the complaint and supplication of the foresayde Thomas and Simon, or of their Attorneys, you woulde of your loue and friendship, vouchsafe them speedie administration of Justice, about the restitution of their goods and marchandise aforesayde: least that for want of the exhibiting of Justice about the foresaid arrest, we be constrained to prouide some other remedie for our marchants aforesaid. Our request is, that you would by the bearer of these presents, returne an answer unto vs, what you are determined to doe, at this our instant motion. Given as aboue.

A third letter of King *Edward* the second, to
Haquinus King of Norway in the behalfe
 of certaine English Marchants.

(***)

Magnifico Principi Domino Haquino Dei gratia Regi Norwegiæ illustri, amico suo charissimo, Edwardus eadem Dei gratia Rex Angliæ, dominus Hybernæ, & dux Aquitanie, salutem cum dilectione sincera, Pro mercatoribus nostris Lennæ, & partium vicinarum, quos Balliuus & Officiarij vestri ciuitatis vestræ Bergen dudum ceperunt, & stricto carceri manciparunt, quorum multi vt iam intelleximus, propter alimentorum subtractionem & duritiam, ac asperitatem carceris petierunt, vt ipsorum & bonorum suorum deliberationem præcipere curaretis, vestræ serenitati Regiæ nostras nuper transmissimus literas speciales. Sed vos, retentis adhuc in carcere nostris mercatoribus sicut prius, nobis per literas vestras quas audiuius & intelleximus diligenter, inter cætera rescripsistis, quod quidam mercatores de regno vestro de iniurijs, violentijs & arrestationibus, quibus in regno nostro his diebus sunt, vt asserunt, contra iustitiam aggrauati, multipliciter conqueruntur, adijciendo in vestris literis memoratis, quod quidam iniquitatis filij in villa Lennæ, ad piscandum vt dicebant halecia venientes, quendam militem Balliuum vestrum, in Vikia vnâ cum decem alijs subditis vestris, in vestris & regni vestri negotijs existentibus crudeliter occiderunt. Super quibus mens nostra grauatur quàmplurimum & turbatur, præsertim quum nunquam nostræ fuerit voluntatis, quod iniuriæ, violentiæ, seu arrestationes aliquæ mercatoribus, vel alijs de regno vestro per aliquos de regno & potestate nostris fierent indebitè vel iniuste: nec adhuc intelligere possumus, quod mercatoribus vestris per aliquem vel aliquos de subditis nostris huc vsque aliter factum fuerit: Scientes pro certo quod si nobis per inquisitiones legitimas constare poterit huiusmodi grauamina subditis vestris infra regnum nostrum illata fuisse, nos sufficientes emendas, & satisfactiones debitas super illis, celerisque iustitiæ complementum fieri faciemus. Et insuper si malefactores prædicti, qui præfatum militem, & alios secum existentes, vt præmittitur, occiderunt, de regno, seu potestate nostra sint, vel infra idem regnum vel potestatem poterunt inueniri, de ipsis iudicium & iustitiam fieri præcipimus, secundum Leges & consuetudines regni nostri. Et quia inter nos & vos, nostrisque & vestros subditos hinc inde foueri desideramus mutuan concordiam & amorem; ita quod mercatores nostri & vestri mercandisas suas in nostris & vestris regnis & dominijs liberè, & absque impedimento valeant exercere, prout temporibus progenitorum nostrorum fieri consuevit, & ex dictarum literarum vestrarum serie collegimus euidenter vos promptos esse similiter, & paratos ad omnia & singula, quæ pro vobis & vestris subditis super discordijs, contentionibus, aut grauaminibus inter nostros & vestros subditos qualitercunque suscitatis pro bono pacis & iustitiæ fuerint æquanimiter facienda: Nos cor.similia pro nobis & nostris, quantum ad nos & ad ipsos attinet, illius amore, qui pacis author fore dinoscitur, & pro quiete & commodo populi vtriusque regnorum nostrorum, quatenus ius & ratio dicitauerint, promittimus nos facturos: Vestram amicitiam requirentes obnixius & rogantes, quatenus mercatores nostros prædictos, qui adhuc superstitè relinquuntur, quos etiam tempore, quo dicta feloniam committi dicebatur, interclusos tenebat custodia carceralis, iubere velitis nostri contemplatione, zeloque iustitiæ ab huiusmodi custodia liberari, bona ab ipsis capta eis prout iustum fuerit restitui faciendo. Et vt deliberatio mercatorum nostrorum prædictorum, & bonorum suorum eò facilius concedatur, placeat vobis cum diligentia debita ponderare, quod Galfridus Drewe, & quidam alij mercatores nostri de Lenne, quibusdam mercatoribus de regno vestro occasione eiusdem grauaminis ipsis mercatoribus vestris, ad sectam Tidemanni Lippe infra regnum

Antiquitas com-
 mercij inter An-
 gliam & Norwe-
 giam.

regnum nostrum, vt dicebatur, illati, centum libras sterlingorum persoluerunt, sicut in quodam scripto indentato inter Ingelramum Lende de Thorenden, & quosdam alios mercatores vestros ex parte vna, & præfatum Galfridum, & quosdam alios de regno nostro similiter ex altera confecto, vidimus contineri. Si qui verò de subditis vestris de aliquibus subditis nostris, de aliqua iniuria ipsi facta querelas in curia nostra deponere voluerint, & prosequi cum effectu, ipsorum subditorum vestrorum petitiones admitti, & eis super querelis huiusmodi plenam & celerem iustitiã fieri faciemus. Ita quod ijdem subditi vestri exinde reputare debebunt meritò se contentos, Et interim de excessibus & grauaminibus subditis vestris infra regnum nostrum qualitercunque illatis inquiri faciemus cum diligentia veritatem. Vestra igitur voluntatis beneplacitum in præmissis nobis rescribere velitis per presentium portitorem. Data apud Westminster tertio die Aprilis.

The same in English.

The mightie Prince king Haquinus, by the grace of God the famous king of Norway, his most deare friend Edward by the same grace of God, king of England, lord of Ireland, Duke of Aquitaine, greeting and sincere loue. We sent of late vnto your royall maiestie our special letters, for the behalfe of our late marchants of Lenne, and of the coast adioyning (whome your haulty and officers of the citie of Bergen lately apprehended, committing them to close prison, many of whome, as we vnderstand, are, for want of due nourishment, and by reason of the extremitie & loathsomnesse of the prison, quite perished) that you would cause them and their goods to be released. Howbeit, you receiuing as yet our marchants in burance as befoze, in your letters, which we haue diligently heard, and throughtly vnderstood, haue, amongst other matters, returned this answer vnto vs: that certaine marchants of your kingdome doe make sundrie complaints of iniuries, violences and arrests, whereby they haue lately (as themselues auouch) contrary to iustice bene aggrieuened and oppressed in our dominions: adding mozeouer in your sayde letters, that certaine sonnes of iniquitie of the towne of Lenne, comming, as they saide, to fish for herrings, cruelly murdered a certaine Knight, who was in times past your bayliffe of Vikia, together with ten others of your subiects, being imployed about the affaires of your kingdome. In consideration whereof our minde is exceedingly and aboue measure griened and troubled, especially sithence it was neuer any part of our intent, that any iniuries, violences, or arrests should vniuersally be inflicted vpon any marchants, or any others of your realme by any of our kingdomes: neither can we as yet haue any intelligence, that any such hard measure hath bene offered vnto any of your marchants, by any one or moe of our subiects: giuing you for a certaintie to vnderstand, that if vpon lawfull inquisition we shalbe aduertised of any such grieuances, which haue bene offered vnto your subiects within our realme, we will cause speecie iustice to be administred, and sufficient recompence, and due satisfaccion to be made in regarde thereof. And mozeouer, if the saide malefactors, which, as it is aforesaid, slewe the foresaid Knight, and others of his companie, either be appertaining vnto our kingdome and domination, or may at any time be found within our saide kingdome or dominion, we will command iustice and iudgement to be executed vpon them, according to the lawes and customes of our realme. And forasmuch as our desire is, that mutuall concord and amitie should be maintained and cherished betwene your and our subiects on both parts: so that our and your marchants may, in both our Realmes and dominions, freely and without impediment exercise their traffique, as in the times of our progenitors it hath bene accustomed: Whereas also we evidently gathered out of the contents of your letter, that you are in like sort readie and willing to put all things in practise, which are by you and your subiects (for the taking away of discords, contentions, and molestations howsoever occasioned, and sprung by betwene your and our subiects) louingly to be performed: we also doe promise for our selues, and our subiects, so much as in vs and them lieth, for his sake who is knownen to be the authoz of peace, and for the benefite & tranquillitie of both our Realmes (as iustice and reason shall moue vs) to doe the like. Desiring and earnestly requesting at your hands, that of your loue and friendship, hauing regard of vs, and consideration of iustice, you would commaund that our fore saide marchants, who as yet remaine aliue, and who also at the time of the saide felonie committed, were shut vp in close prison, be deliuered out of the saide thraldome, causing their goods which haue bene taken from them, to bee, according vnto iustice, restored to them again. And that the deliuerie of our fore saide marchants and goods, may be the moze easily peyled vnto, may it please you with diligenr obseruation to consider, that Gefferey Drew, and certaine other of our marchants of Lenne, vpon occasion of the grieuances offered vnto your marchants within our Realme, (as the report goeth) at the suite of Tidman Lippe, paide vnto the same your marchants an hundredth pound sterling: euen as in a certain Indenture made betwene

The antiquity
of traffique betwene
fluene Eng-
land and Nor-
way.

betweene Ingelram Lende of Thorenden, and some other of your marchants on the one part, and betweene the foresaide Gefrey, and certaine of our marchants on the other part, wee sawe contened. Moreover, if any of your subiects be minded to exhibite, and effectually to prosecute their complaints in our Court, concerning any of our subiects, or of any iniury done vnto them, we will cause the petitions of those your subiects to be admitted, and also full and speedie iustice to be administered, vpon any such like complaints of theirs. Insomuch, that those your subiects shal thinke themselues right well and sufficiently contented therewithall. And in the meane space we will cause diligent inquisition of the truth to be made, of all excesses and grieuances howsoever offered vnto your subiects wsthy in our dominions. Hay it please you therefore, by the bearer of these presents, to returne an answer vnto vs, what you are determined to doe in the premises. Given at Westminster, the third day of April.

De Stapula tenenda in certo loco ordinatio, Anno 13.

Edwardi secundi.

Rex collectoribus customarum lanarum & pellium lanutarum in portu London salutem. Cum nos vicesimo die Maij anno regni nostri sexto attendentes damna & grauamina, quae mercatoribus de regno nostro diuersimode euenierunt, ex eo quod mercatores tam indigenam quam alienigenam lanas & pelles lanutas infra regnum & potestatem nostram ementes, & se cum eisdem lanis & pellibus ad vendendum eas ad diuersa loca infra terras Brabantiae, Flandriae, & de Artoys eorum libito voluntatis transtulerint: & volentes etiam huiusmodi damnis & grauaminibus quatenus bono modo possemus providere, de consilio nostro ordinauerimus, quod mercatores indigenam & alienigenam lanas & pelles huiusmodi infra regnum & potestatem praedictam ementes, & ad terras praedictas ibidem vendendas ducere volentes, lanas illas & pelles ad certam stapulam infra aliquam earundem terrarum, per Maiorem & Communitatem eorundem mercatorum, de regno nostro ordinandam assignari, ac prout & quando expedire viderint murandum, & non ad alia loca in terris illis ducant, seu duci faciant villo modo: & inter caetera concesserimus mercatoribus de regno nostro supra dicto pro nobis & haeredibus nostris, quod ipsi Maior & consilium dictorum mercatorum, qui pro tempore fuerint, quibuscunque mercatoribus indigenis seu alienigenis, qui contra dictam ordinationem venerint, & modo rationabili conuicti fuerint, certas pecunias summas pro delictis illis imponant, & quod illarum huiusmodi summae de bonis & mercimonijs mercatorum sic delinquentium, vbiunque ea infra regnum & potestatem praedictam inueniri contigerit, per ministros nostros ad opus nostrum leuentur: prout in Charta nostra inde confecta plenius continetur: quam quidem Chartam per singulos comitatus regni nostri super costeras maris fecimus publicari, & firmiter inhiberi, ne qui mercatores indigenae seu alienigenae contra tenorem Chartae praedictae sub poenis contentis in eadem venerint villo modo: Ac postmodum dato nobis intelligi, quod quamplures mercatores tam indigenam quam alienigenam, lanas & pelles lanutas infra regnum & potestatem praedictas ementes, & se cum eisdem lanis & pellibus ad vendendum eas ad alia loca in dictis terris, quam ad Stapulam iuxta concessionem nostram praedictam per Maiorem & Communitatem dictorum mercatorum de regno nostro in aliqua terrarum illarum ordinatam & assignatam transtulerint in nostri contemptum, & contra Chartam ordinationis, publicationis & inhibitionis praedictarum assignauerimus quosdam fideles nostros in diuersis partibus regni ad inquirendum de lanis & pellibus lanutis ad dictas terras alibi quam ad Stapulam illam ductis, ita quod emendae inde ad nos pertinentes, ad opus nostrum leuentur; etiam intellexerimus, quod quasi omnes mercatores tam indigenam quam alienigenam huiusmodi mercimonia in dicto regno nostro exercentes sunt culpabiles de praemissis: & quod plures inde indictati, ac alij timentes inde indictari, lanas suas ac pelles lanutas sub nominibus aliorum non culpabilium faciunt aduocari, & extra regnum nostrum transmitti quibusdam alienigenis, sic culpabilibus in dictum regnum forsitan non reuersuris, vt sic forisfacturas praedictas effugiant, & nos de emenda ad nos sic pertinente illudant: quae si permitterentur sic transire in nostri damnum non modicum redundarent. Nos volentes huiusmodi fraudibus obuiare, & nostris damnis quatenus bono modo poterimus praecauere, vobis praecipimus firmiter iniungentes, quod a singulis mercatoribus lanas seu pelles lanutas per portum praedictum ad partes exterarum ducere volentibus corporale sacramentum ad sancta Dei Evangelia recipiatis, quod ipsi lanas seu pelles lanutas sub nomine ipsius, cuius propriae sunt, & non alterius aduocabunt. & tunc recepta ab illo cuius lanam & pelles huiusmodi erunt, vel nomine suo sufficiente securitate pro qua respondere volueritis, de respondendo & faciendo nobis id quod ad nos pertinet de lanis & pellibus lanutis per ipsum ductis seu missis ad aliquam dictarum

Maior & Communitas Stapulae.

Charta anno regni nostri sexto confecta.

statum terrarum Flandriæ & Brabantæ, & de Artoys contra formam Chartæ, proclamationis, & inhibitionis supradictarum, si ipsum super hoc conuinci contingat, lanas & pelles illas lanatas extra portum prædictum, recepta prius custuma debita de eisdem, ad partes externas transire permittatis. Teste Rege apud Doueram decimo octauo die Iunij, per ipsum Regem & Consilium.

Et postmodum per breue de priuato sigillo eodem modo mandatum est collectoribus customarum prædictarum in portibus subscriptis: Videlicet,

In portu villæ Southhampton.

In portu villæ Weymouth.

In portu villæ Sancti Botolphi.

In portu villæ de Kingtone super Hull.

In portu villæ de nouo Castro.

In portu villæ de magna Iernemutha.

In portu villæ de Lenne.

In portu villæ de Gypwico.

The same in English.

An Ordinance of the Staple to bee holden at one certaine place.

The King vnto his Collectors of custome, for wooll and woollen felles, in his port of London, greeting. Whereas we vpon the 20. of May, in the sixt yeere of our reigne, considering the damages and grieuances that haue diuersly happened vnto the marchants of our realme, vpon occasion that the marchants both of our owne, & of other countreys, buying by wooll and woollen felles within our kingdome and dominions, haue, for the better sale thereof, at their pleasure conueyed theselues, and trasported the said wooll & felles into sundry places within the prouinces of Brabant, Flanders and Artoys: and being delirous also, to our power, to prouide a remedie against such damages and inconueniences, haue ordained by our counsel, that all marchants, both home-bozne and aliens, buying by such woolls and felles, within our kingdome and dominion afoze said, and being desirous to transport them into the foze said prouinces, there to bee solde, may carrie the saide woolls and felles, or cause them to be caried to some certaine staple, within any of the saide prouinces, by the Maior and Communitie of the said marchants of our realme, to be appointed and assigned, and when they shall thinke it expedient, to be changed and remoued, and not vnto any other place within the saide prouinces whatsoeuer: and whereas also, amongst other things, we haue granted vnto the marchants of our foze said realme, for vs and our heires, that the Maior and Councel of the saide marchants for the time being, may impose vpon all marchants, home-bozne or aliens whatsoeuer, that shall transgresse the foze said ordination, and shall thereof lawfully be conuicted, certaine summes of money to be paid for their offences, and that such summes must by our ministers and officers, to our vse, be leuied out of the goods and wares of the marchants so offending, wherefoer they shall chance to be found within our kingdome and dominions afoze said, as in our Charter made for the same purpose, it is more plainly exprest, (which Charter we haue caused to be published vpon the Sea-coasts, throughout all the countreys of our realme, and a strong prohibition to be proclaimed, that no marchants, neither home-bozne, nor strangers, may in any wise transgresse the tenour of the foze said Charter, vnder the penalties therein contained) and whereas afterward it beeing giuen vs to vnderstand, that diuers marchants both home-bozne, and aliens, bought by such wooll and woollen felles within our saide Realme and dominions, and conueyed theselues with the saide woolls and felles for the sale thereof, vnto other places within the foze said prouinces, besides the saide Staple, which was, according to our graunt afoze said, appointed and ordained by the Maior and communitie of the said marchants of our Realme, in some one of those prouinces, to the contempt of our authoritie, and contrary to the Charter of the ordination, publication, and inhibition afoze said, wee assigned certaine of our faithfull subiects, in diuers parts of our Realme, to make inquisition for such woolls and woollen felles, as were conueyed vnto any other place of the saide prouinces, then vnto the Staple, so that by these meanes, the penalties due vnto vs might bee leuied vnto our vse: and hauing intelligence also, that in a manner all marchants both home-bozne, and strangers battering such wares in our kingdome, are culpable of the premises, and that many being indicted thereupon, and others fearing to bee indicted, doe cause their woolls and woollen felles to bee auouched vnder the names of persons

A Charter made in the sixt yeere of his reigne.

sons not culpable, and to be sent ouer vnto certaine strangers being also culpable, and not minding perhaps to return any moze into our realme, that they may so escape the foresaid forfeitures, and defraud vs of the penaltie, appertaining of right vnto vs, (which abuses, if they were suffered so to goe unpunished woulde rebound vnto our extreame hunderance:) and being likewise desirous to withstand such deceitfull dealing, and so farre forth as wee can, to prevent our owne losses, we firmly command, and streightly charge you, that you doe receiue of euery particular marchant, desirous to conuey any wools, or woollen fells out of the foresaid port, into any forein dominions, a corporal oath vpon Gods holy Euangelists: that they shall auouch all those wools and woollen fells vnder his name vnto whom they doe properly belong, & vnder the name of none other: and then taking sufficient security from the owner of those wools and fells, or in his name, in regard wherof you wil vnder take to warrantize, and make good vnto vs those penalties and forfeitures which shal vnto vs appertaine, for all wools, and woollen fells conueied or sent by any of the foresaid merchants vnto any of the said prouinces of Flanders, Brabant, and Artoys, contrary to the Charter of the Proclamation and inhibition aboue mentioned (if they shal chance to be conuincid hereof) that first, our due custome being receiued, you doe permit the said wools and woollen fells to passe out of the foresaid port into forein countries. Witness the king at Douer the 18. day of June. By the king himselfe and his Council.

And afterwarde by a Writte vnder the Kings priue Seale there was a like commandement giuen vnto the Collectors of the custome aforesayde in the portes, vnderwritten.

That is to say:

In the port of
the Towne of

Weymouth,
Southampton,
Saint Botulphs towne, now called Boston,
Kingtome vpon Hull,
Newcastle,
Iernemouth magna, or Yermouth,
Lenne,
Gypwick or Ipswich.

A Catalogue of the great Masters of the Order of the Dutch knights, commonly called the Hospitalaries of Ierusalem: and what great exploit es euery of the saide Masters hath atchieued,

either in conquering the land of Prussia, or in taming and subduing the Infidels, or els in keeping them vnder their obedience and subiection, taken out of Munster.



The order of the Dutch knights had their first original at Ierusalem in the pere of our Lorde 1190, within the Hospitall of the blessed Virgine: and the first Master of the saide order was called Henrie of Walpor, vnder whome many good things, and much wealth and riches were throughout all Germanie and Italic procured vnto the order: and the saide Hospitall was removed from Ierusalem vnto Ptolemais, otherwise called Acon, and the foresaid Order grew and mightily increased, whereof I will hereafter discourse moze at large in my Treatise of Syria, Henrie of Walpor deceased in the yeere of Christ 1200. The 2. Master was Otto of Kerpen, and he continued Master of the Order for the space of six yeeres. The 3. was Hermannus Bar a godly and deuout person, who deceased in the yeere 1210, being interred at Acon, as his predecessors were. The 4. was Hermannus de Salza, who thirtie yeeres together gouerned the saide Order, and managed the first expedition of warre against the infidels of Prussia, and obtained another Master also in Prussia to bee his Deputie in the same region. In the yeere 1239. the knights of the sword, who traueiled into Liouonia to conuert the inhabitants thereof vnto Christ, seeing they were not of sufficient force to performe that enterpryse, and that their enemies increased on all sides, they vnted themselves vnto the famous Order of the Dutch knights in Prussia, that their worthy attempt might bee defended and promoted by the aide and assistance of the saide Dutch knights. At the very same time the ensigne of the crosse was exalted throughout all Germanie against the Prussians, and a great armie of souldiers was gathered together, the Burgrate of Meidenburg being generall of the armie, who combining themselves vnto the Dutch knights, ioynd battell with the Infidels, and slew about fise hundred Gentiles, who beforetime had made horrible inuasions and in-roads into the dominions of Christians, wasting all with fire and sword, but especially the land of Colm, and Lubonia, which were the Prouin-

Enliferi fratres.

The first war
moued against
the Prussian infidels, anno
dom. 1239.

ces of Conradus Duke of Matlioua. Howe, the teyrtawc knights hauing made to huge a slaughter, built the castle of Reden, betweene Pomerania and the land of Colm, and so by degrees they gotte footing in the lande, and daylie erected moze castles, as namely, Cruzburg, Wissenburg, Resil, Bartenstein, Bruisburg, and Heilsburg, and furnished them all with garrisons. The fift Master of the Order was Conradus Landgrauus, the brother of Lodouick, which was husband vnto Ladie Elizabeth. This Conradus, by his fathers inheritance, gaue great riches and possessions vnto the Order, and caused Ladie Elizabeth to be interred at Marpurg, within the religious house of his laide Order. Under the government of this Master, Acon in the lande of Palestina was subdued vnto the Saracens. Moreover, in the yeere 1254, there was another great armie of Souldiers prepared against Prussia, by the Princes of Germanie. For Octacer, alias Odoacer king of Bohemia, Otto Marques of Brandenburg, the Duke of Austria; the Marques of Moravia, the Bishops of Colen and of Olmurz came marching on with great strength of their Nobles and common souldiers, and intuding the lande of Prussia in the Winter season, they constrained the inhabitants thereof to receiue the Christian faith, and to become obedient vnto the knights. After which exploite, by the aduise and assistance of king Odoacer, there was a castle built vpon a certaine hill of Samogiria, which immediately after grewe to be a great citie, being at this day the seate of the Prince of Prussia: and it was called by Odoacer Kunigsberg, that is to say, Kings Mount, or Mount royall, being finished in the yeere 1255. Dut of this fort the knights did vndle and restraine the furie of the Infidels on all sides, and compelled them to obedience. The sixt Master was called Boppo ab Osterna, vnder whom the citie of Kunigsberg was built. At the very same instant the knights beeing occupied about the warre of Curland, the Prussians conspiring together, and abandoning the Christian faith, in furious maner armed themselves against the Christians, defaced and burnt down Churches, slew Priests, and to the vtmost of their abilitie, banished all faithfull people. The report of which misdeameour being published throughout all Germanie, an huge armie was leuied and sent for the defence and succour of the knights, which marching into the land of Naran, made many slaughters, & through the inconstancie of fortune sometimes woonne, and sometimes lost the victorie. Also the Infidels besieged these three castles, namely, Bartenstein, Cruzberg and Kunigsberg, and brought extreame famine vpon the Christians contained within the laide fortes. Againe, in the yeere of our Lord 1262, the Earle of Iuliers, with other Princes and great chivalrie came downe, and giuing charge vpon the Prussians, put three thousand of them to the edge of the sword. Afterward the Prussians banding themselves together, were determined to spoile the castle of Kunigsberg, but their confederacie being disclosed, they had the repulse. And when the knights had peritailed against them, they laide in pledges, and yet for all that were not afraid to breake their fidelitie. For vpon a certaine time, after they had giuen diuers pledges, they slewe two noble knights of the Order, and so by that meanes incensed the principall of the laide order, in somuch that they caused two paire of gallous to be set by besides the castle, & certie of the Prussians pledges to be hanged there vpon. Which feueritic so bered and prouoked the Prussians, that in reuenge of the said iniury, they renewed bloody and cruel warres, slew many Christians, yea, and put 40. knights with the master of the Order, and the Marshal, vnto the edge of the sword. There was at the same instant in Pomerania a Duke called Swandepolcus, professing the Christian faith, but being ioyned in league with the Prussians, he indeuoured for many yeeres, not onely to expell the knights, but all Christians whatsoeuer out of the lande of Prussia, in which warre the forelaide knights of the Order suffered many abuses. For they lost almost all their castles, and a great number of themselves also were slaine. This Swandepolcus put in practise many lewde attempts against religion. For albeit he was baptised, he did moze mischief then the very Infidels themselves, vntill such time as the knights being assisted by the Princes of Germanie, brought the laide Duke and the Prussians also into such straights, that (maugre their heads) they were constrained to sue for peace. Afterward Swandepolcus lying at the point of death, admonished his sonnes that they should not doe any iniurie vnto the knights of the order, affirming that himselfe neuer prospered so long as he vyled warre against them. Howbeit his sonnes for a certaine time obserued not their fathers counsel, vntill at length one of them named Warrelaus, was created one of the Order, and the other called Samborus bestowed by legacie his goods and possessions vpon the laide Order, receiuing maintenance and exhibition from the laide Order, during the terme of his life. It returned also vnder the government of the foresayde Master Boppo, that one Syr Martine a Golin beeing accompanied with another knight, went into the countrey to see howe the Prussians were employed. And meeting with three Prussians, they slew two, and the thirde they reserued to guide them the directest way. But this guide betrayed them into their enemies handes, Which when they perceiued, they slewe the Traytour, Then

The Prussians abandon Christianitie.

A memorable
stratagem.

4000.

This man sent
an ambass
sage to Richard
the second.

five Prussian horsemen came riding and took them, delivering them bounde to the custody of two. And the other three pursued the horses of the two, which broke loose in the time of the scape. And they carrying somewhat long, the other two woulde haue beheaded the two Knights in the meane season. And as one of them was striking with his drawn sword, at the necke of Sir Martine, hee saide unto them: Sirs, you doe unwisely in that you take not off my garment befoze it bee defiled with blood. They therefore loosing the cordes wherewith hee was bounde, to take off his garment, set his armes moze at libertie. Which Syr Martine well perceiuing reached his keeper such a bore, that his sword fell to the grounde. Which hee with all speede taking up, slew both the keepers and unbounde his fellowe Knight. Moreover, seeing the other three Prussians comming furiously vpon them, with stout couragious hearts they made towarde the saide Prussians, and slew them, and so escaped the danger of death. The seventh great Master was Hanno de Sangerhusen, who deceased in the yeere one thousand two hundred seuentie five. The eight was Hartmannus ab Haldringen who deceased in the yeere 1282. The ninth was Burkardus a Schuunden being afterwarde made knight of the order of Saint Johns. The tenth was Conradus a Feuchtwang: vnder this man the Citie of Acon in Palestina was sacked by the Soldan, and manie people were slayne. The Templars which were therein returned home out of Fraunce, where they had great reuenges. The Knights of Saint John, who also had an Hospitall at Acon, changed their place, and went into the Isle of Cyprus, and from thence departing vnto Rhodes, they subued that Islande vnto themselves. Nowe the Dutch Knights abounded with wealth and possessions throughout all Germanie, being Lordes of a good part of Prussia, Liuania, and Curland, whose chiefe house was then at Marpur, till such time as it was remooued vnto Marieburg, a Towne of Prussia. The eleuenth great Master was Godfrey Earle of Hohenloe. Vnder this man the knights sustained a great overthrow in Liuania: but hauing strengthened their armie, they slew neere vnto Rye foure thousande of their enemies. The twelfth Master was Sifridus a Feuchtwang. Vnder this man, the principall house of the Order was translated from Marpur to Marieburg, which in the beginning was established at Acon, and from thence was remooued vnto Venice, and from Venice vnto Marpur. This Sifridus deceased in the yeere 1341. The thirteenth Master was called Charles Bestart of Triers. This man built a fort vpon the river of Minimel, and it was named Christminimel. The foureteenth was Warnerus ab Orsele, whome a certaine knight of the Order slew with his sword. The 15, was Ludolphus Duke of Brunswick, who built the Towne of Ylgenburg, and deceased 1352. The sixteenth was Theodoricus Earle of Aldenborg, and hee built the Towne of Bartenstein. The seuenteenth was Ludolphus surnamed King. The eighteenth was Henrie a Tuismer. The nineteenth Winnicus a Knoppenrod. In this mans time the knights took the king of the Lithuanians named Kinkut captiue, and kept him prisoner in Marieburg halfe a yeere, but by the helpe of a seruaunt, hauing broken out of the Castle, hee escaped away by night. But fearing that hee was layde waite for in all places, hee left his horse, and went on foote through unknownen pathes. In the day time hee hidde himselfe in secrete places, and in the night hee continued his iourney untill hee came vnto Massouia. But all the Knights ioye was turned into sorrowe, after they had lost so great an enemy. The twentieth grand Master was Conradus Zolner of Rothenstein. The one and twentieth Conradus Walenrod. The two and twentieth Conradus a Iungingen, who deceased in the yeere one thousand foure hundredeth and seuen. The thre and twentieth Vlicus a Iungingen. This man dyed in battell in the yeere one thousand foure hundredeth and tenne: which battell was fought against Vladislaus Father of Casmire. Both partes had leued mightie and huge forces: vnto the Polonians the Lithuanians and the Tartars had ioyned themselves, ouer whome one Violdus was captaine: the Dutch Knights had taken vp Souldiers out of all Germanie. And when eache armie had encamped themselves one without twentie furlongs of another, (hoping for victorie and impatient of delay) the great Master of the Prussians sent an Herald to denounce warre vnto the King, and immediately (alarme being giuen) it is reported that there were in both armies fourtie thousand horsemen in a readinesse. Vladislaus commaunded the Lithuanians and the Tartars to giue the first onsette, and placed the Polonians in the reerwarde of the battell: on the contrarie side, the Prussians regarded least of all to referue any strong troupes behinde, which might rescue such as were wearie, and renewe the fight, if neede should require, but set forwarde the flower and chualrie of all his Souldiers in the berie forefront of the battell. The charge being giuen certaine unarmed Tartars

Tartars & Lithuanians were slaine hand in mooth; howbeit the multitude pressed on, neither durst the fearefull Polonians turne their backs, and so a cruell battell was fought vpon the heapes of dead carcases. The combate continued a long time, terrible slaughters were committed, and the Lithuanians and Tartars were slaine like sheepe. But when newe and fresh enemies continually issued foorth, the Dutch knights being wearied, began to fight more faintly. Which Vladislaus no sooner perceined, but in all haste hee sends forwarde his mightie and well armed bande of Polonians, who suddenly breaking in renewed the skirmish. The Dutch were not able to withstand the furie of the fresh troupes (great oddes there is betweene the wearied Souldier and him that comes in a fresh) insomuch that the knights with their people were constrained to flee. The master of the Order seeing his souldiers give way vnto the enemy, gathered a companie together, and with blode him in the face, howbeit himselfe was slaine for his labour, the flight of his people proued greater and more dishonourable, neither did the Dutch cease to flee, so long as the Polonian continued the chase. There fell on the Knights partie manie thousands of men, and the Polonians gotte not the victorie without great spoile and damage. This battell was foughten in regard of the bounds of regions in the yeere 1410. All Prussia following the happie successe of the Polonian king (except Marienburg onely) yielded themselves vnto him being Conquerour. Howbeit the Emperour Sigismund taking by the quartell, peace was ordained betweene the knights and Polonia, and a league concluded, certaine summes of mooney also were paid vnto the Polonian, Prussia was restor'd vnto the knights, neither was the saide order disturbed in the possession of their lands vntill the time of Friderick. The 24. Easter was Henric Earle of Plaen. This man being deposed by the Chapter, was 7. yeres holden prisoner at Danzick. The 25. Easter was Michael Kuchenmeister, that is, master of the Cookes of Sternberg. The 26. was Paulus a Ruffdorff. The 27. Conradus ab Ellerichshausen. This man, after diuers and sundry conflicts betweene the Dutch knights, and the king of Polonia, concluded a perpetuall league with the saide king. Howbeit the citizens of Dantzick secretly going about to obtayne their freedom, that the foresaide Order might haue no dominion ouer them, made sute vnto the Polonian king to be their Protector. This Conradus died in the yeere 1450. The 28. was Lewis ab Ellerichshausen. Under this man there arose a dangerous sedition in Prussia betweene the chiefe cities and the knights of the Order. The citizens demanded libertie, complaining that they were oppressed with diuers molestations. Whereupon they priuily made sute vnto Casimir then king of Polonia. The Easter of the Order seeing what would come to passe began to expostulate with the king, that he kept not the peace which had bene concluded betweene them to last for euer. Also Frederick the Emperour commaunded the Prussians to returne vnto the obedience of the knights, who by the dint of their swordes had released that prouince out of the hands of Infidels, and had bought it with the shedding of much blood. Notwithstanding the popular sort persisting still in their stubborne determination, proceeded at length to open warre. The cities adhering vnto the king vsurped diuers Castles belonging to the Easter,ooke certain Commanders and knights, yea, and some they slewe also. Fiftie and five townes conspired together in that rebellion: but thinking their estate and strength not sure enough against their own gouernors without forein aide, they chose king Casimir to be their lord. Whereupon the Polonian king marched into Prussia with a great armie, taking possession of such cities as yielded themselves vnto him, and proceeding forward against Marienburg, besieged the castle and the towne. In the meane season the Easter hauing hired an armie of Germane souldiers, suddenly surpris'd the king at vnawares in his tents, and steele about 300. Polonians, tooke prisoners 136. noblemen, spoiled their tents,ooke away their horses, victuals, and armour, insomuch that the king himselfe hardly escaped vpon one horse. These things came to passe in the yeere 1455. The Easter hauing thus obtained the victorie, sent his armie into the countrey, and recouered the castles and cities which he had lost, to the number of 80. putting many of his enemies also vnto the sword. Moreover, he recouered Kunigsberg being one of the foure principall cities, which are by name Thorne, Elburg, Kunigsberg, and Gdanum, that is to say, Danzig. And when the warre was longer protracted then the Easter could well beare, and a whole yeres wages was vnpaid vnto his captains, those captaines which were in the garison of Marienburg conspired against the Easter, and for a great summe of money betrayed the castle of Marienburg vnto the king. Which practise being knowne, the Easter fled to Kunigsberg, and newe warre was begunne, and great spoile and desolation was wrought on both sides: vntill at length, after composition made, the king recaptured Pomerella, and all the castles and townes therin, together with Marienburg and Elburg: and the master intored Samaitia, Kunigsberg, &c. This composition was concluded in the yeere 1466. The 29. Easter was Henric Reuss, first being deputie, and afterwarde Easter of Prussia. The 30. was Henric a Richenberg, who deceased in the yeere 1477. The 31. called

The great master overcometh the king of Polonia.

The king by treason ouerthoweth the Easter.

Martine Truchses died in the yeere 1489. The 32. John a Tiesken died in the yeere 1500. The 33. being Duke of Saxonie, and marques of Misn, deceased in the yeere 1510. This man began to call in question, whether the foresaid composition concluded betweene the king of Polonia, and the Order, were to bee obserued or no: especially sithence it contained certaine articles against equitie and reason. Whereupon he appealed vnto the Bishop of Rome, vnto the Emperoz, vnto the princes and electors of Germany, and persuailed with them so farre forth, that there was a day of hearing appointed at Posna in Polonia. And the Legates of both parts meeting heard complaines and excuses, & dispatched no other businesse. In the meane time Prince Frederick deceased in the tenth yeere of his gouernment. The 34. Master was Albertus marques of Brandenburg, whom the King of Polonia did so grieuouly molest with war, and opprest all Prussia with such extreme rigour, that the Prince of the countrey was constrained to make a league of foure yeeres with him, and to yeeld vnto such conditions, as turned to the vtter ouerthrowe of the whole Order. And amongst other conditions are these which follow. Sithence that the originall of all discorde betweene Polonia and the order doeth from hence arise, for that hitherto in Prussia, no lawfull heyre and successoz hath bozne rule and authority, but diuers and sundry haue had the gouernment therof, by whose means the nations haue bene prouoked one against another, much Christian blood hath bin shed, the lands and inhabitants grieuouly spoiled, and many widowes and Orphanes made: the Popes, Emperors, and Princes being often sollicitated for the establishing of that perpetual league, which Casimir hath heretofore concluded &c. Sithence also that the truce which hath bene agreed vpon of both parties is in thoyt time to be expired, and that it is to bee feared, that bloody warres will then be renewed, and that all things will proue worse and worse, vnlesse some lawfull composition be made, and some good and wholesome deuise be put in practise, as well for the benefit of the King and of his posteritie, as for the commoditie of the whole common weale of Prussia, especially considering that Albertus the Marques refused not to submitte himselfe to the Councell of the King, &c.

The Oration or speech of the Ambassadours sent from Conradus de Zolner Master generall of the land of Prussia, vnto Richard the second, King of Eng- land, and France, &c.

The messengers which are sent from the Master generall of the land of Prussia, doe prouound and declare the affaires and negotiations vnderwritten.



The ancient
assistance of
the kings of
England a-
gainst infidels.

Whereas it is apparant, that diuers and sundry times heretofore, your famous progenitours and predecestours the kings of England haue alwaies bene gracious promoters and speciall friends vnto the generall Masters of the land of Prussia, and of the whole order: whereas also they haue vouchsafed, by their Barons, Knights, and other their nobles of the kingdome of England, vnto the Masters and order aforesaid, sundry and manifolde favourable assistances in the conquest of the Infidels (in whose steppes your excellent Maiestie insiting, haue, in these your dayes shewed your selfe in like sort right graciously affected vnto the Master generall which nowe is, and vnto his famous Predecestour) in due consideration of the premisses, and in regard also of diuers other affaires, which are at this present to be propounded vnto your Highnes, the foresaid Master generall which nowe is hath caused vs his messengers to be sent with letters of credence vnto your Maiestie: humbly praying, and earnestly beseeching your roial clemency, that in times to come, the said Master generall, his successors, & our whole Order may of your bounty most graciously obtaine the same fauour, beneuolence, and stedfast amity & friendship, which hath bin continued from the times of your foresaid predecestors: in regard wherof we do offer the said Master of ours, and our whole company, vnto your Highnes, as your perpetual and deuote friends. Notwithstanding (most soueraigne Prince) certaine other things we haue to propound vnto your Grace, in the name & behalfe of our saide Master and Order, by way of complaint, namely, that at certaine times past, and especially within the space of x. yeeres last expired, his subiects and marchants haue sustained sundry damages and ablations of their goods, by diuers subiects and inhabitants of your realme of England, and that very often, both by sea and land: the which, for the behalfe, and by the appointment of the Master generall aforesaid, & of his predecestoz, are put downe in registers, and recorded in the writings of his cities in the land of Prussia, of which parties admitted, some haue obtained letters fro the Master generall that

that now is, & also from his predecessor, vnto your renowned grandfather **K. Edward** of famous memory, and sundry times vnto your highnes also, to haue restitution made for their goods taken from them: whereby they haue nothing at al preuailed, but heaping losse vpon losse haue mispent their time & their charges: both because they were not permitted to propound & exhibit their complaints & letters before your maiesty, and also for diuers other impediments. Certain of them also considering how others of their countreimen had laboured in vain, & fearing the like successe, haue troubled the **Master general** very often with grieuous and sundry complaints, craving & humbly beseeching at his hands, that he would vouchsafe graciously to prouide for the as his faithfull & loial subjects, as touching the restitution of their losses: especially seeing y^e so much wealth of the English marchants was euery yeere to be found in Prussia, as being arrested, they might obtaine some reasonable satisfaction for their losses. Which thing the **Master general** aforesaid & his predecessor also haue deferred vnto this present (albeit to y^e great losse of their subjects) therby hauing merre & principal respect vnto those special curtesies and fauours which your excellent Maiesty & your worthy progenitors haue right graciously vouchsafed vpon our **Masters and Order**: neither yet for the iniuries aforesaid, was there euer any manner of offence, or molestation offered vnto any of your subjects noble or ignoble whatsoeuer. Howeouer, in the name & behalfe of our foresaid **M. general** we do propound vnto your excellency by way of complaint, that in the yere last past, 6. dayes after y^e feast of the Ascension, certain persons of your realm of England, with their ships & captains coming vnto the port of Flanders, named Swen, & finding there, amongst sundry other, 6. ships of Prussia resident, which had there arriued wth diuers goods & marchandises: and being informed that they were of Prussia, & their friends, they caused them & their ships to remain nere vnto their owne ships, protesting vnto them, that they should in no sort be molested or damaged by theselues or by any other of their company, & that they would faithfully defend them, as if they were their own people, fro y^e hands of their aduersaries: & for their farther security & trust, they deliuered some of their own men & their standers into our mens ships: howbeit a while after being stirred vp, & bent for other wise, they took out of y^e foresaid ships al kind of armors, wherewith they were to guard & defend themselves fro pirats, & they detained the masters of those ships, not suffering them to return vnto their own ships & copanys, one also of y^e said ships (hauing taken al the goods out of her) they columed with fire. And within 3. daies after they came with one accord vnto y^e aboucnamed ships, and tooke away from them all goods and marchandises which they could find, and all the armour and weapons of the said ships, the chestes also of the marchants, of the ship-masters, & of other persons they brake open, taking out money, jewels, garments, & diuers other commodities: and so they inflicted v^{ps} them irreuererable losses and unkind grieuances. And departing out of the foresaid haven, they carried 2. of the Prussian ship-masters with the, as their captiues vnto an haueu of England called Sandwich. Who, being afterward released, were compelled to sweare, that they should not declare y^e iniuries offered vnto them, either before your roiall maiesty, or your hon. Councell, or your chancery: neither were they permitted to come on thore. And being offered such hard measure, when they made pitifull mones & complain: vnto your foresaide subjects, amongst other matters they spake on this wise vnto them: Do you complain of iniuries & losses offered vnto you? Lo, in your own countrey of Prussia there are English marchants, & goods sufficient, go your waies home therfore, & recouer your losses, taking two for one: and in this maner they were left, & so departed. Afterward returning vnto y^e land of Prussia, they & their friends repaired vnto the **M. general**, ioinly and wth one consent making their complaint vnto him of the losses which had bin inflicted vpon the by your subjects. And prostrating theselues at his feet, they all and euery of them made their humble lutes, y^e he would haue compassion on them, as vpon his poore subjects, regarding the selues, their wiues, & children, and pitying their distress, and penury, and that he would graciously procure some redress for them. And when he offered his letters vnto them, wishing them to prosecute their cause before your highnes, they answered that they were no way able to defray the expenses, and that others, who were in like sort damaged, had laboured that way also together in vain & to no purpose: beseeching him again and again, that he would by another kind of means, namely by arresting of your marchants and their goods, procure the restitution of their losses. At length the **M. general** being moued by so many and so great complaints, and by the molestation of his subjects, caused (albeit full force against his will) a certaine portion of English marchants goods to be laid hold on, and to be arrested, in his cities of Elburg & Danzick, and to be bestowed in sure places, vntil such time as he might conveniently by his messengers propound and exhibit all and singular the premisses vnto your highnes. And forasmuch as the foresaid **M. general** and our **Order** do know no iust occasion, whereby they haue deferred your maiesties indignation, but are timely and most undoubtedly perswaded, to finde all curtesie, fauour, and friendship at your Highnesse, according to your wonted clemencie: the said **M. general** therfore maketh

The arresting of the English goods and marchants.

no doubt, that al the aboue wrytten damages & molestacions, being in such sort, against God and iustice, offered vnto his subiects by yours, be altogether vnknown vnto your magnificence, & committed against your mind: wherfoze presently vpon the foresaid arrest of your marchants goods, he dispatched his messengers vnto your roial maiesty. Wherof one deceased by the way, namely in the territory of Holland: & the other remained sick in those parts for a long season: & so that ambassage took none effect. Wherfoze the said master general was desirous to send vs now y second time also vnto your Highnes. We doe make our humble sute therfoze, in the name & behalf of our Master and Dyder aforesaid, vnto your kingly supremacy, that, hauing God and iustice befoze your eyes, and also the dutifull and obsequious demeanour of the said master, and order towards you, you would vouchsafe to extend your gracious clemency, for the redresse of the premises: wherby the foresaid losses may be restored and repared vnto our subiects. All which notwithstanding, that it would please you of your wisdom & prouidence to procure so absolute a remedy, by meanes whereof, in time to come, such dealings and inconueniences may be auoided on both parts, & finally that your marchants may quietly be possessed of their goods arrested in Prussia, and our marchants may be admitted vnto the possession of their commodities attached in England, to conuert & apply them vnto such uses, as to themselves shall seem most conuenient. Howbeit (most gracious prince and lord) we are to sollicite your Highnesse, not onely about the articles to be propounded concerning the losses aforesaide, but moze principally, for certain sinister reports and superstitious slanders, wherewith certaine of your subiects, not seeking for peace, haue falsly informed your maiesty, & your most honorable & discrete Council: affirming that at the time of y aforesaid arrest your marchants were barbarously intreated, that they were cast into lothsom prisons, drenched in myze and water vnto y neck, restrained from all conference and company of men, and also that their meate was thron vnto them, as a bone to a dog, with many other enozimities, which they haue most slanderously deuised concerning the master general aforesaid, and his people, and haue published them in these dominions: vpon the occasion of which falsehoods certain marchants of our parts, and of other regions of Alemain (who, of your special beneuolence, were indued with certaine priuileges and fauours in your citie of London, and in other places) were, as malefactors, apprehended and caried to prison, vntil such time as the truth was moze apparant. Whereupon, the foresaide master general propoundeth his humble sute vnto your maiesty, that such enemies of trueth and concord, your Maiesty would vouchsafe in such sort to chastise, that they may be an example vnto others presuming to doe the like.

Howeouer, (high and mighty Prince and lord) it was reported vnto our Master general, that his former Legats required of your maiesty safe conduct freely to come into your highnesse Realme. Which when hee heard, he was exceedingly offended therat, sithence vndoubtedly they did not this at his commaundment or direction. We therfoze humbly beseech your Grace, as touching this our sight, to holde the Master general excused, because there is no need of safe conduct, between so speciall friends.

Furthermoze, sundry damages and complaints of the foresaid general Master, and his subiects are byessly exhibited, and put downe in the billes following. Also, all and singular damaged persons, besides other proofes, were compelled to verifie their losses by their sojmall othes, taken vpon the holy Bible.

Lastly, we doe make our humble suite and petition vnto the prouidence and discretion of your Highnes, and of your honorable Councell, that concerning the premises, and all other matters propounded, or to be propounded vnto your Maiesty, we may obtaine a speedy answer, and an effectuall end. If or it would rebound vnto our great charges and losse to make any long delayes.

An agreement made by the Ambassadors of England and Prussia, confirmed by king Richard the second.

Richard by the grace of God, king of England, and France, and lord of Ireland, To all, vnto whom these present letters shall come, greeting. We haue seene and considered the composition, ordination, concord, and treatie, betweene our welbeloued cleark, master Nicholas Stocket, licentiat in both lawes, Walter Sibel, and Thomas Graa, citizens of our cities of London & York, our messengers and ambassadoys on the one part: and the honourable and religious personages, Conradus de Walrode, great commander, Sifridus Walpode de Bassenheim, chiefe hospitalary commander in Elburg, and Vlricus Hachenberg Treasurer, the messengers and ambassadoys of the right reuerend and religious lord, lord Conradus Zolner de Rothenstein, master general of the knightly order of the Dutch hospital of Saint Mary at Jerusalem on the other part, lately concluded and agreed vpon in these wordes. In the name of the supream and indiuisible Trinitie, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, Amen. Inasmuch as the author of peace will haue peace-makers

makers to be the sons of blesnednes, and the execrable enemie of peace to be expelled out of the dominions of Chyistians: therefore for the perpetuall memoire of the thing, be it known vnto all men who shall see or heare the tenour of these presents: that there being matter of dissenfion and discorde bred betweene the most renowned prince and king, Richard by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, and his subiects on the one part: and the right reuerend and religious lord, lord Conradus Zolner de Rothinftein, Master generall of the knightly order of the Dutch hospital of S. Marie at Ierusalem, and his land of Prussia, and his subiects also, on the other part: the foresaid lord and generall master, vpon mature counsell and deliberation had, sent his honourable ambassadours to wards England vnto the fozenamed most soueraigne prince and king, to propound and make their complaint vnto him of violence and iniuries offered (as it is sayd) by the English vnto the Prussians: in consideration whereof certaine goods of the marchants of England were arrested in the land of Prussia. Whose complaint the foresaid most gracious prince did courteously and friendly admit, receiue, and accept, and after many speeches vttered in this treaty, louingly dismissed them vnto their owne countrey againe, promising by his letters vnto the foresaid reuerend Master generall, that hee would dispatch his ambassadours vnto the land of Prussia. Whereupon, in the yeere 1388, he sent the hono: and reuerend personages Master Nicholas Srocket licentiate of both lawes, Thomas Graa, and Walter Sibill, citizens of London and Yorke, with sufficient authorizy and full commandement, to handle, discusse, and finally to determine the foresaid busines, and with letters of credence vnto the right reuerend lord and master generall foresaid. Which ambassadours, together with Iohn Beuis of London their informer, and the letters aforesaid, and their ambassage, the said right reuerend lord and Master generall, at his castle of Marienburgh, the 28, of July, in the yeare aforesaid, reuerently and honourably receiued and entertained: and in his minde esteemed them worthy to treat and decide the causes aforesaid: and so vnto the sayd ambassadours he toynd in commission on his behalfe, thye of his owne counsellors, namely the honourable and religious personages Conradus de Walrode great commander, Seiffridus Walpode de Bassenheim chiefe hospitalary and commander in Elburg, Wolricus Hachenberger treasurer, being all of the order aforesaid. Which ambassadoys so entreating about the premises, and sundry conferences and consultations hauing passed between them, friendly and with one consent, concluded an agreement and concord in manner following: That is to say:

1. First, that all arrestments, reysals, and impignozations of whatsoeuer goods and marchandises in England and Prussia, made befoze the date of these presents, are from henceforth quiet, free, and releas'd, without all fraud and dissimulation: in somuch that the damages, charges and expences occasioned on both parts by reason of the foresaid goods arrested, are in no case hereafter to be required or chalenged by any man: but the demaunds of any man whatsoeuer propounded in this regard, are and ought to be altogether frustrate and boide, and all actions which may or shall be commenced by occasion of the sayd goods arrested, are to be extinct and of none effect.

2. Forreuer, it is secondly concluded and agreed, that all and singuler Prussians pretending themselves to be iniuried by the English at the Pozte of Swen, or elsewhere, howsoeuer, and whensoeuer, befoze the date of these presents, hauing receiued the letters of the foresaid right reuerend lord and Master generall, and of the cities of their abode, are to repaye towards England, vnto the sayd hon: embassadours, who are to assist them, and to propound and exhibite their complaints, vnto the fozenamed lord and king. The most gractous prince is bounde to doe his indeuor, that the parties damnified may haue restitution of their goods made vnto them, or at least complete iudice and iudgement without delay. Also in like maner all English men affirming themselves to haue bene endamaged by Prussians, where soeuer, howsoeuer, and whensoeuer, are to haue recourse vnto the often fozenamed right reuerend lord the Master generall, with the letters of their king and of the cities of their aboad, propounding their complaints and causes vnto him. Who likewise is bound to doe his indeuour that the sayd losses and damages may be restozed, or at the least that speecie iudgement may be, without all delayes, executed. This caueat being premised in each claute, that it may and shall be freely granted and permitted vnto euery man that will ciuilly make his suite and complaint, to doe it either by himselfe, or by his procurator or procuratozs.

3. Also thirly it is agreed, that whosoever of Prussia is determined criminally to propound his criminal complaints in England: namely that his brother or kinsman hath bene slaine, wounded, or maimed, by English men, the same partie is to repaye vnto the citie of London in England, and vnto the sayd ambassadoys, bringing with him the letters of the sayd right reuerend lord the master generall, and of the cities of their abode: which ambassadoys are to haue free and full authorizy, according to the complaines of the men of Prussia, and the answers of the English men, to make and ordaine a friendly reconciliacion or honest recompence betweene such parties: which reconciliacion

liation the sayd parties reconciled are bound vndoubtedly & without delay to obserue. But if there be any English man found, who shall rashly contradict or contemne the composition of the foresayd ambassadoys: then the sayd ambassadoys are to bring the forenamed Prussian plaintifes befoze the presence of the kings Maiestie: and also to make supplication on the behalfe of such plaintifes, that complete iustice and iudgment may without delays bee administered, according as those suites are commenced. Whoeuer whatsoeuer English man, against whom anie one of Prussia would enter his action, shall absent himselfe at the terme, the sayd ambassadoys are to summon and ascite the foresayd English man to appeare at the terme next ensuing, that the plaintifes of Prussia may in no wise seeme to depart or to returne home, without iudgement or the assistance of lawe. Howe if the sayd English man being summoned shall be found subhorne or disobedient, the forenamed ambassadoys are to make their appeale and supplication in manner aforesayd. And in like sort in all respects shall the English plaintifes be dealt with all in Prussia, namely in the citie of Dantzik, where the deputies of the sayd citie and of the citie of Elburg shall take vnto themselves two other headboroughs, one of Dantzik, and the other of Elburg: which foure commissioners are to haue in all respects, the very like authoritie of deciding, discussing, and determining all criminall complaints propounded criminally, by English men against any Prussian or Prussians, by friendly reconciliation, or honest recompense, if it be possible. But if it cannot friendly be determined, or if anie Prussian shall not yeeld obedience vnto any such order or composition, but shall be found to contradict and to contemne the same: from thenceforth the said foure deputies and headboroughs are to make their appeale and supplication vnto the Matter generall of the land aforesayd, that vnto the sayd English plaintifes speedy iudgement and complete iustice may be administered. But if it shall so fall out that any of the principall offenders shall decease, or already are deceased in either of the sayd countreys, that then it shall bee free and lawfull for the plaintife to prosecute his right against the goods or heires of the party deceased. Also, for the executing of the premises the termes vnder written are appointed: namely the first, from the Sunday whereupon Quasi modo geniti is to be sung next ensuing, vntill the seuenth day following: The second vpon the feast of the holy Trinitie next to come, and for seuen dayes following: The third vpon the eight day after Saint Iohn Baptist next to come, & for seuen daies following: The fourth, last, and peremptory terme shall be vpon the feast of S. Michael next to come, and vpon seuen dayes next following. And from thenceforth all causes which concerne death, or the mayming of a member, with all actions proceeding from them, are to remaine altogether void and extinct. And if peradventure any one of the foresayd ambassadoys, shall in the meane season dye, then the other two shall haue authoritie to chuse a third vnto them. And if after the date of these presents any cause great or small doth arise or spring forth, it must bee decided in England and in Prussia, as it hath bene accustomed in times past and from ancient times.

An ancient custome.

4.
The priuiledges of the English marchants in Prussia.

Also, it is farther concluded and agreed vpon, that all lawfull marchants of England whoeuer shall haue free licence and authoritie, with all kindes of shippes, goods, and marchandises, to resort vnto euery port of the land of Prussia, and also to transport all such goods and marchandises by farther vnto any other place in the sayde land of Prussia, and there with all kindes of persons freely to bargain and make sale, as heretofore it hath from auncient times bene accustomed. Which priuiledge is granted in all things and by all circumstances vnto the Prussians in England. And if after the date of these presents, betwene the sayd kingdome of England, and land of Prussia any dissension or discorde (which God forbid) should arise: then the foresayd soueraigne prince and king of England, and the sayd right reuerend lord the Matter generall are mutually by their letters and messengers to giue certificate and intimation one vnto another, concerning the matter and cause of such dissension and discorde: which intimation, on the behalfe of the foresayd soueraigne prince & king of England, shall be deliuered in the forenamed castle of Marienburg: but on the behalfe of the sayd right reuerend lord the Matter generall, such intimation shall be giuen in the citie of London aforesayd, vnto the Mayor of the said city: that then such a denuntiation or intimation being made, the marchants of England and the subiects of the land of Prussia may, within the space of one yeere next following, freely and safely returne home with all their goods & marchandises: if at the least, in the mean while, some composition, & friendly league betwene the two foresayd countreys be not in some sort concluded. And that all the premises may more firmly and faithfully be put in due practise and execution on both partes, for the strong and inuiolable keeping of peace and tranquillity: and also for the full confirmation and strengthening of all the sayde premises, the three foresayd honourable and religious personages being by the said right reuerend lord the Matter general appointed as commissioners to deale in the aboue written ordination and composition, haue caused their seales vnto these presents to be put:

put : and the sayd ordination also, and letter in the same tenour word for word, and in all points euen as it is inserted into these presents, they haue mutually receiued fro the abouenamed thre ambassadours of the right soueraigne king of England vnder their seales. Given at the castle of Marienburg in the yeare of our lord aforesayd, vpon the twentieth day of the month of August. And we therfore doe accept, approue, ratifie, and by the tenour of these presents doe confirme, the composition, ordination, concord, and treaty aforesayd. In testimony whereof we haue caused these our letters to be made patents. Witnesse our selues at Westminster the 22. of October, in the thirtenth yeare of our reigne.

By the king and his counsell.

Lincolne.

The letters of *Conradus de Iungingen*, Master generall of *Prussia*, written vnto *Richard* the second, king of *England*, in the yeere 1398, for the renouncing of a league and composition concluded betwene *England* and *Prussia*, in regard of manifold iniuries offered vnto the Prussians.

Our humble commendations, with our earnest prayers vnto God for your Maiestie, premised. Most renowned prince and mighty lord, it is not (we hope) out of your Maiesties remembrance, how our famous predecessor going immediately before vs sent certaine letters of his vnto your highnesse, effectually contayning sundry complaints of grieuances, iniuries and losses, wherewith the marchants of his lande and Order being woont in times past to visite your kingdome with their goods and marchandises, haue bene contrary to their liberties and priuiledges annoyed with manifold iniuries and wrongs. Especially sithens they haue bene molested in your realme, being contrary to the friendly composition made and celebrated by the hono^r: personages, master Nicholas Stocket, Thomas Graa and Walter Sibil, in the yeare 1388, with the assistance of their coarbiters on our part, and contrary to God and all iustice, eppressed with manifold damages, losses, and grieuances: as in certaine articles exhibited vnto our predecessors aforesayd it doeth more manifestly appeare. In consideration whereof being vehemently moued by the dammified parties, he humbly besought your highnesse by his messengers and letters, for complement and execution of iustice. About the which affayres your Maiestie returned your letters of answer vnto our sayd predecessor, signifying that the sayd businesse of articles concerned al the commonalty of your realme, and that your highnesse purposed, after consultation had in your parliament, to send a more deliberate answer concerning the premises, vnto our predecessor aforesayd. Howbeit he being by death translated out of this present world, and our selues by the providence of God succeeding in his roome, and also long time expecting an effectuall answer from your highnesse, are not yet informed as we looked for: albeit the complaints of iniuries and losses offered vnto our subiects doe continually increase. But from hencefoorth to provide a remedie and a caueat for the time to come, the sayd complainnt doeth vpon great reasons moue and inuite me. Sithens therfore in regard of the sayd composition, neither you nor your subiects may be intruded in the empire: and sithens plaine reason requireth that the one be not enriched by the others losse: as vndoubtedly our subiects should sustaine great damage by the composition aforesayd, by vertue whereof your subiects doe enioy all commodities in our lande, and contrariwise our subiects in your realme haue suffered, & as yet sundrie wayes do suffer manifold discommodities, losses and iniuries. Wherefore (most soueraigne prince and mighty lord) being reasonably moued vpon the causes aforesayd, we doe, by the aduise of our counsellers, reuoke and repeale the sayd composition concluded as is aboue wytten, together with the effect thereof, purely and simply renouncing the same by these presents: refusing hereafter to haue either our selues or our subiects in any respect to stand bound by the vertue of the sayd composition: but from hencefoorth, and for the times heretofore also, bee it altogether void and of none effect.

Provided not withstanding, that from the time of the notice of this denunciation given vnto the hono^r: Maior of your cite of London, for the space of a yeare next ensuing, it shall be lawfull for all marchants of your kingdome whatsoeuer, with their goods and marchandises to returne home, according to the forme in the foresayd composition expressed: conditionally that our subiects may euen so in all respects be permitted to depart, with the safety of their goods and liues out of your dominions: this present renunciation, reuocation, and retraction of the order and composition aforesayd, notwithstanding. Howbeit in any other affayres whatsoeuer, devoutly to submit our selues vnto your highnesse pleasure and command, both our selues, and our whole order are right willing

willing and desirous: and also to benefite and promote your subiects we wil indelicur to the best of our ability. Given in our castle of Marienburg in the yeare of our Lord 1398, and vpon the 22. day of February.

Frater *Conradus de Inuingen*, master generall of the Order of the Dutch knights of *S. Maries* hospital at *Ierusalem*.

A briefe relation of *William Esturmy*, and *John Kington* concerning their ambassages into *Prussia*, and the *Hanſ-townes*.

1403.

IN primis, that in the month of July, and in the yeare of our Lord 1403, and the fift yeare of the reigne of our soueraigne Lord the king that now is, there came into England the ambassadours of the mighty lord Fr: *Conradus de Inuingen*, being then *Master* general of *Prussia*, with his letters directed vnto our foresayd soueraigne lord the king, requiring amends and recompense for certaine iniuries vniuſly offered by English men vnto the subiects of the sayd *Master* general, written in 20. articles, which amounted vnto the summe of 19120. nobles and a halfe &c.

Item, that the third day of the month of October, in the yeare of our Lord abovesayd, and in the fift yere of the reigne of our soueraigne lord the king, between the reuerend father in God, *Henric* then bishop of *Lincolne* lord chancelor, and *William* lord de *Roos* high treasurer of England, on the one party and the sayd ambassadours on the other party, it was (according to their petition) amongst other things ordayned: namely that the liege people of our soueraigne lord the king should freely be permitted, vntill the feast of *Easter* then next after ensuing to remaine in the land of *Prussia*, and from thence with their goods & marchandises to returne vnto their own home: and also, that the subiects of the sayd *Master* general in the kingdome of England should haue licence and liberty to doe the like. Provided alwayes, that after the time aboue limited, neither the English marchants in the land of *Prussia*, nor the *Prussian* marchants in the realme of England should vse any traffique of merchandise at all, vntill in the meane space it were otherwise agreed and concluded by the sayd king and the sayd *Master* general.

Item, immediately after our sayd soueraigne lord the king sent his letters by *John Browne* merchant of *Lin* vnto the foresayd *Master* general, for to haue mutuall conuersation and intercourse of dealing to continue some certain space, betwene the marchants of England and of *Prussia*: promising in the same letters, that he would in the meane season send vnto the foresayd *Master* his ambassadours to intreat about the pretended iniuries aforesaid: which letters the foresayd *Master*, for diuers causes, refused to peebe vnto, as in his letters sent vnto our lord the king, bearing date the 16. day of the month of July, in the yeare of our lord 1404, moze plainly appeareth.

Item, that after the receit of the letters of the *Master* aforesaid, which are next aboue mentioned, our sayd king, according to his promise, sent *William Esturmy* knight, *Th.* *John Kington* clerke, and *William Brampton* citizen of *London*, from his court of parliament holden at *Coventrie*, very slightly informed, as his ambassadours into *Prussia*.

Item, before the arriual of the sayd ambassadours in *Prussia*, all intercourse of traffique betwene the English and the *Prussians*, in the realme of England, and in the land of *Prussia* was altogether restrained and prohibited: and in the same land it was ordayned and put in practise, that in whatsoeuer port of the land of *Prussia* any English marchant had arriued with his goods, he was not permitted to conueigh the sayd goods, out of that port, vnto any other place of the land of *Prussia*, either by water, or by lande, vnder the payne of the forfeiting of the same: but was enioyned to sell them in the very same port, vnto the *Prussians* onely and to none other, to the great prejudice of our English marchants.

1405.

Item, that after the arriual of the sayd English ambassadours in the land of *Prussia*, it was ordayned, that from the eighth day of the month of October, in the yeare of our lord 1405, all English marchants whatsoeuer should haue free liberty to arriue with all kindes of their merchandise in whatsoeuer port of the land of *Prussia*, and to make sale of them in the said land, as hath heretofore from auncient times bene accustomed. Also sundry other commodious priuiledges vnto the realme of England were then ordayned and established: as in the indentures made for this purpose it doth moze manifestly appeare.

Item, the sayd English ambassadours being arriued in the land of *Prussia*, demanded of the sayd *Master* general, a reformation and amends, for the damages and iniuries offered by the *Prussians* vnto the liege people of our soueraigne lord and king, written in fifteene articles, which losses amounted vnto the summe of 4535. nobles.

Item, the sayd *Master* general, besides the articles exhibited vnto our soueraigne lord the king (as it is aboue mentioned) deliuered vnto the sayd ambassadours diuers other articles of certaine iniuries

injuries offered (as ye sayth) vniuersally by English men, vnto his subiects, which amounted vnto the summe of 5100. nobles.

Item, it was after ward concluded, that vpon the first of May next then ensuing, namely in the yeere of our Lord 1406, or within the space of one yeare immediately following there should bee made a conuenient, iust, and reasonable satisfaction, for all molestations vniuersally offered on both partes, as well on the behalfe of our soueraigne lord the king, as of the foresayd Master general, which satisfaction not being performed, the Prussians with their goods & marchandise, within three moneths after the end of the sayd yeere next following, were without molestation or impediment, enioined to depart out of the realme of England with their ships and goods, and the English men likewise, out of the territories and dominions of the said Master general, & both of them, without any further admonition, to abstaine & separate themselves, from both the countreys aforesayd. for the performance of which premisses, the ambassadoys on both parts being sufficiently instructed, were appointed to meete the first day of May, at the towne of Dordraet in Holland.

Item, that the sayd William Esturmy and John Kington in their returne homewards from Prussia towards England passed through the chiefe cities of the Hans, and treated in such sort with the Burgomaisters of them, that there were sent messengers and agents, in the behalfe of the common societie of the Hans marchantes, vnto the towne of Dordraet, to conferre with the ambassadoys of England, about the redressing of injuries attempted on both parts: where diuers agreements were set downe betwene the sayd ambassadoys, and messengers, as in the indentures made for the same purpose it doth more manifestly appeare.

Item, that the meeting appointed at the towne of Dordraet, vpon the first of May, was by the letters of the foresayd ambassadoys, proroged vnto the first of August then next ensuing; and after ward by vertue of the kings letters vnto the first day of March next following: and there was another day of prorogation also.

Item, that after the prorogations aforesayd, the ambassadoys of England, and the messengers & commissioners of Prussia met together at the towne of Hage in Holland, the 28. day of August, in the yeere of our lord 1407. And there was a treaty betwene them concerning the summe 25934. nobles and an halfe, demanded on the behalfe of the sayd Master general for amends and recompense in consideration of wrongs offered vnto himselfe and vnto his subiects of Prussia, as is aforesayd. Also the sayd Master and his Prussians, besides the summe not yet declared in the articles, which is very small, are to rest contented and satisfied with the summe of 8957. nobles, in lieu of all the damages aforesaid: no times of payment being then assigned or limited, but after ward to be reasonably limited and assigned, by our sayd soueraigne lord the king. In so much, that our said soueraigne lord the king is to write his full intention & determination concerning this matter, in his letters to be deliuered the 16. day of March, vnto the aldermen of the marchants of the Hans residing at Bruges. Other wise, that from thenceforth all league of friendship shall bee dissolved betwene the realme of England and the land of Prussia.

Also it is farther to be noted, that in the appointment of the summe next before written to be disbursed out of England, this condition was added in writing, namely, that if by lawful testimonies it may sufficiently be proued, concerning the chiefe articles abouewritten, or any part of them, that satisfaction was made vnto any of those parties, to whom it was due: or that the goods, of and for the which complaint was made on the behalfe of Prussia, in the sayd articles, did or doe pertaine vnto others, or that any other iust, true, or reasonable cause may lawfully be proued & alledged, why the foresaid sums or any of them ought not to be payed: that the in the summes contained in the articles abouementioned, so much only must be cut off, or stopped, as shall be found, either to haue bene payd already, or to appertaine vnto others, or by any true, iust, and reasonable cause alleaged, not to be due. Neither is it to be doubted, but for the greater part of the summe due vnto the Prussians, that not our lord the king, but others (which will in time be nominated) are, by all equity and iustice, to be compelled to make satisfaction.

Also, at the day and place aboue mentioned it was appointed and agreed vpon, that our lord the king and his liege subiects, for the said 4535. nobles demanded of the English in consideration of recompense to be made for injuries offered vnto the Prussians, are to discharge & pay the summe of 764. nobles, which are not as yet disbursed: but they haue reserued a petition to them, vnto whom the sayd summe is due, or if they please, there shall be made satisfaction: which will be very hard and extreme dealing.

Item, that in the last assembly of the sayd ambassadoys of England and messengers of Prussia, holden at Hage, made as is aforesayd, for the behalfe of England, there were exhibited anew certain articles of injuries against the Prussians. The value of which losses amounted vnto the summe of 1825. nobles and three shillings.

Item, on the contrary part for the behalfe of the Prussians the summe of 1355. nobles, eight shillings and six pence.

Item, forasmuch as diuers articles propounded, as well on the behalfe of England, as of Prussia, and of the cities of the Hans, both heretofore and also at the last conuention holden at Hage, were so obscure, that in regard of their obscurity, there could no resolute answer be made vnto them: and other of the sayd articles exhibited, for want of sufficient proofes, could not clearly be determined vpon: it was appointed and concluded, that all obscure articles given by by any of the foresayd parties whatsoeuer, ought before the end of Easter then next ensuing, and within one whole yeare after, to be declared before the Chancelour of England, for the time being: and other articles evidently exhibited, but not sufficiently proued, to be proued, vnder paine of perpetuall exclusion. Which being done accordingly, complete iustice shall be administered on both parts.

Item, as concerning the eleuenth article, for the behalfe of the Prussians, first exhibited, which contained losses amounting vnto the summe of 2445. nobles: as touching the first article on the behalfe of England exhibited in the land of Prussia, containing losses which amounted to the summe of 900. nobles: after many things alleadged on both parts, relation thereof shall be made in the audience of the king and of the Master generall: so that they shall set downe, ordaine, and determine such an ende and conclusion of those matters, as shall seeme most expedient vnto them.

Now concerning the *Liouians* who are subiect vnto the great Master of *Prussia*.

In primis, that the Master of Prussia demanded of the sayd English ambassadours, at their being in Prussia, on the behalfe of them of Liouonia, who are the sayd Master his liege people, to haue restitution of their losses, vniuersally (as he sayth) offered vnto them by the English, namely, for the robbing and rifling of three ships. The value of which ships and of the goods contained in them, according to the computation of the Liouonian marchants, doeth amount vnto the summe of 8037. pound, 12. shillings 7. pence.

Howbeit afterward the truth being inquired by the sayd ambassadoers of England, the losse of the Liouonians exceedeth not the summe of 7498. pound, 13. shillings, 10. pence halfe peny farthing.

Item, forasmuch as in the sayd ships, on the behalfe of the sayd Master, and of certaine cities of the Hans, there are alleadged about 250. men very barbarously to be drowned, of whome some were noble, and others honourable personages, and the rest common marchants & mariners, there was demanded, in the first dyet or conuention holden at Dordrecht, a recompense at the handes of the sayd English ambassadours: albeit this complain was exhibited in the very latter end of all the negotiations, in forme of a scedule, the tenor whereof is in writing at this present, & beginneth in maner following: Cum vita hominum &c. Howbeit in the last conuention holden at Hage, as is aforesaid, it was concluded betweene the ambassadours of England, and the messengers and commissioners of the land of Prussia, and of the cities of the Hans; that our sayd soueraigne lord the king, should, of his great pietie, vouchsafe effectually to deuise some conuenient and wholesome remedie for the soules of such persons as were drowned.

Item, that our sayd soueraigne lord the king will signifie in writing his full purpose & intention as touching this matter, vnto the aldermen of the Hans marchants residing at Bruges, vpon the sixteenth day of March next following. Otherwise, that from henceforth all amity and friendship, betweene the realme of England and the land of Prussia shall be dissolved.

Neither is it to be doubted, but that a great part of the sayd goods, for the which they of Liouonia doe demand restitution, namely ware and fures, rebounded vnto the vs and commoditie of our soueraigne lord the king. And also our said soueraigne lord the king gaue commandement by his letters, that some of the sayd goods should be deliuered vnto others. And a great part of them is as yet reserved in the towne of Newcastle. One Benteld also hath the best of the sayd three ships in possession. Also it is reported and thought to be true, that certaine Furriers of London, which will be detected in the end, haue had a great part of the sayd goods, namely of the Fures.

Now as concerning the cities of the *Hans*.

In primis the Hamburgers exhibited nine articles, wherein they demanded restitution for certaine damages offered, as they sayd, by the English men, the value of which losses amounted vnto the summe of 9117. nobles, 20. pence. For the which, after due examination, there was promised restitution to the summe of 416. nobles, 5. shillings. Besides the two articles propounded

These ships were taken by the English 20. of Iulij 1404.

Hamburg.

ded against the of Scardeburg, the summe wherof was 231. pounds, 15. s. 8. d. concerning the which there was sentence giuen in England by the commissioners of our lord the king, the execution wherof was promised vnto the said Hamburgers by the ambassadoys of England: leaue and licence being restitued vnto the sayd Hamburgers, of declaring or explaining certaine obscure articles by them exhibited, which declaration was to be made at the feast of Easter then next to come, or within one yeare next ensuing the said feast, vnto the chancelor of England for the time being, and of pꝛouing the sayd articles and others also, which haue not as yet sufficiently bene pꝛoued. Which being done they are to haue full complement and execution of iustice.

Also by the Hamburgers there are demaunded 445. nobles from certaine of the inhabitants of Linne in England, which summe, if it shalbe pꝛoued to be due vnto any English men, the Hamburgers are to rest contented with those goods, which they haue already in their possessions.

Item, they of Breine pꝛopounded sixe articles, wher in the summe coueined amounteth vnto 4414. nobles. And there was no satisfaction promised vnto them. But the same libertie and licence was referued vnto them, in like maner as befoze vnto the Hamburgers. Breine.

Item, they of Scraleslund pꝛopounded 23. articles, wherof the summe amounted vnto 7415. nobles, 20. d. for the which there was promised satisfaction of 253. nobles, 3. q. Also here is a caueat to be obserued: that they of Scraleslund had of English mens goods a great summe particularly to be declared, which will peraduenture suffice for a recompense. And some of their articles are concerning iniuries offered befoze 20, 22, 23, 24. yeres past. Also their articles are so obscure that they will neuer, or very hardly be able to declare or pꝛoue them. Howbeit there is referued the very same libertie vnto them, that was befoze vnto the Hamburgers. Scraleslund.

Item, they of Lubec pꝛopounded 23. articles, the summe wherof extended vnto 8690. nobles and an halfe: wherupon it was agreed, that they should haue paid vnto them 50. nobles. There was referued the same libertie vnto them, which was vnto the men of Scraleslund. Lubec.

Item, they of Griepswold exhibited 5. articles, the summe wherof amounted vnto 2092. nobles and an halfe. For the which there was promised satisfaction of 153. nobles and an halfe. And the said men of Griepswold haue of the goods of English men in possession, to the value of 22015. nobles, 18. s. as it is reported by them of Linne. And the same libertie is referued vnto them that was vnto the Hamburgers. Griepswold.

Item, they of Campen pꝛopounded ten articles, the summe wherof extended vnto 1405. nobles. There is no satisfaction promised vnto them: but the same libertie is referued vnto them, which was vnto the other aboue mentioned. Campea.

Item, the ambassadoys of England demanded of the citizens of Rostok & Wismer, for damages & iniuries by them committed against the subiects of the foresayd soueraigne king 32407. nobles, 2. s. 10. d. And albeit euery of the foresayd cities sent one of their burgomasters vnto the towne of Hage in Holland, to treat with the English ambassadours, it was in the end found out, that they had not any authority of negotiating or concluding ought at al. And therfoze they made their faithfull promises, that euery of the said cities should send vnto our soueraigne Lord the king one or two procurator or procuratoys sufficiently instructed to treat & conclude with our said soueraigne lord the king about the damages and iniuries aforesaid at the feast of the nauitie of Saint Iohn the Baptist.

Compositions and ordinances concluded between the messengers of *Frater Conradus de Iungingen* master generall of Prussia: and the chancelor and treasurer of the realme of England 1403.

In the yere of our Lord 1403, vpon the feast of S. Michael the Archangel, the right hono: Henrie bishop of Lincoln, chancelor of England, and the lord de Roos high treasurer of England, & the ambassadoys of Prussia, Iohn Godek of Danzik, & Henry Monck of Elbing, masters of the same cities haue at Westminster created in maner of composition about the articles underwritten: between the most soueraigne lord the king of England, and the right reuerend & honorable Conradus de Iungingen Master general of Prussia, as concerning the iniuries offered vnto the people of Prussia and Liouonia vpon the sea by the English.

First, that all ships with their appurtenances, & the commodities of the mariners, according vnto the condition of the things, and all other goods taken away by the English, which are actually vndiuided & whole, are incontinently & with al speed to bee restozed. And if there bee any defect in ought, the value of the said defect is to be accounted, & with other losses of goods to be restozed, at the terme of the restitution to be made and deliuered.

Item, that all ships, damages, and goods (as they are contained in our bill of accusation) which are not now immediately restozed, are to be restozed and payd in the land of Prussia, between this
D and

and the terme appointed, with full execution and complement of iustice.

Item, concerning the persons throwen ouer boord or slaine in the sea: it shall remayne to bee determined at the will and pleasure of the most mighty prince the king of England, and of the right reuerend the Master of Prussia.

Item, betwene this and the terme appointed for the restoring of the goods taken away, & until there be due payment & restitution of the said goods performed, the marchants of England and of Prussia are in no wise to exercise any traffique of marchandise at all in the foresaid lands.

1403.

Memorandum; that the third day of the moneth of October, in the yere of our Lord 1403, and in the fift yere of the reigne of the most mighty prince and lord, king Henrie the fourth, by the grace of God king of England and France &c, betwene the reuerend father Henrie bishop of Lincoln, chancelor, and the right honorable William lord de Roos, high treasurer of England, both of them counsellors vnto the sayd soueraigne king on the one party, and the right worshipfull Iohn Godeke, and Henrie Moneke, sent as messengers by the right reuerend and religious personage, Frater Conradus de Iungingen Master generall of the Dutch knights of the Order of S. Mary on the other party: it was, at the request and instancie of the sayd messengers, appoynted, and mutually agreed vpon, that all the liege people and subiects of the sayd soueraigne lord and king shall haue free licence and liberty vntill the feast of Easter next ensuing, safely to crauel vnto the land of Prussia aforesayd, there to remaine, and thence, with their ships, marchandises, & other their goods whatsoeuer, to returne vnto their owne home: which on the other side, all the subiects of the sayd Master general may, within the terme prescribed, likewise doe, in the foresaid realme of England. Provided alwaies, that after the time aboue limited, neither the sayd marchants of the realme of England may in the land of Prussia, nor the marchants of that land, in the realme of England, exercise any traffique at all: vnles it be otherwise ordained by some composition, betwene the foresaid king of England, & the said Master general in the meane time concluded. In witness whereof, one part of this present Indenture is to remaine in the custodie of the foresaid messengers. Given in the Chapter-house of the Church of S. Paul at London, the day and yere aboue written.

The letters of the chancelor and treasurer of England, vnto Frater
Conradus de Iungingen, master generall of Prussia 1403.

Right reuerend and mighty lord, your honorable messengers Iohn Godeke, and Henry Moneke, the bearers hereof comming of late befoze the presence of our most soueraigne lord the king of England and of France, and being welcomed by our said lord with a chearefull and favourable countenance, they presented certaine letters on your behalfe vnto the kings Maiestie, with that reverence which becomed them: expounding vnto his highnes, sundry piracies & molestacions offered of late vpon the sea, by his liege people & subiects vnto yours, contrary to the leagues of peace and amitie, which hitherto (by Gods grace) haue bene maintained and continued on both parts. In consideration of which piracies and molestacions, your messengers demanded full restitution and recompense to be made, either vnto the dammished parties, or vnto their procuratozs. We therefore at that time, especially being in the presence of our soueraigne (who with his puissant army tooke his progresse towards the remote part of Wales being subiect vnto his dominion, to see iustice executed vpon his people of those parts, who very rashly haue presumed to rebell against him their soueraigne, contrary to their allegiance) right well perceived that it was his highnesse intencion, that every one should haue due iustice faithfully administrated vnto him, especially your subiects, and that with all fauour, whom he hath alwayes in times past right graciously intreated, as if they had bene his owne liege subiects and native countrey men, whome also hee purpoceth hereafter friendly to protect: insomuch that betwene him and his subiects on the one party, and betwene you and yours on the other party, great abundance and perfection of mutuall amitie may increase. And therefore we offered vnto your foresayd messengers, after they had particularly declared vnto vs such piracies and wrongs, to sende the kings letters vnto them of whom complaint was made, firmly intopning them, vnder grievous penalties, that without delay they restore or cause to be restored vnto the parties dammished, or vnto their procuratozs, all ships, marchandises, wares, and goods, by them taken or violently stolne from your subiects. And that your said messengers may partly attaine their desire, we haue commaunded certaine ships, marchandises, wares, and goods, found in certaine hauens, to be deliuered vnto them. Howbeit, as touching other goods, which are perhaps perished or wanting by infortunate dissipation or destruction, and for the which the said messengers of yours demand satisfaction to be made vnto them within a certain tyme by vs limited: may it please your honoz to vnderstand,

that

1 Namely the ship of Edgard Scof at Caleis. The ship of Tidman Dordewant and Tidman Warowen, at Orwel and Zepifwich.

that in the absence of our sayd soueraigne lord the king, being as yett in re distant from vs, wee can in no wise limit or set downe any such terme of time. Notwithstanding, at the prosperous returne of our soueraigne, we are determined to commune with him about this matter. Of whose answer so soone as we be certified, we purpose to signifie his intention vnto you by our letters. Sithens also (right reuerend and mighty lord) your sayd messengers are contented, for the present, to accept of our offer aforesayde, as indeede by all reason they ought therat to rest content, especially whereas by this meanes they shall the more speedily attaine vnto the effect of their purposes (to the shorte and wished execution and performance of which offer, we will, by Gods helpe, endeavour, to the utmost of our ability) may it be your will and pleasure, that as in the kingdome of England, your marchants and subiects are courteously intreated: euen so the marchants and liege people of our soueraigne lord the king and of his kingdome, peaceably frequenting your parts, either in regard of traffique or of any other iust occasion, may there in like manner friendly be vsed, and with your marchants and subiects suffered to communicate; and to haue intercourse of traffique, inioyng the commodities of the ancient league. By this also the seruent zeale and affection which you beare vnto the royall crowne of England, shall vnboubtedly appere: albeit betwene the famous houses of England and of Prussia, the bandes of vnfained loue and friendship haue bin successiuelly confirmed and kept inuolable in times past. And thus (right reuerend and mighty lord) wishing vnto you increase of honour and prosperitie, wee take our leaues. Written at London the sixt of October, in the yeare of our lord 1403.

Note well,
1403.

By the chancelor, the treasurer, and other lords of the hono:
counsell of the king of England and France, being personally present at London.

The letters of king Henry the 4. vnto Conradus de Jungingen the master general of Prussia, for mutual conuersation and inter course of traffique to continue between the marchants of England and of Prussia, for a certaine terme of time,

HENRY by the grace of God, king of England & France, and lord of Ireland, to the noble and mighty personage of sacred religion, Frater Conradus de Jungingen Master general of the Order of the Dutch knights of S. Marie &c. our most deare and wellbeloued friend, greeting, and continuall increase of our ancient and sincer amity. By the grieuous complaynts of our liege subiects concerning traffique, as it were circularwise too & fro both our dominions, we haue often bene aduertised that in regard of diuers iniuries and damages, which as well our as your marchants (who by their dealings in marchandise were wont peaceably to vse mutual conuersation together, whereupon very many commodities are known to haue proceeded) haue, by occasion of pirates, rousing by and do wne the sea, sometimes heretofore sustained: both the sayd marchants of our & of your dominions do obtaine themselves fro their wanted mutual conuersation & traffique, as they haue likewise carefully obtained at sometimes heretofore, and especially from that time, where'in at the instant request of your messengers, being of late before our presence, the free access of our marchants vnto your territories and dominions, & of your marchants vnto our realmes hath bene forbidden. Sithens therefore (our most deare friend) such iniuries (if any) as haue bene attempted against your subiects, were neuer committed by our will and consent, as we thinke that your selfe on the other side haue done the like: sithens also, so much as in vs lieth, wee are ready to exhibit full iustice with fauour vnto any of your people being desirous to make complaint, so that accordingly iustice may equally be done vnto our marchants by you & your subiects, which marchants haue in like sort bene iniuried, wishing with all our heart, that the ancient friendship & loue, which hath continued a long time between our realme and your territories and dominions, may perseuere in time to come, and that sweet and acceptable peace, which is to be embraced of al Christians, may according to the good pleasure of the author of peace, be nourished & maintained: we do most heartily require the sayd friendship, exhorting you in the Lord that you would on your behalf consent & obtaine (euen as, if you shall so do, we for our part will consent likewise) that from this present vntil the feast of Easter next ensuing (al molestatiōs & iniuries which may be offered ceasing on both parts) our subiects by your territories & dominions, & your subiects by our realms, may peaceably & securely trauele, & that according to their wanted maner, they may friendly conuerse & exercise mutual traffick together: because we are determined to send vnto you & your counsel in the mean time some of our ambassadozs, friendly to intert about the foresaid pretended iniuries, so far forth as they shal concerne our subiects, At whose arriual we stand in good hope

The ancient friendship betweene England and Prussia.

that by the due administration of iustice on both parts, such order (by Gods assistance) shalbe taken, that mutual peace and tranquillity may be established between vs in times to come. Also our desire is in particular, that our marchants & liege subiects may haue more free passage granted them vnto the parts of Sconia, for the prouiding of herrings and of other fishes there; that they may there remaine, and from thence also may more securely returne vnto their owne home: and we beseech you in consideration of our owne selues, that you would haue our marchants and liege subiects especially recommended vnto you, safely protecting them (if need shall require) vnder the shadow of your defence: euen as you would haue vs to deale in the like case with your owne subiects. Moreouer, whatsoeuer you shall thinke good to put in practise in this behalfe, may it please you of your friendship, by our faithfull subiect Iohn Browne the bearer hereof to giue vs to vnderstand. In the sonne of the glorious virgine fare ye well, with continuall prosperitie and felicity according to your owne hearts desire. Given vnder our ppiuie seale, at our palace of Westminster, the fift day of Iune, and in the fift yere of our reigne.

Postscriptum.

Right reuerend and our most deare friend: albeit our welbeloued Arnold de Dassele the procurator of your foresaid messengers, being desirous at this time to make his final returne vnto your parts, by reason of the affayres, for which he hath remained in our realme of England, cannot as yet obtaine his wished expedition: notwithstanding you of your sincere affection ought not to maruel or any whit to be grieued therat: because troubles of wars arising, which in some sort concerned our selues, and especially in regard of the continuall assaults of the French men & Britons against vs and our kingdome, for the offence of whom, and our owne defence, our liege subiects (especially they, of whom your subiects dammified haue made their complaints) haue armed themselves to combat vpon the sea: we could not grant vnto the foresayd Arnold such and so speedy an expedition, as he earnestly desired to haue. Vnto the which Arnold your procurator we haue offered in as short time as may be, to administer complete iustice with fauour, to the end that for this cause he might dispose himselfe to remaine in our realme of England: & yet not notwithstanding wee would do the very same euen in the absence of the sayd procurator, Given as aboue.

To the most renowned prince and mighty Lord, Henrie king of England &c. our gracious Lord.

Our humble recommendations, with our most instant and continuall prayers for you being graciously by your Maiestie taken in good part &c. Most soueraigne king, mighty prince, gracious lord, and vnto vs most vnfaignedly beloued, we receiued of late your gracious letters by your Maiesties liege subiect Iohn Brown, the contents wherof seemed to be these following: first that of long time heretofore, there haue bene between the marchants of your realm & of our lands, not onely quiet & peaceable access one vnto another, but also mutual participation, & common traffique of their wares, being right commodious & auailable for them both: howbeit, that now the foresaid profitable conuersion, by reason of certain notozious robberies, committed vpon the sea by pyrates against both parts, & the wonted access also of your subiects vnto our dominions, were altogether forbidden. Moreouer, you call to remembrance the ancient amity & friendship betweene both our lands, with the inualluable commodity of sweet amiable peace, which are by all faithfull Christians, to the utmost of their endeuour to be embraced. Whereupon you of your exceeding clemency, do offer your Maiesties full consent, that the foresaid prohibition being released vntil the feast of Easter next ensuing, the said marchants of your dominions may in our territories, and our marchants like wise may in your realms (al molestations ceasing) exercise their wonted traffique: especially Stephens in the mean season your royall wisdom hath determined to direct vnto vs your hono: ambassadoys in friendly sort to treat and parle with vs as touching the pretended iniuries, so far forth as they may concerne your subiects. Adding moreouer in particular that when your people shall repaie vnto the parts of Sconia to fish for herrings, hauing consideration & regard vnto your maiestie, we would haue them especially recommended vnto our protection &c. Most soueraigne lord & king, & gracious prince, we doe with vnfaigned and hearty affection embrace the oracles of your maiesties most courteous & acceptable offer: wherein you haue vnto our diligent & effectuall perswasions, that compleme of iustice should be done vnto the parties iniuried, & that peace & friendship should take place, making no doubt of your own royall person, nor of our selues or of any appertaining vnto vs, but that our inclinations and desires in this regarde are all one and the same: neither would we lightly transgresse the limits of your perswasions without some iust, weighty, & realo:

reasonable caule, forasmuch as the matters perswaded are in very deepe most happy preferuatiues of a commou weale, yea & of nature it selfe. Howeuer whereas your highnes hath faacher requested vs, that the prohibition of your subiects accesse vnto our dominions might, vntill the feast of Easter next ensuing, be released: we answere (vnder correction of your maiesties moze deliberate counsell) that it is farre moze expedient for both partes to haue the sayd prohibition continued then released, vntill such time as satisfaction be performed on both sides vnto the parties endamaged, not in woꝝds only, but actually & really in deeds, or by some course of law or friendly composition, if or there is no equall nor indifferent kinde of consoꝛt or trade betweene the impouerished party and him that is enriched, betwene the partie which hath obtayned iustice and him that hath obtayned none betweene the offender and the party offended: because they are not moued with like affectiōs. For the remembrance of iniuries easily stirreth by inconsiderate motions of anger. Also, such a kinde of temperature or permission, as it were, by way of contrariety breedeth moze bitternes then sweetnes, moze hate then loue: whereupon moze grieuous complaints aswel vnto your highnes as vnto our selues, might be occasioned. The lord knoweth, that euen now we are too much wearied and disquieted with the importunate and instant complaints of our subiects, insomuch that wee cannot at this present by any conuenient meanes release or dissolve the sayd prohibition, before wee be sufficiently informed by your maiesties ambassadors, of the satisfaction of our endamaged subiects. Furthermoze, whereas your maiesties request, concerning your subiects that shal come vnto the parts of Sconia, is that we would defend them vnder our protection: be it knowen vnto your highnes, that for diuers considerations vs reasonably mouing, being prouoked by the queene of Denmarke and her people, being also vsed thereunto full loze against our wils, for the repelling and auoiding of iniuries, we haue sent forth our armie against them. Howbeit for a certaine time a truce is concluded on both parts, so that our people are actually returned home. Farre be it from vs also, that our subiects being occupied in warres, should in any sort willingly molest or reproch any strangers, of what landes or nations soeuer, not being our professed enemies. For this should be to oppresse the innocent in stead of the guilty, to condemne the iust for the vniust: then which nothing can be moze cruell, nor a reuenge of greater impietie. In very deepe (most gracious prince and lord) we are moued with right hearty sympathy and compassion for any inconuenience which might happen in your regiment: wishing from the bottome of our hearts, that all affayres may right prosperously and happily succcede, about the royall person and regiment of your most excellent Maiestie, and that continually. The like whereof wee hope from you: most humbly commending our selues, and our whole Order vnto your highnes. Given at our castle of Marienburgh, the 16. day the moneth of July, in the yere of our Lord 1404.

Margaret queen
of Denmarke.

An agreement made betweene king Henry the fourth and Conradus de Iungingen Master generall of the land of Prussia.



This Indenture made between Sir William Esturmy knight, Iohn Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London the ambassadors, commissioners, & messengers of the most mighty prince and lord, our soueraigne lord Henrie by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, for the repaying, reformation, and amends of whatsoeuer damages, grieuances, excesses, violences, and iniuries in any sort vniustly attempted, done, or offered, by our sayd soueraigne lord the king and his liege people and subiects, vnto the great and mighty lord Conradus de Iungingen Master general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospitall of Ierusalem, or his subiects: and for the requiring, demanding, and receiuing of such like reparations, reformations & amends, by the foresayd lord the Master general, for the behalfe of himselfe or any of his subiects whatsoeuer, from & in the name of our soueraigne lord the king & his subiects, vnto the sayd Master general, into his land of Prussia, by our soueraigne lord the king, & appointed as ambassadors on the one party: And betweene the hono: Lords and religious personages Conradus de Lichtenstein great commander, Warnherus de Tertingen chiefe hospitallary & commander in Elbing, & Arnold de Hacken treasurer, the procurators & commissioners of the great & mighty lord the Master general, being in like & equal sort and in all respects, as the ambassadors of England are, authorized on the contrary side by the authoritie and power of the sayd Master general on the other part, witnesseth: That diuers treaties & conferences being holden betweene the said ambassadors, messengers, & procurators or commissioners of & concerning the reparations, reformations & amends of certaine damages, grieuances, excesses, violences & iniuries offered and attempted, aswel by the Prussians against the English

as by the English against the Prussians, and of other actes vniuilly committed on both parts; in conclusion, after the sayd treatise, the foresayd ambassadours, procuratoꝝ and commissioners by vertue of the authoritie committed vnto them appoynted, and with one consent agreed vnto the articles vnder wrytten.

Inprimis, that for the consideration of mutuall loue and woonted friendship, and of peace and tranquillity hereafter to be continued and maineined, and also that the articles vnder wrytten may more prosperously be brought vnto a wished effect, betwene our said soueraign lord the king & his liege people & subiects, & the subiects, people, & inhabitants of the territories and dominions of the foresayd lord the Haster generall, it is agreed and concluded, that all liege marchants of England whatsoeuer, shall haue free licence and libertie to arriue with their shippes, goods and marchandises whatsoeuer, at any Poꝛte of the land of Prussia, and also the sayd goods and marchandises farther vnto any place of the sayd land of Prussia to transport, and there with any person or persons freely to contract and bargain, euen as heretofore, and from auncient times it hath bene accustomed. Which liberty in all respects is granted vnto the Prussians in England,

1403.

Item it is farther agreed betwene the sayd ambassadours, procuratoꝝ, and commissioners, that whereas of late, namely in the yeare of our lord 1403, the sayd Haster generall by his discreet subiects Iohn Godek of Dantzic, and Henry Monek of Elbing, his ambassadoꝝ & messengers, for this purpose hath caused certain articles, (namely 20. in number) containing in them matters of damages, molestacions, violences, and iniuries committed and offered against the said Haster generall & his subiects, by our sayd soueraign lord the king his subiects & liege people, to be exhibited, giuen by and deliuered vnto our lord the king aforesaid in his kingdome of England: it is concluded and agreed about the sayd 20. articles, by the aforesaid ambassadoꝝ, commissioners, and procuratoꝝ, as in the acts & pleas had and made befoze the sayd ambassadoꝝ, commissioners and procuratoꝝ, and in the recoꝛds made and wrytten of and about the examination of such articles, it is more at large contayned (vnto the which the sayd ambassadoꝝ, commissioners, and messengers doe here in this place referre themselves) of the which articles also some are receiued by the commissioners aforesaid, and others are propoged vnto a certaine time vnder wrytten, euen as in the foresayd registers it is more fully contayned and put downe in wryting.

As touching certaine other articles also exhibited a newe vnto the sayd English ambassadoꝝ, in the land of Prussia being 16 in number (whereof one is admitted, & the rest are propoged vntil a terme vnder wrytten) the same course is to be taken and obserued, which was befoze appoynted and agreed vpon, about the articles deliuered and exhibited vnto our foresayd soueraign lord the king, as is aforesaid.

Moreouer, as touching the articles exhibited by the English ambassadours in the name and behalfe of their sayd soueraign lord the king of England, vnto the procuratoꝝ and commissioners of the foresayd lord the Haster generall (of the which some are declared already, and the declaration of the rest is propoged vntill a certayne terme vndernamed, euen as in the registers made of and vpon the examination of the sayd articles, it is more manifestly provided) the same course is to be taken, which must be obserued about the articles of the sayd lord the Haster generall, exhibited, as well vnto the foresayd soueraign prince in England, as vnto his ambassadoꝝ in the land of Prussia, euen as about the sayd articles it is befoze concluded,

The complaints
of the Liouonians

And whereas on the behalfe of the citizens and marchants of the cities of Rij and Dorp, and of other townes in the land of Liouonia, many and great complaints haue bene by way of articles exhibited and deliuered vnto the sayd English ambassadours in the land of Prussia, which for diuers causes, could not as then be ended: therefore it is concluded and agreed vpon betwene the ambassadours, and the commissioners aforesaid, that the saide citizens and marchants may in the towne of Dordract in Holland, vpon the first day of the month of May next ensuing (at the which time and place, the continuation and propagation of all other articles not fully declared in the partes of Prussia, shall be put in vze) by themselves or their lawfull procuratoꝝ, make their appearance, for the obtayning of a conuincient, iust, and reasonable reformation of all iniuries attempted against them, then, or at some other times within one whole yeere next following, and not afterward, being effectually set downe and limited, at the place aforesaid, by the consent of the ambassadours and commissioners of either parte, all lawfull impediments ceasing.

Provided alwayes, that the value and price of all wares, goods, and marchandises, whereof the said citizens and marchants of Liouonia, in their articles receiued by the sayde English ambassadours, as is aforesaid, doe make mention, shall be iustly esteemed, prized, and approued, not by any of England, or of Prussia, or of Liouonia, but by some other indifferent marchants of good credite, valuing them at the true rate of marchants, which such like marchandise would haue

haue amounted vnto, if, at the time when they were taken, they had bene to be solde at the town of Bruges in Flanders,

Forasmuch also, as diuers and sundry Prussians (who exhibited manifold Articles of complaints, being receiued by the said English Ambassadors, at their abode in Prussia) made not their personall appearance, before the saide English Ambassadors, in the lande of Prussia aforesaide: The prorogation aboue-mentioned was made vnto the first day of the moneth of May: and also it was agreed vpon by the saide Ambassadors, Procuratozs, and Commissioners, that the saide parties which had not appeared before shall haue libertie graunted them, lawfully to make their appearance, vpon the first of May aforesaide, at the towne of Dordraet, either by themselves or by their Procuratozs, and also to bring with them the letters testimonial, and patents, sealed with the seale of the saide Lord the Master generall, (behauing first of all receiued sound and sufficient information from the cities whereof the parties plaintife are citizens, of the damages and grieuances any way vniustly inflicted vpon them or any of them by the English) to the end that they may there by articles conueniently declare and proue, before the Ambassadors, Procuratozs, messengers, and Commissioners of both pattes, the rate and value of their saide goods: and that in so doing they may obtaine conuenient, iust, and reasonable restitution, for all acts vniustly attempted against them, then, or at some other times effectually to bee set downe and limited at the foresaid place by the consent of the Ambassadors and Commissioners of both parts, euen as it was aboue promised vnto the marchants of Liouonia,

But if they of Prussia last aboue-mentioned, shall not vpon the first of May, and at the place appointed, for some cause, make their appearance, that then it shall be lawfull for them, at any time within one whole yeere next following, to repaire vnto the lord Chancellor of England, at the cite of London, and to insinuate and declare vnto him their complaints before exhibited vnto the saide English Ambassadors in the land of Prussia, or which complaints should haue bene deliuered at the foresaid terme and place, or els, the which were not then and there fully finished and dispatched: and also by articles as is aforesaide, to declare and proue the true worth and estimation of all damages and grieuances any wayes vniustly offered by the English vnto them or any of them: to the ende that they may (as it is aboue mentioned) effectually receiue, and also speedily and easily obtaine conuenient, iust, and reasonable reformation and satisfaction, for all acts vniustly attempted against them, which are contained in the complaints not as yet fully declared and finished.

Moreover, it is appointed and agreed vpon betwene the foresaide Ambassadors and Commissioners: that the foresaid souerain Lord & the said Lord the Master generall are to send and set forward their Ambassadors, messengers, and Commissioners, vpon the first of May vnto the place appointed, to treat, parle, agree, and conclude about those affaires, which shall then and there happen to be treated of and handled among them.

Furthermoze, betwene the often mentioned Ambassadors, Procuratozs, and Commissioners, it is enacted and concluded: that vnto all and singular lawfull statutes, ordinations, and prohibitions framed, made, and ordained, by the saide lord the Master generall, in his land of Prussia, or by his Proconsuls and Consuls, and his gouernours of cities, townes, villages, and of other places in the land of Prussia, vnto the obseruation whereof, aswell the subiectes of the saide Master generall, as fozeners and strangers, are tyed and bound: vnto the very same statutes, ordinations, and prohibitions, all English marchants whatsoeuer resorting vnto the land of Prussia, must be firmly bounden and subiect.

Note well.

Also it is ordained, that whatsoeuer sale-clothes are already transported, or at any time hereafter to bee transported out of England into Prussia by the English marchants, and shall there be offered to bee solde, whether they be whole cloathes or halfe cloathes, they must containe both their endes.

Lastly, that the matters aboue-mentioned fall not short and voyde of their wished effect; the treaty and conference about all and singular damages and grieuances (whereof there is not as yet done, but there must be, by the vertue of these presents, performed, a reformation and amendment) must be continued and prologed vntill the first of May next ensuing: as by these presents they are continued and prologed with the continuation of the dayes then immediately following, at the towne of Dordraet aforesaide: at the which time and place, or at other times and places, in the meane space, as occasion shall serue, by both parties to be limited and assigned, or else within one yeere after the said first day of the moneth of May next ensuing bee expired: the hurt and damaged parties generally before-mentioned, shall haue performed vnto them a conuenient, iust, and reasonable reformation on both partes. Provided alwayes, if within the terme of the saide yeere, some conuenient, iust, and reasonable reformation bee not performed vnto the parties

parties iniuried, and endamaged, which are generally above mentioned: that then, within three whole moneths after the foresaid yeere shall expired, the Prussians shall depart out of the realmes and dominions of the saide Soueraigne Lozde the king of England, together with their marchandize, and with other goods which they shall have gotten or bought, within the space of the foresaid three moneths: and that the Englishmen also are likewise in all respects bounden to avoid and (no lawfull impediment hindering them) to withdrawe themselves and to depart out of the territories and dominions of the saide Master generall, without all molestation, perturbation, and impediment whatsoeuer, none other intimation or admonition being necessarie in this regard.

Howbeit least that by the robberies and piracies of some insolent and peruerse people, matter should be ministred vnto the said lozd the Master generall, of thwarting from the faithfull obseruation of the foresaid agreements, or (which God forbid) any occasion bee giuen him of not obseruing them: it is also decreed by the often above mentioned Ambassadors and messengers, that if the goods and marchandize of any of the saide lozd the Master generall his subiectes whatsoeuer shall be from henceforth vnjustly taken vpon the Sea, by any English Pirates, and shall be caried into the realme of England, and there receiued, that the Governours and keepers of portes, and of other places (with whatsoeuer names they be called) at the which portes and places such marchandises and goods shall chauce to arriue, being onely informed of the saide goods and marchandises, by sole report, or (other proofes wanting) by probable suspition are bound to arrest and to keep them in safe custodie, fauourably to be restozed vnto the owners thereof, whensoever they shall be lawfully demanded: which if they shall omit or deny to performe, from thenceforth the saide governours and keepers are bound to make vnto the parties endamaged, a recompense of their losses.

And for fault of iustice to be executed, by the said governours and keepers, our soueraign lozd the king above named, after he shall conueniently be requested by the parties damnified, is bound within three moneths next ensuing (all lawfull impediments being excepted) to make correspondent, iust, and reasonable satisfaccion, vnto the saide parties endamaged. Other wise, that it shall be right lawfull for the saide lozd the Master generall, to arrest, and after the arrest to keepe in safe custodie the goods of the English marchants being in the land of Prussia, to the condigne satisfaccion of such iniuries, as haue bene offered vnto his subiects, vntill his said subiects be iustly and reasonably contented.

Likewise also in all respects, the same iustice is to be done vnto the English by the said Lozd the Master generall and his subiects in Prussia, euen as it hath bene enacted and decreed in the aforesaid written clause, beginning, *Ceterum ne per &c.* In English, Howbeit least that &c. for the said Master generall, and his subiects by the foresaid ambassadors of England, and the commissioners of the said lozd the Master generall, that in like cases iustice ought to be administred on the behalfe of himselfe, and of his subiects in the realme of England.

And that all and singular the covenants above written, may in time to come, by the parties whom they concerne, firmly and inuiolably be obserued; the forenamed ambassadors, messengers, and commissioners, all and euery of them, for the full credite, probacion, and testimonie of all the premisses, haue vnto these present Indentures, made for the same purpose, caused euery one of their seales with their owne hands to be put. One part of the which indentures remaineth in the custodie of the English ambassadors, and the other part in the hands of the commissioners of Prussia. Giuen at the castle of Marienburgh in Prussia, in the yeere of our Lozde 1405, vpon the 8. day of the moneth of October.

An agreement made betweene King *Henrie* the fourth and the common societie of the Marchants of the Hans.

This Indenture made betweene the honourable Sir William Esturmy knight, and Iohn Kingdon clearke, procurators, messengers, and commissioners sufficiently deputed and authorized by the most mighty Prince, Lord Henry, by the grace of God king of England, & France, and lozd of Ireland, for the perforamation of þ things vnder written, on the one part: & the hon. personages *H. Henry Vredeland*, *H. Riman Salum* chief notaries, *Thederic Knesuolt* secretary, *H. Simó Clouesten* chief notary, and *Iohn Zotebotter* citizen, being sufficiently made and ordained procurators and messengers, on the behalfe of the cities of *Lubec*, *Bremen*, *Hamburg*, *Sund*, and *Gripeswold*, for the demanding & obtaining severally, of due refozation, and recompense at the hands of our saide souereigne lozd the king, and of his messengers and commissioners aforesayde,
for

for all iniuries, damages, grieuances, and manslaughters, any wayes vniuersally done, and offered severally by the liege people and subiects of our soueraigne lord the king, vnto the common societie of the marchants of the Hans, and vnto any of the Citizens, people and inhabitants of the cities aforesaide whatsoeuer on the other part, Witnesseth: That betweene all and euery of the saide Procuratozs, messengers, and Commissioners, by vertue of the authoritie committed vnto them, it hath bene and is appointed, concluded, and decreed: that the liege marchants and subiects of our said soueraigne lord the king, and the marchants of the common societie of the Dutch Hans aforesaide, from hencefoorth for one whole yeere and seven moneths immediately next ensuing and following, shall be permitted and licenced friendly, freely, and securely, to exercise mutual traffike, and like marchants to buy & sell together, one of, and vnto another, euen as in times past, namely, in the yeere 1400. and before that time also, they haue bin accustomed to exercise mutual traffike and merchandise, and to buy and sell,

1400,

Also the saide William and John agreed and consented, that they themselves, or some other perhaps to be appointed in this behalfe by their saide lord the king in their stead, shall vpon the first day of the moneth of May next to come, with the continuation of the dayes following, at the towne of Dordraet in Holland, or vpon any other terme or termes, then perhaps to be limited, competently satisfie; and performe conuenient recompence vnto the saide common societie, citizens, people, and inhabitants of the cities aforesaide, and also of other cities, townes, and villages of the Hans, of and for all iniuries, damages, grieuances, and downings, or manslaughters done and committed, as they all eage, against them, deliuered and exhibited in written articles, vnto the aboue named William and John, or els hereafter to be deliuered and exhibited, either by the same procuratozs or by some others, which shall perhaps be authorized in their stead, or by the messengers procuratozs and commissioners of other cities, townes, and places of the Hans, in equall and like maner and forme, euen as at the saide terme limited, or then perhaps to be proposed, there is appointed by the said William and John, reparation, reformation, and recompence vnto the inhabitants of Prussia, and Liouonia, for the iniuries, damages, and grieuances vniuersally done and committed against them by the liege people and subiects of the saide soueraigne lord the king, in the presence of the mightie lord the Haster general of Prussia, in his land of Prussia, as in certain letters indented, bearing date in the castle of Marienburgh in Prussia the eight day of the moneth of October, in the yeere of our lord 1405. and being made and written about the reparation, reformation, and recompence of such like iniuries &c. (the tenour whereof ought here to be vnderstood as if it were inserted) it is moze manifestly contained,

It was furthermore promised by the said William and John, that they should not inforce nor compell the citizens, people, or inhabitants of the common society of the Hans, or of the aboue named cities, or of any other cities of the Hans aforesaid (having receiued sufficient information of their dwelling and place of abode) to moze difficult or distrust proofes of their Articles of complaints already exhibited, and in the foresaide termes to come, to be exhibited, then vnto the inhabitants of the lands of Prussia and Liouonia, according to the forme of the Indentures aboue mentioned.

Moreouer the saide William and John doe promise, that so soone as they shall come into the kingdome of England, and before the presence of their king, they shall prouide, that all and singular the priuiledges granted vnto the marchants of the saide Hans by the renowned kings of England, and confirmed by the said Soueraigne lord the king that now is, must, according to all their contents, be inuiolably obserued by the said soueraigne king and his subiects: and also, that from hencefoorth nothing is vniuersally to be attempted, vpon any occasion, pretense, or colour, by the saide Soueraigne Prince, and the inhabitants of the realme of England, to the preiudice of the saide priuiledges. They shall prouide also, that all things heretofore attempted and practised against the saide priuiledges, shall, by reasonable amendement and iust reformation, vtterly be abolished.

But if after the date of these presents (which God forsend) within the space of the said one yeere and seven moneths prescribed any damages, iniuries or grieuances, in ships, goods, or persons, should, either by the English and the inhabitants of England be vniuersally inflicted vpon the cities, and marchants of the cities, townes, and places of the Hans aforesaid, or by any marchants or others of the cities or townes of the saide Hans, either vnto the English, or vnto any of the inhabitants of that Realme, vpon any fained pretense whatsoeuer, all and singular the foresaid messengers, commissioners, ambassadours, and procuratozs haue promised, that all such damages, iniuries and molestacions so inflicted by them who shall offer and commit them, must be reformed and amended, after the very same forme and maner, that in the like case reformation, reparation and amends of iniuries, damages, and molestacions committed by the English against them of

Prussia

Prussia is to be performed, according unto a certaine clause contained in the letters above mentioned, which beginneth: *Ceterum ne per &c.* In English: Howbeit least that &c. continuing unto that clause: *Et vt præscripta omnia &c.* In English: And that all the covenants above written &c.

It was also concluded betweene the foresaide messengers, commissioners, and procuratozs, and with one generall consent agreed vpon, that if from the first day of the month of May next to come, within one whole yeere following, some convenient, iust, and reasonable reformation be not performed vnto the parties iniuried and dammished generally above mentioned, in regard of their damages, molestations, and iniuries: then, within thre moneths after the saide yeere bee expired, the marchants of the Hans cities aforesaid are bound, without any molestation, perturbation, and impediment whatsoever (none other intimation or admonition being necessarie in this behalfe) to auoyde (and if no lawfull impediment shall hinder them) to abstaine and depart from the Realmes and dominions of the said Soueraigne king of England, with their merchandize and other goods bought or gotten within the space of the saide thre moneths: and also the English likewise in all respects shall auoide, abstaine, and depart from the territories and dominions of the Hans cities aforesaide.

Also it was promised by the saide William and Iohn, that at the terme appointed, namely by the first of May next following, or at some other terme or termes then limited or to bee limited, there must be made a due recompense, and a proportionall satisfaction, for all those persons of the land of Prussia, Liouonia, and of the cities, townes, and other places of the Hans, who haue vniuersally bene drowned, and slaine by the English: and that according to the tenour of a certain schedule written concerning a recompense to be had in regarde of the saide persons drowned and slaine, and presented vnto them by Albertus Rode consul of the citie of Thoren, and by the foresaide procuratozs and messengers of the cities aforesaid, they must faithfully and effectually, to the best of their abilitie endeavour, for the obtaining of the saide recompense and amends. In witness whereof (these letters of Indenture remaining in the possession of the saide William and Iohn the messengers, procuratozs, & commissioners of England aforesaid, and left in their custodie, by the above named procuratozs and messengers Henrie Rimarus, Thedericus, Simon, and Iohn Sobeborger, of their certaine knowledge and assurance) and for the full confirmation and testimonie of all the premises, the foresaide procuratozs and messengers haue put to their seales. Given in the towne of Dordrecht the 15. day of December in the yeere of our Lord 1405.

William Esturmy knight, and Iohn Kington canon of Lincolne (being in this behalfe sufficiently authorized and reputed as Ambassadors, procuratozs, messengers and commissioners, by our said soueraigne lord the king, namely in regard of the molestations, iniuries and damages vniuersally done and committed against the liege people and subiects of the foresaide most excellent Prince and lord, Lord Henry by the grace of God king of England & France, and Lord of Ireland, by the communalities of the cities of Wismer and Rostok vnderwritten, their common counsel being assembled for the same purpose, & authorized also, and as well closely as expressly maintained and ratified, by the whole companie of the common society of the marchants of the Dutch Hans, doe, in this present diet at the towne of Hage situate in the countrey of Holland, being appointed for the very same occasion, demand of you Syr Iohn de Aa knight, and Hermannus Meyer deputies for the cities of Wismer and Rostok, and sufficiently ordeined by authority requisite in this behalfe, to be the procuratozs and messengers of the said cities, that convenient, iust, and reasonable satisfaction and recompense may certainly and effectually be done vnto the iniuried and endamaged parties, who are specified in the articles vnder written,

Imprimis, that about the feast of Easter, in the yeere of our Lord 1394, Henry van Pomeran, Godekin Michael, Clays Sheld, Hans Howfoote, Peter Hawfoote, Clays Boniface, Rainbek, and many others, with them of Wismer and of Rostok, being of the societie of the Hans, tooke, by maine force, a ship of Newcastle upon Tyne, called Godezere sailing vpon the Sea towards Prussia, being of the burthen of two hundred tunnes, and belonging vnto Roger de Thorneron, Robert Gabiford, Iohn Paulin, and Thomas de Chester: which ship, together with the furniture thereof amounteth vnto the value of foure hundred pounds: also the woollen cloth, the red wine, the golde, and the summes of money contained in the said ship amounted vnto the value of 200. marks of English money: mozeouer they vniuersally slew Iohn Patanson and Iohn Russell in the surprising of the shippe and goods aforesaide, and there they imprisoned the sayde parties taken, and; to their vtter vndoing, detayned them in prison for the space of thre whole yeeres.

Item, that in the yeere of our Lord 1394, certaine persons of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans their confederates robbed one Richard Horuse of Hull of diuers goods

and

Newcastle.

200 English
ship of 200.
tunnes.

Hull.

and marchandizes in a ship called the Shipper Berline of Prussia, being then valued at 160 nobles.

Item, that in the yeere of our Lozde 1395. Hans van Wethemokule, Clays Scheld, Godekin Mighel, and one called Strobeker, by force of armes, and by the assistance of the men of Wismer and Rostok, and others of the Hans, did upon the Sea neere unto Norway, wickedly and uniuersally take from Iohn Tuteburie, fine pieces of ware, foure hundred of werke, and halfe a last of olmundes, and other goods, to the value of foure hundred seuentie six nobles.

Hull.

Item, in the yeere of our Lozde 1396. one Iohn van Derlowe, Hans van Gelder, and other their complices of the Hans villainously and uniuersally tooke a shippe of William Terry of Hul called the Cogge, with thirtie wollen broad clothes, and a thousand narrow clothes, to the value of 200. pounds.

Hull.

Item, in the yeere of our Lozde 1398. one Iohn van Derlowe, Wilmer, Hans van Gelder, Clays Scheld, Euerade Pilgrimson, and diuers others of the Hans, did upon the Sea neere unto Norway villainously and uniuersally take a shippe of Iohn Wisdome of Hull called the Trinie, with diuers goods and marchandizes, namely oyle, ware, and werke, to the value of 300. pounds.

Hull.

Item, in the yeere of our Lozde 1399. one Clays Scheld, and others aboute written of Wismer and Rostok, with certaine others of the Hans, their confederates, wickedly and uniuersally took from one William Pound marchant of Hull, two cakes of ware, to the value of 18. pounds, out of the ship called the Hawkin Derlin of Dantzik.

Hull.

Item, in the yeere of our Lozde 1394. one Goddekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Storbiker, and diuers others of Wismer and Rostok, and of the Hans, wickedly and uniuersally tooke out of a ship of Elbing (the master wherof was called Henry Puy) of the goods and marchandizes of Henrie Wyman, Iohn Topcliffe, and Henry Laken (withher of Yorke, namely in werke, ware, olmunds, and bowstaues, to the value of 1060. nobles.

Yorke

Item, in the yeere of our Lozde 1394. certaine malefactozs of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans, their confederats, wickedly and uniuersally took out of a ship of Holland (the master wherof was called Hinkensman) 140. woollen clothes (the price of one of the which clothes was eight nobles) from Thomas Thester of Yorke, and a chest, with armour, sitner and golde of the foresaid Thomas, to the value of 9. pounds.

Yorke.

Item, in the yeere of our Lozde 1393. certaine malefactozs of Wismer and Rostok, and others their complices of the Hans, wickedly and uniuersally tooke from one Richard Abel of London woollen cloth, greene cloth, meale and fishes, to the value of 133. li. 6. s.

London.

Item, in the yeere of our Lozde 1405. about the feast of S. Michael, one Nicholas Femeer of Wismer marchant of the Hans, with the assistance of other his complices of the Hans aforesaid, wickedly and uniuersally tooke from one Richard Morley citizen of London five lastes of herrings, besides 32. pounds, in the sea called Northsund.

London.

Item, in the yeere of our Lozde 1398. about the moneth of September, one Godekin Wile, and Gerard Sleyre of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans, their confederats wickedly and uniuersally took out of a ship of Prussia (wherof the master was named Rorebek) from Iohn Seburgh marchant of Colchester two packs of woollen cloth, to the value of an 100. markes: from Stephan Flispe, and Iohn Plumer marchants of the same towne two packs of woollen cloth, to the value of 60. pounds: from Robert Wight marchant of the same towne, two packes of woollen cloth to the value of an 100. markes: from William Munde marchant of the same towne, two farvels of woollen cloth, worth 40. li. 7. s. from Iohn Dawe, and Thomas Cornwaile marchants of the same towne, three packs of woollen cloth, worth 200. markes. Moreover they tooke and imprisoned certaine English men, which were in the said ship, namely William Fubborne seruant unto Iohn Diere, Thomas Merse seruant unto Robert Wight, which Thomas paid for his ransome 20. nobles of English money, William Munde marchant of the towne aforesaid, which William, by reason of the extremity of that imprisonment, lost the sight of his eyes, and Thomas Cornwaile, marchant of the foresaid towne, which Thomas paid for his ransome twentie nobles.

Colchester.

Item, in the yeere of our Lozde 1394. certaine malefactozs of Wismer and Rostok, by on the coastes of Denmarke and Norway, beneath Seawe, and at Anold, tooke Thomas Adams and Iohn Walters marchants of Yermouth: and Robert Caumbrigge and Reginald Leman marchants of Norwich, in a certaine shippe of Elbing in Prussia (wherof one Clays Goldesnich was master) with diuers woollen clothes of the saide Thomas, Iohn, Robert, and Reginald, to the value of one thousande markes English, and carried the persons and goods

Yermouth.

Norwich.

goods aforesaid, away with them: and the said Thomas, Iohn, Robert, and Reginald they imprisoned at Court butressow, and there detained them, untill they paid an hundred markes for their redemption.

Yermouth.

Longsound in Norway.

Item in the yeere of our Lozde 1401. some of the inhabitants of Wismer and of Rostok wickedlyooke at Longsound in Norway, a certaine shippe of West-Stowe in Zeland (the Master wherof was one Gerard Dedissen) laden with diuerse goods and marchandises of Iohn Hughson of Yermouth, namely with the hides of oxen and of sheepe, with butter, matts, sparrs, boozes, questingstones and wilde werke, to the value of an hundred markes, and do as yet detain the said things in their possession, some of the Hans bring their assistants in the premises.

Yermouth.

Item, in the yeere of our Lozde 1402. certaine of the Hans, of Rostok, and of Wismer, tooke vpon the coast of England, neere vnto Plimmouth a certaine barge called the Michael of Yarmouth (wherof Hugh ap Fen was the owner, and Robert Rigweys the master) laden with bay salt, to the quantitie of 130. wayes, and with a thousand canuasse clothes of Britaine, and doe as yet detain the saide goods in their possession, the said Hugh being endamaged, by the losse of his ship, and of his goods aforesaid 800. nobles and the foresaid Master and the mariners loosing, in regard of their wages, canuass, and armour, 200. nobles.

Yermouth. Selaw in Norway.

Item, in the yeere of our Lozde 1405. certaine malefactorz of Wismer wickedly and vniustly tooke, in a certaine port of Norway called Selaw, a ship of Yarmouth (the owner wherof was William Oxney and the master Thomas Smith) laden with salt, cloch, and salmon, to the value of 40. pound, and doe as yet detain the said ship and goods in their possession, some of the Hans their confederates ayding and assisting them at the same time.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere of our Lozde 1395. one Godekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans tooke vpon the sea a certain ship of one Iohn Dulwer of Cley, called the Friday (wherof Laurence Tuk of Cley was master) and conueighed the said ship vnto Maustrond in Norway, and the saide Master and mariners they robbed of diuers commodities, namely of artillery, furniture, and salt fishes being in the same ship, to the value of 500. nobles.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere of our Lozde 1395. Godekin Mighel, Clays Scheld, Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans, vnlawfully tooke vpon the sea a certaine ship of one William Bers of Cley called the Margaret (wherein Robert Robines was master) and conueyed the ship it self vnto Maustrond in Norway, and there robbed the master and his partners of diuers commodities, namely of artillery, furniture, and salt fishes, to the value of 400. nobles, and one of the said masters mates they maliciously drowned.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere of our Lozde 1395. about the feast of the natiuite of S. Iohn Baptist, the forenamed Godekin and Stertebeker, with others their accomplices of the Hans, vnlawfully took vpon the sea a certain ship of Nicholas Steyhard and Iohn Leris of Cley called the Nicholas (wherof Iohn Prest was master) and conueyed the said ship vnto Maustrond, and there robbed the said master and his companie of diuers commodities, namely of furniture and salt fishes, being in the said ship, to the value of 320. nobles.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere of our Lozde 1395. about the feast aforesaid, the said Godekins and Stertebeker, & their companions of the Hans vniustly took vpon the sea a certaine ship of Thomas Peirs of Cley called the Isabel (wherof William Noie was master) and conueyed it vnto Maustrond, and there robbed the said master and his companie of diuers commodities, as namely of furniture, and salt fishes, being in the said ship, to the value of 406. nobles.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere next aboue mentioned, vpon the Saturday, about the foresaid feast, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, and other their accomplices of the Hans vnlawfully took vpon the sea, a certain ship of one Thomas Lyderpole of Cley, called the Helena, wherein Robert Alwey was master, & also wickedly and vniustly drowned in the bottom of the sea diuers commodities, as namely salt fishes, together with the ship it selfe.

Cley.

Item, in the yeere of our Lozde 1398. about the feast of S. Michael the archangel, the foresaid Godekin & Stertebeker, with other their confederats of the Hans, took at Langsound in Norway a certain crayer of one Thomas Motte of Cley, called the Peter, (wherein Thomas Smith was master) & the foresaid crayer they wickedly and vniustly carried away, being worth 280. nobles.

Wiuerton.

Item, in the yeere of our Lozde 1395. about the feast of the natiuite of S. Iohn Baptist, the forenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, and others of the Hans vniustly tooke a certain ship of Simon Ducham, called the Dogger-ship, and the Peter of Wiuerton, laden with salt fishes (wherof Iohn Austen was master) vpon the coast of Denmarke. And they carried away the saide Dogger, with the furniture thereof, and the foresaid salt fishes, to the value of 170. pound. Moreover, the master, and 25. mariners in the same ship they maliciously slewe, and a certaine ladde of the saide Dogger

Dogger they caried with them vnto Wilmer.

Item, in the foresaid yeere, and about the feast aforesaid, the fozenamed Godekins and Stertebeker, with other their complices, vniustly tooke vpon the sea a certaine ship of Thomas Lyderpole, and Iohn Coote of Wiucton: and the master and mariners which were in the saide shippe, they villanously slue, among whom they put to death one Simon Andrew, the godsomme, nephew, and seruant of the fozenaid Simon Durham. Which ship, with the goods and furniture that were therein was worth 410. nobles.

Item, in the very same yeere, about the feast aforesaid, the fozenamed Godekins and Stertebeker & other their complices wickedly spoiled a certaine ship of the fozenaid Simon Durham called the Dogger, wherein Geruase Cac was master, lying at an anker, while the companie were occupied about fishing, and likewise vniustly tooke away with them the salt fishes, and furniture of the said ship. Moreover, the master and his company that were in the said Dogger they beate and wounded, so that they vterly lost their fishing for that yeere, the master and his said companie being endamaged thereby, to the summe of 200. nobles.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1396, the fozenaid Godekins and Stertebeker, and other their complices vniustly tooke vpon the sea a certain craier, called the Buss of Zeland, which one Iohn Ligate marchant, and seruant vnto the fozenamed Simon Durham had laden in Prussia, on the behalfe of the said Simon, to saile for England, and spoiled the said craier, and also tooke and caried away with them the goods and marchandises of the said Simon, being in the fozenaid ship, to the value of 66. pounds.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1397, certaine malefactorz of Wismer and Rostok, with certaine others of the Hans, tooke a craier of one Peter Cole of Zeland, called the Bussship, which Alan Barret the seruant and factor of the fozenaid Simon Durham had laden with maistes, spares, and other marchandize, for the behalfe of the said Simon, and vniustly tooke from thence the goods of the said Simon, to the value of 24. pounds, and caried the same away.

Item, in the yeere of our Lord 1394, certaine malefactorz of Wismer and others of the Hans vniustly tooke vpon the sea, and caried away with them a packe of woollen cloth of the fozenaid Simon, worth 42. pounds, out of a certain craier of one Thomas Fowler of Lenne being laden and bound for Dantzick in Prussia.

Item, pitifully complaining the marchants of Lenne doe auouch, verifie, & affirme, that about the feast of S. George the martyr, in the yeere of our Lord 1394, sundry malefactorz and robberz of Wismer & Rostok, and others of the Hans, with a great multitude of ships, arriued at the towne of Norbern in Norway, and tooke the said towne by strong assault, and also wickedly and vniustly took all the marchants of Lenne there residing with their goods & catfels, and burnt their houses and mansions in the same place, and put their persons vnto great ransoms: euen as by the letters of safeconduct deliuered vnto the said marchants it may more euidently appeare, to the great damage and impoueriishment of the marchants of Lenne: namely, Inprimis they burnt there 21. houses belonging vnto the said marchants, to the value of 440. nobles. Item, they tooke from Edmund Belyetere, Thomas Hunt, Iohn Brandon, and from other marchants of Lenne, to the value of 1815. pounds.

21. houses of English marchants burnt at Norbern in Norway.

Concerning this surprise *Albertus Krantzius* in the sixt book of his history of *Norway*, and the 8. Chapter writeth in maner following.

In the meane while Norway enioyed peace vnder the gouernment of a woman: vntil Albertus King of Suecia, who had now seuen yeeres continued in captiuitie vnder Queen Margaret, was to be set at libertie. Which, when the common souldiers of Rostok & Wismer, called the Vitalians perceived, who, whilst their king was holden captiue, in the right of the fozenamed cities, for the behalfe of their lord the king being prince of Mekleburg by birth, vnderooke and waged warre at the time of his captiuitie) banding their forces together, they resolved, at their own costs & charges, but in the right of the said cities, to saile into the 3. kingdoms, and to take such spoiles as they could lay hold on. These common souldiers therfore, seeing an end of their tyrannical and violent dealing to approach, sailed into Norway, vnto the towne of Norbern, being a mart towne for all the marchants of Germanie: who transporting fishes from thence, doe bring thither marchandises of all kinds, especially coyne, vnto the scarcitie wherof, vntesse it be brought out of other countreys, that kingdome (as we haue said) is very much subiect. Departing out of their ships and going on shore, they set vpon the towne, and by fire and sword they easily compelled the inhabitants dwelling in weake wooden houses, to giue place. Thus these Vitalians entring and surprising the towne conueyed such spoiles vnto their ships as them pleased, and hauing laden their ships with those booties, they returned home frolike vnto the parts of their own cities, without all respect,

The Vitalians.

they robbed and rifled the goods, as wel of the Germanes, as of the Noruagians: and like lewde companions, walking and making hauck of all things, pꝛoued themselues neuer the wealthier. For it is not the guile of such good felowes to stole by oꝛ to pꝛeserue ought. The citizens, at the first, seemed to be enriched: howbeit after ward, (no man misdoubting any such calamitie) goods ill gotten were worse spent. Thus saith Kranzius.

Lenne.

Item, pitifully complaining, the foresaide marchants auouch, verifie, and affirme, that vpon the 14. day after the feast of S. George, in the yeere of our Lord next aboute wꝛitten, as 4. ships of Lenne, laden with cloth, wine, and other marchandises, were sailing vpon the maine sea, with all the goods and wares contained in them, for Prussia, sundry malefactorz of Wismer and Rostok, with others of the Hans, being in diuers ships, came vpon them, and by force of armes and strong hand tooke the said ships, with the goods and marchandises contained in them: and some of the people which were in the saide foure ships, they slew, some they spoyled; and others they put vnto extreame ransomes. And carrying away with them those foure ships with the commodities and marchandise therin, they parted stakes therewith, as them listeth, to the great impouerishment & losse of the said marchants of Lenne, namely in cloth of William Silesden, Tho. Waterden, Ioh. Brandon, Ioh. Wesehã, & other marchants of Lenne, to the value of 3623. li. 5. s. 11. d.

Lenne.

Item, pitifully complaining the foresaid marchants doe affirme, that one Henry Lambolt and other his adherents, in the yeere of our Lord 1396. tooke vpon the maine sea betwene Norway and Scaw, one crayer laden with osmunds, and with diuers other marchandises, pertaining vnto Iohn Brandon of Lenne, to the summe and value of 443. li. 4. s. 2. d. Howeouer, they tooke from Iohn Lakingay 4. lastts and an halfe of osmunds, to the value of 220. lib. 10. s.

Lenne.

Item, the foresaid marchants complaine, that certain malefactorz of Wismer, with other their complices of the Hans, in the yeere of our Lord 1396. tooke from Thomas Ploket of Lenne, out of a certaine ship sailing vpon the maine sea towards Sconeland (whereof Iames Snycop was master) cloth and other marchandise, to the summe and value of 13. lib. 13. s. 4. d.

Lenne.

Item, the aboue-named marchants complaine saying, that certaine malefactorz of Wismer, with others of the Hans society, in the yeere of our Lord 1397. wickedly and vniustly took out of a certaine ship of Dantzik (whereof Laurence van Russe was master) from Ralph Bedingam of Lenne, one fardel of cloth worth 52. li. 7. s. 6. d. Also, for the ransome of his seruant, 8. li. 6. s. 8. d. Item, they tooke from Thomas Earle diuers goods, to the value of 24. pounds.

Lenne.

Item, the foresaid marchants complaine, that certaine malefactorz of Wismer & Rostok, with others of the Hans, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. wickedly & vniustly tooke one crayer pertaining vnto Iohn Lakinglich of Lenne, laden with diuers goods and marchandise pertaining vnto sundry marchants of Lenne, namely from the forenamed Iohn one fardel of cloth, and one chest full of harnais, and other things, to the value of 90. lib. Item, they took out of the foresaid ship from Roger Hood, one fardel of cloth, and one chest with diuers goods, to the value of 58. lib. Item, from Iohn Pikeron, one fardell of cloth, and one chest with diuers goods, to the value of 440. lib. Item, from Andrew Purser one fardell of cloth, and one chest with diuers commodities therein, to the value of ten pounds.

Lenne.

Item, the aboue-named marchants complaine saying, that certaine malefactorz of Wismer & Rostok, and others of the Hans, namely, Godekin Mighel, Henrie van Hall de Stertebeker, with other of their confederates, in the yeere of our Lord 1399. wickedly and vniustly took from Iohn Priour of Lenne, out of the ship of Michael van Burgh, namely 160. nests of malets, worth 100. lib. 13. s. 4. d. Item, 30. fures rigged of Kaleber worth 13. s. 4. d. a piece, the summe totall amounting to 20. li. Item, 20. fures wombyts of Kalebre worth 11. s. Item, one girble of silver, and one dagger adorned with silver worth 30. s. Item, two coates, and one long iacket, and other goods, to the value of 30. s. Item, he paide for his ransome 4. lib. 13. s. 4. d.

Note the secret treasons of the Hans.

Vnto all and singular the articles aboue-wꝛitten, the ambassadoꝛs of England aforesaid do further adde, that the doers and authoꝛs of the damages, iniuries, and robberies set down in the articles aboue wꝛitten, (of whom some are named in particular, and others in general) performed and committed all those outrages, being hired thereunto at the expences and charges of the common societies of the cities aforesaid. And that the inhabitants of euery household in the foresaide cities (ech man according to his ability) wittingly & purposely set forth one, two, oꝛ more men, for the very same expedition, wherein all and singular the foresaid trespasses were committed.

The foresaid English ambassadoꝛs doe exhibite the articles aboue-wꝛitten vnto the procuratoꝛs of the cities of Wismer and Rostok aforesaid: leaue and libertie being alwayes reserved vnto the said ambassadoꝛs, to enlarge, oꝛ to diminish, oꝛ to expound all, oꝛ euery, oꝛ any of the said Articles whatsoeuer, so often as it shall seeme expedient vnto them.

These

These be the grieuances and offences, whereat the marchants of the *Hans of Almaine*, comming vnto, and residing in the Realme of England, doe finde themselves aggriued, contrarie to the Articles and *privileges of the Charter granted vnto them by the worthy Progenitors of the king of England that now is, and also by the saide soveraigne Lord the King, ratified, and confirmed.*



L Mprimis, whereas the foresaide marchants haue a priuilege granted vnto them by Charter, that they may, in cities, boroughs, and in other towne and villages throughout the whole realme of England, exercise traffique in grosse, as well with the natural inhabitants of the kingdome, as with strangers, and priuate persons: of late, those that are free denizens in the cities, boroughs, and villages within the foresaid kingdome, do hinder and restrain all others that be strangers, sojourners, and aliens, that they neither can, nor dare buy and sel with the marchants of the Hans aforesaid, to their great hinderance and losse.

Item, the foresaid marchants by vertue of their charter were wont to haue and to hold Innes and mansions, for the reposing of themselves and of their goods, wherefoeuer they pleased in any cities, boroughs, or villages, throughout the whole kingdome: howbeit of late the foresaide marchants are not suffered to take by their mansions, contrary to the tenour of their charter.

Item, the foresaid marchants are priuiledged not to vndergoe any other burthens or impositions, but onely to pay certaine customs, as it doeth by their charter manifestly appeare. For withstanding at y^e same time when Simon de Moreden was maior of London, the foresaid marchants were constrained, in the ward of Doue-gate at London, to pay fifteenths, tallages, and other subsidies contrary to the liberties of their charter. Whereupon the saide marchants prosecuted the matter before the Council of our soveraigne lord the king, insomuch that they were released from paying afterward any such tallages, fifteenths, and subsidies. Which marchants, a while after, of their owne accord and free will, gaue vnto the gild-hall of London an hundredth markes sterling, conditionally, that they of the citie aforesaide should not at any time after exact or demand of the saide marchants, or of their successors, any tallages, fifteenths, or subsidies, contrary to the tenor of their charter, as by records in the foresaid gild-hall, it doth moze plainly appeare. Howbeit of late the officers of our lord the king, in the foresaid ward of Doue-gate, constrained the marchants aforesaid to pay tallages, fifteenths, & other subsidies. And because the saide marchants murmured and refused to pay any such contributions, alleaging their priuiledges, the foresaid officers arrested the goods of these saide marchants (which are as yet detained vpon the arrest) notwithstanding that they were released before the council of our soveraigne lord the king, & also that they gaue vnto the saide gild-hall one hundredth markes to be released, as it is aforesaid: And also the foresaid marchants were constrained to pay 12 d. in the pound, and of late 6 d. and other subsidies, moze then their ancient customes, to the great damage of those marchants.

Item, the foresaid marchants are priuiledged as touching customs of wols by the bought within the realm of England, y^e they are not bound to pay, ouer & besides their ancient customes, but onely 11 d. moze then the homeborn marchants of England were wont to pay. But now y^e foresaid marchants are compelled to pay for euery sack of wool (besides y^e ancient custom & the 40 d. aforesaid) a certain imposition called Pence for the town of Cales, namely for euery sack of wool 19 d. moze then the marchants of England doe pay, to their great losse, & against the liberty of their charter.

The ancient customes of wools.

Pence for the towne of Cales.

Item, the foresaid marchants are priuiledged by their charter, that concerning the quantity of their marchandize brought into the realme of England (in regard whereof they are bound to pay 3 d. for the worth of euery pound of silver) credit is to be giuen vnto them for the letters of their masters and of their companies, if they were able to shew them. And if so be they had no letters in this behalfe to shew, that then credite should bee giuen vnto themselves, and that their othe, or the othe of their attorney should be taken, without any other proof, as touching the value of their marchandize so brought in, & that thereupon they should be bound to pay customs, namely the customes of 3 d. till y^e cause to be paid. But now the customers of our soveraigne lord the king put their goods to an higher rate then they ought or were wont to be: and hereupon they compell them to pay custome for their goods, at their pleasure, scanning about their freight and expenles particularly disbursed in regard of the saide goods and marchandize, to the great hinderance of the saide marchants, and against the tenor of their charter.

Item, the foresaid marchants by way of pitiful complaint do alleage, that whereas the worthy progenitors of our Lord the king that now is, by vertue of the saide great charter, granted libertie vnto them to pay the customes of certain clothes, namely of skarlet, and cloth died in grapne,

The great charter of marchants.

and of other clothes of assise, which were by them to be caried out of the realme of England, eueg as by their foze said Charter it doeth moze plainly appeare: and whereas our soueraigne lozd the king that now is (ratifying and confirming the saide charter, and being willing that they shoulde haue moze especiall fauour shewed vnto them) granted vnto them by their Charter, that the said marchants should be exempted and freed from all custome and imposition of small clothes, as in pierces and in narrow clothes which were not of assise, and in such other clothes of like qualite: yet of late the Customers of our Lozde the King that now is, not allotting their saide speciall Charter so graunted vnto the marchants afozesaid, do compel them to pay for straight clothes and for pierces of clothes which are not of assise, (together with other demands particularly & scuerally made) as great custome as if the clothes were full out of assise. Mozeouer also of late, the customers of the smal or petty custome & of the subsidie doe demand of them custome for kersey-clothes equal vnto the custome of those clothes, that be of full assise, whereas the foze said marchants were not wont to pay for those kerseys by vertue of their Charter, but onely according to the worth of ech pound of siluer, as namely for other goods which are of golde weight: to the great hinderance of the foze said parties, and against the manifest graunt of our soueraigne Lozd the king, as it appeareth in the said speciall Charter.

A speciall Charter.

The customers of the petty custome.

1405

Item, the said marchants alleage, that they are priuiledged by their Charter, if they pay custome and subsidy for their goods in the behalfe of our lozd the king, at any port of England where those goods haue arriued, and after ward would transport the saide goods or any part of them vnto any other port within the realme afoze said: that then they should be quite released from paying of any other custome for the same goods, if they bring a warrant that they haue payde the saide custome, as is afoze said. Of late it foztuned, that a certaine man of their societie named Nicholas Crosschaire, being a marchant of the lande of Prussia, immediatly after the concozd was concluded betwene the English and the Prussians, brought vnto the towne of Sandwich a shippe laden with bow-staues and other marchandize, and there well and truely payde the custome of our lozd the king, for all his wares: and selling there part of the same goods, he after ward transported parcel thereof in a small barke vnto London, there to be solde, and caried a warrant also with him, that he had at Sandwich paid the custome due vnto our lozd the king: & yet (the said warrant notwithstanding) the customers of the petty custome & subsidy of London came & demanded custome of him at another time contrary to reason, & against the tenor of their charter: and the said Nicholas offered pledges vnto them, yea, euen ready money downe into their hands, vntil the question were discussed and determined, whether he should pay new custome or no: but this they would not doe. Then the said Nicholas brought a briel from our lozd the king, to get himselfe discharged from paying the said custome: and for all that, the foze said customers would not as yet haue regard vnto him, but kept the said goods within shipboord, vpo the riuer of Thames, for the space of 15. dayes, vntil he had paid another custome, to the great losse of the said Nicholas, for that which he sold first at Sandwich to be deliuered at London for seuen nobles, he could not after ward haue for it aboue foure nobles, and yet so was it solde, by reason of the harme which his wares had taken by lying so long vpon the water, contrary to the tenor of their Charter.

Item, the said marchants do alleage, that another of their company called Peter Hertson bought at Briskow certain clothes, & laden the same in a ship, to be transported for Prussia, for the which he truely payde at Briskow, the customs & subsidies due vnto our soueraign lozd the king: which ship with the foze said goods at riuing at London: the customers of the petty-custome and of the subsidie there would not permit the said ship with the goods to passe vnto the parts afoze said, vntil the said Peter had paid another custome for the same goods (the warrant, which he brought with him notwithstanding) to his great hinderance, and contrary to the tenour of their Charter.

Item, pitifully complaining the foze said marchants alleage, that whereas euery marchant, bringing wares into the realm, was wont to haue a schedule wherein his name was writen, for a specification & certificat of the quanticy of his goods in the said schedule to be found at the arriuall of the ship, without paying therfoze ought at all, of late the customers of the petty custome do compel the to pay for ech mans name writen a peny, at y arriuall of their goods out of euery ship wherein the said goods are found, what commodities & marchandize soeuer they be: whenas notwithstanding, if there be a chest or any other smal matter, there should not therfoze be any custome due vnto our lozd the king, nor any receiued vnto his Maiesties vse. In like maner do the customers of the subsidy deale. Whereas also the foze said marchants were not wont to pay for a cocket for the conueyance & transportation of their goods out of the realme (albeit many names were writen therein) moze then 4. d. of late the customers of the petty custome do compel them to pay for euery name contained in the same cocket, 4. d. and in like sort do the customers of the saide subsidy deale. Which contribution in a yere extendeth it self vnto a great summe, to the vnknoyn prejudice of our lozd the

The customers of the subsidie.

the king, more then any man could suppose (for the customers enjoy their fees and commodities from his Maiestie that they may doe him faithfull service) and likewise to the great damage of the said marchants.

Item, pitifully complain'ng the said marchants do alleage that they are constrained to pay for subsidy, sometime 12 d. and sometime 6 d. in the pound, contrary to the tenor of their charter: and yet notwithstanding when their marchandize cometh to the wharf, the customers prolong & delay the time 3. or 4. weeks before they will take custome for their goods, in the which space other marchants sel their goods, the customers not regarding whether the goods aforesaid take more or no; to the great damage aswel of our lord the king, as of the said marchants: because, if they had quicke dispatch, they might pay custome vnto his Maiestie ofner then they doe.

Item, the said marchants doe farther alleage, that the customers of the petie custome, and of the subsidy in the port of London haue appointed among themselves certaine men to seale by the goods of the said marchants, so soon as they are arrived at the port of saletic, vntill the said goods be customed. By meanes of the which sealing, the foresaide parties doe compell the marchants aboute-named, (vpon an vse and custome wherof themselves haue bene the authors) to paye a certaine summe of money, to the great hinderance of the sayde marchants, and contrarie to iustice and to their charter. Moreover, the saide customers haue ordeined betwene themselves, that the saide marchants shall put or make by no cloth into fardels, to tranpport out of the realme, vntill certaine men appointed by them for the same purpose bee there present, to see what manner of clothes they bee, vnder paine of the forfeiture of the saide goods. Also of late, when the sayde marchants would haue made by such fardels, the foresayde parties assigned to be officers refused to come, vntill they might haue for their comming some certaine summe of money, delaying and procrastinating from day to day, so long as themselves listed, to the great losse and vndoing of the foresaide marchants, and contrarie to their liberties: because the foresaide customers are bound by their office to doe this, without any contribution therfore to be paid vnto them by the saide marchants: for that they doe enjoy from our soueraigne Lord the King their fees and commodities, to the ende that they may serue him and euery marchant iustly and faithfullly, without any contribution by them to be imposed anewe vpon the sayde marchants, of custome.

Item, the said marchants doe alleage, that the customers & bailiffs of the town of Southhampton do compell them to pay for euery last of herrings, pitch, & sope ashes brought thither by the 2. s. more then the kings custome: and for ech hundred of bo wstaues & boozds called Waghenscor, 2. d. for euery hundred of boozds called Richolt, 4. d. & for al other marchandize brought by the foresaid marchants vnto the same toone: which contributions they neuer paid at any time heretofore, being greatly to their hinderance, and contrary to the tenour of their Charter.

Item, the foresaid marchants do alleage, that one of their company, called Albert Redewish of Prussia, bying diuers goods & marchandizes vnto Newcastle vpon Tyne, & there paying the vsual custome of 3. d. in the pound for al his wares, the bailiffs of the saide towne, against all reason, exacted 7. pound sterling at his hands more then the custome: wherupon the foresaide marchant got a brieve from the kings maiesty, for the recovery of the said 7. li. according to equity & reason: howbeit, that at the comming of the said brieve the foresaid bailiffes would do nothing on his behalfe, but would haue slaine their foresaid associate, contrary to their charter and priuiledges.

William Esturmy knight, & Iohn Kington canon of Lincolne, being by his most mighty prince & lord, L. Henry by Gods grace K. of England & France & lord of Ireland, sufficiently deputed and appointed to parle, treat, & agree wth the common society of his marchants of the Hans of Dutchland or Almain, concerning & about the redzelling & reformation of vniuersal attempts happening betwene our said soueraign L. the king his liege people & subiects on the one part, & betwene the comon society aforesaid, the cities, towne, & particular persons thereof on the other part: do (for the behalf of our said soueraign L. the king, with a mind & intention to haue al singular things vnderwritten to come to the knowledg of the said common society) intimate, declare, & make known vnto you (hono. sirs) Henr. Westhoff citizen & deputy of the city of Lubec, Henry Fredelaw, Ioh. van Berk citizen of Colen, Mainard Buxtehude citizen, & deputy of the city of Hamburg, M. Simo Clawken clerk, sir Iohn de Aa knight deputie of the cite of Rostok, Herman Meyer deputie of the cite of Wismar, being, as the procurators, messengers, & commissioners of the foresaid cities, assembled together at the towne of Hage in Holland, with his fozenamed Will. & Iohn in regard of the foresaid redzes & reformation: that, euen as our said soueraign L. the king his meaning is not to disturb or hinder such priuiledges as haue bin heretofore granted & vouchsafed vnto the comon society of the marchants aforesaid, by the renoumed kings of England, & the worthy progenitors of our L. the K. that now is, & by himself also vnder a certain form confirmed: euen so he is determined (without his

preiudice of forren lawes) vpon iust, mature and sober deliberation, by his royall authoritie to withstand such priuiledges, as by reason of the abuse thereof, haue bene infinitely preiudiciall vnto himselfe and his subiects.

Inprimis the said ambassaours doe affirme as afoze, that whereas all and euery the Marchants of the said company, as often as they would, were, both in the Realme of England, and in other territories & dominions subiect vnto our soueraigne lord the king, admitted and suffered (according to the tenor of the forrenamed priuiledges granted vnto them) freely, friendly and securely to traffique and conuerse with any of his Maiesties liege people and subiects whatsoeuer, or with other people of whatsoeuer nation liuing in the realme of England, or in the dominions afozesaid: the said common society of marchants by their publike & deliberate common counsel did appoint & ordain, & no society in any cities, townes, or places, neither yet any particular man of any such society (there being no lawfull or reasonable cause why) shoulde in any wise admit any marchants of the realm of England resorting vnto their cities or other places for marchandise, to enjoy intercourse of traffike: but that the saide English marchants shoulde bee altogether excluded from all traffike and mutuell conuersation among them, by denouncing and inflicting grieuous penalties of money as well vpon cities as other places, and vpon particular marchants also of the foresaid societie practising the contrary.

Item, that immediatly after, the foresaid parties enacting and ordaining published their sayde statute and ordinance, in all kingdomes, prouinces, partes, cities, and townes, wherin any marchants of the said societie were conuersant.

Item, that after that publication, the statute and ordinance afozesaid by enery of the marchants of the forrenamed societie were inuiofably obserued.

Item, that the said statute and ordinance hath bene so rigorously put in execution, that whereas immediatly after certaine English marchants with their ships, mariners, and marchandize being in a certaine part of one of the principall cities of the foresaide societie, vtterly destitute of meate, drinke, and money, publikely offered to sell their wollen clothes of England, onely to provide themselves of necessary victuals: yet the marchants of the saide citie, stoutly persisting in their statute and ordinance afozesaid, straightly prohibited the buying of such clothes, vncristianly denying meate and drinke vnto the said English marchants.

Item, the foresaid societie decreed and ordained, that no marchant of the saide company shoulde in any place or countrey whatsoeuer, buy any woollen clothes of the realme or dominion of England (albeit offered by others and not by English men) or, hauing bought any, shoulde, after the terme prescribed, sel them, imposing grieuous pecuniary mulcts, besides the forfeiture of the clothes so bought or sold, vpon them that would attempt the contrary.

Item, that after the said statute and ordinance, the foresaide societie decreed, that all marchants of the said companie, hauing among their wares and marchandize any woollen clothes made in England, shoulde either sell the saide clothes, or within a short space then limited shoulde, vnder penaltie of forfeiting the said clothes, vtterly renounce the vse and commoditie thereof: Notwithstanding a grieuous penaltie of money being imposed vpon the violaters of the same statute.

Item, that the statutes and ordinances afozesaid might with more speed and celerity be put in execution, the said authozs and publishers thereof imagining, according to their desire, that by this meanes an vtter extirpation and ouerthrow of English marchants might, yea & of necessity must ensue: vpon their serious & long premeditated deliberation, straightly commanded & inioyned, vnder pain of losing the benefit of all priuiledges, where soeuer, or by the princes of what lands, or the Magistrates of what Cities or townes soeuer vouchsafed vnto the said common societie, that not only the aldermen of that societie in all places throughout the realme of England, but also all other marchants of the said company, after the maner of marchants conuersing in the saide Realme, shoulde, without exception of persons, vtterly abstain from all intercourse of traffike with the marchants of the realme afozesaid: yea, and that they shoulde depart out of the said kingdome within a very short space limited. For the dispatching of al which premises without delay, it was according to their commandement effectually provided.

Item, that the societie afozesaid hath approued diuers very vnrasonable statutes & ordinances, made & published by the marchants of the same societie residing in the kingdoms of Norway and Sweedland, to the great preiudice of the kingdome of England, and the marchants thereof: and as yet both couertly and expresse do approue the same, vniuersally putting them in daily execution.

Item, whereas in the priuiledges & indulgences grauced by y renoumed princes sometimes kings of England, & worst by progenitoys of our soueraign lord the king & now is, vnto the societie afozesaid, it is provided, y the said marchants shal not auow any man which is not of their company, nor shal not colour his goods and marchandize vnder their company: whereas also in the confirmation of the

The Hans societie decreed with the ouerthrow of English marchants.

Statutes against English marchants in Norway and in Sweedland.

the sayd priuiledges made by our soueraigne lord that now is, it is maniteuly prouided, that the marchants of the Hans towne, vnder the colour of their priuiledges in England, shall not vpon paine of the perpetuall frustration and reuocation of the foresayd priuiledges, receiue any stranger of any other towne in their libertie, by whom the kings custome may in any sort be withholden or diminished: & yet the contrary vnto al these prouisoes hath bin euery yere, for these 20. yeres or thereabout notoriouly practised and committed, as well iopnly by the generall counsell, and consociation of the foresayd societie, as also scruerally by the aduise and permission of diuers particular cities of the foresayd Hans company to the great diminution of his maiesties custome, the estimation whereof the foresayd ambassadoys are not able at this present fully to declare. But that all occasions of the last aboue mentioned diminution may bee prevented for the time to come, the sayd ambassadoys doe demand to haue from the foresayd societie a declaration in wryting, what and what manner of territories, cities, townes, villages or companies they be, for which the sayd societie challengeth and pretendeth, that they ought to enioy the priuiledges granted vnto their marchants, as is aboue mentioned.

If old map of
which be the
Hans towne.

Moreouer, it is required by the foresaid ambassadoys, if the societie aforesayd hath not decreed nor ordeyned the things aboue wrytten, that the names of the cities and places decreeing and ordeyning such statutes & ordinances, may by the sayd common societie either now or at some other times and places conuenient for the same purpose, be expressed and set downe in wryting.

A letter of Henry the fourth king of England &c. vnto Frater
Conradus de Iungingen the master generall of Prussia.

Henrie &c. to the most noble and mighty personage of sacred religion Fr: Conradus de Iungingen Master general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Marie, our most deare friend, greeting, and continual perfection of amity.

When as your messengers and ambassadoys were of late personally present in Holland, and there expected the arrinal of our ambassadoys vntill the first day of the moneth of Nouember last expired, that there might bee by way of friendly conference a remedie prouided in regard of certaine iniuries pretended to be offered, by both our subiects one against another, for the publique commoditie of both parts, we were determined to haue sent vnto Dordraect, at the foresaid daye, our welbeloued and faithfull knight William Scurmy, and our welbeloued clerke Iohn Kington, vpon our ambassage-affayres: hauing as yet in our desires, for a peaceable ending of the matter, (which our foresayd ambassadoys, by reason of the shortnes of time, or the finding out of some other remedie and happy conclusion of all and singular the foresaid attempts concerning the principall busines, could by no meanes at that instant attaine vnto) that vpon some other moze conuenient day (to the end your ambassadoys might not returne home altogether frustrate of their expectation) there might be, after the wonted friendly maner, a conferre & agreement with your foresayd ambassadoys, euen as by other letters of ours directed vnto your sayd ambassadoys the second day of the moneth of Nouember aforesayd wee haue deliuered our mind vnto them. But it fortuned not long before the departure of your ambassadoys into their owne countrey, that no sufficient shipping could be found wherein our sayd ambassadoys might haue secure and safe passage vnto Dordraect, or Middleburgh, neither was it thought that they should get any passage at all, till the ships at Middleborough were returned into our kingdome, by the force whereof they might be the moze strongly wasted ouer. And so by reason of the departure of your ambassadoys, all matters remaine in suspence till such time as the sayd ambassadoys shall againe meece with ours to adde perfection vnto the busines as yet imperfect. Therefore (our friend vnfaignedly beloued) desiring from the botome of our heart that the integritie of loue, which hath from auncient times taken place betweene our & your subiects, may in time to come also be kept inuolable, we haue thought good once again to send one of our foresaid ambassadoys, namely William Scurmy knight to Dordraect, giuing him charge thither to make haste, and there to stay, till some of your messengers, at your commandement doe in time conuenient repaie vnto that place, there (by Gods assistance) to hying the matter vnto an happy conclusion. May it please you therefore of your vnfaigned friendship, without all inconuenience of delay, to returne, not vnto vs, but vnto our forenamed knight an answer in wryting, what your will and determination is. Neither let it seeme strange vnto you, that we haue not at this present sent our forenamed Iohn Kington clerke together with the sayd William: for the cause of his abode with vs is, that he may in the meane season employ his care and diligence about those matters which must be preparatiues for the small conclusion of the foresayd busines. Honorable sir, and most deare friend, we doe most heartily wish increase of prosperitie and ioy vnto your person. Given in our palace of Westminster the 14. day of Feb. in the peate of our Lord 1407.

To the right noble and valiant knight Sir *William Sturmy* sent at this present by the most soueraigne King of *England &c.* as his ambassadour vnto *Dordraet*, his most sincere friend,

Honorable sir, our most entier friend, wee receiued the royall letters of the most mightie prince and lord, our lord the king of *England* and *France* and lord of *Ireland*, sent vnto vs vnder the date of the 14. day of *February* (which we receiued at our castle of *Marienburgh* the 11. of *April*) containing, amongst other matters, that his *Majesties* purpose was once againe to sende one of his ambassadoys, namely your selfe our very sincere friend vnto *Dordraet*, giuing you in charge that you would make haste thither & there stay, vntill some of our subiects might at our commandemēt, in conuenient time repaire vnto the same place, there (by *Gods* assistance) to hying our matters vnto a happy conclusion. And then he requested that wee should without delay write our determination vnto you, as the conclusion of the said letter importeth. *Wherbeit* (our most deare friend) the treaties & conferences about the redzesse or refozation of vniust attempts committed by the subiects of our sayd lord the king & our subiects, one against another, are both on our behalfe, and on the behalfe of the common societie of the *Hans* marchants, hitherto had, made, and continued common. And so our commissioners vpon our full and absolute commandement, shal, for the managging of these and of other affaires of the foresaid societie, many waies vrgent and difficult, vpon the feast of our *Lozds* Ascension next to come, meet with the said societie at *Lubec*, there to giue notice what they haue determined to conclude in this present busines & in others for their owne behalfe. For we wil giue our ambassadoys which are there to appeare, straightly in charge that accordyng to the kings request aforesayde they voe without delay procure an answer to be written vnto your honour concerning the determination of the foresayd societie. Giuen at the place and vpon the day aboue named, in the yeare of our *Lozd* 1407.

Fr. Wernherus de Tettingen, commander in *Elbing*, general vice-master and lieutenant in the roome of the Master generall of the Dutch knights of the Order of *S. Marie* &c. of late deceased.

The letters of *Henry* the 4. king of *England &c.* vnto *Vricus de Iungingen* Master generall of *Prussia*, 1408. wherein he doth ratifie and accept the last agreement made at *Hage* in *Holland*,

Henry &c. vnto the honourable and religious personage *Fr. Vricus de Iungingen* Master generall of the Dutch knights of *S. Marie* &c. our most deare friend, greeting and dayly increase of our accustomed amity and friendship. Wee doe by these presents giue your honour to vnderstand, that our faithfull & welbeloued *William Esturmy* knight, and *Master Iohn Kington* clerke, our ambassadoys and messengers sent of late on our behalfe, vnto the presence of your predecessor for the redzessing of certaine grieuances and damages being contrary to iustice offered against vs and our liege subiects by the people & subiects of your predecessors, & against them also by our subiects as it is aforesayd, in friendly maner to be procured, of late returning out of the parts of *Aleman* made relation vnto vs and to our counsell, that hauing conferred with your forenamed predecessor about the foresayd affayres, the particulars following were at length concluded: namely first of all, that at a certaine day and place they should meete in *Holland* with his ambassadoys and messengers, to hold a friendly conference between them about the redzessing and refozation of the grieuances and damages aforesayd: and that they should by the equall waighe of diligente examination ponder, & in the balance of iustice discusse & define al & singular the foresaid grieuances & damages inflicted on both parts, *Wherbeit* at length after sundry prozogations then made & continued on this behalfe, our ambassadoys & messengers aforesaid vpon the 28. of *August* last past, assembling themselues for our part at the towne of *Hage* in *Holland*, the hon. & discrete personages *Arnold Heker* burgomaster of the towne of *Danzik*, & *Iohn Crolowe*, for the behalfe of your subiects of *Prussia*, and *Tidman de Meule*, & *Iohn Epenscheid* for the behalfe of *Liuania*, being assembled as messengers and commissioners about the redzesse and refozation aforesayd, did then and there demaund in certaine articles, of our ambassadoys and messengers aboutnamed 25034. nobles & half a noble, for the grieuances & damages offered (as it was the said) to your subiects of *Prussia*, and 24082. nobles, 12. s. 8. d. in recompense of the damages offered vnto those your

A meeting at
Hage the 28. of
August 1407.

your subiects of Liouonia. And when the substance of those articles about the grieuances & losses aforesayd was by the sayd ambassadours and messengers througely examined and discuffed, by their generall consent it was finally agreed, that your subiects, in consideration of all and singular the aforesayd grieuances and damages offered vnto them by our people, should within thre yeares after the feast of Easter next ensuing, at thre equall payments receiue from vs, namely they of Prussia, 8957. nobles, and they of Liouonia 22496. nobles, six pence, halfe peny, farthing, and no moze, so that we our selues thought good to condescend thereunto. Howbeit, forasmuch as certaine other articles of your subiects of Prussia, and also certaine articles in the behalfe of our subiects containing grieuous complaints in them, being propounded befoze the ambassadours & messengers aforesaid, for the attaining of reformation in regard of the damages & grieuances offered on both parts, could not as the, for the great obscurity of diuers of the sayd articles, and also for want of sufficient prooffe at the last meeting appointed and held by the aforesayd ambassadours at the towne of Hage in Holland, sufficiently to be examined, discuffed, and defined, it was agreed vpon by the ambassadours and messengers of both partes, that from the 15. day of October then last expired vnto the feast of Easter now next ensuing, and from thenceforth within one whole yere immediately following, the plaintifes of both partes should througely declare befoze our chancelour of England for the time being, the aforesayd obscurities concerning the substance of their articles, and that they should, for the obtaining of execution, and complement of iustice at our sayd chancelours hands, peremptorily minister necessary probations, vnder paine of perpetuall exclusion from the petition of those things which are contayned in the articles aboue mentioned.

¶ Provided alwayes, that if at the last it shall be by lawfull proofes made manifest concerning the summes aboue writen of any part or partcell thereof, that due satisfaction hath bene made to him or them vnto whom it was due, or that those goods of and for the which complaint hath bene made on the behalfe of your subiects haue pertained or doe appertaine vnto others, or any other iust, true, and reasonable cause may lawfully bee alleaged, why the payment of all the aforesayd summes or any of them ought not to be perfozmed: that then so much only is to be cut off or deducted from the sayd summes as shall be found to be already payd or to pertaine vnto others, or else vpon some true, iust, and reasonable cause (as is aforesayd) not to be due. We therefore considering that the sayd friendly conference, and the final agreement ensuing thereupon are agreeable vnto reason and equitie, doe, for our part ratifie and willingly accept the very same conference and agreement. And forasmuch as it hath bene alwayes our desire, and is as yet our intention, that the league of amity and the integritie of loue, which hath of olde time bene obserued betweene our and your subiects, may in times to come perpetually remaine inuolable, and that your and our people may hereafter, not onely for the good of our common weale but also for the commodity and peace of both partes, according to their wonted maner, assemble themselues and enioy the faithfull and mutuall conuersation one of another: we will cause in our citie of London, with the summe of 8957. nobles satisfaction to bee made vnto the Prussians, and with the summe of 22496. nobles, six pence, halfe peny, farthing, recompense to be perfozmed vnto the Liouonians, in regard of the damages and iniuries (which in very deede proceeded not of our consent) by our subiects offered vnto them, as it is aforesayd, and within thre yeares after the feast of Easter next ensuing the sayd summes of money to bee payed at thre payments, and by thre equall portions. Conditionally that vnto our subiects which be endamaged correspondent satisfaction be likewise on your part within the terme of the aforesayd thre yeeres perfozmed, with paying the summes of 766. nobles and of 4535. nobles, demaunded on our behalfe, and also with the payment of such summes as within one yeere immediately ensuing the feast of Easter aforesayd, shall be found by sufficient delarations and proofes to be made on the behalfe of our subiects (as is aforesayd) to be due. Euen as we in like maner will make satisfaction vnto your subiects within our citie aforesayd. Now as touching the request of your ambassadours and of the Liouonians, wherby we were required to procure some hole some remedy for the soules of certaine drowned persons, as conscience and religion seemeth to chalenge (in regard of whom we are moued with compassion, and do for their sakes heartily condole their mishaps) you are (our entier friend) of a certaintie to vnderstand, that after we shall be by your letters aduertized of the number, state, and condition of the sayd parties drowned, we will cause suffrages of prayes and diuers other hole some remedies profitable for the soules of the deceased and acceptable to God and men, religiously to be ordained and provided: vpon condition, that for the soules of our drowned countrey men there be the like remedie provided by you. The almighty grant vnto your selfe and vnto your whole Order, that you may prosperously triumph ouer the enemies of Christ his crosse. Giuen vnder our priue seale at our palace of Westminster the 26. of March, in the yere of our Lord 1408. and in the ninth yere of our reigne.

The letters of *Fr: Ulricus* Master of *Prussia* directed
vnto the king of England, signifying that he is contented with
the agreements concluded by his messengers at *Hage*.

To the most renowned prince and mighty lord *L Henrie* king
of England and France, and lord of Ireland, our most gracious lord.



Vnto your highnes pleasure at all affaires humbly recommending my voluntarie service &c. Most renowned king, mighty prince, and gracious lord, we receiued of late with great reuerence as it becometh vs, by our welbeloued Arnold de Dassel the bearer of of these presents, your Maiesties letters of late directed vnto vs, making mention amongst other matters of certaine appointments first made and concluded between the noble and worthy personages William Esturmy knight, John Kington clerke, and William Brampton citizen of London your ambassadours and messengers on the one parte, and our honorable and religious brethren, namely Conradus Lichtensten great commander, Warnherus de Tetringen chiefe hospitalary & commander in Elbing, and Arnold de Hacken treasurer, being the procuratours and commissioners of Fra, Conradus de Iungingen our last predecessour of famous memory on the other parte, concerning the redressing, reformation, and amendment of vniust attempts committed on both sides, at our castle of Marienburgh, and also very lately at the towne of Hage in Holland, namely the twenty eight of the month August in the yeare immediately past, betweene your foresayde ambassadours William Esturmy knight, and John Kington clerke, for your part, and our trusty and welbeloued commissioners and procuratours, namely Arnold Heche burgomaster of our citie of Danzik, and John Crolow citizen of the same citie, for our parte. And for our more perfect knowlege in this behalfe, our sayd commissioners made relation vnto vs and vnto our whole counsell, that associating vnto themselves our messengers of Liouonia, namely, Tidman Myeul, and Iohn Epenheid, together with your foresaid ambassadours and messengers, they there finally appoynted and concluded, of and about the aboue mentioned summes of money due on both partes, of the which mention is made in your letters aforesayd. With this speciall prouiso, that in like manner satisfaction be made in all points, both vnto other of our dammied subjects of Prussia, namely such whose goods or the true value thereof haue bene finally adiudged by the iudges or professors of our lawes, and vnto such who hauing brought their articles of complaints vnto the audience of the most dread and mighty prince and lord, our lord Rupertus king of the Romans alwayes most soueraigne, were in conclusion to haue the estimations of their goods to be adiudged by the sentence of the sayd lord, with the aduise of two of his counsellors, and also vnto other of our subjects who haue brought in sufficient prooue of damages vniustly inflicted vpon them by your subjects, ouer and besides the premises. So that in like maner satisfaction be made vnto the common societie of the Hans marchants: and by the arbitrament set downe in the conferences had at Marienburgh, of the which it was aboue prouided and enacted, on their behalfe, namely if they will rest contented with our subjects in the courses and maners then concluded. If not, we intend not at all to adhere vnto them in this behalfe. Afterward our messengers aforesayd, both they of Prussia and of Liouonia demaunded conuenient, iust, and speedy satisfaction, with the payment of all and singular the summes aboue mentioned, due vnto both parts (so farre forth as equity and reason would pced vnto, for the recompense of the parties iniuried and endamaged on both sides) to be made within one whole yere accompting from the feast of Easter now last expired vnto the very same feast next to come in the yere immediately following, & that in three several termes of payment, by three portions of the said summes equally to be diuided, at the towne of Bruges in Flanders as being a place indifferent for all parties, in maner and forme as it was before at Marienburgh required and stood vpon: namely that reformation, reparation, and amendment of all vniust attempts committed on both parts ought to be performed within one yere. Howbeit contrariwise your ambassadours aforesayd decreed that the sayd satisfaction should be performed vnto the parties iniuried of both parts within three yeeres, beginning to accompt from the feast of Easter last past. And when your ambassadours were not contented with the maner of satisfaction set downe by our men, nor our commissioners were willing in any sort to consent vnto that course which was thought conuenient by your ambassadours, the honorable messengers of the sea-townes of the Haas being there at that time present, made a motion that the foresayd satisfaction might be performed within two yeeres and an halfe, accompting from the feast of Easter last past, often before mentioned: yet vnder

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is had vnto y
king of the
Romans.

a certaine protestation, namely it both parties should agree vnto that forme of satisfaction, and if they should thinke good finally and conclusively to yeeld their consent vnto it, Which kind of satisfaction also conceiued by the messengers, your sayd ambassadours without giuing notice thereof vnto your royall Maiestie, refused finally to approue; being rather desirous to make a true & faithful report of the sayd forme of satisfaction last aboue mentioned vnto your kingly highnesse, and that in such sort, that (as they hoped) effectually satisfaction and payment of all and singular the summes due and to bee due on both partes should more conueniently and speedily bee performed. Whereupon we might be put in good hope, that more speedy and conuenient appointments of termes; for the sayd satisfaction sciendly on both parts to be performed in, would haue proceeded from your bountifull and gracious elemente. And in very deede (most mighty prince) albeit it was neuer the meaning of our foresayd predecessor, so far forth as these affaires concerned him, to protract and delay the execution of the sayd business so many and such long distances of time, and that for diuers respects, both because restitution vnto the parties robbed consisted herein, and also because the sayd restitutions and satisfactions are to be made vnto poore people, widowes, orphans, and other miserable creatures, diuersly and miserably slaine and oppressed: notwithstanding we being moued with hearty & seruent zeale and speciall affection vnto your royall crowne of England, and hauing due regard and consideration of your most excellent Maiestie, vpon the aduise of our honourable brethren our counsellers, doe thankfully receiue, & by the tenour of these presents totally ratifie and approue such satisfactions of the foresayd summes howsoeuer due vnto our subiects both Prussians and Liouonians, in friendly sort to be performed at such times and seasons limited and prescribed by your highnes as are expessed in your maiesties letters, and also of other summes which within one yeare immediately ensuing after the feast of Easter last past, by sufficient proofes to be made on their part before your chancelour at your citie of London shall be found due vnto them. Conditionally that without inconuenience of delay and impediment they be performed as they ought to be, according to the premises. In like maner also we our selues within the termes of payment aboue mentioned will procure satisfaction to be without fauile performed vnto your subiects endamaged, with the summe of 766, nobles, being in regard of their losses, of the which they haue giuen by sufficient informations, due vnto them; and with other like summes also which are by sufficient proofes, within the yeare aforesayd, and in maner and forme prescribed to be exhibited before our treasures at our citie of Dantzick. The almighty vouchsafe prosperously and long time to preserve your maiesties royal person. Given at our castle of Marienburgh the 27. of September, in the yeare of our Lord 1408.

Septem. 27.
1408.

Fr. Vlricus de Iungingen master general of the order of the Dutch knights of *S. Maries* hospitall of *Ierusalem*.

The letters of king *Henry* the 4. sent vnto *Fr. Vlricus* master general of *Prussia*, wherein he doth absolutely approue the foresaid conference holden at *Hage*, and treateth about a perpetual league and amitie to be concluded betweene *England* and *Prussia*.



Henry by the grace of God king of England and France and lord of Ireland, vnto the noble & mighty personage of sacred religion *Vlricus de Iungingen* master general of the order of the Dutch knights of *S. Maries* hospitall of *Ierusalem*, our entirely beloued friend, greeting and increase of vniuersal friendship. After diuers conferences had in sundry places beyond the seas, betwene the ambassadours and messengers of your late predecessor and of your selfe also, on the one parte, and betweene our speciall ambassadors and messengers on the other parte, concerning reformations, reparations, & restitutions in certaine maner & forme to be performed vnto our subiects of both parts, in regard of manifold iniuries practised against them both, and after that, in the last conference holden by the ambassadours of vs both at the towne of *Hage* in *Holland*, there was a motion made concerning a certaine forme of satisfaction, by way of small conclusion in that behalfe: but not being as then by our ambassadours condescended vnto, because they durst not proceede vnto the same conclusion without our priuie relation thereof at length being by them made before vs and our counsel: we returned vnto your honour an answer in writing by our letters vnder our priuie seale, of our full purpose and intention (vnto the which letters we doe at this present referre our selues, as if they were here againe expressely written) that we thought good to haue done in this behalfe: so that wee also might by your friendly letters be certainly informed of your will and expresse consent, being likewise conformable vnto your foresayd intention. Nowe whereas since that time we haue of late receiued the certaintie

of the matter by your letters wryten vnto vs from your castle of Marienburgh, bearing date the 27. of September last past, concayning in effect amongst other matters, that you being moued with a seruent zeale and speciall affection (as you wryte) vnto the royall crowne of our realme, and hauing due regard and consideration of our royall maiestie, vpon the aduise of your honourable brethren your counsellors, doe with a thankfull mind accept, and by the tenour of the said letters of yours totally appoune the concozd of a certayne satisfaction to be performed with the payment of certayne summes of money howsoever due vnto your subiects as well of Prussia as of Liouonia, expressed in our former letters, within the termes prescribed by our consent and limited in our said letters, and also of other summes which within one whole yeare immediately following the feast of Easter last past, by sufficient proofes on their parte to bee made before our chancelour at our citie of London, shall be found due vnto them: conditionally, that without inconuenience of delay and impediments, the premisses be performed as they ought to be. And that your selfe also will without fayle, vpon the termes appoynted for the said payments, procure satisfaction to be made accordingly vnto our endamaged subiects with the summes due vnto them by reason of their losses, wherof they haue sufficient information. Wherefore in regard of those your friendly letters, and your courteous answere returned by them vnto vs, as is aforesaid, wee doe yeelde vnto you right vnfained thanks. But because it will vndoubtedly be most acceptable and pleasing both vnto vs and vnto our people, and vnto you and your subiects, that the zeale and seruencie of loue which hath from ancient times growen and increased betweene our progenitours for them and their subiects, and your predecesors and their subiects, and which by the insolencie of of certayne lewde persons, without any consent of the principall lords, hath often bene violated betweene vs and you and mutually betweene the subiects of vs both, may be put in perpetuall bye and obtaine full strength in time to come, sithens hereupon (by Gods assistance) it is to be hoped, that vnspeakable commodity and quiet will redound vnto both parts: may it seeme good vnto your discretion, as it seemeth expedient vnto vs, that some messengers of yours sufficiently authorized to parle, agree, and conclude with our deputy, about the mutuall contraction of a perpetuall league and confirmation of friendship, may with all conuenient speede be sent vnto our presence. At whose arriual, not onely in this busines so profitable and behoouefull, but also in certayne other affaires concerning the former treaties and conclusions, they may, yea and of necessity must greatly auayle. Wherefore (our entirely beloved friend) euen as vpon confidence of the premisses we haue thought good to graunt vnto the marchants and subiects of our realme full authority to resort vnto your dominions, so we doe in like maner graunt vnto your marchants and subiects free licence and liberty with their marchandises and goods securely to come into our realmes and dominions, there to stay, and at their pleasures thence to returne home. Moreover, if Arnold Dassel, who last of all presented your foresayd letters vnto vs, shall thinke good in the meane season to make his abode here in our dominions (as in very deepe it is expedient) he may both by serious consideration and deliberate consulting with our commissioners more conueniently and prosperously finde out wayes and meanes, for the more speedy expedition of all the premisses. Fare ye well in Christ. Given vnder our priuie seale at our palace of Westminster, the seuenth of March, in the yere of our lord 1408, according to the computation of the Church of England, and in the tenth yere of our reigne.

Motion for a
perpetuall
league.

A new concord concluded between king *Henry* the
4. and *Vlricus de Iungingen* Master generall of *Prussia*,
in the yeare of our Lord 1409.

BY this indenture or letters indented be it evidently knowen (for the perpetual memory of the matter) vnto all faithfull Christians, that the noble & honourable personages Richard Merlowe Mayor and citizen of London, Master Iohn Kington clerke, and William Askham citizen and Alderman of the same citie, the commissioners of the most soueraigne prince and lord, L. Henrie by the grace of God king of England and France, and lord of Ireland, and Tidericus de Longenthorpe knight, Lefardus de Hereford burgomaster of Elbing, and Iohn Crolowe citizen of the citie of Dantzik, the procurators, commissioners, deputies and messengers of the right noble and religious personage Fr. Vlricus de Iungingen Master general of the order of the Dutch knights of S. Maries hospital of Ierusalem, hauing in the names of the sayd king and Master by vertue of the power on both parts committed vnto them, sufficient authority, haue appointed and with one consent agreed vpon all and singular the things vnder wrytten.

Imprimis for the conseruation of mutuall loue and wonted amitie, and for the tranquillitie of
 sweete amiable peace, it is decreed and ordained, that all and singular the liege people & subiects
 of the Realme of England and the Marchants of the territorie & dominions of the said Realme
 and all other persons of what state or condition soeuer, shall and may safely and securely, as well
 by land as by water enter into the parts of Prussia, and there mutuallly conuerse, and freely after
 the maner of Marchants exercise traffique as well with the Prussians as with others, of what nation
 or qualitie soeuer, there also make their abode, and thence vnto their owne homes and dwell-
 ing places returne, and depart vnto any place whither and so often as they shall thinke good, as
 well by land as by water, with their goods, marchandize, and wares whatsoeuer; faithfully pay-
 ing in the meane time all rights & customes due in regard of their said wares and marchandize.
 Reserued alwaies vnto the said Master and his successours all right and remedie ordained, gran-
 ted, and vouchsafed in certaine obligations by our Lord the king, whereof mention shall be made
 in the articles following.

Item it is ordained, that all and singular the subiects of the said Master generall and of his
 order, of what state and condition soeuer, shall and may, as well by water as by land enter into
 the kingdome of England and into the territorie and dominions thereof, and there mutuallly
 conuerse, and freely after the maner of Marchants exercise traffique as well with all English
 people as with others of what nation or qualitie soeuer, and there also make their abode; and
 thence returne vnto their owne habitations and dwelling places, and to depart whither they will
 and as oft as they shall thinke good, as well by land as by water, with their goods, marchandize
 and wares whatsoeuer: truly paying in the meane time all rights and customes due in regard of
 their said wares and Marchandize. Reserued alwaies vnto the said Soueraigne king, his heires
 and successours, all rights and remedies ordained and graunted vnto them in certaine obligati-
 ons, by the commissioners and procuratores of the said Master generall aboue-named, and in
 the name of the said Master generall.

Item it is with one consent agreed vpon, promised, and graunted that for all and singular da-
 mages, grieuances, and robberies howsoeuer done and committed befoze the date of these pre-
 sents against the foresaid Soueraigne Prince and his subiects whatsoeuer, and all others which at
 the time of the grieuances, damages, and robberies aforesaid, were, or at this present are the said
 Soueraigne king his subiects; there are due to be payed vnto the said king or his successours by
 the said Master generall or his successours, in full satisfaction and recompence of the damages,
 grieuances, and robberies aboue-written, certaine summes of English money: euen as in the
 letters obligatorie made by the said Master generall his procuratores, and messengers aboue-
 named in this behalfe, and sealed with their seales, and deliuered vnto the foresaid procuratores
 and commissioners of our said Lord the king it is expessed moze at large.

Item it is couenanted, graunted, and promised, that no subiect of the said Master generall or
 of his successours, by reason or occasion of the damages, grieuances, and robberies aforesaid, shall
 by the said Soueraigne king or his successours, or by their authoritie or commandement, or by any
 other person whatsoeuer who in regard of the foresaid losses, grieuances and robberies hath bene
 molested and dammished, or at the procurement or instant suite of any, be attached, arrested, im-
 prisoned, or detained; nor that the goods of the said Master generall, or of his successours, or of any
 of them, shall be laid hold on, arrested, or detained.

Item it is couenanted and ordained, that if any of the liege people and subiects of the sayde
 Master generall or of his successours shall, contrary to the forme of the concord and graunt next
 aboue-written, chance to be molested or endamaged: that then the foresaid Soueraigne Lord the
 King and his successours the kings of England are bound to make full satisfaction for all such losses
 as the subiects of the said Master generall or of his successours or any of them shall for that cause
 haue vniustly sustained, vnto the parties endamaged. Which thing, if the foresaid Soueraigne
 Prince, or his successours in the Realme of England, being conueniently requested by the let-
 ters of the said Master generall or of his successours, shall refuse to doe, that then after the terme
 of six moneths immediately following the said deniall or refusal, it shall be right lawfull for the
 Master generall that now is and for any of his successours in time to come (having first made con-
 uenient prooffe that the foresaid request was by him or them exhibited) to arrest so many goods of
 the foresaid king his subiects found in the land of Prussia, as may suffice for the reasonable satis-
 faction and recompense of any person or persons whatsoeuer vniustly molested in this behalfe;
 and also to detain the said goods vnder arrestes, vntill condigne satisfaction and amends be made
 vnto the party or parties molested.

Item by the commissioners and procuratores often aboue-named it is couenanted, promised,
 and graunted, that for all and singular the damages, molestations, and robberies by the foresayde
 Soueraigne

soueraigne king his liege people & subiects howsoever before the date of these presents committed and offered against the said Master general or against any of his subiects whether Prussians or Liwonians, and against all others who at the time of the damages, grievances & robberies aforesaid were, or at this present are the subiects of the Master general aforesaid (except notwithstanding certaine damages & grievances hereafter to be mentioned, whereof also some pzoouifes shalbe had in the articles following, which damages were before the date of these presents by the said soueraigne king his liege people and subiects inflicted vpon certaine subiects of the foresaid general Master, especially them of Prussia which hereafter shalbe named) there are certaine summes of money due to be payed vnto the said Master general or vnto his successours by the said soueraigne Prince or his successours for the full satisfaction of the foresaid damages, molestations and robberies inflicted vpon the Prussians and Liwonians, and the others aboue mentioned, euen as in the letters obligatorie of the said soueraigne Lord the king made in this behalfe, being giuen and deliuered

7 Item it is couenanted, granted and promised, that none of the liege people or subiects of the foresaid soueraigne prince or of his heires shall, by reason or occasion of the damages, grievances, and robberies aforesaid, by the sayd Master general or his successours or by their authoritie and commandement, or by any other who in respect of the said damages, grievances and robberies aboue mentioned, hath bene molested or dammified, or by any of their procurements or instant suites, shalbe attached, arrested, imprisoned or detained; nor that any goods of the subiects of the said soueraigne king or his heires or any of them, shall bee attached, arrested, or detained. Reserued alwayes vnto the foresaid Master general and his subiects all right and remedie any way requisite or competent vnto them by meanes of the obligations aforesaid,

8 Item it is couenanted and agreed that if any of the liege people or subiects of the sayde soueraigne prince or of his heires and successours shall (contrary to the forme of concord and graunt next aboue-written) chaunce to bee molested or endamaged; that then the saide Master general and his successours, for all losses and hinderances which the liege people and subiects the foresayde soueraigne prince or of his heires or successours, shall by that meanes haue vniustly sustained, are bound to make full satisfaction vnto the partie endamaged. Which if the Master general aforesaid or his successours being conueniently requested by the letters of the sayde soueraigne prince or of his heires, shall refuse to doe; that then, after the space of sixe moneths next ensuing the time of the foresayde request, it may bee right lawfull for the foresaid soueraigne prince that now is, or that then for that time shall be (conuenient prooofe being first brought, that the foresayd request had conueniently bene exhibited) to arrest so many goods of the sayde Master general his subiects founde in the Realme of England, as may suffice for the reasonable satisfaction and amends of any person or persons vniustly molested in this behalfe; and also to detaine the sayde goods vnder safe custodie, vntill condigne satisfaction and amends be made vnto the partie or parties aggrieved.

9 Item it is couenanted, that besides the summes due vnto the sayde Master general and his successours in the behalfe of his subiects both of Prussia and of Liwonia (whereof mention is made in the former Articles) there are due to bee payed vnto the sayde Master general and his successours, for sundry other damages, grievances, and robberies against himselfe and diuers other of his subiects of Prussia, namely Mathewe Ludckenfson, Arnold Aschen, Henri Culeman, John Vnkeltop, John Halewater, Egghard Scoffe of Dantzik, and Nicolas Wolmerstene of Elbing, done and committed by the sayde soueraigne king his liege people and subiects vnder-written, euen before the date of these presents, for the full satisfaction of the sayde damages, grievances and robberies, certaine summes of nobles hereafter following. Namely Inprimis by Tueburie, and Terry of Hull, 82. nobles, which are due vnto the foresaid Matthew Ludekinson. Item by Nicholas Scot of Caleis the sonne of Tuebury, and Hilg of Hull, 256. nobles, which are due vnto the foresayd Arnold de Aschen. Item by the inhabitants of Scardeburgh, Blakeney, and Crowmer (who had one Iohn Iolly of Blakeney for their captaine) 156. nobles, which are due vnto Henric Culeman aforesayd. Item by the inhabitants of Bayon (whose Capitaine was one Pideuille) 125. nobles which are due vnto the said Iohn Vnkeltop. Item by the inhabitants of Plymmouth and Dertmouth (whose Captaines were Henry Pay, and William Gadeling) 600. nobles which are due vnto the foresayde Iohn Halewater, in respect of his goods by them violently taken away. Item 334. nobles to be payed by the selfe same parties, being due vnto the sayde Iohn Halewater by reason that they detained his ship from him three moneths and more, which ship was of the burthen of three hundred and threescore tonnes of wine, and had in it all the foresayde time fixe and fourtie seruants maintained at the expences of the sayde Iohn Halewater, Item that Sir

William

William de Erhingham knight, who was Vice-admirall for the sea; must bee summoned to alleage a reasonable cause (for that the sayd Sir William with his seruants expelled the said Iohn Halewater out of his ship for the space of fiftene dayes together, and tooke of the goods and victuals of the said Iohn to the summe of 114. nobles) why he ought not to pay the said summe of 114. nobles vnto Iohn Halewater aforesaid: which if hee shall not bee willing nor able to alleage before the first of April next ensuing, that then by the kings authoritie hee must be compelled to pay vnto the foresaid Iohn the said 114. nobles. Item by the inhabitants of Caleis (whose captaines were Michael Scot, Bishop, and William Horneby) 1900. nobles, which are due vnto the foresayde Eggard Scoff, because the saide soueraigne king hath giuen them in charge by the said Michael Scot and the rest concerning the payment of the summe aforesaid. Item by Iohn Bilis neere vnto Crowmer, 68. nobles, which are due vnto Nicholas Wolmersten of Elbing. Which summes of nobles must by the kings authoritie bee leuied at the hands of his subiects aboue-mentioned, betweene the time that nowe is and the feast of the Purification of the blessed virgine which shall fall in the yeere of our Lord 1411. effectually to bee deliuered and payed vnto the sayd Master generall or his lawfull procurator, or vnto his successours or their lawfull procurators, at the Citie of London, vpon the feast aforesaid.

Item it is couenanted that besides the summes specified in the foresayde letters obligatorie made in the behalfe of the said soueraigne prince, there are due to be paid vnto one Iohn Marion of Werhingham lately deceased being in his life-time the liege subiect of the foresaid soueraigne prince 200. nobles of English money in regard of certaine iniuries and robberies done and committed before the date of these presents against the foresayde Iohn, by one Eghard Scoff subiect vnto the said Master generall, for the full satisfaction of the saide damages and robberies to bee made vnto the said deceased Iohn, his wife, children, heires or executors by the said Egghard, his heires, or by the administrators of his goods at the time and place aboue-mentioned.

Item it is couenanted, confirmed, and promised, that for all the iniuries and robberies done and committed against one Iohn Dordewant of Elbing, being in his life time subiect vnto the sayd Master generall, by the liege people and subiects of the said soueraigne king the inhabitants of Scardeburgh before the date of these presents; for the full recompense of all such iniuries and robberies, there must bee payed vnto one Iohn Gruk of Dantzik eight hundred nobles of English money, vpon the feast of Easter next following in the Citie of London by them of Scardeburgh being guiltie and culpable in this behalfe; who are by definitive sentence condemned vnto the said Iohn in the summe of 800. nobles by reason of the iniuries and robberies aforesaid. Except the lawfull expenses in this behalfe layed out: they are also taxed in due time for the same. And therefore the foresayde condemned parties (whose names are in the sentence against them pronounced in this behalfe, moze expressly contained) must in the meane season by the kings authoritie be compelled and constrained really and actually to obey the foresaid sentence, namely by deliuering and paying vnto Iohn Gruk the summe of 800. nobles at the time and place aboue mentioned, with reasonable expences, wherein also the said parties stand condemned, their lawfull taxation being reserved.

Item it is couenanted and granted, that the heires of Lord Henric de Percy the younger after they shall come vnto lawfull age, and shall haue attained vnto the possessions and goods of their inheritance, must be compelled by the kings authoritie (iustice going before) to make satisfaction vnto the great procurator of Marienburgh with the summe of 838. nobles in lieu of certaine corne and graine which the foresaid Lord Henric, in the yeere 1403, bought and receiued of the said great procurator, for the vse of the castle of Zuberwik. In testimonie and confirmation of all the which premises, the said Tedericus, Lefardus, and Iohn Crolow, of their certaine knowledges haue put their seales vnto these present letters indented, in the presence of the aboue-named Richard Merlow, Iohn Kingron, and William Askam, commissioners for the behalfe of England. Giuen at the Citie of London in England the fourth day of December, in the yeere of our Lord 1409.

1404.

Carta Henrici quarti Anno quinto regni sui concessa mercatoribus Angliæ in partibus Prussia, Dacia, Norwegia, Swethia, & Germania, de gubernatore inter ipsos ibidem constituendo.

Henicus Dei gratia Rex Angliæ & Franciæ & Dominus Hiberniæ omnibus, ad quos præsentis literæ peruenerint, salutem. Sciatis quod cum, ut accepimus, ob defectum boni & sani regiminis & gubernationis, diuersa damna, dissensiones, grauamina, & angustia inter mercatores Regni nostri Angliæ in partibus Pruciæ, Daciæ, Norwegiæ, Hanzæ, & Swethiæ commorantes sapius ante hæc tempora mota fuissent & perpetrata, ac maiora exinde, quod absit, futuris temporibus uerisimiliter euenire formidantur, nisi pro meliori gubernatione inter eosdem mercatores mutuo habenda manus nostras adiutrices apponamus: Nos damnis & periculis in hac parte imminentibus præcauere, & eosdem Mercatores & alios de dicto regno nostro ad partes prædictas venturos iuste & fideliter regi & petraclari intime desiderantes, volumus & tenore præsentium concedimus eisdem mercatoribus, quod ipsi quoties & quando eis placuerit in quodam loco competenti & honesto, ubi sibi placuerit, se congregare & vnire, & certas personas sufficientes & idoneas in gubernatores suos in eisdem partibus inter se ad eorum libitum eligere & obtinere valeant libere & impune: Dantes uicarius & concedentes huiusmodi gubernatoribus per prædictos Mercatores sic eligendis, quantum in nobis est, potestatem & auctoritatem speciales, omnes & singulos mercatores Anglicos ad partes prædictas de cætero uenientes & declinantes per se uel sufficientes loca sua tenentes regendi & gubernandi, ac eis & eorum cuiuslibet in suis causis & querelis quibuscunque inter eos in partibus prædictis motis uel mouendis plenam & celerem iusticiam faciendi & quascunque quæstiones, contentiones, discordias, & debaras inter ipsos mercatores Anglicos partium prædictarum motas seu mouendas reformandi, reformationemque petendi, redigendi sedandi, & pacificandi, & quascunque transgressiones, damna, mespersiones, excessus, uolencias, & iniurias mercatoribus partium prædictarum per prædictos mercatores Anglicos factas seu faciendas redigendi, reparandi, restaurandi, & emendandi, consimilesque restitutiones, reparationes, restauraciones & emendaciones de ipsis mercatoribus partium prædictarum seu deputatis suis requirendi, petendi, & recipiendi: Ac de communi assensu mercatorum Anglicorum prædictorum statuta, ordinationes, & consuetudines, prout pro meliori gubernatione status eorumdem mercatorum Anglicorum in hac parte uidebitur expedire, faciendi & stabiliendi, & omnes & singulos mercatores Anglicos præfatis gubernatoribus sic eligendis uel eorum loca tenentibus seu eorum alicui, aut alicui statutorum, ordinationum, & consuetudinum prædictarum contrarios, rebelles, uel inobedientes iuxta quantitatem delicti sui in hac parte rationabiliter puniendi. Volentes insuper omnia iusta & rationabilia statuta, ordinationes & consuetudines per dictos gubernatores sic eligendos in forma prædicta faciendæ & stabiliendæ, nec non omnes iustas & rationabiles ordinationes per nuper gubernatores prædictorum mercatorum Anglicorum de communi assensu eorumdem mercatorum pro huiusmodi gubernatione sua in partibus prædictis iuxta priuilegia & auctoritates sibi per magistrum Pruciæ seu alios dominos partium prædictarum concessa, factas & stabilitas, seu per prædictos gubernatores nunc ut præmittitur eligendos iuxta priuilegia prædicta, seu alia priuilegia eisdem mercatoribus Anglicis per prædictos magistrum & dominos in posterum concedenda, faciendæ & stabiliendæ, rata, firma & accepta haberi, & pro ratis, firmis, & acceptis ibidem firmiter & inuolabiliter obseruari. Damus autem uniuersis & singulis mercatoribus Anglicis prædictis tenore præsentium firmiter in mandatis, quod eisdem gubernatoribus sic eligendis & eorum loca tenentibus in præmissis omnibus & singulis ac alijs gubernationem & regimen in hac parte qualitercunque concernentibus intendentes sint, consulentes, obediens & auxiliantes, prout decet. Data in palatio nostro Westmonasterij sub magni sigilli nostri testimonio sexto die Junij Anno regni nostri quinto.

[Nota:

A Charter of King Henry the fourth graunted in the fift yeere of his reigne to the English Marchants-resident in the parties of Prussia, Denmarke, Norway, Sweden and Germanie for the chusing of Governours among themselves.

HENRY by the grace of God king of England and of France, and Lord of Ireland: to all to whom these present letters shall come, sendeth greeting. Know ye, that whereas, according as we are informed, through want of good and discrete rule and government, sundry damages, strifes, oppressions, and wrongs ofentimes heretofore have bene moued and committed among the Marchants of our kingdom of England remaining in the parties of Prussia, Denmarke, Norway, the Hans Steeds, and Sweden, and greater hereafter, which God forbid, are feared to be like to fall out, unlesse we put to our helping hands for the procuring of better government to be maintained among the said Marchants: wee heartily desiring to prevent the perills and dangers which are like to fall out in this case, and that the sayde Marchants and others which shall traualle out of our said Realme into the partes aforesaid may iustly and faithfully be ruled and intreated, we will and graunt by the tenour of these presents to the said Marchants, that they may freely and without danger assemble and meete together as often and whensoever they please in some conuenient and honest place where they shall thinke good, and that they may choose among themselves certaine sufficient and fit persons for their governours in those parts at their good liking. And furthermore we giue and graunt to the said Governours which are in such sort to be chosen by the aforesaid Marchants, as much as in vs lieth, speciall power and authoritie to rule and governe all and singular the English Marchants which hereafter shall come or repayze to the parts aforesaid by themselves or their sufficient Deputies, and to minister vnto them and euery of them in their causes and quarrels whatsoeuer, which are sprung by or shall hereafter fall out among them in the parts aforesaid full and speedie iustice, and to reforme all maner of questions, contentions, discords, and debates moued or to be moued betwene the English Marchants remaining in those parts, and to seeke reformation, to redresse, appease, and compound the same. And further to redresse, restore, repayze and satisfie all transgressions, damages, mispicious, outrages, violences, and iniuries done or to be done by the aforesaid English Marchants against the Marchants of those parts: And to require, demanda and receive the like restitution, reparations, satisfactions and amends of the Marchants of those parts or of their deputies. And by the common consent of the aforesaid English Marchants to make and establish statutes, ordinances, and customes, as shall seeme expedient in that behalfe for the better government of the state of the said English Marchants: and to punish with reason according to the quantitie of their fault in that behalfe all and singular the English Marchants which shall withstand, resist or disobey the aforesaid governours so to be chosen or their deputies, or any of them; or any of the aforesaid statutes, ordinances, or customes. Moreover we doe ratifie, confirme, and approoue, and as ratified, confirmed, and approoued, wee command firmly and intubly there to be obserued all iust, and reasonable statutes, ordinances, and customes which shalbe made and established by the said governours, so to be chosen, in forme aforesaid, and also all iust and reasonable ordinances made & established by the late governours of the aforesaid English Marchants with the common consent of the sayd Marchants for this their government in the parts aforesaid, according to the priuileges and authorities now granted vnto them by the Master of Prussia, or other Lords of the partes aforesaid, or which shall be made and established by the aforesaid governours now as is mentioned to be chosen according to the aforesaid priuileges heretofore granted, or other priuileges hereafter to bee granted to the sayde English Marchants by the aforesaid Master and lords of the Countrey. And furthermore by the tenor of these presents wee straitly command all and singular the aforesaid English Marchants, that they attend, aduise, obey and assist, as it becommeth them, the sayde governours so to be chosen, and their deputies in all and singular the premisses, and other things, which any way may concerne in this behalfe their rule and government. Given in our Palace at Westminster vnder the testimonie of our great Scale the first day of June in the fift yeere of our reigns.

A note touching the mighty ships of King Henry the fift, mentioned hereafter in the treatie of keeping the Sea, taken out of a Chronicle in the Trinitie Church of Winchester.

Odem Anno quo victoria potius est videlicet Anno Domini 1415. & regni sui Annotertio, post bellum de Agencourt, conducti a Francis venerunt cum multis Naubus recuperaturi Harfletum. Sed Rex Anglia misit fratrem suum Iohannem Ducem Bedfordie & Andegania

de ganis, qui pugnant cum eis & vicis, & Naves cepit, & quasdam submersit: ceteri fugerunt cum Hispanis navibus qui venerant cum eis Anno gratis 1416. Sequenti vero Anno redierant potentiores, & iterum devicti perpetuam pacem cum Rege composuerunt, & propter eorum naves fecit Rex fieri naves quales non erant in mundo. De his sic conductis a Francis ita metricè scribitur.

*Naues maximæ
Henrici quinti,*

Regum belligero trito celeberrimus aruo
Gallos, Hispanos, Ianos, deuicit, & Vrget,
Vastat; turbantur cætera regna metu.
Nauali bello bis deuicti quoque Iani.

A branch of a Statute made in the eight yeere of Henry the sixth, for the trade to Norway, Sweueland, Denmarke, and Fynmarke.

Item because that the kings most deare Uncle, the king of Denmarke, Norway & Sweueland, as the same our soueraigne Lord the king of his intimation hath vnderstood, considering the manifold & great losses, perils, hurts and damage which haue late happened as well to him and his, as to other foraines and strangers, and also friends and speciall subiects of our said soueraigne Lord the king of his Realme of England, by y going in, entring & passage of such forain & strange persons into his realme of Norway & other dominions, streits, territories, iurisdictiones & places subdued and subiect to him, specially into his Isles of Fynmarke, and elsewhere, as well in their persons as their things and goods: for eschewing of such losses, perils, hurts & damages, and that such like (which God forbid) should not hereafter happen: our said soueraigne Lord the king hath ordeined and statutes, that all and singular strangers, as well Englishmen and others willing to apply by Ship and come into his Realme of Norway and other dominions, streits, territories, iurisdictiones, Isles & places aforesaid with their shipp, to the intent to get or haue fish or any other Marchandises, or goods, shall apply and come to his Towne of Northberne, where the said king of Denmarke hath specially ordeined and stablished his staple for the concourses of strangers and specially of Englishmen, to the exercise of such Marchandises: granting to the said Englishmen that they shall there inioy in and by all things the same fauour, priuileges and prerogatiues which they of the Hans did enioy. Therefore our said soueraigne Lord the king willing the loue, amicitie and amities to be firmly obserued, which betwixt his said Uncle and his noble progenitors of good memory, their Realmes, lands, dominions, streits, territories, iurisdictiones and their said places, and the same our soueraigne Lord the king & his noble progenitors of famous memory, his great men, subiects, Realmes, lands & dominions hath bene of old times hitherto continued, nor nothing by our said soueraigne Lord the king or his people to be attempted or done w here by such amities by reason of any dissensions, enimities or discords might be broken: by the aduise of the Lords spirituall & temporall & of the commons of his said Realme of England, assembled in this present Parliament, hath ordeined, prohibiting that none of his liege people nor subiects of his Realme of England by audacitie of their follie presume to enter the Realmes, lands, dominions, streits, territories, iurisdictiones & places of the said king of Denmarke against y ordinance, prohibition & interdiction of y same his Uncle aboue remembred, & in contempt of the same, vpon paine of forfeiture of all their moueable goods & imprisonment of their persons at the kings will.

Another branch of a statute made in the tenth yeere of the reign of Henry the sixth concerning the state of the English Marchants in the dominions of the king of Denmarke,

Item because that our soueraigne Lord the king at the grieuous complaint to him made in this Parliament by the commons of his realme of England being in this Parliament is informed, that many of his faithfull liege people be greatly impouerished, vndone, & in point to be destroyed by the king of Denmarke & his lieges, which be of the amitie of the king our soueraigne Lord, because that they do daily take of his said faithful subiects their goods, so that they haue taken of marchants of York and Kingston vpon Hul goods & marchandises to the valour of v. M. li. within a yeere, and of other lieges & marchants of y Realme of England goods & cattels to the valour of xx. M. li. wherof they haue no remedie of the said king of Denmarke, nor of none other, forasmuch as none of them cometh within the Realme of England, nor nothing haue in the same Realme of England, & that y goods be taken out of the same Realme: The king willing to provide remedie for his said liege people, hath ordeined & established, that if y goods of any of y said his lieges be or shall be taken by the said king of Denmarke or any of his said lieges, the keeper of the priuie seale for y time being, shall haue power to make to y partie grieued letters of request vnder the priuie seale, wout any other pursuite to be made to any for restitution to be had of y goods so taken & to be taken.

taken. And if restitution be not made by such lecters, the king our soueraigne lord by the aduise of his counsell that prouide to the partie grieved his counnable remedie, according as y^e case requereth.

Here beginneth the Prologue of the proesse of the Libel of English policie, exhorting all England to keepe the sea, and namely the narrowe sea: shewing what profite commeth thereof, and also what worship and saluation to England, and to all English-men.

Incipit liber de
custodia Maris
praesertim arcti
mer Doueram
& Galiam.

The true proesse of English policie
Of utter ward to keepe this regne in
Of our England, that no man may deny,
Per say of sooth but it is one of the best,
Is this, that who seeth South, North, East and West,
Cherish Marchandise, keepe the admiraltie;
That we bee Masters of the narrowe see.

Sigismond died
1438.
He was here
1416.

Videns imperator
Sigismundus duas
villas inter exte-
ras Anglie scilicet
Caliam & Do-
ueram, ponens
suos duos digitos
super duos suos
oculos, ait regi:
Frater, custodite
istas duas villas
sicut duos vestros
oculos,

For Sigismond the great Emperour,
Which yet reigneth, when he was in this land
With king Henry the first, Prince of honour,
Were much glory, as him thought, he found,
A mightie land which had take in hand
To werre in France, and make mortallitie,
And euer well kept round about the see.
And to the king thus hee sayd: My brother,
(When hee perceiued two Townes Calis and Douer)
Of all your Townes to chuse of one and other,
To keepe the sea and soone to come ouer:
To werre outwards and your regne to recouer:
Keepe these two Townes sure, and your Maiestee
As your tweyne eyne: so keepe the narrowe see.

For if this sea bee kept in time of werre,
Who can heere passe without danger and woe?
Who may escape, who may mischiefe differre?
What Marchandise may for by bee agoe?
For needs hem must take trewes euery foe:
Flanders and Spaine, and other, trust to mee,
Or ellis hindered all for this Narrow see.

Therefore I call mee by a little writing
To shewe at eye this conclusion,
For conscience and for mine acquiting
Against God and ageyne abusion,
And to wardise, and to our enemies confusion,
For foure things our Noble sheweth to me,
King, Ship, and Swerd, and power of the see.

Where ben our ships, where ben our swords becomee?
Our enemies bed for the ship set a sheepe.
Alas our rule halteth, it is benome.
Who dare well say that lordship should take keepe?
I will assay, though mine heart ginne to weepe,
To doe this werke, if wee will euer thee,
For very shame to keepe about the see.

Shall any Prince, what to be his name,
Which hath Nobles moch leche ours,
Be Lord of see: and Flemings to our blame,
Stop vs, take vs, and so make fade the flowers
Of English state, and disseyne our honours?
For cowardise alas it should so bee.
Therefore I ginne to write nowe of the see,

The Noble
was coured by
Edward the
third Anno
regni 18.

Quatuor confi-
derantur in mo-
neta aurea Ang-
lica, quae dicitur
Nobile: scilicet
Rex, Nautis, gla-
dius, & Mare:
Quae designant
potestatem Ang-
licorum super
Mare. In quorum
opprobrium his
diebus Britones
minores & Flan-
drenses & alij di-
cunt Anglicis:
Tollite de vestro
Nobile nauem &
imponite eam.

Intendentes,
quod sicut quon-
dam a tempore
Edwardi tertij
Anglici erant do-
mini Maris, modo
hi diebus sunt
vencordes, victi, &
ad bellandum &
Mare obseruan-
dam velut oues.

Of the commodities of Spaine and of Flanders. *The first Chapter.*

Figges,
Raisins,
Wine
Bastard,
Dates,
Licoris,
Guill Oyle,
Grapnes,
White Pastel
Soye,
Waxe,
Iron,
Wadimolle,
Cotefell,
Kidfell,
Saffron,
Quickefiluer.

Knowe well all men that profits in certaine
Commodities called comming out of Spaine
And Marchandie, who so will weete what it is,
Bene Figs, Raisins, wine Bastard, and Dates,
And Licoris, Siuill oyle, and graine,
White Pastill Soye, and Ware is not bayne.
Dyon, Wooll, Wadimolle, Cotefell, Kidfell also:
For Joynt-makers full needefull bene they tweyn:
Saffron, Quickefiluer, which owne Spaine Marchandy,
Is into Flanders shipped full craftily,
Unto Bruges as to her staple saye:
The Hauen of Schuse hir Hauen for her repayre
Which is cleped Swyn tho shippes giding:
Where many vessels and saye are abiding.
But these Marchandes with their shippes great,
And such chaffare as they bye and get
By the weyes must nede take on hand
By the coasts to passe of our England,
Betwixt Douer and Calcis, this is no doubt.
Who can well els such matter bying about:

And when these sayd Marchants discharged bee
Of Marchandie in Flanders nere the see,
Then they bee charged againe with Marchandy,
That to Flanders bougeth full richly.
Fine cloth of Ypre that named is better than ours,
Cloth of Currike, fine cloth of all colours,
Such Fustian, and also Linen cloth.
But Flemings, if yee bee not wroth,
The great substance of your cloth at the full
Yee wot ye make it of our English woll.

Flemish cloth
made of Eng-
lish Wooll.

Then may it not sinke in mannis hayne,
But that it must this Marchandy of Spaine
Both out and in by our costes passe:
Yee that sayd nay in witte was like an asse.
Wee should haue peace with the grounds tweyne
Thus if this see were kept, I dare well saye.
For Spaine and Flanders is as eche other brother,
And nether may well liue without other:
They may not liuen to maintaine their degrees,
Without our English commodities:

The necessarj
conjunction
of Spaine
and Flanders.

Wolle and Tynne: for the wolle of England
Sufficeth the Commons Flemings I vnderstand.
Then if England would her wolle restraine
From Flanders, this followeth in certaine,
Flanders of nede must with vs haue peace,
Or els shee is destroyed without leas.
Also if Flanders thus destroyed bee:
Some Marchandy of Spaine will neuer ythee:
For destroyed it is, and as in cheesse
The wolle of Spaine it commeth not to preeffe,
But if it be colled and minged well
Amongst the English wolle the greter delle,
For Spanish wooll in Flaunders drayed is,
And euer hath bee, that men haue minde of this:

And

And yet Wooll is one of the chiefe Marchandy
 That longeth to Spaine: who so will spee,
 It is of little value, trust unto mee,
 With English wooll but if it mended bee.
 Thus if the sea be kept, than herken hether,
 If these two lands comen not together:
 So that the Fleete of Flanders passe nought
 That in the narrow see it be not brough.
 Into the Rochelle to fetch the sumole wine,
 Her into Byrouse Way for salt so fine,
 What is then Spaine? What is Flanders also?
 As who sayd, nought, the thift is agoe,
 For the little land of Flanders is
 But a staple to other lands ywis:
 And all that groweth in Flanders graine and seebe,
 May not a Houche finde hemmeate and byede,
 What hath then Flanders, bee Flemings lieffe of loth,
 But a little Hader and Flemish Clothe:
 By Drapering of our wooll in substance,
 Liuen her commons, this is her gouernance,
 Without wich they may not liue at ease,
 Thus must hem serue, or with vs must haue peace.

Of the commodities of Portugal.

The second Chapter.

The Marchandy also of Portugal
 By diuers lands turne into sale.
 Portugalers with vs haue trouch in hand:
 Whose Marchandy commeth inuch into England.
 They ben our friends, with their commodities,
 And wee English passen into their countrees.
 Her land hath wine, Oley, Ware, and Graine,
 Figges, Keylins, Hony and Corboweyne:
 Dates, and Salt, Hides, and such Marchandy:
 And if they would to Flanders passe for by,
 They should not bee suffred ones ner twyes,
 For suppoztng of our cruell enemies,
 That is to say Flemings with her gyle:
 For changeable they are in little while.
 Then I conclude by reasons many moe,
 If we suffred neither friend nor foe,
 What so e enemies, and so suppoztng
 Passe for by vs intime of werring,
 Seth our friends will not ben in cause
 Of our hindzing, if reison tede this clause:
 Then nedde from Flanders peace bee to vs soughe,
 And other lands should seeke peace, dout nought:
 For Flanders is Staple, as men tell mee,
 To all nations of Christianitie.

Wine, Oley,
 Ware, Graine,
 Figs, Keylins,
 Hony, Corbe-
 weyne, Dates,
 Salt, Hides.

Note well

The commodities of pety Britaine, with

her Rouers on the sea. The third Chapter.

Furthermoze to write I am faine
 Somewhat speaking of the little Britayne.
 Commoditie thereof there, is and was,

Salt,

The Britons
great Rowers
and Theues.

Salt, and wine, crett cloth and canuas,
And the land of Flaunders sicklerly
Is the staple of their Marchandy.
Which Marchandie may not passe away
But by the coast of England, this is no nay,
And of this Britaine, who so trueeth Louis,
Are the greatest rowers and the greatest theeuys,
That haue bene in the sea many one peere:
That our Marchants haue bought full dere,
For they haue tooke notable goods of ours,
On this side see, these false pelours
Called of Saincte Malo, and ellis whete:
Which to their Duke none obeysance will bere:
Which such colours wee haue bee hindred soze,
And fayned peace is called no werre herefoze,
Thus they haue bene in diuers coasts many
Of our England, moze then rehearse can I:
In Norfolk coastes, and other places about,
And robbed and byent and slauie by many a rower:
And they haue also ransomed Towne by Towne:
That into the regnes of both haue run her towne:
Which hath bin ruth vnto this Realme and shame:
They that the sea should keepe are much to blame,
For Britayne is of easie reputation;
And Saincte Malo turneth hem to reprobation.

A storie of Edward the third his ordinance for Britayne.

Historia ostendens quam ordinationem Rex Edwardus tertius fecit contra depredatores marinos Britanniarum minoris, ad debellandum eos & subiugandum Britannos minores.

HERE bring I in a storie to mee lent,
That a good Squire in time of Parliament
Tooke vnto mee well witten in a scrowe:
That I haue commond both with high and lowe,
Of which all men accorden into one,
That it was done not many peeres agone.
But when noble King Edward the thrid
Reigned in grace, right thus it betyd.
For hee had a maner gelosie
To his Marchants and loued them hartly.
He felde the weyes to rule well the see,
Whereby Marchants might haue prosperitee.
That for Harlew Houndflew did he maken;
And great werre that time were undertaken,
betwixt the King and the Duke of Britaynie:
At last to fall to peace both were they sayne:
Upon the wich made with conuencion
Our Marchants made hem readie towne
Toward Britayne to loade their Marchandie,
Warning hem friends they went soorth boldly:
But soone anon our Marchants were ptake,
And wee spode neuer the better for truce sake.
They lost her good, her nauy and spending:
But their complaint came vnto the king.
Then went he wroth, and to the Duke he sent,
And complained that such harme was hent;
By conuencion and peace made so refused:
Which Duke sent againe, and him excused,
Rehearsing that the mount of Saincte Michael,

And

And Samēt Malo would neuer a dell
 Be subiect vnto his gouernance,
 Nor be vnder his obeyfance:
 And fo they did withouten him that deede.
 But when the king anon had taken heerde:
 Hee in his herte fet a iudgement,
 Without calling of any Parliament,
 Dꝛ greate tarry to take long aduife
 To fortifie anon he did deuife
 Of English Townes thre, that is to say,
 Dertmouth, Plymouth, the thirde is Fowey:
 And gaue hem helpe and notable puifance
 With infistence fet them in gouernance
 Upon pety Bretayne foꝛ to werre.
 Those good sea men would no moze differre,
 But bete hem home and made they might not rowte,
 Tooke pꝛisoners, and made them foꝛ to lowte.
 And este the Duke, an ensample wise,
 Wrote to the king as he first did deuife,
 Him excusing: But our men wood
 With great power passed ouer the floode
 And werred footꝛth into the Dukes londe,
 And had ny destroyed free and bond.
 But than the Duke knewe that the townes thre
 Should haue lost all his natie Countrie,
 He vndertooke by suretie true not false,
 Foꝛ mount Michael and Saincte Malo als,
 And other parties of the litle Brytaine,
 Which to obey, as sayd was, were not fayne.
 The Duke hymselfe foꝛ all did vndertake:
 With all his herre a full peace did hee make:
 So that in all the life time of the king,
 Marchants had peace withouten werring:

Statutum Regis
 Edwardi tertij
 pro Lombardis.

We made a statute foꝛ Lombards in this land,
 That they should in noe wise take on hande
 Here to inhabite, here to charadge and discharadge
 But foꝛtie dayes, no moze time had they large.
 This good king by witte of such appeiffe
 Kept his Marchants and the sea from mischiefe.

Of the commodities of Scotland and draping
 of her wolles in Flanders. *The fourth Chapter.*

Merouer of Scotland the commodities
 Are Felles, Hides, and of Wooll the fleese.
 And all these must passe by vs away
 Into Flanders by England, sooth to say.
 And all her woolle was draped foꝛ to sell
 In the Townes of Poperinge and of Bell;
 Which my Lord of Gloucester with ire
 Foꝛ her falsshed set vpon a fire.
 And yet they of Bell and Poperinge
 Could neuer drape her wooll foꝛ any thing,
 But if they had English woll withall.
 Our goodly wooll which is so generall
 Needefull to them in Spaine and Scotland als,
 And ocher costes, this sentence is not false:
 See worthy Marchants I doe it vpon you,

Anno Domini
 1436. Hen. 6. 14.

I haue this learned ye wot well where and howe:
 Ye wotte the Seaple of that Marchandie,
 Of this Scotland is Flaunders sekerly.
 And the Scots bene charged knowen at the eye,
 Out of Flaunders with little Heretrie,
 And great plentie of Haberdashers Ware,
 And halfe her shippes with cart wheeles bare,
 And with Barrowes are laden as in substance:
 Thus most rude ware are in her cheulance.
 So they may not forbear this Flemish land,
 Therefore if wee would manly take in hand,
 To keepe this Sea from Flaunders and from Spaine,
 And from Scotland, like as from petty Britaine,
 Wee should right soone haue peace for all her botts,
 For they must needes passe by our English colts.

Of the commodities of Pruce, and High Dutch men, and
 Easterlings. The fifth Chapitle.

NOwe goe sooth to the commodities,
 That commeth from Pruce in two maner degrees.
 For two maner people haue such vse,
 That is to say, High Duch men of Pruce,
 And Esterlings, which might not be sozboine,
 Out of Flaunders, but it were verely lozne.
 For they bzing in the substance of the Beere,
 That they drinken feele too good chepe, not dere.
 Pee haue heard that two Flemings togider
 Will undertake or they goe any whither,
 Or they rise once to drinke a ferkin full,
 Of good Beerekin: sofoze they hall and pull.
 Under the board they pissen as they sit:
 This commeth of couenant of a woerthie wit.
 Without Caleis in their Butter they cakked
 When they fled home, and when they leysure lacked
 To holde their siege, they went like as a Doe:
 Well was that Fleming that might truisse, and goe.
 For feare they turned backe and byed fast,
 By Lord of Gloucester made hem so agast
 With his comming, and soughe hem in her land,
 And bzent and slowe as he had take on hand:
 So that our enemies durst not bide, nor stree,
 They fled to me we, they durst no moze appeare,
 Rebuked soze for euer so shamefully,
 Unto her vetter euerlasting villanic.

Nowe Beere and Bakon bene fro Pruce ybrought
 Into Flaunders, as loued and farre yfought;
 Diamond, Copper, Bow-staves, Steele, and Ware,
 Petereware and grey Pitch, Terre; Board, and stee:
 And Colleyne threed, Fustian and Canuas,
 Card, Bukeram: of olde time thus it was.
 But the Flemings among these things dere,
 In common louen best Bakon and Beere.
 Also Pruce men maken her aduenture
 Of Plate of siluer of wedges good and sure
 In great plentie which they bzing and bye,
 Out of the lands of Beame and Hungarie:
 Which is increase full great unto their laud,
 And they bene laden, I vnderstand,

Pitch, Tarre,
 Board, Flere,
 Collein threed,
 Fustian, Can-
 uas, Carbes,
 Bukeram,
 Silver-plate,
 Wedges of
 Siluer and
 Pettall.

With wollen cloth all maner of colours
 By others crafted full diuers, that ben ours,
 And they aduventure full greatly vnto the Bay,
 For salt that is needefull withouten nay,
 Thus if they would not our friends bee,
 We might lightly stoppe hem in the see:
 They should not passe our streemes withouten leue,
 It would not be, but if we should hem greue.

Of the commodities of the Genuoys and her
 great Caracks. *Chap. 6.*

The Genuois comen in sundry wises
 Into this land with diuers marchandises
 In great Caracks, arrayed withouten lacke
 With cloth of gold, silke, and pepper blacke
 They bring with them, and of scrood great plente,
 Cotton, Rochalum, and good gold of Genne.
 And then be charged with wolle againe I wenne,
 And wollen cloth of ours of colours all.
 And they aduventure, as ofte it doth befall,
 Into Flanders with such things as they bye,
 That is their chefe staple sekertly:
 And if they would be our full enemies,
 They should not passe our streemes with merchandise.

The comodities and nicetees of the Venetians
 and Florentines, with their Gallies. *Chap. 7.*

The great Gallies of Venice and Florence
 Be well laden with things of complacence,
 All spicery and of grossers ware:
 With swete wines all maner of chaffare,
 Apes, and Japes, and marmulets capled,
 Risses and trilles that little haue auayled:
 And things with which they feely blere our eye:
 With things not induring that we bye.
 For much of this chaffare that is wastable
 Might be forborne for dere and deceivable.
 And that I wene as for infirmities
 In our England are such commodities
 Withouten helpe of any other lond
 Which by wite and practise both yfound:
 That all humors might be voyded sure,
 Which that we gleder with our English cure:
 That we should haue no neede of Scamonie,
 Turbit, ensoybe, cozzrect Diagreddie,
 Rubarbe, Sene, and yet they ben to needefull,
 But I know things al so speedefull,
 That growen here, as thole things sayd.
 Let of this matter no man be dismayde;
 But that a man may voyde infirmitie
 Without deggers set fro beyond the sea.
 And yet they should except be any thing
 It were but sugre, trust to my saying:
 He that trusteth not to my saying and sentence,
 Let him better search experience,
 In this matter I will not ferther prease,
 Who so not beleueth, let him leaue and cease.

Thus these galeys for this licking ware,
 And eating ware, bare hence our best chaffare:
 Cloth, woll, and tinne, which as I layd before,
 Out of this lond worst might be for boze,
 For ech other land of necessitie
 Haue great neede to buy some of them thre:
 And we receiue of hem into this coste
 Ware and chaffare that lightly wil be losse,
 And would Iesus, that our Lordis wolde
 Consider this well both yong and old:
 Namely old that haue experience,
 That might the yong exhorte to prudence;
 What harme, what hurt, and what hinderance
 Is done to vs, vnto our great grieuance,
 Of such lands, and of such nations:
 As experite men know by probations,
 By writings as discovered our counsailes,
 And false colour alwaies the countertailles
 Of our enimies; that doth vs hindering
 Vnto our goods, our Realme, and to the king:
 As wise men haue shewed well at eye;
 And all this is couloured by marchandye.

An example
of deceit.

ALso they bere the gold out of this land,
 And sucke the thysse away out of our hand:
 As the Waspe souketh honie fro the bee,
 So miniseth our commoditee.
 Now wol ye here how they in Cotteswold
 Were wont to borrow; they shold be sold
 Her woll good as for yere and yere.
 Of cloch and etane they did in like manere:
 And in her galties ship this marchandie:
 Then soone at Venice of them men woll it bye,
 Then utterne there the chaffare by the peise,
 And lightly als there they make her reise.
 And when the goods beene at Venice sold,
 Then to carie her change they this money haue,
 They will it profer, their subtiltie to saue,
 To English marchants to yeue it out by exchange
 To be payed againe they make not strange,
 At the receiuing and sight of a letter,
 Here in England, seeming for the better,
 by foure pence lesse in the noble round:
 That is twelue pence in the golden pound.
 And if wee wol haue of payment
 A full moneth, than must him needes assent
 To eight pence losse, that is shillings twaine
 In the English pound; as eft soone againe,
 For two moneths twelue pence must be pay.
 In the English pound what is that to say,
 But shillings thre: So that in pound sell
 For hurt and harme hard is with hem to dwell.
 And when English marchants haue content
 This exchange in England of assent,
 That these Layd Venecians haue in woone
 And florentines to bere her gold soone
 Quert the see into Flanders againe:
 And thus they liue in Flanders, sooth to saine,
 And in London with such cheuisance,
 That men call vsury, to our losse and hinderance.

Another

Another example of deceite.

Now lesſen well how they made vs a baleys
 When they boꝛrowed at the town of Calcis
 As they were wont, their woll that was hem lent,
 For yere and yere they ſhould make payment.
 And ſometime als two yere and two yeare,
 This was ſayze || loue : but yet will ye heare,
 How they to Bruges would her woll carie,
 And for hem take payment withouten tarie,
 And ſell it ſaft for ready money in hand,
 For fifty pounds of money of loſſe they wold not wond
 In a thouſand pound, and liue thereby
 Till the day of payment eaſily,
 Come againe in exchange : making
 Full like uſury, as men make undertaking,
 Than when this payment of a thouſand pound
 Was well content, they ſhould haue chaſſare ſound
 If they wold fro the Staple full,
 Receiue againe thzee thouſand pound in woll.
 In Cottelwold alſo they ride about,
 And all England, and buy withouten doubt
 What them liſt wich freedom and franchise,
 Hoꝛe then we English may gotten many wiſe.
 But would God that without longer delayes
 Theſe galees were unſraught in foꝛtie dayes,
 And in foꝛtie dayes charged againe,
 And that they might be put to certaine
 To goe to oſte, as we there with hem doe.
 It were expedient that they did right ſoe,
 As we doe there. If the king would it :
 Ah what woꝛſhip wold fall to English wit:
 What proſite alſo to our marchandie
 Which wold of nede be cheriſhed hertilie:
 For I would witte, why now our nauie ſayleth,
 When manie a foe vs at our dooze aſſayleth,
 Now in theſe dayes, that if there come a nede,
 What nauie ſhould we haue it is to drede.
 In Denmarke were full noble conquerours
 In time paſt, full woꝛthy warriours :
 Which when they had their marchants deſtroyed,
 To pouerty they fell, thus were they noyed:
 And ſo they ſtand at miſchiefe at this day.
 This learned I late well wꝛiton, this no nay.
 Therefore beware, I can no better will,
 If grace it woll, of other mennis perill.
 For if marchants were cheriſhed to her ſpeede,
 We were not likely to ſayle in any neede,
 If they be rich, then in proſperitee
 Shalbe our loude, lords, and commontee,
 And in woꝛſhip. Now thinke I on the ſonne
 Of marchandy Richard of Whicingdon;
 That load ſterre, and chiefe choſen flour :
 What hath by him our England of honour,
 And what proſite hath bin of his riches,
 And yet laſterly dayly in woꝛthines:
 That pen and paper may not me ſuffice
 Him to deſcribe : ſo high he was of price

¶ lone.

Note diligently

A woꝛful com-
 plaint of lacke
 of nauie if need
 come.

A ſtoꝛe of de-
 ſtruction of
 Denmarke for
 deſtruction of
 their mar-
 chants.

The praife of
 Richard of Whi-
 cington mar-
 chant.

About marchants, that let him one of the best :
I can no moze, but God haue him in rest.

Now the principal matter.

WHat reason is it that we should goe to oſte
In their countries, & in this English coſte
They ſhould not ſo: but haue moze liberty
Then we our ſelues now alſo moite I thee,
I would to gifts men ſhould take no heede
That letteth our thing publicke ſoꝝ to ſpeede,
Foꝝ this we ſee well euery day at eye,
Gifts and feſts ſlopen our policie,
Now ſee that fooles ben either they oꝝ wee:
But euer we haue the woꝝe in this countree.
Therefore let hem vnto oſte go here,
Oꝝ be we free with hem in like manere
In their countrees: and if it will not bee,
Compell them vnto oſte, and yee ſhall ſee
Moch auantage, and moch profite ariſe,
Moch moze then I can write in any wiſe.

Of our charge and diſcharge at her marts.

Conceiue wel here, that Englishmen at marts
be diſcharged, foꝝ all her craftes and artes,
In Brabant of her marchandy
In fourece dapes, and ageine haſtily
In the ſame dapes foureceene acharged eſt,
And if they bide lenger all is bereft,
Anon they ſhould ſoꝝfeit her goods all,
Oꝝ marchandy: it ſhould no better fall.
And we to marts in Brabant charged beene
With English cloth full good and fayze to ſeene:
We ben againe charged with mercerie,
Haburdasher ware, and with groſſerie:
To which marts, that English men call fayzes,
Ech nation oft maketh her repayzes:
English, and French, Lombards, Frennoyes,
Catalones, theſe they take her wayes:
Scots, Spaniards, Irithmen there abides,
With great plenty bying of ſale hides,
And I here ſay that we in Brabant hye,
Flanders and Zeland moze of marchandy
In common beſe then done all other nations:
This haue I heard of marchants relations:
And if the English ben not in the marts
They ben feeble, and as nought bene her parts.
Foꝝ they byemoze, and fro purſe put out
Moze marchandie then all the other rowte,
Kept then the ſee, ſhippes ſhould not bying ne fetch,
And then the careys wold not thidze ſtretch:
And ſo thoſe marts wold full e uill thee,
If we manly kept about the ſee.

Of the commodities of *Brabant* and *Zeland* and

Hennauld and marchandy carried by land to the
marts. Cap. 8.

YET marchandy of *Brabant* and *Zeland*
The *Hadze* and *Woad*, that dyers take on hand

Garlick, Onions, lawfully.

To open with, Garlike and Onions,
 And saltfish also for husband and commons,
 But they of Holland at Calais be our selles,
 And woules our, that Englishmen be selles.
 And the chaffare that Englishmen doe be
 In the marts, that noe man may denie,
 Is not made in Brabant that countree:
 It cometh from out of Henauld, not by see,
 But al by land, by carts, and from France,
 Bourgoyne, Colein, Cameret in substance,
 Therefore at marts if there be a restraint,
 Men seyne plainly that list no fables paynt,
 If Englishmen be withdrawen away,
 Is great rebuke and losse to her affray:
 As though we sent into the land of France
 Ten thousand people, men of good puissance,
 To werre vnto her hindring multifarie,
 So be our English marchants necessarie.
 If it be thus assay, and we shall witten
 Of men experte, by whom I haue this witten.
 For sayd is that this carted marchandie
 Draweth in value as much verily,
 As all the goods that come in shippes thider,
 Which Englishmen be most and bring it hither.
 For her marts be felicitie, shame to say,
 But Englishmen thider do set her way.

What our marchants be in that coste more then all other.

A conclusion of this depending of keeping
 of the sea.

When I conclude, if neuer so much by land
 Were by cartes brought vnto their hand,
 If well the sea were kept in gouernance
 They should by sea haue no deliuerance,
 We should be stop, and we should be destroy,
 As prisoners we should be bring to annoy.
 And so we should of our cruell enemies
 Make our friends for feare of marchandies,
 If they were not suffered for to passe
 Into Flanders. But we be fragile as glasse
 And also brittle, not thought neuer abiding;
 But when grace shineth soone are we sliding;
 We will it not receiue in any wise:
 That maken lust, enuie, and couetise:
 Erpoune me this; and yee shall sooth it find,
 Beere it away, and keepe it in your mind.
 Then shuld worship vnto our Noble bee
 In feate and forme to lord and Gaucitie:
 Like as the seale the great est of this land
 On the one side hath, as I vnderstand,
 A prince riding with his sword ydraw,
 In the other side sitting, soch it is in law,
 Betokening good rule and punishing
 In very deede of England by the king.
 And it is so, God blessed mought be bee.
 So in like wise I would were on the see
 By the Noble, that swere should haue power,
 And the ships on the sea about vs here.
 What needeth a garland which is made of Iuie
 Shewe a tauerne winelesse, also thine I:

Of Haukin
nons.

If men were wise, the Frenchmen and Fleming
Should bere no state in sea by werring,
Then Haukin Lyons should not be so bold
To stoppe wine, and shippes for to hold
Unto our shame. He had be beten thence.
Alas, alas, why did we this offence,
Fully to spend the old English fames;
And the profits of England, and their names:
Why is this power called of couetise;
Which false colours cast befozn our eyes:
That if good men called werrours
Would take in hand for the commons succours,
To purge the sea vnto our great auayle,
And winne hem goods, and haue by the sayle,
And on our enemies their liues to impart,
So that they might their prizes well departe,
As reason wold, iustice and equitie;

Lombards are
cause enough
to hurt this
land, although
there were
none other
cause.

Falle colour-
ing of goods
by Lombards.

Alas for buibes
& gift of good,
feasts & other
means, that
stoppen our
policie.
This is the
very state of
our time.

To make this land haue lordship of the sea.
Then shall Lombards and other fained friends
Take her chalenges by colour false offends,
And say their chaffare in the shippes is,
And challenge al. Looke if this be amisse.
For thus may al that men haue bought to soze,
Ben soone excused, and saued by false colour.
Beware yee men that bere the great in hand
That they destroy the policie of this land,
By gifte and good, and the fine golden clothis,
And silke, and other: say yee not this soth is:
But if we had very experience
That they take neede with priuie violence,
Carpets, and things of price and pleafance,
Whereby stopped should be good gouernance:
And if it were as yee say to mee,
Than wold I say, alas cupiditie,
That they that haue her liues put in drede,
Shalbe soone out of winning, all for neede,
And lose her costes, and brought to ponerty,
That they shall neuer haue lust to goe to sea.

An exhortation to make an ordinance

against colour of maintainers and excusers of
folkes goods.

It is a mar-
uelous thing
that so great
a sickness and
hurt of þ land
may haue no
remedie of so
many as take
helicnes wite
men of gouer-
nance.

For this colour that must be sayd alofte
And be declared of the great full oste,
That our seamen wol by many wise
Spoile our friends in sleepe of our enemies:
For which colour and Lombards maintenance,
The king it needes to make an ordinance
With his Counsaile that may not sayle, I trowe,
That friends should from enemies be knowe,
Our enemies taken and our friends spared:
The remedie of hem must be declared,
Thus may the sea be kept in no sell,
For if ought be spoken, wot yee well,
We haue the strokes, and enemies haue the winning:
But mayntainers are parteners of the sinning,
We liue in lust and bide in couetise:
This is our rule to maintaine marchandise,
And policie that wee haue on the sea.
And, but God helpe, it will no other bee.

Of the commodities of Ireland, and policie and
keeping thereof, and conquering of wild Irish: with
an incident of Wales. Chap. 9.

I Cast to speake of Ireland but a little:
Commodities of it I will recite,
Hides, and fish, Salmon, Hake, Herringe,
Irish wool, and linen cloth, faldinge,
And martens goode ben her marchandie,
Hertes Hides, and other of * Uenerie.
Skinnes of Otter, Squirell and Irish hare,
Of sheepe, lambe, and Fore, is her chaffare,
Felles of Kidde, and Conies great plentie,
So that if Ireland helpe vs to keepe the sea,
Because the King cleped is Rex Angliæ,
And is Dominus also Hybernix,
Dio possessed by Progenitours:
The Irish men haue cause like to ours
Dur land and hers together to defend,
That no enemye should hurt ne offend,
Ireland ne vs: but as one commontie
Should helpe well to keepe about the sea:
For they haue hauens great, and goodly bayes,
Sure, wyde and deepe, of good allayes,
At Waterford, and coles many one.
And as men sayne in England be there none
Better hauens, ships in to ride,
No moze sure for enemies to abide.
Why speake I thus so much of Ireland:
For all so much as I can vnderstand,
It is fertile for things that there doe growe
And multiplien, loke who lust to knowe,
So large, so good, and so commodious,
That to declare is strange and maruailous.
For of siluer and golde there is the doze,
Among the wilde Irish though they be poore,
For they are rude and can thereon no skill:
So that if we had their peace and good will
To myne and fine, and metal for to pure,
In wilde Irish might we finde the cure,
As in London saith a Juellere,
Which brought from thence golde doze to vs here,
Whereof was spued mettall good and clene,
As they touch, no better could be seene.
Nowe here beware and heartily take intent,
As pee will answer at last iudgement,
That for slought and for rache hede
Pee remember with all your might to hede
To keepe Ireland that it be not lost,
For it is a betecasse and a post,
Under England, and Wales another:
God forbid, but ech were others brother,
Of one ligeance due vnto the king.
But I haue pirle in good faith of this thing
That I shall say with auctement:
I am aserde that Ireland will be hent:
It must awey, it wol bee lost from vs,
But if thou helpe, thou Iesu gracious,
And giue vs grace al slought to leue beside.

* Hunting.

Spines of sil-
uer and gold
in Ireland.

For much thing in my herte is hid,
 Which in another treatise I caste to write
 Made al onely for that soile and stre,
 Of fertile Ireland, wich might not be forborne,
 But if England were nigh as goode as gone,
 God forbide that a wild Irish wirlinge
 Should be chosen for to bee their kinge,
 After her conqueste for our last puillance,
 And hinder vs by other lands alliance.
 These men seyn, wich felin not, ne doubten,
 That wild Irish so much of ground haue gotten
 There vpon vs, as likenesse may be
 Like as England to Grece is two or thre
 Of this our land is made comparable:
 So wild Irish haue wonne on vs vnable
 Yet to defend, and of none power,
 That our ground is there a litle corner,
 To all Ireland in true comparison.
 It needeth no more this matter to erpon,
 Which if it bee lost, as Christ Iesu forbiden,
 Farewel Wales, then England commeth to dzen,
 For alliance of Scotland and of Spaine,
 And other moe, as the pety Bretaine,
 And so haue enemies enuiron round about,
 I beseech God, that some prayers deuout
 Butt let the said apparance probable
 Thus disposed without feyned fable.
 But all onely for perill that I see
 Thus imminent, it's likely for to bee,
 And well I wotte, that from hence to Rome,
 And, as men say, in all Christendome,
 Is no ground ne land to Ireland like,
 So large, so good, so plenteous, so riche,
 That to this worde Dominus doe long.
 Then mee seemeth that right were and no wrong,
 To get the lande: and it were piteous
 To vs to lese this high name Dominus.
 And all this worde Dominus of name
 Shuld haue the ground cheyfant wilde and tame,
 That name and peple to godde might accorde
 At the ground subiect to the Lord,
 And that it is possible to bee subiect,
 Unto the king wel shal it bee detect,
 In the hiele booke that I of spake,
 I trowe reson al this wol undertake.
 And I knowe wel howe it stante,
 Alas fortune be zinneth so to scant,
 Or ellis grace, that deade is gouernance,
 For so minisheth parties of our puillance,
 In that land that wec lese euery yere,
 More ground and more, as well as yee may here,
 I herd a man speake to mee full late,
 Which was a lord of suil great estate;
 Than expens of one yere done in France
 Wierred on men well willed of puillance
 This said ground of Ireland to conquire,
 And yet because England might not forbere
 These said expenses gadged in one yere,
 But in thre yeres or foure gadged vpon here,

This is now
 to be greatly
 feared.

This Iorde
 was the Earle
 of Ormond that
 told to me this
 matter, that he
 would vnder-
 take it, in pain
 of losse of al his
 liuethood.
 But this prof-
 fer could not
 be admitted,
 Ergo malè.

Right winne Ireland to a finall conqueste,
 In one sole yeere to set vs all at reste.
 And how soone wolde this be paid ageyne:
 Which were it worth perely, if wee not feyne:
 I wol declare, who so luste to looke,
 I trowe full plainely in my litle booke.
 But couetise, and singularitie
 Of owne profite, enmie, crueltie,
 Hath doon vs harme, and doe vs euer y day,
 And musters made that shame is to say:
 Our money spent al to litle auaille,
 And our enemies so greatly doone pꝛuaile,
 That what harme may fall and ouerthwert
 I may vnneth write more foꝛ foꝛe of herte.

An exhortation to the keeping of Wales.

BEware of Wales, Christ Iesu must vs keepe,
 That it make not our chilters childe to weepe,
 He vs also, so if it goe his way,
 By vnwarenes: sech that many a day
 Men haue bee fcrde of her rebellion,
 By great tokens and ostentation:
 Seche the meanes with a discrete auise,
 And helpe that they ruelly not arise
 Foꝛ to rebell, that Christ it foꝛbede.
 Looke wel aboute, foꝛ God wote yee haue neede,
 Unfainingly, vnfeyning and vnfeynt,
 That conscience foꝛ slought you not atteynt:
 Kepe well that grounde, foꝛ harme that may ben vled,
 Oꝛ afoꝛe God mutte yee ben accused.

Of the commodious Stockfish of Island, and
 keeping of the Sea, namely the Narrow sea, with
an incident of the keeping of Caleis. Chap. 10.

The trade of
 Bristowe to
 Island.

Of Island to wryte is litle nedde,
 Saue of Stock-fish: Yet foꝛsooth in deed
 Out of Bristowe, and colkes many one,
 Men haue practised by nedle and by stone
 Thider wardes within a litle while,
 Within twelue yere, and without perill
 Gon and come, as men were wont of old
 Of Scarborough vnto the costes cold.
 And nowe so fele shippes this yeere there ware,
 That moch losse foꝛ vnfreight they bare:
 Island might not make hem to bee fraught
 Unto the Hawys: thus much harme they caught.
 Then here I ende of the commoditees
 Foꝛ which neede is well to kepe the seas:
 Este and Weste, South and North they bee,
 And chiefly kepe the sharpe narrow see,
 Betweene Douer and Caleis: and as thus
 that foes passe none without good will of vs:
 And they abide our danger in the length,
 What foꝛ our colkis and Caleis in our strength.

The old trade
 of Scarborough
 to Island and
 the North.

An exhortation for the sure keeping of Caleis.

And foꝛ the loue of God, and of his blisse
 Cherish yee Caleis better then it is.

See well thereto, and heare the grete complaint
 That true men tellen, that woll no lyes paint,
 And as yee know that waring commeth from thence;
 Doe not to England for slought so great offence,
 But that redressed it bee for any thing:
 Leste a song of sorrow that wee sing,
 For litle wenith the foole who so might chese
 What harme it were good Caleis for to lese:
 What wo it were for all this English ground,
 Which wel conceived the Emperour Sigismound,
 That of all iopes made it one of the moste,
 That Caleis was subiect vnto English coste,
 Him thought it was a iewel most of all,
 And so the same in Latine did it call,
 And if yee wol more of Caleis heare and knowe,
 I cast to write within a litle scrowe,
 Like as I haue done before by and by
 In other partis of our policie.
 Loke how hard it was at the first to get;
 And by my counsell lightly doe not it let,
 For if wee lese it with shame of face
 Wilfully, it is for lacke of grace,
 Howe was Harflew cried byon, and Rone,
 That they were likely for thought to be gone;
 Howe was it warned and cried on in England,
 I make record with this pen in my hand,
 It was warned plainly in Normandie,
 And in England, and I thereon did crie,
 The world was defrauded, it betyde right so,
 Farewell * Harflew: lewdly it was a go,
 Howe ware Caleis, I can say no better:
 My soule discharge I by this present letter,

The son of Sigismund the Emperour that Caleis was English.

Harflew was lost in the yere 1449. in the 27. of Henry the sixth.

After the Chapitles of commodities of diuers
 lands, sheweth the conclusion of keeping of the sea
*enuiro, by a storie of King Edgar, and two incidents of
 King Edward the third, and King Henrie the
 fifth. Chap. II.*

NOwe see we well then that this round see
 To our Noble by parisozmittee
 Under the ship shewed there the sayle,
 And our king with royal apparayle,
 With sword drawn bright and extent
 For to chastise enimies violent;
 Should be lord of the sea about,
 To keepe enimies from within and without;
 To behold through Christianitie
 Passer and lord enuiro of the see:
 All liuing men such a prince to deede,
 Of such a regne to bee aferd in deede.
 Thus proue I well that it was thus of old;
 Which by a * Chronicle anon shalbe told,
 Right curious: but I will interpret
 It into English, as I did it gete:
 Of king Edgar: O most marueilous
 Prince liuing, wittie, and cheualerous:
 So good that none of his ppedecessours
 Was to him like in prudence and honours,

* Dicit Chronica, quod iste Edgarius cunctis predecessionibus suis felicior, nulli sanctitate inferior, omnibus modum suauitate prestantior fuerit. Luxit ipse Anglus non minus memorabilis, quam Cyrus Persis, Carolus Francie, Romulus vero Romanis.

Hee was fortunate and more gracious
 Then other before, and more glorious:
 He was beneath no man in holines:
 Hee passed all in vertuous sweetnes.
 Of English kings was none so commendable:
 To English men no lesse memorabile,
 Then Cyrus was to Perse by puissance,
 And as great Charles was to them of France,
 And as to the Romanes was great Romulus,
 So was to England this worthy Edgarus,
 I may not write more of his worthines
 For lacke of time, ne of his holines:
 But to my matter I him exemplifie,
 Of conditions tweyne and of his policie:
 Within his land was one, this is no doubt,
 And another in the see without;
 That in time of Winter and of werre,
 When boystrous windes put see men into fere;
 Within his land about by all prouinces
 Hee passed through, perceiuing his princes,
 Loyds, and others of the commontee,
 Who was oppresseour, and who to pouertee
 Was drawen and brought, and who was cleue in life,
 And was by mischiefe and by strife
 With ouer leding and extortion:
 And good and badde of eche condition
 Hee aspied: and his ministers als,
 Who did trought, and which of hem was fals:
 Howe the right and lawes of the land
 Were recite, and who durst take in hand
 To disobey his statutes and decrees,
 If they were well kept in all countrees:
 Of these he made subtle inuestigation
 Of his owne espie, and other mens relation.
 Among other was his great busines,
 Well to ben ware, that great men of riches,
 And men of might in citie nor in towne
 Should to the poore doe non opprestion.
 Thus was hee wont in this Winter tide
 On such enforchise busily to abide.
 This was his labour for the publike thing,
 Thus was hee occupied: a passing holy King.
 Nowe to purpose, in the Sommer faire
 Of lusty season, whan clered was the aire,
 He had redie shippes made before
 Great and huge, not fewe but many a stoz:
 Full thre thousand and sixe hundred also
 Stately inough on our sea to goe.
 The Chronicles say, these shippes were full boyseous;
 Such things long to kings victorious.
 In Sommer tide would hee haue in wonne
 And in custome to be ful redie soone,
 With multitude of men of good array
 And instruments of werre of best alloy.
 Who could hem well in any wise descriue:
 It were not light for any man aliue.
 Thus he and his would enter shippes great
 Habilliments hauing and the flecte
 Of See werres, that ioyfull was to see

Dicit Chronica,
 preparauerat na-
 ues robustissimas
 numero tres mil-
 lia sexcenta: in
 quibus redeunte
 aestate omnem
 Insulam ad terro-
 rem extrancoru,
 & ad suorum ex-
 citationem cum
 maximo apparatu
 circumnavigare
 consueuerat.

Such a nauie and Lord of Haictee,
 There present in person hem among
 To saile and rowe enuiron all along,
 So regalliche about the English isle;
 To all strangers terrours and perile.
 Whose fame went about in all the world about,
 Unto great fere of all that be without,
 And exercise to Knights and his meynee
 To him longing of his natall cuntree.
 For courage of nede must haue exercise,
 Thus occupied for eschewin of vice.
 This knew the king that policie espied;
 Winter and Sommer he was thus occupied.
 Thus conclude I by authozitee
 Of Chronike, that enuiron the see
 Should bene our subiects vnto the King,
 And hee bee Lord thereof for eny thing:
 For great worship and for profite also
 To defend his land fro euery foo.
 That worthy king I leue, Edgar by name,
 And all the Chronike of his worthy fame:
 Saffe onely this I may not passe away,
 A worde of mightie strenght till that I say,
 That graunted him God such worship here,
 For his merites, hee was without pere,
 That sometime at his great festiuittee
 Kings, and Erles of many a countree,
 And princes sele were there present,
 And many Lords came thider by assent,
 To his worship: but in a certaine day
 Hee had shippes to bee reuie of aray:
 For to visite Saint Johns Church hee list
 Rowing vnto the good holie Baptist,
 Hee assigned to Erles, Lords, and knights
 Many ships right goodly to sights:
 And for himselfe and eight kings moo
 Subiect to him hee made kepe one of thoo,
 A good shippe, and entrede into it
 With eight kings, and downe did they sit:
 And eche of them an oze tooke in hand,
 At oze haies, as I vnderstand,
 And hee himselfe at the shippe behinde
 As Aeris man it became of kinde.
 Such another rowing I dare well say,
 Was not seene of Princes many a day.
 Lo than how hee in waters got the price,
 In lande, in see, that I may not suffice.
 To tell, O right, O magnanimitee,
 That king Edgar had vpon the see.

Dicit Chronica
 &c. ut non minus
 quantam ei etiam
 in hac vita bono-
 rum operum mer-
 cedem donaue-
 rit: eum aliquan-
 do ad maximam
 eius festiuitatem,
 reges, comites,
 multarumq; pro-
 uinciarum prote-
 ctos conuenis-
 sent, &c.

An incident of the Lord of the sea King *Ed- ward* the third.

OF king Edward I passe and his prowes
 On lande, on sea yee knowe his worthines:
 The siege of Caleis, yee knowe well all the matter
 Round about by land, and by the water,
 Howe it lasted not yeeres many agoe,
 After the battell of Creeye was ydoe:

Calisto was per-
 shed to y^e Eng-
 lish 1347.

Howe it was closed enuiron about,
 Olde men sawe it, which liuen, this is no doubt.
 Old Knights say that the Duke of Burgoyne,
 Late rebuked for all his golden coyne;
 Of ship on see made no besieging there,
 For want of shippes that durst not come for feare,
 It was nothing besieged by the see:
 Thus call they it no siege for honestee,
 Gones assailed, but assault was there none,
 No siege, but fuge: well was he that might be gone:
 This maner carping haue knights ferre in age,
 Expect throughe age of this maner language.
 But king Edward made a siege royall,
 And wanne the towne: and in especiall
 The sea was kept, and thereof he was Lord,
 Thus made he Nobles copied of record;
 In whose time was no nauie on the see
 That might withstand his maiestie.
 Battell of Scluse yee may rede euery day,
 Howe it was done I leue and goe my way:
 It was so late done that yee it knowe,
 In comparison with in a litle throuwe:
 For which to God giue we honour and glorie;
 For Lord of see the king was with victorie.

King Edward
 has 700 Eng-
 lish ships, and
 14151 English
 mariners bes-
 siege Calais.

The battell of
 Scluse by sea.

Another incident of keeping of the see, in the
 time of the maruiculous werriour and victorious
 Prince, King Henrie the fifth, and of his great
 shippes,

And if I should conclude all by the King
 Henrie the fift, what was his purposing,
 When at Hampton he made the great dromons,
 Which passed other great ships of all the commons;
 The Trinitie, the Grace de Dieu, the holy Ghost,
 And other moe, which as now we see lost.
 What hope ye was the kings great intent
 Of thoo shippes, and what in minde hee meant?
 It was not ellis, but that hee cast to bee
 Lorde round about enuiron of the see.
 And when Harlew had her siege about,
 There came caracks horrible great and stout
 In the narrow see willing to abite,
 To stoppe vs there with multitude of pride.
 By Lord of Bedford came on and had the cure,
 Dstroyed they were by that discomfure.
 This was after the king Harlew had wonne,
 When our enemies to siege had begonne;
 That all was slaine or take, by true relation,
 To his worshippe, and of his English nation.
 There was present the kings chamberlaine
 At both battrailes; which knoweth this in certaine:
 He can it tell othertwise then I:
 Aske him, and witte; I passe forth hastily.
 What had this king of his magnificence,
 Of great courage, of wisdom, and prudence?
 Prouision, for witte, and auditee,
 Of fortitude, iustice, and agilitee,
 Discretion, subtilite auilednesse,

The great
 ships of Henry
 the fift, made
 at Hampton.

Great caracks
 of Genoa taken
 by the Duke of
 Bedford.

1416.

The french
 name thus os-
 uerthrowen
 was of five
 hundred sail.

Attemperance, Noblesse, and worthinesse:
 Science, prowesse, deuotion, equitie,
 Of most estate, with his magnanimitie
 Liche to Edgar, and the laide Edward,
 As much of both liche hem as in regard.
 Where was on line a man moze victorions,
 And in so shyrt time pynce so maruellous:
 By land and sea, so well he him acquitte,
 To speake of him I stony in my witte.
 Thus here I leaue the king with his noblesse,
 Hemy the sixt, with whom all my processe
 Of this true booke of pure policie
 Of sea keeping, intending victorie
 I leaue endly: for about in the see
 No pynce was of better strenuite,
 And if he had to this time liued here,
 He had bene pynce named withouten pere:
 His great ships shoud haue ben put in preise,
 Unto the ende that he ment of in cheise.
 For doubt it not but that he would haue bee
 Lord and master about the round see:
 And kept it sure to stoppe our enemies hence,
 And wonne vs good, and wisely brought it thence:
 That no passage shoud be without danger,
 And his licence on see to moue and sterre.

The Trinitie, the
 Grace de Dieu,
 the holy Ghost.

Of vnitie, shewing of our keeping of the see:
 with an endly or finall processe of peace by autho-
 ritie. *Chap. 12.*

Now than for loue of Chyist, and of his ioy,
 Bring it England out of trouble and noy:
 Take heart and witte, and set a gouernance,
 Set many wits withouten variance,
 To one accozd and vnanimitie.
 Put to good will for to keepe the see,
 Fit it for worship and pproite also,
 And to rebuake of eche euill willed foe.
 Thus shall worship and riches to vs long.
 Than to the Noble shall we doe no wrong,
 To beare that royne in figure and in deede,
 To our courage, and to our enemies dzeede:
 For which they must dzeesse hem to peace in haste,
 Or ellis their thryft to standen, and to waste.
 As this processe hath proued by and by
 All by reason and expert policie;
 And by stoyes which proued well this parte:
 Or ellis I will my life put in ieoarte,
 But many londs would seche her peace for nede,
 The see wel kept: it must bee soo for dzeede.
 Thus must Flanders for nede haue vnitee
 And peace with vs: it will non other bee,
 Within shyrt while: and ambassadours
 Would bene here soone to treate for their succours.
 This vnitee is to God pleasance:
 And peate after the werres variance.
 The ende of battaile is peace sikerly,
 And power causeth peace finally.
 Kept than the sea about in spectall,

Exhortatio gene-
 ralis in custodiam
 costus Angliæ,
 per diligentiam
 custodiz circui-
 tus maris circa
 litora eiusdem:
 que debet esse
 per vnanimitatē
 Consiliatorum
 regis, & homi-
 num bonæ vo-
 luntatis.

Tres sunt causæ
 predictæ custo-
 diæ: scilicet, ho-
 nor, commodum
 regni, & oppo-
 situm inimicis.

Which of England is the towne wall,
 Asthough England were likened to a citie,
 And the wall enuiron were the see.
 Kepe then the sea that is the wall of England:
 And than is England kept by Goddes hande;
 That as for anything that is without,
 England were at ease withouten doubt.
 And thus shoud euer yond one with another
 Entercommon, as brother with his brother,
 And liue togither werrelesse in vnitie,
 Without rancour in very charitie,
 In rest and peace, to Chzistes gre at pleafance,
 Without strife, debate and vartance.
 Which peace men shoud enterche with businesse,
 And knit it saddely holding in holinesse,
 The Apostle seith, if ye list to see,
 Wee pee busie for to keepe vnitie
 Of the spirit in the bond of peace.
 Which is nedeful to all withoiten lese.
 The Prophet biddeth vs peace for to enquire
 To pursue it, this is holy desire.
 Our Lozd Jesu saith, Blessed motte they bee
 That maken peace; that is tranquillitee.
 For peace makers, as Marthew whitteth aright,
 Shoud be called the sonnes of God almight.
 God giue vs grace, the weyes for to keepe
 Of his pzecepts, and slugly not to sleepe
 In shame of same: that our verry soo
 Might be to vs conuers, and turned so.
 For in the Prouerbs is a text to this purpose
 Plaine inough without any glose:
 When mens weyes please vnto our Lozd,
 It shall conuert and bring to arcozd
 Hous enemies vnto peace verray,
 In vnitie, to liue to Goddis pay,
 With vnitie, peace, rest and charitie.
 Hee that was here cladde in humanitie,
 That came from heauen, and stped vp with our nature,
 Or hee ascended, he paue to vs cure,
 And left with vs peace, ageyne striffe and debate,
 Hode giue vs peace, so well irradicate
 Here in this world: that after all this felle
 Wee may haue peace in the land of behesse,
 Jerusalem, which of peace is the sight,
 With his brightnes of eternall light,
 There glorified in rest with his tuition,
 The Deitie to see with full fruition:
 Hee second person in diuinenesse is,
 Who vs assuue, and bring vs to the blis. Amen.

Ephes. 4. Solliciti
 sitis seruare vni-
 tatem spiritus in
 vinculo pacis.

Math. 5. Beati
 pacifici, quoniam
 filij Dei voca-
 buntur.

Cum placuerint
 Domino vir ho-
 minis, eius inimi-
 cos ad pacem
 conuertet.

Vrbis beata Ieru-
 salem dicta pacis
 visio.

Here endeth the true processe of the Libel of
 English policie, exhorting all England to keepe
the sea enuiron: shewing what profit and saluation,
 with worship commeth thereof to the
 reigne of England,

GDe furth Libelle, and meekely shew thy face;
 Appearing euer with humble countenance:
 And pray my Lozds to take in grace,

In opposaile and cherishing the aduance.
 To hardines if that not variance
 Thou hast fro trougt by full experience
 Authoys and reasons : if ougth faile in substance
 Remit to hcm that yafe thee this science;
 That sech it is loth in verray sayth,
 That the wise Lord Baron of Hungerford
 Hath thee ouer seene, and verely he saith
 That thou art true, and thus hee doeth recozd,
 Next the Gospel : God wotte it was his woerde,
 When hee thee redde all ouer in a night.
 Goe sozth trew booke, and Christ defend thy right,

The wise lord
 of Hungerfords
 iudgement of
 this booke.

Explicit libellus de Politia conseruatiua maris.

A large Charter granted by K. Edward the 4 in the second yere of his reigne, to the marchants of England resident especially in the Netherlands for their chusing of a master and governour among themselves, which gouernement was first appointed vnto one William Obray: with expresse mention, what authoritie he should haue.

1462



Edward by the grace of God king of France, & of England, & lord of Ireland, to al those which shal see or heare these letters, sendeth greeting, & good wil. Know ye, that wher as we haue vnderstood, as well by the report of our louing and faithfull Counsellors, as by the common complaint and report of all men, that many vexations, griefts, debates, discords, annoyes, dissentiones, & damages, haue heretofore bene done, moued, committed, and happened, and do daily fal out and happen among the common marchants & mariners, our subiects of our realmes of France & England, & our lordships of Ireland and Wales, & of ocher our dominions, seigneuries, and territories, because that good discretion and authozity hath not bin obserued among our saide subiects, which abide, frequent, conuerse, remain, inhabit, & passe, aswel by sea as by land, into y parts of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and ditters ocher countreis & seigneuries belonging aswell to the high and mighty prince, our most deere and louing cousin y Duke of Burgoine, of Brabant, earle of Flanders, &c. as being in the obedienc & dominion of ocher lords, which are in friendship, alliance, & good wil with vs: and that it is to be doubted that though the saide inconuenient and occasion, many discommodities may ensue & fal out in time to come (which God forbid) vnles we should prouide conuenient remedie in this behalfe for our subiects afoz said: wherfore we desiring most effectually and heartily to auoide the mischiefe of the saide inconueniences & to prouide conuenient remedie for the same, to the end that the said common marchants and mariners and others our subiects of our said realms & dominions, which at this present & hereafter shal haunt and frequent y said countreis, may be iustly & lawfully ruled, gouerned, and intreated by right & equity in the countreis afoz said, and that equity, reason, & iustice may be ministred vnto them and euey of them, accordyng as the cases shal require, we being wel assured and hauing ful confidence, in the discretion, faithfulness, wisdom, experience, & good diligence of our most deare & welbeloued subiect Will. Obray our seruant, & in regard of the good, faithfull, and acceptable seruices, which he hath done vs in our realm & among our subiects in times past, & hoping that he wil do also hereafter, we haue made, ordained, constituted, committed, and established, and by the tenour of these presents, of our special grace, full power, & authozity royall, we ordaine, appoint, commit, and establish, (durynge our pleasure) to be gouernoz, iudge, warden of iustice, and the appurtenances & appoyndances therof, which we haue or may haue ouer our said common subiects the marchants trauiailing hereafter as wel by sea as by land, and abiding in the said countreis of Brabant, Flanders, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and ocher countreis beyond the sea, as is afoz saide, together with the wages, rights, profits, and emolumentes heretofore accustomed, & as the said Will. Obray at ocher times hath had and receiued of our said subiects, when he had, vse, and exercised the said office of gouernoz, & also with ocher such rights and profits, as hereafter shal moze plainly be declared. And furthermore for our parts we haue giuen him, and by these presents do giue him, as much as in vs lieth, during our pleasure, full power, authozity, and special commandement, to gouerne, rule, and cause to be gouerned and ruled with good iustice by himselfe, or by his sufficient licetenantes or deputies, all and euey our afoz said subiects the common marchants & mariners commynge, remaining, frequentynge, passynge, & reparynge from henceforth into the said countreis of Brabant, Flanders,

deers, Henault, Holland, Zeland, and other countreyes beyond the sea, as it is said, and to keep and cause to be kept, to exercise and maintein, for vs and in our place, the said office of gouernour, and to doe all such things which a faithfull gouernour ought to do, and to take knowledge and administration of the causes of the said common marchants and mariners, our subiects, and of euery of them, and of their causes and quarels moued, or hereafter to be moued in the countreis aforesaid, or within the limits & borders thereof, and to doe them full & speedy iustice. And to refozme, cause refozation, gouerne, appeale, and pacifie all contentions, discords, questions, or debates between those our said subiects moued, or to moued: and to right, redresse, reparaire, restozre, and amend all transgressions, domages, enterpises, outrages, violences and iniuries committed, or to be committed: and like wise to require, to aske, demand, and receiue, restitution, reparations, restorations, and amends of our said subiects the common marchants & mariners, or of their factories in the countreis aforesaid. And that, whensoever and as often as it shall please the said gouernour or his deputies, they may in some conuenient and honest place within the said countreis make or cause to be made, somon, and hold in our name iurisdiction, courts, and assemblies: and in our said name take administration and knowledge of causes, as it is aforesaid, and to hold and keepe pleas, for and in our behalfe, and to make agreements, mediatours, and vmpires, to iudge, to make decrees, and to minister iustice, to ordaine, appoint, censure, and constrain our saide subiects to swear and take all kind of oathes, which order of iustice and custome require and affoord, and to enioy our authoritie, and to vse, execute and accomplish, by way of equitie and iustice, and to doe, or cause to be done all execution and exercise of law and iustice; and to ordaine, appoint, & establish five sergeants or vnder, to doe the executions & arrests of our said court, by the commandement of the said gouernour or of his deputies, or at the request of the partie or otherwise, according as the case shall require by their aduise, and to discharge and displace the said sergeants, as shall seeme good vnto him, as often and whensoever as it shall please him, and change them, and appoint and set others in their roomes, and to require returne and answer of the court, whensoever need shall be, of all causes, quarels, and busineses in regard of the said office belonging vnto vs and to our said subiects the common marchants and mariners at all times, and as often as the case shall permit and require: and generally and specially to doe as much for vs and in our stead; in the cases before mentioned, and which hereafter shall be declared, as we could doe or cause to be done, could say or require, if we were there present in our owne person. Moreover wee will, and by the tenour of these presents wee giue and graunt vnto the saide gouernour, and to our saide subiects the common marchants and mariners, that as oft and whensoever it please them, they may meet and assemble in some honest and conuenient place, and by the consent of the saide gouernour to choose and appoynt among them at their pleasure, freely and without danger, certaine sufficient and fit persons to the number of twelve or vnder, which we wil haue to be named Justicers, vnto the which Justicers so elected by the saide gouernour and our saide subiects, as it is said, and to euery of them, we giue and graunt especiall power and authoritie to sitte and assid in court, with the said gouernour or his lieutenants, for their aide and assistance, and to heare the griefs, complaints, and demands of our said subiects their suites, pleas, and the state of their causes and quarels whatsoever moued or to be moued vnto the ende of their cause, and at the request of the saide gouernour, his lieutenants, or any of them, to say, propound, and plainly to expresse and declare their opinions, according to right and conscience, byon the causes brought before them and by the parties vttered and declared, and well, lawfully, and faithfully to counsell and aduise the saide gouernour or his lieutenants, to order and censure, iudge and determine, and ende the same iustly and equally, according as the case shall permit and require. And furthermore we will, that all iust and reasonable statutes, lawes, ordinances, decrees, and constitutions made and established, or to be made and established, in the countreys aforesaid, by the consent of the said gouernour, and of the saie Justicers, shall be corrected, amended, and made, as they shall see to be expedient in this behalfe, for the better gouernment of the estate of the common marchants and mariners our saide subiects, and shall be held as ratified, firme, acceptable and approued; and from henceforth we accept, admit, allow and approue them for ratified and confirmed, there to be firmly and inuolably obserued, kept and obeyed. And also, of our farther fauour and grace wee will and we grant, that by the consent of our said gouernour, our said subiects the common marchants and mariners may make and set downe in the said countreis, by their common consent, as often as they shall thinke good for their better gouernment and estate, such iust and reasonable lawes, statutes, ordinances, decrees, constitutions, and customes, as they shall thinke expedient in this behalfe: which we comand to be kept as ratified, confirmed, allowed, & approued, available, and established. Provided alwaies, that they do not nor seeke any thing prejudiciall to this present power and authoritie giuen and graunted by vs to the saide gouernour, in any poynt or article herein

compised, by any meanes or way whatsoeuer: in which case if they shoulde doe any thing, or ought should happen, we wil that it shal take no place, force, vigour, strength, nor vertue: neither that it shalbe of any effect, but it shalbe abolished, disanulled, and vterly frustrate; and as abolished, disanulled, and vterly frustrated, from this time forward, wee holde and take it, and will hereafter hold and take the same. And so to doe, and put in execution in our name, we haue and doe giue full and absolute power, & speciall authoriety to our said seruant William Obroy, & to his said lieutenants. And likewise, to the end that y^e course of marchandise may be kept in good estate, and that by order of iustice a firme and constant rule may be set downe among those our said subiects and marchants, we haue ordained and do ordaine, haue consented & doe consent, and by these presents haue giuen & do giue full power & especiall authoriety to our said seruant Will. Obroy gouernour aforesaid, that at all time and times when he shal thinke good, he may ordaine, elect, chuse, and appoint, in the countreis aforesaid, such ministers, officers, and seruitours as hereafter shalbe named, and such others as he shal thinke necessary, and to discharge them, and to change them, & set others in their roomes, at his good will and pleasure, vnto such a number as he shall thinke good and reasonable for the time being to be employed: as namely correctors or byokers as many as he shal thinke good, to make and to witnes the bargaines which are made or to be made, betwene our said subiects and others with whom they shal haue to do or to deale in the foresaid countreis: and also as many alnagers to alner and measure all kinds of marchandises which they shal buy or sel by the pards: and also as many weigghers to weigh the marchandise which shalbe sold or bought by weight: and also so many folders to fold their clothes, and so many packers to pack their packs, and to make their fardels, maunds, and baskets, and other things needefull for the defence & preservation of their marchandize. All which ministers, officers, and seruitours, so chosen, elected, charged, admitted, and established by the saide gouernour, as is saide, may take their wages for their paines & attendances vpon the said marchants, according to the custome of the said countreis, and as they haue bene accustomed to take of the said marchants before these presents by vs giuen and graunted. And her vpon we haue giuen and doe giue expresse chatge and commandement by vs and in our names to all our said subiects common marchants and martners, and to euey of them which shall frequent, come, remaine, passe, repaire, or inhabite within the countreis aforesaid, that they shall not make contract or bargaine, sell or buy, nor shall not cause any contract or bargaine to be made, nor in the said countreis sell or buy any maner of wares, goods, or marchandises, secretly nor openly, by way of fraude, barat, or deceite whatsoeuer, with any person or persons, of what estate, countrey, or condition soeuer they be, without he hath some of the said byokers at the bargain making, to present, report, and to testifie the said contracts or bargains before the said gouernour or others, if need require, and strife or contention should grow therof betwene them: nor to packe or cause to be packed any goods or marchandises belonging vnto them, in packs, bales, or fardels, coffers, chests, maunds, byfats, or rowles, without hauing some deputy present therat: nor to take or cause to be taken or set on worke in the said countreis, any other byokers, alnagers, weigghers, folders, or packers, then the aforesaid so chosen, admitted, established, and ordained by the saide gouernour, & hereto authorized in our name, as it is saide, vnder paine of falling into, and incurring of our displeasure, and of forfeiture, and confiscation of all such goods, wares, and marchandises, which shalbe found to haue passed by other hands or order, then that or those which are before mentioned: the fourth part of which forfeitures and confiscations shall be employed to the repairing and maintenance of two chappels founded to the honour of Saint Thomas of Canteburie by our saide subiects, in the townes of Bruges in Flanders, and of Middleborough in Zealand; the other fourth part to vs, & our vse; the third fourth part to our said cousin of Burgundie, or the natural Lord of the countrey wherein the saide goods shall be found; and the fourth fourth part to him or them, which shall discouer, detect, or finde out the saide fraude. And also that none of our said subiects shall vnlade or cause to be vnladen, vnder any colour nor other wise, nor vnpacke, in the countreis aforesaid, no kind of wares, goods, nor marchandises whatsoeuer, which they shall bring or cause to be brought into the countreys aforesaid, comming out of our countreys, dominions, or obeplance, without first and beforehand they make the gouernour or his deputies acquainted with their arriual, and craue leaue, and deliuer, shewe, and declare their cockets, that it may vduely appeare, that the saide goods and marchandises haue truly and lawfully payde vnto vs our rightes and customes, and not to vnpacke them but in the presence of the saide gouernour, his lieutenants or deputies, vpon paine of forfeiture, and confiscation of the saide goods, in maner and forme before declared in the foresaide article. And if it bee found by the visitation of the saide gouernour, his lieutenants or deputies, that any goods, wares, or marchandises whatsoeuer be arriued and discharged in the countreis aforesaid, belonging to our saide subiectes, not lawfully customed and acquitted towarde vs of our right and custome, for

which

which they cannot nor are not able to make any due proofoe of our letters of coquet, as is mentioned, or if they finde any other fraud: we will, we ordaine, and we grant, that the sayd gouvernour, his lieutenants or deputies may seaze bypon the sayd goods on our behalfe, and may confiscate and forfeit the same, distributing the same into foure parts in maner aforesayd. And also we will, that euery one of the sayd packes, fardels, baskets, maunds, cofers, tunnes, bales, routes, and other furnitures and geare, wherein the sayd marchandises shall be packed, to be sent out of the said countreys, shall not be laden bypon ships, carts, nor hoxses, to come into our dominion, without being first sealed with a seale ordained by vs and giuen by the sayd gouvernour, bypon paine to be forfeited, applyed, and confiscated to vs and into our hand, if they be found unsealed and not sealed with the seale. And for euery piece of merchandise which shall be sealed with the sayd seale, they shall pay to the sayd sealer two pence of grosse money of Flanders, which shall goe to the profite of the sayd gouvernour. And forasmuch as according to right and conscience, we ought not to vse the labour, trauels, nor seruice of any man, without waging, paying, and fully contenting him according to reason and equity, especially when we doe appoint any person or persons to doe or cause to be done so great trauels, labours, busines, and executions, as these which are contayned in this present charter, aswell for the benefit and profite of vs and our selues, as for the wholesome, perfect, & good government of our sayd subiects: we by the good aduise and deliberation of the sayd lordes of our priuie counsell, haue granted and giuen, and as before, doe grant and giue, of our sayd grace, to the sayd William O Bray our sayd seruant and gouvernour abouenamed, during our pleasure, for part of his wages and fee of the sayd office, one pennie of our money of England of the value of a liuer of grosse money of Flanders, bypon al and singular the goods, wares and marchandises of our sayd subiects frequenting the sayd countreys, to be leuyed, gathered, receiued, and payed vnto the sayd William O Bray or to his deputies, bypon the sayd wares and marchandises belonging vnto our sayd said subiects buying and selling, or which they shall cause to sell, buy, put away, trucke or exchange in the countreys abouesaid, aswell of the goods and marchandises which they shall bring or cause to be brought into the sayd countreys, as of all other goods which they shall lade and carie, or cause to be caried and conueyed out of those countreys into our dominion or elsewhere into any other part whatsoeuer. And to cause the same to be gathered, receiued, leauied and payed, we haue giuen, and by these presents doe giue full power and speciall authoritie vnto the sayd William O Bray, and to his lieutenants and deputies aforesayd, to leaue, gather, and cause to be leauied and receiued the sayd money, in forme and maner aboue mentioned, to his profite and vse, during our pleasure: and to enioy and vse the same as his proper goods, without any contradiction, constraining and arresting if neede bee, as well on land, as on the water, our said subiects, their sayd goods, and euery of them, by way of law and iustice, and to cause them to yeelde and pay the sayd money, bypon the said goods and marchandises, as is aforesayd. For such is our pleasure, and so will we haue it done without contradiction or impeachment to him and his, during our pleasure. And also we will that the sayd William O Bray, ouer and aboue that which is sayd, shall take, gather, and receiue of our sayd subiects from henceforth yearely, during our pleasure, all such and like wages and profits, as he had and receiued of our sayd subiects, in the yeare 1458, when hee held and exercised the said office of gouvernour, without diminishing or rebating any thing thereof, notwithstanding this present augmentation made, increased, and done vnto him, of our grace and fauour: and that hee shall gather, take, and receiue the same in such forme and manner, as the other money aboue mentioned is to be gathered. And to the ende that the sayd William O Bray may haue and take possession, seison, and entrance of the said office of gouvernour in our name we haue and doe place him, by the deliuey of these presents, in possession, seison, and entrance of the said office, and of the rights, profits, stipends, wages, and monies aforesayd, to begin to exercise the sayd office of gouvernour in our name, the first day of May next ensuing after the date of these presents, for the sayd William O Bray to hold and exercise, practise and vse the same, during our pleasure, with the sayd wages, moneys, rights, and profits aboue mentioned, without any contradiction or impeachment. And all and singular our subiects the common marchants and mariners, which shall be contrary, rebellious, and disobedient to the said gouvernour so ordained by vs, to his said lieutenants, to the sayd iustices so chosen, or to any of them, or to any of the iudices, lawes, decrees, sentences, ordinances, and customes, offices, gifts, and grants abouesayd, let them grieuouly be punished by the sayd gouvernour or his lieutenants, in this behalfe, according to the quantity of their offences, and the exigencie of the cases. We doe sommon, commaund, strictly and expelly enioine by these presents all and euery our saide subiects, that vnto the sayd gouvernour so by vs ordained, to his lieutenants, attorneys, or deputies, and also to the said iustices, officers, and ministers, in all and euery the things aforesaid, and others any waie concerning in this behalfe our said ordinances, their gouernment and rule, the circumstances and dependances thereon

that

that they giue their attendance, counsaile, comfort, obedience, and aide, diligently without fault or difficulty, surely, safely, fully and peaceably: without doing, inferring, or inflicting, or suffering to be done, inferred, or inflicted to them or any of them in body or goods, any disturbance or impeachment, in any maner whatsoever: but rather if any thing bee done vnto them contrary and to the prejudice of these presents, they shall remoue and cause the same to be remoued, and that which shall be hindered they shall set at free deliuerance, vpon payne to fall into and to incurre our high displeasure. For such is our pleasure and so will wee haue it, notwithstanding anie letters fallably crept in, obtained, or to be obtained contrary hereunto. And you our subiects, the common marchants and mariners, so behaue your selues, that you may receiue commendation of vs for your good obedience, knowing that such as shall be found doing or to haue done the contrary, we will see them so punished without redemption, that they shall bee an example to all rebellious persons. We pray and most instantly require in the ayde of equitie, all others our friends, allies, and well-willers, as well princes and potentates, as their iudicers, officers, lieutenants, deputies, commissaries, and subiects, and euery of them, in regard of equitie; that they would vouchsafe, and that it would please them to giue, doe, and lend comfort, ayde, assistance, and prisons if neede require, to our sayd gouernour, his lieutenants, commissaries, deputies, iudicers, & others our officers and ministers aforesayd: and herein wee pray them on our behalfe, and in our owne name. And it may please them herein to doe so much, that we may haue occasion to thanke them, and to accompt our selues beholding for the same: and as they would that we should do for them in the like matter, or in a greater: which we will willingly doe, if we be required thereunto by them. In witness whereof we haue caused these our letters to bee made patents. Witness our selues at Westminster, the sixteenth of April, in the second yere our rigne.

A declaration of the Indies and lands discovered, and subdued vnto the Emperour, and the king of Portugal: And also of other partes of the Indies and rich countries to be discovered, which the worshipfull M. Robert Thorne merchant of London (who dwelt long in the citie of Siuil in Spaine) exhorted king Henric the eight to take in hand.

MOST EXCELLENT PRINCE,



Experience proueth that naturally all princes bee desirous to extend and enlarge their dominions and kingdomes. Wherefore it is not to be maruelled, to see them euery day procure the same, not regarding any cost, perill, and labour, that may thereby chance, but rather it is to be maruelled, if there be any prince content to liue quiet with his owne dominions. For surely the people would thinke he lacketh the noble courage and spirit of all other.

The world knoweth that the desires of Princes haue bene so seruent to obtaine their purpose, that they haue aduentured and proued things to mans coniecture impossible, the which they haue made possible, and also things difficult haue made facill: and thus to obtaine their purpose, haue in maner turned vp and downe the whole world so many times, that the people inhabiting in the farthest region of the Occident haue pursued with great distress, labours and perils, to penetrate and enter into the farthest regions of the Orient: and in like wise those people of the said parts of the Orient haue had no lesse labour and desire to enter and penetrate into the farthest land of the Occident, and so following their purchase haue not ceased vntill they could passe no farther by reason of the great seas.

This naturall inclination is cause, that scarcely it may be said, there is any kingdome stable, nor king quiet, but that his owne imagination, or other princes his neighbours doe trouble him. God and nature hath provided to your Grace, and to your gracious progenitors, this Realme of England, and set it in so fruitfull a place, and within such limites, that it should sceme to be a place quiet and aparted from all the foresayd desire. One speciall cause is, for that it is compassed with the Sea: by reason thereof it seemes, this notwithstanding, their desires and noble courages haue bene most commonly like vnto others: and with marueilous great labours, costes and perils, they haue traueiled and passed the Seas, making warre, not onely with Kings and dominions nigh neighbours, but also with them of farr countries, and so haue woonne and conquered many rich and fayre dominions, and amplified this your Graces Realme with great victorie and glozy. And also now of late your Grace hauing like courage and desire, and not without iust cause, to enlarge this your kingdome, and demaund your limits and tribute of the French king,

which

which at that present he restrained, your Grace in person passed with a great power into France, putting your Graces person to great paine and labour, and without doubt victoriously you had conquered the sayd Realme of France, as ye began, if your aduersary had not reconciled himselfe, and knowledged your Graces right and title: and so promised truly to pay the tribute then due, & fulfill your request in all things; and also desired your Grace for peace, the which of your clemencie you could not refuse.

Now I considering this your noble courage and desire; and also perceiuing that your Grace may at your pleasure, to your greater glory, by a godly meane, with little cost, perill, or labour, to your Grace or any of your subiects, amplifye and enrich this your sayd Realme, I know it is my bounden duety to manifest this secret vnto your Grace, which hitherto, as I suppose, hath bene hid: which is, that with a small number of ships there may bee discovered diuers New lands and kingdomes, in the which without doubt your Grace shall winne perpetuall glory, and your subiectes infinite profit. To which places there is left one way to discover, which is into the North: for that of the foure partes of the worlde, it seemeth thre parts are discovered by other Princes: For out of Spaine they haue discovered all the Indies and Seas Occidentall, and out of Portugall all the Indies and Seas Orientall: so that by this part of the Orient & Occident, they haue compassed the world. For the one of them departing toward the Orient, and the other toward the Occident, met againe in the course or way of the middelt of the day, and so then was discovered a great part of the same Seas and coastes by the Spaniards. So that now rest to be discovered the sayd North partes, the which it seemeth to mee, is onely your charge and duety. Because the situation of this your Realme is thereunto nearest and next of all other: and also for that you haue already taken it in hand. And in mine opinion it will not seeme well to leaue so great and profitable an enterprize, seeing it may so easily and with so little cost, labour, and danger, be followed and obtayned: though heretofore your Grace hath made thereof a prooue, & found not the commodity thereby as you trusted, at this time it shall be no impediment. For there may be now prouided remedies for things, then lacked, and the inconueniencies and lets removed, that then were cause that your Graces desire tooke no full effect, which is, the courses to be changed, & followed the foresaid new courses. And concerning the mariners, shippes, and prouision, another may be deuised and taken meete and conuenient, much better then hitherto. By reason whereof, and by Gods grace, no doubt your purpose shall take effect. Surely the cost herein will be nothing, in comparison to the great profit. The labour is much lesse, yea nothing at all, where so great honour and glory is hoped for: and considering well the courses, truly the danger & way is shorter to vs, then to Spaine or Portugall, as by euident reasons appereth.

And now to declare something of the commodity and vtilitie of this Nauigation and discouerie: it is very cleere and certain, that the Seas that commonly men say, without great danger, difficulty and perill, yea rather it is impossible to passe, that those same Seas be nauigable and without anie such danger, but that shippes may passe and haue in them perpetuall cleerenesse of the day without any darkenelle of the night: which thing is a great commodity for the nauigantes, to see at all times round about them, as well the safeguards as dangers, and how great difference it is betweene the commodity and perils of other which leese the most part of every foure and twentie houres the said light, and goe in darkenelle groping their way, I thinke there is none so ignorant but perceiue this more plainly, then it can be exprest. Yea what a vantage shall your Graces subiects haue also by this light to discover the strange lands, countries, and coastes: For if they that be discovered, to saile by them in darkenelle is with great danger, much more then the coastes not discovered be dangerous to trauell by night or in darkenelle. Yet these dangers or darkenelle hath not lettred the Spanyards and Portugals and other, to discover many vnknown Realmes to their great perill. Which considered (and that your Graces subiects may haue the same light) it will seeme your Graces subiects to be without actiuity or courage, in leauing to doe this glorious and noble enterprize. For they being past this litle way which they named so dangerous, (which may be two or thre leagues before they come to the Pole, and as much more after they passe the Pole) it is cleere, that from thence forth the seas and landes are as temperate as in these partes, and that then it may be at the will and pleasure of the mariners, to choose whether they will saile by the coastes, that be colde, temperate or hote. For they being past the Pole, it is plaine, they may decline to what part they list.

If they will goe toward the Orient, they shall inioy the regions of all the Tartarians that extend toward the midday, and from thence they may goe and proceede to the land of the Chinas, and from thence to the land of Cachao Orientall, which is of all the maine land most Orientall that can be reckoned from our habitation. And if from thence they doe continue their nauigation, following the coastes that returne toward the Occident, they shall fall in with Malaca, and so with all

A secret.

The discovery of the North.

123p Sebastian Cabot and Sir Thomas Perc in the eight year of his reign. And this is the voyage spoken of by Gonfaluco Ouedo, that came to S. Domingo,

Note.

Nauigation under the Pole

Tartaria, China.

New found
land discovered
by English.

the Indies which we call Orientall, and following the way, may returne hither by the Cape of Buona Speransa: and thus they shall compasse the whole worlde. And if they will take their course after they be past the Pole, toward the Occident, they shall goe in the backe side of the new found land, which of late was discovered by your Graces subiects, vntill they come to the backe side and South Seas of the Indies Occidentall. And so continuing their voyage they may returne thow the straight of Magellan to this countrey, and so they compasse also the world by that way: and if they goe this third way, and after they be past the Pole, goe right toward the Pole Antarctike, and then decline toward the lands and Islands situated between the Tropikes, and vnder the Equinoctiall, without doubt they shall finde there the richest landes and Islands of the world of golde, p̄cious stones, balmes, spices, and other thinges that we here esteeme most: which come out of strange countreies, and may returne the same way.

By this it appeareth, your Grace hath not onely a great aduantage of the riches, but also your subiects shall not trauell halfe of the way that other doe, which goe round about as aforesayd.

The booke made by the right worshipful M. Robert Thorne in the
yeere 1527. in Siuil, to Doctour Ley, Lord ambassadour for king

Henry the eight, to Charles the Emperour, being an information of the
parts of the world, discovered by him and the king of Portingal:
and also of the way to the Moluccaes by the North.



Right noble and reuerend in cr. I haue receiued your letters, and haue procur-
ed and sent to know of your seruant, who your Lordship wrote, should be sicke
in Merchena, I cannot there or els where heare of him, without he be returned
to you, or gone to S. Lucar, and thipt. I cannot iudge but that of some conta-
gious sicknesse hee died, so that the owner of the house for defaming his house
would bury him secretly, and not be knowen of it. For such thinges haue often
times happened in this countrey.

Also to write vnto your Lordshippe of the new trade of Spicery of the Emperour, there is no
doubt but that the Islands are fertile of Cloues, Nutmegs, Pace, and Cinnamon: and that the
said Islands, with other there about, abound with golde, Rubies, Diamonds, Balalles, Gra-
nates, Iacincts, and other stones & pearles, as all other lands, that are vnder and neere the Equi-
noctiall. For we see, where nature giueth any thing, she is no nigard. For as with vs and o-
ther, that are apated from the said Equinoctiall, our mettals be Lead, Tinne, and Iron, so theirs
be Gold, Silver, and Copper. And as our fruics and graines be Apples, Pears, and Corne, so
theirs be Dates, Nutmegs, Pepper, Cloues, and other Spices. And as we haue Tear, Amber,
Crystall, Iasper, and other like stones, so haue they Rubies, Diamonds, Balalles, Sapphyres,
Iacincts, and other like. And though some say that of such p̄cious mettals, graines, or kind of
spices, and p̄cious stones, the abundance and quantity is nothing so great, as our mettals, fruics
or stones aboue rehearsed: yet if it be well considered, how the quantitie of the earth vnder the E-
quinoctiall to both the Tropical lines, (in which space is found the sayd Golde, spices and p̄ci-
ous stones) is as much in quantity, as almost all the earth from the Tropikes to both the Poles;
it cannot be denied but there is moze quantity of the sayd mettals, fruics, spices, and p̄cious
stones, then there is of the other mettals and other thinges befoze rehearsed. And I see that the
p̄ciousnes of these thinges is measured after the distance that is between vs, and the thinges that
we haue appete vnto. For in this nauigation of the Spicerie was discovered, that these Islands
nothing set by golde, but set moze by a knife and a nayle of Iron, then by his quantitie of Golde:
and with reason, as the thing moze necessary for mans seruice, And I doubt not but to them
should be as p̄cious our cozne and scodes, if they might haue them, as to vs their spices: & like-
wise the pieces of glasse that here we haue counterfeited are as p̄cious to them, as to vs their
stones: which by experience is seene daylie by them that haue trade thither. This of the riches of
those countreies is sufficient.

Dortoꝝ Leys
letters.

Touching that your Lordship wrote, whether it may be profitable to the Emperour or no: it
may be without doubt of great profite: if, as the king of Portingal doth, he would become a mer-
chant, and prouide shippes and their lading, and trade thither alone, and defend the trade of these
Islands for himselfe. But other greater businesse withholdeth him from this. But still, as now
it is begunne to be occupied, it would come to much. For the shippes coming in safetie, there
would thither many euery yere, of which to the Emperour is due of all the wares and iewels that
come from thence the fifth part for his custome cleare without any cost. And besides this hee pur-
teth

cech in euery note a certaine quantitie of money, of which he employeth of the games pound and pounds like as other aduenturers doe. In a flecte of thre shippes and a Carauel that went from this citie armed by the marchants of it, which departed in Aprill last past, I and my partence haue one thousand foure hundred ducketts that we employed in the sayd flecte, principally for that two English men, friends of mine, which are somewhat learned in Cosmographie, should goe in the same shippes, to bring me certaine relation of the situation of the countrey, and to be expert in the nauigation of those seas, and there to haue informations of many other things, and aduise that I desire to knowe especially. Seeing in these quarters are shippes, and mariners of that countrey, and cardes by which they saile, though much unlike ours, that they should procure to haue the said cardes, and learne how they understand them, and especially to know what nauigation they haue for those Islands Northwards, and North-eastward.

This was the flecte wherein Cabot discouered the riuer of Plate, 1526.

For if from the sayd Islands the sea did extend, without interposition of land, to passe from the North point to the North-east poynt one thousand seven hundred or one thousand eight hundred leagues, they should come to the New found Islands that we discouered, and so we should be nearer to the sayd Spicerie by almost two thousand leagues then the Emperour, or the king of Portugal are. And to aduise your Lordship whether of these Spiceries of the king of Portugal or the Emperours is nearer, and also of the titles that either of them hath, and howe our New found lands are parted from it, (for that by writing without some demonstration, it were hard to giue any declaration of it) I haue caused that your Lordship shall receiue here with a little Mappe or Card of the world: the which, I feare me, shall put your Lordship to moze labour to vnderstand, then me to make it, onely for that it is made in so litle roome that it cannot be but obscurely set out, that is desired to be seene in it, and also for that I am in this science litle expert: Yet to remedy in part this difficulty, it is necessary to declare to your Lordship my intenc, with which I trust you shall perceiue in this Card part of your desire, if, for that I cannot expresse mine intenc, with my declaration I doe not make it moze obscure.

Note.

The New found Islands discouered by the English.

A Mappe of the world.

First, your Lordship knoweth that the Cosmographers haue diuided the earth by 360 degrees in latitude, and as many in longitude, vnder the which is comprehended all the roundnes of the earth: the latitude being diuided into foure quarters, ninetie degrees amount to euery quarter, which they measure by the altitude of the Poles, that is the North and South starres, being from the line Equinoctiall: all they come right vnder the North starre the said ninetie degrees: and as much from the sayd line Equinoctiall to the South starre be other ninetie degrees. And as much moze is also from either of the sayd starres agayne to the Equinoctiall. Which imagined to be round, is scone perceiued thus, 360 degrees of latitude to be consumed in the said foure quarters of ninetie degrees a quarter: so that this latitude is the measure of the world from North to South, and from South to North, And the longitude, in which are also counted other 360, is counted from West to East, or from East to West, as in the Card is set.

The sayd latitude your Lordship may see marked and diuided in the ende of this Card on the left hand: so that if you would know in what degrees of latitude any region or coast standeth, take a compasse, and set the one foot of the same in the Equinoctial line right against the said region, & apply the other foote of the compasse to the said region or coast, & then set the sayd compasse at the end of the Card, where the degrees are diuided. And the one foote of the compasse standing in the line Equinoctiall, the other will shew in the scale the degrees of altitude or latitude that the said region is in. Also the longitude of the world I haue set out in the nether part of the Card, containing also 360 degrees: which begin to be counted after Ptoleme and other Cosmographers from an headland called Capo Verde, which is ouer against a little crosse made in the part Decidental, where the diuision of the degrees beginneth, and endeth in the same Capo Verde.

To knowe the latitudes.

Now to knowe in what longitude any land is, your Lordship must take a ruler or a compasse, and set the one foot of the compasse vpon the land or coast whose longitude you would know, and extend the other foot of the compasse to the next part of one of the transuersall lines in the Orientall or Occidental part: which done, set the one foot of the compasse in the said transuersall line at the end of the nether scale, the scale of longitude, and the other foot sheweth the degree of longitude that the region is in. And your Lordship must vnderstand that this Card, though litle, containeth the vniuersall whole world betwix two collateral lines, the one in the Occidental part descendeth perpendicular vpon the 175 degree, & the other in the Orientall on the 170 degree, whose distance measureth the scale of longitude. And that which is without the two said transuersall lines, is onely to shew how the Orientall part is ioined with the Occident, and Occident with the Orient. For that that is set without the line in the Oriental part, is the same that is set within the other line in the Occidental part: and that that is set without the line in the Occidental part, is the same that is set within the line in the Oriental part, to shew that though this figure of the world

To knowe the longitudes.

world

world in plaine or flatte seemeth to haue an end, yet one imagining that this sayd Card were set vpon a round thing, where the ends should touch by the lines, it would plainly appeare howe the Orient part ioyneth with the Occident, as there without the lines it is described and figured.

And for moze declaration of the said Card, your Lordship shall vnderstand, that beginning on the part Occidental within the line, the first land that is set out, is the maine land and Islands of the Indies of the Emperour. Which maine land or coast goeth Northward, and finisheth in the land that we found, which is called here Terra de Labrador. So that it appeareth the sayd land that we found, and the Indies to be all one maine land.

The sayd coast from the sayd Indies Southward, as by the Card your Lordshippe may see, commeth to a certaine straight Sea, called Estrecho de todos Santos: by which straight Sea the Spaniards goe to the Spiceries, as I shall declare moze at large: the which straight Sea is right against three hundred fiftene degrees of longitude, and is of latitude or altitude from the Equinoctiall three and fifty degrees. The first land from the sayd beginning of the Card toward the Orient are certaine Islands of the Canaries, and Islands of Capo verde. But the first maine land next to the line Equinoctiall is the sayd Capo verde, and from thence Northward by the straight of this sea of Italic. And so followeth Spayne, France, Flanders, Almaine, Denmarke, and Norway, which is the highest parte toward the North. And ouer against Flanders are our Islands of England and Ireland. Of the landes and coastes within the streights I haue set out onely the Regions, diuiding them by lines of their limits, by which plainly I thinke your Lordship may see, in what situation euerie region is, and of what highnesse, and with what regions it is ioyned. I doe thinke few are left out of all Europe. In the parts of Asia and Affrica I could not so well make the sayd diuisions: for that they be not so well knowne, nor need not so much. This I write because in the said Card be made the said lines & strikes, that your Lordship should vnderstand wherfore they doe serue. Also returning to the foresaid Capo verde, the coast goeth Southward to a Cape called Capo de buona speranza: which is right ouer against the 60. & 65. degree of longitude. And by this Cape go the Portugals to their Spicerie. For from this Cape toward the Orient, is the land of Calicut, as your Lordship may see in the headland ouer against the 130. degree. From the sayd Cape of Buona speranza the coast returneth toward the line Equinoctiall, and passing forth, enterth the red sea, & returning out, enterth again into the gulf of Persia, and returneth toward the Equinoctiall line, till that it commeth to the headland called Calicut aforesayd, and from thence the coast making a gulf, where is the riuer of Ganges, returneth toward the line to a headland called Malaca, where is the principall Spicerie: & from this Cape returneth and maketh a great gulf, and after the coast goeth right toward the Orient, and ouer against this last gulf and coast be many Islands, which be Islands of the Spiceries of the Emperour. Upon which the Portugals and he be at variance.

Now called
the straight of
Magelane.

Note.

The sayd coast goeth toward the Orient, and endeth right against the 155. degrees, and after returneth toward the Occident Northward: which coast not yet plainly knowen, I may ioine to the New found lande found by vs, that I spake of before. So that I finish with this briefe declaration of the Card aforesayd. Well I know I should also haue declared how the coastes within the straight of the Sea of Italic runne. It is playne that passing the streights on the North side of that Sea after the coast of Granada, and with that which pertaines to Spaine, is the coast of that which France hath in Italic. And then followeth in one piece all Italic, which land hath an arme of the Sea, with a gulf which is called Mare Adriaticum. And in the bottom of this gulf is the cite of Venice, and on the other part of the sayd gulf is Sclauonia, and next Grecia, then the streits of Constantinople, and then the sea called Euxinus, which is within the sayd streights: and coming out of the sayd streights, followeth Turcia maior (though now on both sides it is called Turcia.) And so the coast runneth Southward to Syria, and ouer against the sayd Turcia are the Islands of Rhodes, Candie, and Cyprus. And ouer against Italic are the Islands of Sicilia and Sardinia. And ouer against Spaine is Maiorca and Minorca. In the ende of the gulf of Syria is Iudea. And from thence returneth the coast toward the Occident, till it commeth to the streights where we began, which all is the coast of Afrique and Barbarie. Also your Lordship shall vnderstand that the coastes of the Sea throughout all the world, I haue coloured with yellow, for that it may appeare that all that is within the line coloured yellow, is to be imagined to be maine land or Islands: and all without the line so coloured to be Sea: whereby it is easie and light to knowe. Albeit in this little roome any other description would rather haue made it obscure then cleere. And the sayd coastes of the Sea are all set iustly after the maner and forme as they lie, as the nauigation approueth them throughout all the Card, saue onely the coastes and Isles of the Spicerie of the Emperour which is from ouer against the 160. to the 215. degrees of longitude, For these coastes and situations of the Islands, euery of the Cosmographers and pilots

pilots of Portingal & Spayne do set after their purpose. The Spaniards more towards the Orient, because they should appeare to appertain to the Emperour: & the Portingals more toward the Decident, for that they should fall within their iurisdiction. So that the pilots and navigants thither, which in such cases should declare the truth, by their industrie do set them falsly euery one to fauour his prince. And for this cause can be no certaine situation of that coast and Islands, till this difference betwixt them be verified. Now to come to the purpose of your Lordships demaund touching the difference between the Emperour and the king of Portingal, to vnderstand it better, I must declare the beginning of this discouerie. Though peraduenture your Lordship may say that in that I haue writtten ought of purpose, I fall in the prouerbe, *A gemino ouo bellum*: But your Lordship commanded me to be large, and I take licence to be prolixious, and shall peraduenture tedious, but your Lordship knoweth that *Nihil ignorantia verbosius*.

Doctor Leys
demand.

In the yeere 1484 the king of Portingal minded to arme certaine Caruels to discouer this Spicerie. Then forasmuch as he feared that being discouered, euery other prince woulde sende and trade thither, so that the cost and perill of discouering should be his, and the profite common: wherefore first he gaue knowledge of this his minde to all princes Christened, saying that he woulde seeke amongst the infidels newe possessions of regions, and therefore woulde make a certaine armie: and that if any of them would helpe in the cost of the sayd armie, he should enioy his part of the profite or honour that should come of it. And as then this discouering was holden for a strange thing and vncertaine. Nowe they say, that all the Princes of Christendome answered, that they would be no part of such an armie, nor yet of the profite that might come of it. After the which he gaue knowledge to the Pope of his purpose, and of the answer of all the Princes, desiring him that seeing that none would helpe in the costes, that he would iudge all that should be found and discouered to be of his iurisdiction, and command that none other princes should intermeddle therewith. The Pope sayd not as Christ saith, *Quis me constituit iudicem inter vos?* He did not refuse, but making himselfe as Lord and Judge of all, not onely granted that all that should be discouered from Orient to Decident, should be the kings of Portingal, but also, that vpon great censures no other Prince should discouer but he. And if they did, all to bee the kings of Portingal. So he armed a flecte, and in the yeere 1497 were discouered the Islands of Calcut, from whence is brought all the spice he hath.

The Pope re-
sponded.

After this in the yeere 1492 the king of Spaine willing to discouer lands toward the Decident without making any such diligence, or taking licence of the king of Portingal, armed certaine Caruels, and then discouered this India Decidentall, especially two Islands of the sayd India, that in this Card I set forth, naming the one *la Dominica*, and the other *Cuba*, and brought certaine golde from thence. Of the which when the king of Portingal had knowledge, he sent to the king of Spaine, requiring him to giue him the sayd Islands. For that by the sentence of the Pope all that should be discouered was his, and that hee should not proceede further in the discouerie without his licence. And at the same time it seemeth that out of Castile into Portingal had gone for feare of burning infinite number of Iewes that were expelled out of Spaine, for that they would not turne to be Christians, and carried with them infinite number of golde and silver. So that it seemeth that the king of Spaine answered, that it was reason that the king of Portingal asked, and that to be obedient to that which the Pope had decreed, he would giue him the sayd Islands of the Indies. Nowe for as much as it was decreed betwixt the sayde kings, that none should receiue the others subiects fugitiues, nor their goods, therefore the king of Portingal should pay and returne to the king of Spaine a million of golde or more, that the Iewes had rapt out of Spaine to Portingal, & that in so doing he would giue these Islands, and desist from any more discouering. And not fulfilling this, he would not onely not giue these Islands, but procure to discouer more where him thought best. It seemeth that the king of Portingal would not, or could not with his case pay this money. And so not paying, that he could not let the king of Spaine to discouer: so that he enterprised not toward the Orient where he had begun & found the Spicerie. And consented to the king of Spaine, that touching this discouering they should diuide the worlde betweene them two. And that all that should be discouered from Cape Verde, where this Card beginneth to be counted in the degrees of longitude, to 180 of the sayd scale of longitude, which is halfe the worlde toward the Orient, & finisheth in this Card right ouer against a litle crosse made at the said 180 degrees, to be the king of Portingals. And all the land from the said Crosse toward the Decident, vntill it ioyneth with the other Crosse in the Orient, which containeth the other hundred and eightie degrees, that is the other halfe of the worlde, to be the king of Spaines. So that from the land ouer against the said hundred & eighty degrees vntill it finish in the three hundred and sixtie on both the ends of the Card, is the iurisdiction of the king of Spaine. So after this maner they diuided the worlde betweene them.

The longitudes
are hard to
be found out.

Now for that these Islands of Spicery fall vnder the terme and limites betweene these princes (for as by the sayd Card you may see they begin from one hundred and sixtie degrees of longitude, and ende in 215) it seemeth all that falleth from 160 to 180 degrees, should be of Portingal: and all the rest of Spaine. And for that their Cosmographers and Pilots coude not agree in the situation of the sayde Islandes (for the Portingals set them all within their 180 degrees, and the Spaniards set them all without:) and for that in measuring, all the Cosmographers of both partes, or what other that euer haue bene cannot giue certaine order to measure the longitude of the worlde, as they doe of the latitude: for that there is no Starre fixed from East to West, as are the Starres of the Poles from North to South, but all moueth with the mouing diuine: no maner can bee founde howe certainly it may bee measured, but by coniectures, as the Nauigators haue esteemed the way they haue gone. But it is manifest that Spaine had the situation of all the lands from Cape Verde, toward the Orient of the Portingals to their 180 degrees. And in all their Cardes they neuer hitherto set the faide Islandes within their limitation of the sayd 180 degrees; (though they knewe very well of the Islandes,) till now that the Spaniards discovered them. And it is knowne that the king of Portingal had trade to these Islandes afoze, but would neuer suffer Portingal to go thither from Calicut: for so much as he knewe that it fell out of his dominion: least by going thither there might come some knowledge of those other Islandes of the king of Spaine, but bought the cloues of Merchants of that countrey, that brought them to Calicut, much deerer then they would haue cost, if he had sent for them, thinking after this maner it would abide alwayes ferret. And now that it is discovered he sendes and keeps the Spaniards from the trade all that he can.

Also it should seeme that when this foresaid consent of the diuision of the worlde was agreed of betweene them, the king of Portingal had already discovered certaine Islandes that lie ouer against Cape Verde, and also certaine part of the maine land of India toward the South, from whence he sette Brasill, and called it the land of Brasill. So for that all thould come in his terme and limites, hee tooke three hundred and seuentie leagues beyond Cape Verde: and after this, his 180 degrees, being his part of the worlde, should begin in the Carde right ouer against the 340 degrees, where I haue made a little compasse with a crosse, and should finish at the 160 degree, where also I haue made another little mark. And after this computation without any controuersie, the Islandes of the Spicery fall out of the Portingals domination. So that now the Spaniards say to the Portingals, that if they would beginne their 180 degrees from the sayde Cape Verde, to the intent they should extende more toward the Orient, and so to touch those Islandes of the Spicery of the Emperour, which is all that is betweene the two crosses made in this Card, that then the Islandes of Cape Verde and the lande of Brasill that the Portingals nowe obtaine, is out of the sayd limitation, and that they are of the Emperours. Or if their 180 degrees they count from the 370 leagues beyond the said Cape Verde, to include in it the said Islandes and lands of Brasill, then plainly appeareth the said 180 degrees should finish long before they come to these Islandes of the Spicery of the Emperour: As by this Card your Lordship may see. For their limites should begin at the 340 degrees of this Card, and ende at the 160 degrees, where I haue made two little markes of the compasse with crosses in them.

So that plainly it should appeare by reason, that the Portingals should leaue these Islandes of Cape Verde and land of Brasill, if they would haue part of the Spicery of the Emperours: or els holding these, they haue no part there. To this the Portingals say, that they will beginne their 180 degrees from the selfe same Cape Verde: for that it may extende so much more toward the Orient, and touch these Islandes of the Emperours: and would winne these Islandes of Cape Verde and land of Brasill neuertheless, as a thing that they possessed before the consent of this limitation was made.

So none can verely tell which hath the best reason, They be not yet agreed, Quare sub Iudice lis est.

But without doubt (by all coniectures of reason) the sayd Islandes fall all without the limitation of Portingal, and pertaine to Spaine, as it appeareth by the most part of all the Cardes made by the Portingals, saue those which they haue falsified of late purposely.

But now touching that your Lordship wrote, whether that which we discovered toucheth any thing the foresaid coastes: once it appeareth plainly, that the Newfound land that we discovered, is all a maine land with the Indies Occidentall, from whence the Emperour hath all the gold and pearles: and so continueth of coast more then 5000 leagues of length, as by this Card appeareth. For from the said New lands it proceedeth toward the Occident to the Indies, and from the Indies returneth toward the Orient, and after turneth Southward by till it come to the Straits of Todos Santos, which I reckon to be more then 5000 leagues,

As to found
land discovered
by the
Englishmen.

So that to the Indians it should seeme that we haue some title, at least that for our discovering we might trade thither as other doe. But all this is nothing neere the Spicerie. Note.

Now then if from the sayd New found lands the Sea be nauigable, there is no doubt, but sayling Northward and passing the Pole, descending to the Equinoctial line, we shall hit these Islands, and it should be a much shorter way, then either the Spaniards or the Portugals haue. For we be distant from the Pole but thirty and nine degrees, and from the Pole to the Equinoctiall be ninetie, the which added together, bee an hundred twenty and nine degrees, leagues 2489, and miles 7440: Where we should find these Islands. And the Nauigation of the Spaniards to the Spicerie is, as by this Carde you may see, from Spaine to the Islandes of Canarie, and from these Islandes they runne ouer the line Equinoctiall Southwarde to the Cape of the maine land of the Indians, called the Cape of Saint Augustine, and from this Cape Southwards to the straites of Todos Santos, in the which nauigation to the said straites is 1700. or 1800 leagues; and from these Straites being past them, they returne towarde the line Equinoctiall to the Islandes of Spicerie, which are distant from the saide Straites 4200, or 4300. leagues.

To sail by the Pole.

Of the straites of Magelane.

The nauigation of the Portugals to the said Islandes is departing from Portingal Southward towarde the Cape Verde, and from thence to another Cape passing the line Equinoctiall called Capo de bona speranza, and from Portingal to the Cape is 1800 leagues, and from this Cape to the Islandes of Spicerie of the Emperour is 2500. leagues.

So that this nauigation amounteth all to 4300. leagues. So that (as afore is sayd,) if between our New found lands or Norway, or Island, the seas toward the North be nauigable, we should goe to these Islandes a shorter way by more then 2000. leagues.

And though we went by the sayd Islandes, for that they are the Emperours or kings of Portingal, we should be by the way and coming ouer to the line Equinoctiall, finde landes no lesse riche of golde and Spicerie, as all other landes are vnder the sayd line Equinoctiall: and also should, if we may passe vnder the North, enjoy the nauigation of all Tartarie, Which should be no lesse profitable to our commodities of cloth, then these Spiceries to the Emperour, and king of Portingal.

Note

Benefite to England.

But it is a generall opinion of all Cosmographers, that passing the seventh climate, the sea is all ice, and the colde so much that none can suffer it. And hitherto they had all the like opinion, that vnder the line Equinoctiall for much heate the land was uninhabitable.

Objection.

Yet since (by experience is proued) no land so much habitable nor more temperate. And to conclude, I thinke the same should be found vnder the North, if it were experimented. For as all iudge, Nihil fit vacuum in rerum natura: So I iudge, there is no land uninhabitable, nor Sea in nauigable. If I should write the reason that presenteth this vnto me, I should be too prolix, and it seemeth not requisite for this present matter. God knoweth that though by it I should haue no great interest, yet I haue had and still haue no litle mind of this businesse: So that if I had facultie to my will, it should be the first thing that I would vnderstand; euen to attempt, if our Seas Northward be nauigable to the Pole, or no. I reason, that as some sickeneses are hereditarious, and come from the father to the sonne, so this inclination or desire of this discoverie I inherited of my father, which with another merchant of Britow named Hugh Eliot, were the discoverers of the New found lands, of the which there is no doubt, (as nowe plainly appeareth) if the mariners would then haue bene ruled, and followed their Witols minde, the lands of the West Indies (from whence all the gold cometh) had bene ours. For all is one coast, as by the Carde appeareth, and is afore sayd.

Answer.

A true opinio.

A booke of discovery by the Pole. M. Thorne and M. Eliot discoverers of New found land. The cause why the West Indies were not ours: which also Sebastian Gabot writeth in an Epistle to Baptista Ramulius.

Also in this Carde by the coastes where you see C. your Lordship shall vnderstand it is set for Cape or headland, where I. for Island, where P. for Port, where R. for Riuer. Also in all this little Carde I thinke nothing be erred touching the situation of the land, saue onely in these Islandes of Spicerie: which, for that (as afore is sayd) euery one setteth them after his minde, there can be no certification how they stand. I doe not denie, that there lacke many things, that a consummate Carde should haue, or that a right good demonstration desireth. For there should be expressed all the mountaines and Riuers that are principall of name in the earth, with the names of Portes of the sea, the names of all principall cities, which all I might haue set, but nor in this Carde, for the litle space would not consent.

Your Lordship may see that setting onely the names almost of euery Region, and yet not of all, the roome is occupied. Many Islandes are also left out, for the said lack of roome, the names almost of all Portes put to silence, with the roses of the windes or points of the compasse: For that this is not for Witols to sayle by, but a summary declaration of that which your Lordship commanded. And if by this your Lordship cannot wel perceiue the meaning of this Card, of the which I would

not maruella, by reason of the rude composition of it, will it please your Lordship to aduise mee to make a bigger and a better Happe, or els that I may cause one to be made. For I know my selfe in this and all other nothing perfect, but Licet semper discens, nunquam tamen ad perfectam scientiam perueniens. Also I know, to set the forme Sphericall of the world in Plano after the true rule of Cosmographie, it would haue bene made other wise then this is: howbeit the demonstration should not haue bene so plaine.

And also these degrees of longitude, that I set in the lower part of this card, should haue bin set along by the line Equinoctiall, & so then must be imagined. For the degrees of longitude neere either of the poles are nothing equall in bignesse to them in the Equinoctiall. But these are set so, for that setting them along the Equinoctiall, it would haue made obscure a great part of the map. Many other curiosities may be required, which for the nonce I did not set downe, as well for that the intent I had principally was to satisfie your doubt touching the Spicerie, as for that I lack leasure and time. I trust your Lordship correcting that which is erred, will accept my good will, which is to doe any thing that I may in your Lordships seruice. But from henceforth I knowe your Lordship will rather commaund me to keepe silence, then to be large, when you shall be wearied with the reading of this discourse. Iesus prosper your estate and health.

Your Lordships
Robert Thorne 1527:

Also this Carde and that which I write touching the varianee betweene the Emperour and the king of Portingall, is not to be shewed or communicated there with many of that court. For though there is nothing in it prejudiciall to the Emperour, yet it may be a cause of paine to the maker: as well for that none may make these Cardes, but certaine appointed and allowed for matters, as for that peradventure it would not sound well to them, that a stranger should know or discouer their secrettes: and would appeare worst of all, if they vnderstand that I write touching the short way to the Spicerie by our Seas. Though peradventure of troth it is not to be looked to, as a thing that by all opinions is vnpossible, and I thinke neuer will come to effect: and therefore neither here nor else where is it to be spoken of. For to moue it amongst wise men, it should bee had in derision. And therefore to none I would haue written nor spoken of such things, but to your Lordship, to whom boldly I commit in this all my foolish fantasie as to my self. But if it please God that into England I may come with your Lordship, I will shew some coniectures of reason, though against the generall opinion of Cosmographers, by which shall appeare this that I say not to lacke some foundation. And till that time I beseeche your Lordship let it be put to silence: and in the meane season it may please God to send our two Englishmen, that are gone to the Spicerie, which may also bring moze plaine declaration of that which in this case might be desired.

Also I knowe I needed not to haue bene so polize in the declaration of this Carde to your Lordship, if the sayd Carde had bene very well made after the rules of Cosmographie. For your Lordship would soone vnderstand it better then I, or any other that could haue made it: and so it should appeare that I shewed Delphinū narare. But for that I haue made it after my rude manner, it is necessary that I be the declarer or glorer of mine own worke, or els your Lordship should haue had much labour to vnderstand it, which now with it also cannot be excused, it is so grossely done. But I knew you looked for no curious things of mee, and therefore I trust your Lordship will accept this, and hold me for excused. In other mens letters that they write they craue pardon that at this present they write no larger: but I must finish, asking pardon that at this present I write so largely. Iesus preserve your Lordship with augmentation of dignities.

Your seruant Robert
Thorne, 1527.

*Epitaphium M. Roberti Thorni, sepulti in Ecclesia
Templariorum Londini.*

Robertus iacei hic Thorne, quem Bristolia quondam
Prætoris meritò legit ad officium.
Huic etenim semper magnæ Respublica curæ,
Charior & cunctis patria diuitijs.
Ferre inopia auxilium, tristes componere lites,

Dulce huic consilio quosque iuuare fuit,
 Qui pius exaudis miserorum vota precésque,
 Christe huic caeli des regione locum,

A briefe Treatise of the great Duke of *Moscovia* his
 genealogie, being taken out of the Moscouites
 manuscript Chronicles written
 by a Polacke.



I had almost euer bene the custome of nations, in searching out the infantie and first beginnings of their estate, to ascribe the same vnto such authoꝝ as liued among men in great honour and endued mankinde with some one or other excellent benefite. Nowe, this inbred desire of all nations to blaze and set foorth their owne petigree hath so much preuayled with the greater part, that leauing eke vndoubted trueth, they haue betaken themselues vnto meere fables and fictious. Yea and the Chronicles of many nations written in diuers and sundrie ages doe testifie the same. Euen so the Grecians boasted that they were either Autochthones, that is earth-bredde, or els lineally descended from the Gods. And the Romans affirme that Mars was father vnto their first founder Romulus. Right well therefore and iudicially sayeth Titus Liuius: Neither meane I to auouch (quoth he) ne to disable or confute those thinges which befoze the building and foundation of the Citie haue bene reposed, being moze adozned and fraught with Poeticall fables then with incorrupt and sacred monuments of trueth: antiquitie is to be pardoned in this behalfe, namely in ioyning together matters historிக்கall and poeticall, to make the beginnings of cities to seme the moze honourable. For such antiquity it selfe is accounted such a notable argument of true nobility, euen priuate men in all ages haue contended thereabout. Wherefoze citizens of Rome being desirous to make demonstration of their Gentrie, vse to haue their auncetours armes painted along the walles of their houses: in which regarde they were so puffed vp, that oftentimes they would arrogantly disdaine those men, which by their owne vertue had attained vnto honour. In like sorte Poets, when the originall of their worthies and hzaue champions was either vnterly vnknowne or somewhat obscure, would ofte referre it vnto their Gods themselues. So in these our dayes (to lette passe others) the Turkish Emperour with greet presumption boasteth himselfe to bee descended of the Troian blood. Likewise the great duke of Moscouie, to make himselfe and his predecessours seme the moze soueraigne, deriueth the beginnings of his parentage from the Romane Emperours, yea euen from Augustus Cesar. Albeit therefore no man is so soude as to accept of this report for trueth, yet will wee briefly set downe what the Moscouites haue written in their Chronicles as touching this matter.

Augustus (beleue it who listeth) had certaine brethren or kinsfolkes which were appointed gouernours ouer diuers prouinces. Amongst the rest one Prussus (of whome Prussia was named) had his place of gouernment assigned vnto him vpon the shore of the eastern or Baltick sea, and vpon the famous riuer of Wixel. This mans graund children or nephewes of the fourth generation were Rurek, Sinaus, and Truuor, who likewise inhabited in the very same places. Whereas therefore at the very same time the Russians or the Moscouites without any ciuill regiment possessed large and spacious territories towards the north, the foresayd thre brethren, vpon the perswasion of one Gostomilus the chiefe citizen of Nouogrod, in the yeare since the worldes creation (according to the computation of the Greekes) 6370, which was in the yeare of our Loyd 572, were sent for, to beare rule. And so ioyning their kinsman Olechus vnto them, and diuiding these huge countreys among themselues, they laboured to reduce the barbarous and sauage people vnto a ciuill kinde of life.

Sinaus and Truuor deceasing without issue, Rurek succeeded and lefte a sonne behinde him named Igor; who not being of sufficient yeres to beare rule, was committed vnto the protection of his kinsman Olechus. The sayde Igor begate of Oiha daughter vnto a citizen of Plesco (who, after her husbände was slaine by his enemies, taking her iourney to Constantinople, was there baptized by the name of Helena) a sonne called Stoslaus, who fought many battels with the neighbour countreys. Howbeit at length Stoslaus was slayne by his foe, who making a drinking cup of his skull, engraued thereupon in golden letters this sentence: Seeking

Russia became
 ciuill in y^r yeare
 of our Loyd
 572.

after other mens, he lost his owne. He left behind him three sonnes, namely Teropolchus, Olega, and Vulodimir. The which Vulodimir hauing slaine his two brethren, became sole gouernour of Russia, or (as the Moscouites call it) Rosseia, his owne selfe. This man beginning at length to loath and mislike the ethnike religion, and the multitude of false gods, applied his minde vnto the religion of Christ, and hauing taken to wife Anna sister vnto Basilus and Constantinus Emperours of Constantinople, was together with his whole nation, in the yeare of Christ 988, baptized, and embraced the Christian religion, with the rites and ceremonies of the Greeke Church, and his name being changed, he was called Basilus.

Howbeit Zonaras reporteth that before the time of Vulodimir, Basilus Emperour of Constantinople sent a bishop vnto the Russians, by whose meanes they were conuerted vnto the Christian faith. He reporteth moreover that they would not be perswaded vntill they might see a miracle: whereupon the said bishop hauing made his prayers vnto almighty God, there vnto the booke of the Euangelists into the fire, which remained there vntoconsumed. And that by this miracle they were moued to giue credite vnto the doctrine of Christ, and to conforme themselves therunto.

The sonnes of Vulodimir were Vuifeslaus, Isoslaus, Iaroslaus, Suatopolcus, Borissus, Glebus, Stoslaus, Vulzeuolodus, Scanislaus, Sudislaus, and Podius who died in his childhhood. Amongst the residue all Russia was diuided by their father, who not being contented with their portions, but inuading each other, were most of them slaine by their mutuall contentions. Basilus and Glebus in regard of their holy conuersation were registered for Saints, whose feasts are euery yeere celebrated with great solemnitie vpon the twelfth of Nouember.

At length Iaroslaus only got the Soueraigne authoritie into his owne hands, and left behind him foure sonnes, Vvloedimir, Isoslaus, Weceslaus, and Vvulzeuolodus.

Kiow.

The foresaid Vulodimir sonne of Iaroslaus kept his residence at the ancient citie of Kiow standing vpon the riuer of Boristhenes, and after diuers conflicts with his kinsmen, hauing subdued all the prouinces vnto himselfe, was called Monomachos, that is, the onely champion. This man (for I thinke it not amiss to report those things which their owne Manuscript Chronicles make mention of) waged warre against Constantine the Emperour of Constantinople, and when he had wasted & ouerrun Thracia, being returned home with great and rich spoiles, and making preparation for new wars, Constantine sent Neophytus the Metropolitane of Ephesus and two Bishops, with the gouernour of Antiochia, and Eustaphius the Abbat of Ierusalem, to present rich and magnificent gifts vnto him; as namely, part of the crosse of our Saviour Christ, a crowne of gold, a drinking cup curiously made of Sardonyx stone, a cloake set all ouer with precious stones, and a golden chaine; commaunded them to salute him by the name of Czar (which name, as it may be prooued by many arguments, significth a king, and not an Emperour) and concluded a most inuolable league of amity and friendship with him.

The foresaid Vulodimir begate Vvulzeuolodus the second. This Vvulzeuolodus lefte eight sonnes behind him, Miscislaus, Isoslaus, Stoslaus, Teropolcus, Weceslaus, Romanus, Georgius, and Andrew. The sonnes of George were Roseslaus, Andrew, Basilus, and Demetrius.

1237.

Demetrius begat George, who in the yere 1237, was slaine by one Bathy a Tartarian duke, which Bathy wasted Moscouia, and subdued the same vnto himselfe. Since which time the Russians were tributary to the Tartars, and were gouerned by such dukes as they pleased to set ouer them. Howbeit the Tartars so greatly abused that authoritie, that when they sent their ambassadours vnto the prince of Moscouie, he was constrained to goe forth and meete with them, and (as Herbotus Fulstinus in his Polonian historie reporteth) to offer them a bason full of mares milk, and if they had spilt any whie thereof vpon their horses maines, to lick it off with his toung, and hauing conducted them into his princely court, to stand bareheaded before them while they late downe, and with all reuerence to giue eare and attendance vnto them. But by what meanes they shooke off at the length this poake of seruitude, I will forthwith declare.

About the same time almost all Polonia, and the dukedome of Silesia were ouerrun by the Tartars with fire and sword. Who hauing burnt Pressa the chiefe citie of Silesia, & being come before the citie of Legnitz, they fought there a most cruel and bloody field, wherein was slaine duke Henric himselfe being sonne vnto the most holy and deuout lady Heduce, with many others, whose monuments and graues be as yet extant in sundry places, and with an infinite multitude of common souldiers, insomuch that the Tartars filled nine great sakes with the eares of them which they had slaine. The Tartars to the end they might obtaine the victorie, presented vnto the view of our souldiers the portrature of a mans head placed by arte magique vpon a banner, wherein the letter X. was painted, which being shaken and moued by art and done beached forth a most loathsome stretch, & strooke such a terrour into the hearts of our men, that being as it were astonishd with the snaky visage of Medusa, they were utterly daunted and dismayed.

From

From thence Bathy and his company with the same bloodthirstie intent marched into Hungarie, and had almost slaine king Bela the fourth, who together with his sonne escaping by flight did scarcely ridde themselves out of the enemies hand. And when the whole world almost was exceedingly terrified at the cruell invasions of this most barbarous nation, at length Pope Innocentius the fourth sending ambassadours unto Bathy obtained peace for five yeeres: but to forsake his heathenish superstitions and to become a Christian, hee would by no means be perswaded. For he was by the instigation of the Saracens infected with devilish opinions of Mahomer, as being moze agreeable unto his barbarous rudenes, which euen unto this day the Tartars do maintaine, like as the prophane Turkes also.

These ambassadours were Iohan de Plano Carpini & Friar Benedic a Paganian.

This Bathy had a sonne called Tamerlan, whome the Moscouites call Temirkutla, who likewise, as it is recorded in histories, attained unto great renoume. For he carried about with him in a cage Baiazer the Turkish Emperour being fettered in golden chaines, and made him a laughing stocke unto all men.

Let vs now returne unto the Russians. George being slaine, Iaroslau his brother succeeded in his roome, and left behinde him three sonnes, Theodoros, Alexander and Andreas, Daniel the sonne of Alexander first established his royall seate in the citie of Mosco, and magnificently building the castle which before time had bene obscure, he tooke vpon him the title of the great Duke of Russia. He had five sonnes, namely, George, Alexander, Borissus, Ophonias, and Iohn. This Iohn succeeded his father, and because he continually carried a scrippe about with him to bestow almes, he was surnamed Kalera, which word signifieth a scrippe. His sonnes were, Simeon, Iohn, and Andrew. He gaue unto his sonne Simeon the prouinces of Vlodimiria and Moscouia: which Simeon deceasing without issue his brother Iohn succeeded, who begate a sonne called Demetrius. This Demetrius had seuen sonnes, namely, Daniel, Basilus, George, Andrew, Peter, Iohn, & Constantine. Basilus reigned after his fathers death. This man dishonouring his sonne which was called after his owne name, because he suspected his mother of adulterie, at his death surrendered his Dukedome unto his brother George, who kept his nephewe a long time in prison. Howbeit at his death, though himselfe had two sonnes namely Andrew and Demetrius, yet being stricken perhaps with remorse of conscience, he bestowed the Dukedome vpon his nephewe Basilus. Against whom his two cousins bearing a grudge waged warre, and at length having taken him by a wily stratagem they put out his eyes. Notwithstanding the Boiarsens (for so the Moscouites call their nobles) continued their duetiuill alleageance unto this their blinde Duke, whom for his blindness they called Czernox, that is to say, darke or darkened. He left a sonne behinde him called Iuan Vasilowich who brought the Russian common wealth, being before his time but obscure, unto great excellencie and renoume. Who that he might the better get all the supertority into his owne hands put to death so many sonnes and nephewes of the former Dukes as he could lay hold on, and began to take vpon him the title of the great Duke of Vlodimiria, Moscouia, and Nouogardia, and to call himselfe the Monarch or Czar of all Russia. He brought vnder his subiection two principall cities, namely Plesco being the only walled citie in all Moscouie, and Mouogrod, both of them being in regard of traffike most riche and flourishing cities, and hauing bin subiect vnto the Lithuanians for the space of 50. yeeres before. The treasure of Nouogrod was so exceeding, that the great Duke is reported to haue carried home from thence 300. carts laden with gold and siluer.

The citie of Mosco first made the seate of the great Duke.

Iuan Vasilowich,

The name of the Moscouites first aduanced.

He also was the first man that waged warre against the Polonians and the Liunionians: against Polonia he pretended a quarrell, alleaging that his daughter Helena (whome hee had married vnto Alexander the great Duke of Lithuania, which was after ward king of Polonia) was euil treated, and was withdrawn from the Greekish religion vnto the ceremonies of the Church of Rome. But against the Liunionians for none other cause, but onely for an incredible desire of enlarging his dominions. Howbeit what impulsie causes of little or no moment happened in the mean season, we will in another place moze plainly declare. Notwithstanding he was very often and in diuers battels vanquished by Pleitebergius the great master of the Dutch knights: but it is not to the purpose to stand any longer vpon this discourse.

He was married first vnto Marie the Duke of Tyuersky his daughter, and of her hee begate Iohn, vnto whom in his life time hee surrendered his Dukedome, and married him vnto the daughter of Stephan the Palatine of Moldaui: which Iohn, after he had begotten his sonne Demetrius, deceased before his father.

Afterward Iuan Vasilowich aforesaide married a wife called Sophia being daughter vnto Thomas Palæologus, which is reported to haue had her dowry out of the Popes treasury, because the Moscouite had promised to conforme himselfe vnto the Romish Church. This Sophia being a woman of a princely and aspiring minde, and often complaining that she was married vnto the

Tartars

The pike of
the Tartars
shaken off.

Tartars vassal, at length by her instant intreatie and continual perswasions, and by a notable stratagem she cast off that slavish yoke very much unbecoming so mighty a prince. For whereas the Tartarian Duke had his procuratours and agents in the Holcovites court, who dwelt in their owne houses built within the very castle of Mosco, and were eye witnesses of all affaires which were there perfozmed: Sophia said she was admonished from heauen to builde a Temple in the selfe same place where the Tartars house stode, and to consecrate it unto Saint Nicholas: Being therfore deliuered of a sonne she intued the Tartarian Duke unto the solenne baptizing of him, and being come, she requested him to giue her his house, and obtained it at his hands. Which house being razed and those Tartarian espials beeing excluded, the Tartars at length were quite bereaued and utterly dispossessed of their authoritie which they had exercised ouer the Ruffians for many yeres, and could neuer yet recouer it; albeit they haue giuen sundry attempts. Of his wife Sophia he begate sire children, namely, a daughter called Helena, & five sonnes, that is to say, Gabriel, Demetrius, George, Simeon, and Andrew.

The Duke dome of right appertayned unto Demetrius the sonne of Iohn, which was the sonne of Vasilowich by his first marriage. Howbeit Sophia prevailed so with her husband, that neglecting his graund-child Demetrius, hee bestowed his Duke dome vpon Gabriel his sonne.

Andrew the younger had a sonne called Vvlodimir, of whom Mary was bozne, which in the yeere of Christ 1573. was married vnto Magnus the Duke of Holst.

Basilius.

Gabriel hauing obtained the great duke dome of Russia, changed his name calling himselfe Basilius, and applied his minde to the atchieving of high and great enterprizes. For hee reduced a great part of the duke dome of Moscouie, which Violdus the great Duke of Lithuania helde in possession, vnder his owne iurisdiction, and tooke vpon the riuier of Boristhenes (which the Ruffians call Neiper) many cities and especially Smolensco, in the yeere of our Loyd 1514. Hauing diuorced his first wife, hee begate of Helena daughter vnto Duke Glinskic, Iuan Vasilowich, which now this present 1580. reigneth as great Duke. Hee was bozne in the yeere of our Loyd 1528. the 25. of August, sire houres after the rising of the sonne. The great duke dome of Russia fell vnto the said Iuan Vasilowich in the fifth yeere of his age, hauing his vnckle George for his great protector: being 25. yeeres of age, and being of a strong body and of a couragious mind he subdued the Tartars of Cazan and Astracan vpon the riuier of Volgha, carrying their Dukes and chieftaines into captiuitie.

Iuan Vasilowich.

But by what wayes and meanes (after the league which by the intercession of the most sacred Roman Emperour, continued from the yeere 1503. for the space of fifty yeeres, was expired) hauing renewed warres against Liouonia, hee brought that most flourishing prouince into extreme miserie, vsing for the same purpose a new pretense, and alleadging that it belonged vnto him by right of inheritance, I tremble to recount: and it requireth a large historie, which perhaps in time and place conuenient some moze learned then my selfe will take vpon them to aduersell.

He is exceedingly addicted vnto piety and deuotion, and doth oftentimes obserue very strict fastings and abstinence with his monks: and whereas the Ruffes in doing reuerence & adoration vnto God doe beate their foreheades against the ground, this Iuan Vasilowich with performing of the same ceremonie cauleth his forehead to be ful of hoines and swellings, and sometimes to be black and blew, and very often to bleed. He is much delighted with building of Churches & spareth no cost for that purpose. Whether therfore by nature, or (which hee pretendeth to be the cause) by reason of his subjects malice & treacherie, he be so addicted vnto all rigour and cruelty, I dare not determine, especially sithens he hath not an illiberal or mishapen countenance, as Acrila is reported to haue had. Of his first wife which was sister vnto Mikira Romanowich, being nowe great steward of his household, he begate two sonnes, namely Iuan and Theodore. And albeit he was five times married, yet had he not one childe moze.

Theodore.

Whereas this Iuan Vasilowich vpon certaine frivolous reasons calleth himselfe the naturall lord of Liouonia, I thought it not amisse to adde an Epistle herewnto, which was written by a certaine honourable man concerning the same matter.

S. All wee which inhabite this prouince with all seemely reuerence and submission of mind, do offer most humble thanks vnto the Emperors most sacred and peerelesse maiesty our most gracious lord, in that according to his fatherly affection which he beareth towards all Christendome, and for the good & commodity of this our distressed and afflicted countrey, which these many yeres hath bin in stead of a bulwark against the inuasion of barbarous nations, he hath sent his ambassadoz vnto the great duke of Moscouia, In regard of which his fatherly loue and great benefite vouchsafed on vs, wee are ready when occasion shall serue, to aduenture our liues and goods: praying in the meane season vnto Almighty God, who is the onely establisher and confounder of

of common wealths, to bring this excellent woork, the foundation whereof is already laide vnto a prosperous conclusion. But as touching the title which the Moscouite maketh to this prouince; to say the very truth, we greatly wondred and were astonished at the declaration thereof. For it is most apparant, not onely out of all ancient and credible histories, but euen from the experience and state of these regions, that the said title and allegations are fabulous and fained. For out of all auncient monuments, by what names soeuer they bee called (whereof there are diuers extant among vs) it cannot be proued by any mention, nor yet by any likelihood or coniecture, that those things which the Moscouite affirmeth concerning the people which were gouernors of these regions in times past, and concerning the right and title of his ancestoers vnto this prouince, are grounded vpon truth.

For it is not vnknownen by what meanes this prouince, partly through the industry of marchants, and partly by the benefite of nauigation, was first discovered: neither is it vnknownen howe the inhabitants thereof beeing wholly addicted vnto heathenish superstitions and idolatrie, were by the croised knights (who dyew other knights professing the same order in Prussia to aide and accompanie them in this their enterprize) and that with great labour and difficultie, conuerted vnto the Christian faith: when as at the same time the Liunionians had no knowledge at all of the iurisdiction, religion, maners, or language of Moscouie: who had not onely no conuersation nor dealings with the Moscouites, but were estranged also from all other nations whatsoever: for leading a miserable, poore, barbarous, and heathenish life, in sauage maner among wilde beastes, and in the desert and solitary woods, they were vterly ignorant of God and destitute of ciuil magistrates. Howbeit this kind of gouernment was peculiar vnto them, namely that all of one familie and society vsed a kinde of reuerence vnto their elders moze then to any other, whom also, that their authoritie might be the greater, they called by the name of kings, and (albeit one of their families consisted of a 100. persons) they obeyed them in al respects, and after their rude and barbarous maner did them loyal seruice. At the very same time the Moscouites had receiued the religion, and the Ecclesiasticall ceremonies of the Greeke and Catherne Church, which religion they published and disperfed throughout all prouinces subiect to their dominion, vsing their owne proper letters and characters for the same purpose. Of all which things the Liunionians which very barbarously inhabited a lande beeing enuironed with Russia, Lithuania, Samogitia, Prussia, and the Baltic sea, neuer heard any report at all. It is mozeouer to be noted that neuer at any time heretofore either within the earth, or in other places of Liunia, there haue bene found any monuments at all of the antiquitie or letters of the Russes: which verily must needs haue come to passe, if the Moscouites, Russes, or any other nations which vse the foresaid particulars, had bozne rule and authoritie ouer the Liunionians: yea there had bene left some remainder and token, either of their religion and diuine worship, or of their lawes and customes, or at the least of their maners, language, and letters. This indeede we can in no wise deny, that euen in Liunia it selfe, there haue bin in times past and at this present are many and diuers languages spoken by the people. Howbeit no one language of them all hath any affinity either with the Moscouian tongue, or with the tongues of any other nations. But whereas the Moscouite pretendeth that there hath bin vsually payde a pension or tribute vnto himselfe and his predecessors out of the whole prouince, it is as incredible as the former.

About the beginning of this tragicall warre, the Moscouite, to cloke his tyranny and ambition vnder some faire pretense, amongst other of his demaunds, made mention also of a tribute which should be due vnto him out of the bishop of Dorpat his iurisdiction, whereof notwithstanding hee could neither bring any iust account, nor affirm any certainty: howbeit there is no man liuing to be found which either can tell of his owne remembrance, or from the relation of others, that any such tribute was euer paid vnto the Moscouite. What time therefore he referred al this negotiation vnto the master of the Liunionian order, and commanded him to get what knowledge hee could thereof from the men of Dorpat, & vrged the tribute, saying if it were worth but one haire, that he would not remit it: at length it was founde recoyded in the ancient Chronicles of Dorpat, that beyond the memory of man, when the territory of Pleasco contained nothing but woods and forests for wilde beastes, that the peasants of the liberty of Dorpat called Neuhus, by the consent of the Russian borderers, enioyed Bee-hiues in the said woods, and paid euery yeere in lieu thereof vnto the Russian gouernours, fire shillings of Liunionian coine. But so soone as the Russians had felled the woods and had built townes and villages in their place, the saide pension ceased together with the trees which were cut downe. Wherefore the saide fire shillings were neuer since that time either demanded by the Russes or paid by the Liunionians. These things which I knew concerning the causes of the Liunionian warres I thought good to signifie vnto you. Giuen the 22. of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1576.

The continu-
dices of traf-
fike and of nau-
igation.

Ordinances, instructions, and aduertisements of and for the direction of the intended voyage for Cathay, compiled, made, and deliuered by the right worshipfull M. Sebastian Cabota Esquier, gouernour of the mysterie and companie of the Marchants aduenturers for the discoverie of Regions, Dominions, Islands and places vnknownen, the 9. day of May, in the yere of our Lord God 1553. and in the 7. yeere of the reigne of our most dread soueraigne Lord Edward the 6. by the grace of God, king of England, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the Church of England and Ireland, in earth supream head,

IT is the Captaine general, with the pilot maior, the masters, marchants & other officers, to be so knit and ascorbed in vnitie, loue, conformitie, and obedience in euery degree in all liues, that no dissention, variance, or contention may rise or spring betwixt them and the mariners of this companie, to the damage or hindrance of the voyage: for that dissention (by many experiences) hath ouerthrowne many notable intended and likely enterprises and exploits.

2 Item, for as much as euery person hath giuen an othe to be true, faithfull, and loial subiects, and leage men to the kings most excellent Maiestie, his heires and successors, and for the obseruation of all lawes & statutes, made for the preservation of his most excellent Maiestie, & his crown Imperiall of his realmes of England and Ireland, and to serue his grace, the Realme, and this present voyage truly, and not to gine by, intermit, or leaue off the said voyage and enterprise vntill it shalbe accomplished, so farre forth as possibilitie and life of man may serue or extend: Therefore it behoueth euery person in his degree, as well for conscience, as for dueties sake to remember his said charge, and the accomplishment thereof.

3 Item, where furthermore euery mariner or passenge: in his ship, hath giuen like othe to bee obedient to the Captaine generall, and to euery Captaine and master in his ship, for the obseruation of these present orders contained in this booke, and all other which hereafter shalbe made by the 12. counsaillers in this present booke named, or the most part of them, for the better conduction, and preservation of the flecte, and atchieuing of the voyage, and to be premp, ready and obedient in all acts and feates of honesty, reason, and duetic to be ministered, shewed & executed, in advancement and preferment of the voyage and exploit: therefore it is conuenient that this present booke shall once euery weeke (by the discretion of the Captaine) be read to the said companie, to the intent that euery man may the better remember his othe, conscience, duetic and charge.

4 Item, euery person by vertue of his othe, to doe effectually & with good wil, as farre forth as him shall complate) all, and euery such act and acts, deede and deedes, as shalbe to him or them from time to time commanded, committed and enioyned (during the voyage) by the Captaine generall, with the assent of the Counsell and assistants, as well in and during the whole Navigation and voyage, as also in discouering and landing, as cases and occasions shall require.

5 Item, all courses in Navigation to be set and kept, by the aduice of the Captaine, Pilot maior, masters, & masters mates, with the assents of the counsaillers and the most number of them, and in voyces vniformely agreeing in one to preuaile, and take place, so that the Captaine generall, shall in all counsailes and assemblies haue a double voyce.

6 Item, that the flecte shal keep together, and not separate themselues asunder, as much as by winde & weather may be done or permitted, & that the Captaines, Pilots & masters shall speedily come aboard the Admiral, when and as often as he shall seeme to haue iust cause to assemble them for counsaile or consultation to be had concerning the affaires of the flecte and voyage.

7 Item, that the marchants, and other skilful persons in writing, shal daily write, describe, and put in memorie the Navigation of euery day and night, with the points, and obseruation of the lands, tides, elements, altitude of the sunne, course of the moon and starres, and the same so noted by the order of the Master and pilot of euery ship to be put in writing, the captaine generall assembling the masters together once euery weeke (if winde and weather shal serue) to conferre all the obseruations, and notes of the said ships, to the intent it may appeare wherein the notes do agree, and wherein they dissent, and vpon good debatement, deliberation, and conclusion determined, to put the same into a common leger, to remain of record for the companie: the like order to be kept in proportioning of the Cardes, Astrolabes, and other instruments prepared for the voyage, at the charge of the companie.

8 Item, that all enterprises and exploits of discouering or landing to search Isles, regions, and such like, to be searched, attempted, and enterprised by good deliberation, and common assent, determined aduisedly. And that in all enterprises, notable ambassages, suites, requests, or presentment of giftes, or presents to Princes, to be done and executed by the captaine generall in person,

person, or by such other, as he by common assent shall appoint or assigne to doe or cause to be done in the same.

9 Item, the steward and cooke of euery ship, and their associates, to giue and render to the captaine and other head officers of their shipp weekly (or oftner) if it shall seeme requisite, a lust or plaine and perfect account of expenses of the victuals, as well flesh, fish, bisket, meate, or bread, as also of beere, wine, oyle, or vineger, and all other kinde of victualling vnder their charge, and they, and euery of them so to order and dispense the same, that no wattle or vnprofitable expence be made otherwise then reason and necessitie shall command.

10 Item, when any inferiour or meane officer of what degree or condition he shall be, shall be tried vntue, negligent, or vnprofitable in or about his office in the voyage, or not to vse him selfe in his charge accordingly, then euery such officer to be punished or remoued at the discretion of the captaine and assistants, or the most part of them, and the person so remoued not to be reputed, accepted, or taken from the time of his remouie, any moze for an officer, but to remaine in such condition and place, as hee shall be assigned vnto, and none of the companie, to resist such chastisement or worthe punishment, as shall be ministred vnto him moderatly, according to the fault or desert of his offence, after the lawes and common customes of the seas, in such cases heretofore vsed and obserued.

11 Item, if any Mariner or officer inferiour shall be found by his labour not meete nor worthe the place that he is presently shipped for, such person may bee vnshipped and put on lande at any place within the kings Maiesties realme & dominion, and one other person moze able and worthy to be put in his place, at the discretion of the captaine and masters, & order to be taken that the partie dismissed shall be allowed proportionably the value of that he shall haue deserued to the time of his dismissal or discharge, & he to giue order with sureties, pawn, or other assurance, to repay the ouerplus of that he shall haue receiued, which he shall not haue deserued, & such wages to be made with the partie newly placed as shall be thought reasonable, and he to haue the furniture of all such necessaries as were prepared for the partie dismissed, according to right and conscience.

12 Item, that no blaspheming of God, or detestable swearing be vsed in any ship, nor communication of ribaldrie, filthy tales, or vnghoosly talke to be suffered in the company of any ship, neither dicing, carding, tabling, nor other diueltish games to be frequented, whereby ensueth not onely poertie to the players, but also strife, variance, brawling, fighting, and oftentimes murder to the vtter destruction of the parties, and prouoking of Gods most iust wrath, and swoorde of vengeance. These and all such like pestilences, and contagions of vices, and sinnes to be eschewed, and the offenders once manifested, and not refoyming, to be punished at the discretion of the captaine and master, as appertaineth.

13 Item, that morning and euening prayer, with other common seruices appointed by the kings Maiestie, and lawes of this Realme to be read and saide in euery ship daily by the minister in the Admirall, and the marchant or some other person learned in other ships, and the Bible or paraphrases to be read deuoutly and Christianly to Gods honour, and for his grace to be obtained, and had by humble and heartie praier of the Nauigants accordingly.

the minister in the voyage.

14 Item, that euery officer is to be charged by Inuentorie with the particulars of his charge, and to render a perfect account of the disspaying of the same together with modest & temperate disspending of powder, shot, and vse of all kinde of artillery, which is not to be misused, but diligently to be preferred for the necessary defence of the flecte and voyage, together with due keeping of all instruments of your Nauigation, and other requisites.

15 Item, no liquour to be spilt on the balast, nor filthines to be left within boord: the cook room, and all other places to be kept cleane for the better health of the companie, the gronalls & pages to be brought by according to the laudable order and vse of the Sea, as well in learning of Nauigation, as in exercising of that which to them appertaineth.

16 Item, the liueries in apparel giuen to the mariners be to be kept by the marchants, and not to be woone, but by the order of the captaine, when he shall see cause to muster or shewe them in good aray, for the auancement and honour of the voyage, and the liueries to be redeliuered to the keeping of the marchants, vntill it shall be thought conuenient for euery person to haue the full vse of his garment.

17 Item, when any mariner or any other passenger shall haue neede of any necessarie furniture of apparell for his body, and conseruation of his health, the same shall bee deliuered him by the Marchant, at the assignement of the captaine and Master of that shipp, wherein such needie person shall be, at such reasonable price as the same cost, without any gaine to be exacted by the marchants, the value thereof to be entered by the marchant in his booke, and the same to be discounted off the parties wages, that so shall receiue, and weare the same.

18 Item the sicke, diseased, weake, and visited person within boord, to be tended, relieved, comforted, and holpen in the time of his infirmitie, and euery maner of person, without respect, to beare anothers burden, and no man to refuse such labour as shall be put to him, for the moit benefit, and publike wealch of the voyage, and enterpryse, to be atchieued exactly.

19 Item if any person shall fortune to die, or miscary in the voyage, such apparell, and other goods, as he shall haue at the time of his death, is to be kept by the order of the captaine and Master of the shippe, and an inuentorie to be made of it, and conserued to the vse of his wife, and children, or otherwise according to his mind, and wil, and the day of his death to be entred in the Marchants and Stewards bookes: to the intent it may be knowen what wages he shall haue deserued to his death, and what shall rest due to him.

20 Item, that the Marchants appointed for this present voyage, shall not make any shew or sale of any kind of marchandizes, or open their commodities to any forrein prince, or any of their subiects, without the consent, priuie, or agreement of the Captaines, the Cape Marchants and the assistants, or foure of them, whereof the captaine generall, the Pilot Maio, and Cape Marchant to be three, and euery of the partie marchants to shewe his reckoning, to the Cape Marchant, when they, or any of them shall be required: and no commutation or trucke to be made by any of the partie marchants, without the assent abouesaid: and all wares, and commodities trucked, bought or giuen to the companie, by way of marchandise, trucke, or any other respect, to be booked by the marchants, and to be wel ordred, packed, and conserued in one masse entirely, and not to be broken or altered, vntill the shippes shall returne to the right discharge, and inuentorie of al goods, wares, and marchandises so trucked, bought, or otherwise dispensed, to be presented to the Governour, Consuls, and Assistants in London, in good order, to the intent the Kings Gracitie may be truly answered of that which to his grace by his grant of incorporation is limited, according to our moit bound dueties, and the whole companie also to haue that which by right vnto them appertaineth, and no embezement shall be vsed, but the truth of the whole voyage to be open, to the common wealch and benefite of the whole companie, and mysterie, as appertaineth, without guile, fraude, or male engine.

King Edwards
corporation.

21 Item, no particular person, to hinder or prejudice the common stocke of the company, in sale or preferment of his own proper wares, and things, and no particular eniergent or purchase to be employed to any seuerrall profite, vntill the common stocke of the companie shall be furnished, and no person to hinder the common benefite in such purchases or contingents, as shall fortune to any one of them, by his owne proper policie, industrie, or chance, nor no contention to rise in that behalfe, by any occasion of icwel, stone, pearles, precious mettals, or other things of the region, where it shall chance the same to rise, or to be found, bought, trucked, permitted, or giuen: but euery person to be bounden in such case, and vpon such occasion, by order, and direction, as the generall captaine, and the Councell shall establish and determine, to whose order and discretion the same is left: for that of things vncertaine, no certaine rules may or can be giuen.

22 Item not to disclole to any nation the state of our religion, or to passe it ouer in silence, without any declaration of it, seeming to beare with such lawes, and rites, as the place hath, where you shall arriue.

23 Item for as much as our people, and shippes may appeare vnto them strange and wondrous, and theirs also to ours: it is to be considered, how they may be vsed, learning much of their natures and dispositions, by some one such person, as you may first either allure, or take to be brought aboord your ships, and there to learne as you may, without violence or force, and no woman to be temptid, or intreated to incontinencie, or dishonestie.

24 Item the person so taken, to be well entertained, vsed, and apparelled, to be set on land, to the intent that he or she may allure other to draw nigh to shewe the commodities: and if the person taken may be made drunke with your beere, or wine, you shall know the secrets of his heart.

25 Item our people may not passe further into a lande, then that they may be able to recouer their pinnelles, or ships, & not to credit the faire words of the strange people, which be many times tried subtle, and false, nor to be drawn into perill of losse, for the desire of golde, silver, or riches, and esteeme your owne commodities aboue al other, and in countenance shew not much to desire the forren commodities: neuertheless take them as for friendship, or by way of permutation.

26 Item euery nation and region is to be considered aduisedly, & not to prouoke them by any disdain, laughing, contempt, or such like, but to vse them with prudent circumspection, with al gentleness, and curtesie, and not to tary long in one place, vntill you shall haue attained the moit worthy place y may be found, in such sort, as you may returne to victuals sufficient, prosperously.

27 Item the names of the people of euery Island, are to be taken in writing, with the commodities, and incommodities of the same, their natures, qualities, and dispositions, the site of the same,

same, and what things they are most desirous of, & what commodities they wil most willingly de- part with, & what metalls they haue in hills, mount aines, streames, or riuers, in, or vnder the earth.

28 Item if people shal appeare gathering of stones, gold, mettall, or other like, on the sand, your pinnelles may draw nigh, marking what things they gather, vsing or playing vpon the drumme, or such other instruments, as may allure them to harkening, to fantasie, or desire to see, and heare your instruments and voyces, but kepe you out of danger, and shewe to them no poynt or signe of rigour and hostilitie.

29 Item if you shall be inuited into any Lords or Rulers housz, to dinner, or other parlance, goe in such order of strength, that you may be stronger then they, and be warie of woods and amb- bushes, and that your weapons be not out of your possessions.

30 Item if you shall see them weare Lyons or Beares skimes, hauing long bowes, and ar- rowes, be not afraid of that sight: for such be woꝛne oftentimes moze to feare strangers, then for any other cause.

31 Item there are people that can swimme in the sea, hauens, & riuers, naked, hauing bowes and shafts, coueting to draw nigh your ships, which if they shal finde not wel watched, or warded, they wil assault, desirous of the bodies of men, which they couet for meate: if you resist them, they die, and so will flee, and therefore diligent watch is to be kept both day & night, in some Islands.

32 Item if occasion shal serue, that you may giue aduertisements of your proceedings in such things as may correspond to the expectation of the company, and likelihood of successe in the voy- age, passing such dangers of the seas, perils of ice, intollerable coldes, and other impediments, which by sundry authozs & wꝛiters, haue ministred matter of suspition in some heads, that this voyage could not succede for the extremitie of the Noꝛth pole, lacke of passage, & such like, which haue caused wauering minds, and doubtful heads, not onely to withdraw themselues from the ad- uenture of this voyage, but also disswaded others from the same, the certaintie wherof, when you shall haue tried by experience, (most certaine Master of all woꝛldly knowledge) then for declara- tion of the truth, which you shall haue experied, you may by common assent of counsell, sende ei- ther by land, or other waies, such two or one person, to bying the same by credite, as you shal think may passe in safetie: which sending is not to be done, but vpon vrgent causes, in likely successe of the voyage, in finding of passage, in to wardlines of beneficiall traffike, or such other like, whereby the company being aduertised of your estates and proceedings, may further prouide, to see, and determine that which may seeme most good and beneficiall for the publike wealth of the same: either prouiding before hand such things, as shall bee requisite for the continuance of the voyage, or else otherwise to dispose as occasion shall serue: in which things your wise domes and discreti- ons are to be vsed, and shewed, and the contents of this capitule, by you much to be pondered, for that you be not ignorant, how many persons, as well the kings Maiestie, the Lords of his honora- ble Counsell, this whole companie, as also your wiues, children, kinfolkes, allies, friends and fa- miliars, be replemished in their hearts with ardent desire to learne and know your estates, conditi- ons, and wellfares, and in what likelihood you be in, to obtain this notable enterprise, which is ho- ped no lesse to succede to you, then the Orient or Occident Indias haue to the high benefite of the Emperour, and kings of Portingal, whose subiects industries, and trauailes by sea, haue enriched them, by those lands and Islands, which were to all Cosmographers, and other wꝛiters both un- knowne, and also by apparances of reason voide of experientie thought and reputed inhabitable for extremities of heates, and colds, and yet indeed tried most rich, peopled, temperate, and so com- modious, as all Europe hath not the like.

Reason voide
of experientie.

33 Item no conspiracies, parttakings, factions, false tales, vnttrue reportes, which be the very seedes, and fruits of contention, discord, & confusion, by euill tongues to be suffered, but the same, & all other vngodlines to be chastened charitably with brotherly loue, and alwaies obedience to be vsed and practised by al persons in their degrees, not only for duetie and conscience sake towards God, vnder whose mercifull hand nauigants aboute all other creatures naturally bee most nigh, and vicine, but also for prudent and woꝛldly pollicie, and publike weale, considering and alwaies hauing present in your mindes that you be all one most royall kings subiects, and naturals, with daily remembrance of the great importance of the voyage, the honour, glorie, praise, and benefite that depend of, and vpon the same, toward the common wealth of this noble Realme, the aduance- ment of you the traauilers therein, your wiues, and children, and so to endeouour your selues as that you may satisfie the expectation of them, who at their great costs, charges, and expences, haue so furnished you in good sort, and plentie of all necessaries, as the like was neuer in any realme scene, bled, or knownen requisite and needful for such an exploit, which is most likely to be achie- ued, and brought to good effect, if euery person in his vocation shall endeouour himselfe according to his charge, and most bounden duetie: praying the liuing God, to giue you his grace, to accom-
pish

plish your charge to his glorie, whose merciful hand that prosper your voyage, and preserve you from all dangers.

In witness whereof I Sebastian Gabota, Gouvernour aforesaide, to these present ordinances, haue subscribed my name, and put my seale, the day and yeere aboue written.

The names of the twelue Counsellors appointed in *this voyage.*

- 1 Sir Hugh Willoughby Knight, Captaine generall.
 - 2 Richard Chancelour Captaine of the Edward Bonaucure, and Pilot generall of the flecte.
 - 3 George Burton Cape marchant.
 - 4 Master Richard Stafford Minister.
 - 5 Thomas Langlie Marchant.
 - 6 James Dalabere Gentleman.
 - 7 William Gefferson Master of the Bona Speranza Admittall.
 - 8 Stephen Burrough Master of the Edward Bonaucure.
 - 9 Gornelius Durfurth Master of the Confidentia.
 - 10 Roger Wilson.
 - 11 John Buckland.
 - 12 Richard Ingram.
- } Masters mates.

Exemplar Epistolæ seu literarum Missiuarum, quas illustrissimus Princeps Eduardus eius nominis Sextus, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex, misit ad Principes Septentrionalem, ac Orientalem mundi plagam inhabitantes iuxta mare glaciale, nec non Indiam Orientalem; Anno Domini 1553 Regni sui anno septimo, & ultimo.



Eduardus sextus, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Rex, &c. Omnibus Regibus & principibus ac dominis, & cunctis Iudicibus terræ, & Ducibus eius, quibuscunque est excellens aliqua dignitas in ea, cunctis in locis quæ sunt sub vniuerso cælo: Pax, tranquillitas, & honor vobis, terris, & regionibus vestris quæ imperio vestro subiacent, cuique vestrum quemadmodum conuenit ei. Propterea quod indidit Deus Opt. Max. hominibus præ cunctis alijs viuentibus, cor & desiderium tale, vt appetat quisque cum alijs societatem inire, amare, & vicissim amari, beneficijs afficere, & mutua accipere beneficia studeat, idem cuique pro facultate sua hoc desiderium in omnibus quidem hominibus beneficijs fouere & conseruare conuenit, in illis autem maximè, qui hoc desiderio adducti, à remotis etiam regionibus ad eos veniunt. Quo enim longius iter eius rei gratia ingressi sunt, eò ardentius in eis hoc desiderium fuisse declararunt. Insuper etiam ad hoc, nos patrum maiorumque nostrorum exempla inuitant, qui semper humanissimè susceperunt & benignissimè tractauerunt illos, qui tum à locis propinquis, tum à remotis, eos amicè adibant, eorum se protectioni commendantes, Quod si omnibus id præstare æquum est, certè mercatoribus imprimis præstari debet, qui per vniuersum orbem discurrunt, mare circumlustrantes & aridam, vt res bonas & viles, quæ Dei beneficio in regione eorum inueniuntur, ad remotissimas regiones & regna adferant, atque inde vicissim referant, quòd suæ regioni vtile ibi repererint: vt & populi ad quos eunt, non destituantur commodis quæ non profert illis terra eorum, & ipsi sint participes rerum quibus illi abundant, Nam Deus cæli & terræ, humano generi maximè consulens, noluit vt omnia in quavis regione inuenirentur, quò regio ope alterius regionis indigeret, & gens ab alia gente commodum aliquod expectaret, ac ita stabiliretur amicitia inter omnes, singuliq; omnibus benefacere quærent. Hoc itaque in eundem ac stabiliendam amicitiam desiderio moti viri quidam regni nostri, iter in remotas maritimas regiones instituerunt, vt inter nostros & illos populos, viam mercibus inferendis & efferendis aperirent, nosq; rogauerunt vt id illis concederemus. Qui petitioni illorum annuentes, concessimus viro honorabili & forti, Hugoni Wilibeo, & alijs qui cum eo sunt seruis nostris fidis & charis, vt pro sua voluntate, in regiones eis priùs incognitas eant, quæ situri ea quibus nos caremus, & adducant illis ex nostris terris id quo illi carent. Atque ita illis & nobis commodum inde accedat, sitq; amicitia perpetua, & fœdus indissolubile inter illos & nos, dum permittent illi nos accipere de rebus, quibus superabundant in reg-

nis suis, & nos concedemus illis ex regnis nostris res, quibus destituuntur. Rogamus itaque vos Reges & Principes, & omnes quibus aliqua est potestas in terra, ut viris istis nostris, transitum permittatis per regiones vestras. Non enim tangent quicquam ex rebus vestris inuitis vobis. Cogitate quod homines & ipsi sunt. Et si qua re caruerint, oramus pro vestra beneficentia, eam vos illis tribuatis, accipientes vicissim ab eis quod poterunt rependere vobis. Ita vos gerite erga eos, quemadmodum cuperetis ut nos, & subditi nostri, nos gereremus erga seruos vestros, si quando transierint per regiones nostras. Atque promittimus vobis per Deum omnium quæ cælo, terra & mari continentur, per quæ vitam nostram, & tranquillitatem regnorum nostrorum, nos pari benignitate seruos vestros accepturos, si ad regna nostra aliquando venerint. Atque à nobis & subditis nostris, ac si nati fuissent in regnis nostris ita benigne tractabuntur, ut rependamus vobis benignitatem, quam nostris exhibueritis. Postquam vos Reges, Principes, & c. rogauimus, ut humanitate & beneficentia omni prosequamini seruos nostros nobis charos, oramus omnipotentem Deum nostrum, ut vobis diurnam vitam largiatur, & pacem quæ nullam habeat finem, Scriptum Londini, quæ ciuitas est primaria regni nostri, Anno 5515, à creato mundo, mense Iar, 14, die mensis, anno septimo regni nostri,

The copie of the letters missiue, which the right noble Prince

Edward the sixt sent to the Kings, Princes, and other Potentates, in

habiting the Northeast partes of the worlde, toward the mighty Empire of Carhay, at such time as Sir Hugh Willoughby knight, and Richard Chancelor, with their company, attempted their voyage thither in the yeere of Christ 1553. and the seuenith and last yeere of his raigne.

Edward the sixt, by the grace of God, King of England, France, and Ireland, &c. To all Kings, Princes, Rulers, Judges, and Governours of the earth, and all other hauing any excellent dignitie on the same, in all places vnder the vniuersall heauen: peace, tranquillite, and honour be vnto you, and your lands and regions, which are vnder your dominions, and to euery of you, as is conuenient.

Forasmuch as the great and Almighty God hath giuen vnto mankind, aboue all other liuing creatures, such an heart and desire, that euery man desireth to ioune friendship with other, to loue, and be loued, also to giue and receiue mutuall benefices: it is therefore the duty of all men, according to their power, to maintaine and increase this desire in euery man, with well deserving to all men, and especially to shew this good affection to such, as being moued with this desire, come vnto them from farre countreies. For how much the longer voyage they haue attempted for this intent, so much the more doe they thereby declare that this desire hath bene ardent in them. Furthermoze also, the examples of our fathers and predecessors doe inuite vs hereto, forasmuch as they haue euer gently and louingly intreated such as of friendly mind came to them, as well from Countreies neare hand, as farre remote, commending themselves to their protection. And if it be righte and equity to shew such humanitie toward all men, doubtlesse the same ought chiefly to be shewed to marchants, who wandring about the world, search both the land and the sea, to carry such good and profitable things, as are found in their Countreies, to remote regions and kingdomes, and againe to bring from the same, such things as they find there commodious for their owne Countreies: both as well that the people, to whom they goe, may not be destitute of such commodities as their Countreies bring not forth to them, as that also they may be partakers of such things, whereof they abound. For the God of heauen and earth greatly prouiding for mankind, would not that all things should be found in one region, to the ende that one should haue neede of another, that by this meanes friendship might be established among all men, and euery one seeke to gratifie all. For the establishing and furtherance of which vniuersall amitie, certaine men of our Realme, moued hereto by the said desire, haue instituted and taken vpon them a voyage by sea into farre Countreies, to the intent that betweene our people and them, a way may be opened to bring in, and carry out marchandizes, desiring vs to further their enterprize. Who assenting to their petition, haue licensed the right valiant and worthy Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, and other our trusty and faithfull seruants, which are with him, according to their desire, to goe to countreies to them heretofore vnknown, as well to seeke such things as we lacke, as also to carry vnto them from our regions, such things as they lacke. So that hereby not onely commoditie may ensue both to them and vs, but also an indissoluble and perpetuall league of friendship be established betweene vs both, while they per-

must vs to take of their things, such whereof they haue abundance in their regions, and we againe grant them such things of ours, whereof they are destitute. We therfore desire you kings & princes, and al other, to whom there is any power on the earth, to permit vnto these our seruants free passage by your regions and dominions: for they shall not touch any thing of yours without willing vnto you. Consider you that they also are men. If therfore they shall stand in neede of any thing, we desire you of all humanitie, and for the nobilitie which is in you, to ayde and helpe them with such things as they lacke, receiuing againe of them such things as they shall bee able to giue you in recompense. Show your selues so towards them, as you would that we and our subiects should showe our selues towards your seruants, if at any time they shall passe by our regions.

Thus doing, we promise you by the God of all things that are contained in heauen, earth, and the Sea, and by the life and tranquillitie of our kingdomes, that we will with like humanitie accept your seruants, if at any time they shall come to our kingdomes, where they shall as friendly and gently bee entertained, as if they were borne in our Dominions, that wee may hereby recompence the fauour and benignitie which you haue shewed to our men. Thus after we haue desired you Kings and princes, &c. with all humanity and fauour, to entertaine our welbeloued seruants, we will pray our Almighty God, to graunt you long life, and peace, which neuer shall haue ende. Written in London, which is the chiefe Citie of our kingdome, in the yere from the creation of the world, 5515, in the moneth of Iar, the foureteenth day of the moneth, and seuenth yere of our reigne,

This letter was written also in Greeke, and diuers other languages.

The true copie of a note found written in one of the two ships, to wit, the Speranza, which wintred in Lappia, where sir Hugh Willoughby and all his companie died, being frozen to death, Anno 1553.



The voyage intended for the discouerie of Cathay, and diuers other regions, dominions, Ilands, and places vnknown, set forth by the right worshipful, master Sebastian Cabota Esquire, and Gouvernour of the mysterie and company of the Marchants Aduenturers of the citie of London: which flecte being furnished, did set forth the tenth day of May, 1553, and in the seuenth yere of our most dread Soueraigne Lord, and King, Edward the sixt.

The names of the shippes of the flecte, and of their burden, together with the names of the Captaines, and Counsellors, Pilot Maior, Masters of the Ships, Marchants, with other officers, and Mariners, as hereafter followeth.

The first ship.

The Bona Esperanza, Admirall of the flecte, of 120. tunnes, hauing with her a pinnesse, and a boate.

Sir Hugh Willoughby, knight, Captaine generall of the flecte.

William Gefferson, Master of the shippe.

Roger Wilson, his Mate.

William Girtons, Charles Barret, Gabriel Willoughby, Iohn Andrews, Alexander Woodfoord, Ralph Chatterton, Marchants.

Mariners and officers, according to the custome, and vse of the Seas,

Iohn Brooke, Master Gunner.

Nicholas Anthony, Boateswaine,

Iohn Web, his Mate.

Christopher Banbrucke, Thomas Dauison, Robert Rosse, Thomas Simpson, quarter Masters.

William White, Iames Smith, Thomas Painter, Iohn Smith, their Mates.

Richard Gwinne, George Goufwinne, Carpenters.

Robert Gwinne, Purser.

Laurence Edwards, his Mate, and Couper.

Richard Morgan, Cooke.

Thomas Nashe, his Mate.

William Light, Iohn Brande, Cutbert Chelsie, George Blage, Thomas Walker, Thomas Allen, Edward Smith, Edward Hunt, Iohn Fawkner, Rowland Brooke.

Alexander Gardiner, Richard Molton, Surgeons, which two were taken in at Harwich.

Discharged

Iar. I would
reade Iar,
that is, in the
Saraian lan-
guage, mixt of
Turkish and
Egyptian,
Fethiatic, in-
terpreted by
them the mo-
st to let
ships to the
sea.

Discharged at Harwich, by reason of sickness, George Blake, Nicholas Anthony.

For pickerie ducked at the yards arme, and so discharged Thomas Nash.

The Edward Bonaventure, of 160. tunnes, with her a pinnesse, and a boate.

The second
Ship.

Richard Chancellor, Captaine, and Pilot maior of the fleet.

Stephen Borowgh, Master of the Ship.

John Buckland, his Mate.

George Burton, Arthur Edwards, Merchants.

John Stafford, Minister.

John Stafford
Minister.

James Dallaber, Nicholas Newborrow, John Segswike, Thomas Francis, John Hasse, Richard Johnson, William Kempe,

Mariners and officers, according to the custome and vse of the Seas,

Robert Stanton, Master Gunner.

John Walker, his Mate.

James Long, John Cocks, Gunners.

Thomas Walter, Surgeon.

Peter Palmer, Boate swaine.

Richard Strowde, his Mate.

John Robinson, John Carowe, Thomas Stone, Roger Lishbie, quarter Masters.

John Austen, Steward: Parricke Steuens, his Mate.

Austen Iacks, Cooke.

William Euery, Cowper.

Griffin Waghams, Carpenter.

Thomas Stelston, Thomas Townes, John Robinson, John White, William Laurence, Miles Butter, John Browne, William Morren, William Watson, Thomas Handcocks, Edward Patic, Thomas Browne, Arthur Per, George Phibaric, Edward Patterfon, William Beare, John Potter, Nicholas Lawrence, William Burrough, Roger Welford, John Williams.

M. William Burroughs
comptroller of
her Majesties
naule.
The third Ship.

The Bona Confidentia of 90. tunnes, hauing with her a pinnesse, and a boate.

Cornelius Durfoorth, Master of the Shippe.

Richard Ingram, his Mate.

Thomas Langlie, Edward Keuer, Henric Dorset, Merchants.

Mariners and officers, according to the vse and custome of the Sea.

Henric Tailer, Master Gunner.

George Thurland, his Mate.

William Hamane, Boate swaine.

John Edwards, his Mate.

Thomas Kirbie, Henric Dickenson, John Haye, William Shepwash, quarter Masters.

John Reyne, Steward.

Thomas Haate, Cooke. William Laffie, his Mate.

Nicholas Knight, Carpenter.

Peter Lewike, Nicholas Wiggleworth, John Moore, William Chapman, Brian Chester, William Barrie, Richard Wood, Clement Gibson, John Clarocke, Erasmus Bently, John Duri-forth.

The Iuramentum, or othe, ministred to the Captaine.

You shall sweare to be a faithfull, true, and loyal subject in all points, and duties, that to a subiect appertaineth, to our soueraigne Lord the kings Majestie, his heires, and successors: and that you shall wel and truly to the uttermost of your capacitie, wit, & knowledge, serue this present voyage, committed to your charge, and not to giue vp, nor sooner intermit the same, until you shall haue atchieued the same, so farre forth, as you may without danger of your life, and losse of the fleet: you shall giue good, true, and faithful counsell to the said societie, and to such as shall haue the charge with or vnder you, and not to disclose the secrets, or priuities of the same to any person by any maner of meane, to the prejudice, hurt, or damage of it. You shall minister iustice to all men vnder your charge, without respect of person, or any affection, that might moue you to decline from the true ministracion of iustice. And further, you shall obserue, and cause to be obserued, as much as in you lieth, all and singular rules, articles, prouisions hitherto made, or heereafter to be made for the preservation or safeconduct of the fleet and voyage, and benefit of the company. You shall not permit nor suffer the stocke or goods of the company to be wasted, imbezeled, or consumed, but shall conferue the same whole and entire, without diminishment, until you shall haue deliuered,

deliuered, or cause to be deliuered the same, to the vse of the companie. And finally you shal vse your selfe in all points, sozts, and conditions, as to a faithfull captaine, and by other of this companie shall belong and appertaine: So helpe you God, &c.

The othe ministred to the Maister of the ship, &c.



Du shall sweare by the holy contents in that booke, that you accordyng and to the vtermost of your knowledge, and good vnderstanding in mariners science and craft, shall in your vocation doe your best to conduct the good shippe called the *M. &c.* whereof you now are Maister vnder God, both vnto and from the portes of your discoverie, and so vse your indeuour and faithfull diligence, in charging, discharging, lading againe, and roomaging of the same shippe, as may be most for the benefite and pposite of this right woorthypfull fellowship: and you shall not priuately bargein, buy, sell, exchange, barter, or distribute any goods, wares, merchandize, or things whatsoeuer (necessary tackles and victuals for the shippe onely excepted) to or for your owne lucre, gaine or profit; neither to nor for the priuate lucre, gaine, or profit of any other person or persons whatsoeuer. And further, If you shall know any boatswaine, mariner, or any other person or persons whatsoeuer, to buy, sell, barter, trucke, or exchange any goods, wares, merchandizes, or things for priuate account, reckoning, or behalfe, you shall doe your best to withstand and let the same: and if you cannot commodiously so doe, that then befoze the discharge of such goods bought for priuat account, you shal giue knowledge therof to the cape marchant of this said fellowship for the time being. And you shal not receiue nor take, nor suffer to be receiued or taken into your said ship during this voyage any maner person or persons whatsoeuer, going or returning, but onely those mariners which without fraud or guile shall be hired to be of your company, and to serue in mariners craft and science onely: So helpe you God, &c.

These foresaid shippes being fully furnished with their pinnelles and boates, well appointed with al maner of artillerie, and ocher things necessary for their defence with al the men aforesaid, departed from Ratcliffe, and valed vnto Detford, the 10. day of May, 1553.

The 11. day about two of the clocke, we departed from Detford, passing by Greenwich, saluting the kings Maiesty then being there, shooting off our ordinaunce, & so valed vnto Blackwall, and there remained until the 17. day, and that day in the morning we went from Blackwall, and came to Woolwich by nine of the clocke, and there remained one tide, and so the same night vnto Heyzeth.

The 18. day from Heyzeth vnto Grauesend, and there remained until the twentieth day: that day being Saterday, from Grauesend vnto Tilberie Hope, remaining there vntill the two and twentieth day.

The 22. day from Tilberie Hope to Hollie haen.

The 23. day from Hollie Haen, till we came against Lee, and there remained that night, by reason that the winde was contrary to vs.

The 24. day the winde being in the Southwest in the morning, we sailed along the coast ouer the Spits, vntill we came against S. Osyth, about five of the clocke at night, and there came to anker, and abode there all that night.

The 25. day about tenne of the clocke we departed from S. Osyth, and so sailed forward vnto the Rase, and there abode that night for winde and tide.

The 26. day at five of the clock in the morning, we weped our anker, and sailed ouer the Rase, the winde being at the Southwest, vntill wee came to Dwell wands, and there came to an anker, and abode there vntill the 28. day.

The same day being Trinitie Sunday about 7. of the clocke befoze noone we weped our ankers, and sailed til we came athwart Wallurlye, and there came to an anker.

The 29. day from thence to Holmehead, where we stayed that day, where we consulted which way, and what courses were best to be holden for the discoverie of our voyage, and there agreed.

The 30. day of May at five of the clocke in the morning wee set saile, and came against Portsmouth about thre leagues into the sea, riding there at anker all that night.

The last of May into the Sea five leagues Northeast, and there taried that night, where the winde blew very sore.

The first of June the winde being at North contrary to vs, wee came backe againe to Dwell, and remained there vntill the 15. day, taryng for the winde, for all this time the winde was contrary to our purpose.

May.

June.

The

The 15 day being at Orwel in the latitude of 52 degrees, in the morning wee weyed our ankers, and went forth into the wands about two miles from the towne, and lay there that night.

The 16 day at eight of the clocke we set forward, and sayled vntill we came athwart Alburrough, and there stayed that night.

The 17 day about five of the clocke befoze noone we went backe vnto Orfordnesse, and there remained vntill the 19 day.

The 19 day at eight of the clocke in the morning we went backe to Orwel, and abode there three dayes taryng for the winde.

The 23 day of Iune the wind being faire in the Southweſt we hailed into the seas to Orfordnesse, and from thence into the seas ten leagues North-east: then being past the lands, we changed our course five leagues North-north-east: about midnighr we changed our course againe, and went due North, continuing in the same vnto the 27 day.

The 27 day about seuen of the clocke North-north-west 42 leagues to the ende to fall with Shorland: then the wind beared to the West, so that we could lie but North and by West, continuing in the same course 40 leagues, whereby we could not fetch Shorland: then we sayled North 16 leagues by estimation, after that North and by West, & North-north-west, then South-east, with diuers other courses, trauesing and cracing the seas, by reason of sundry and manifolde contrary windes, vntill the 14 day of Iulij: and then the sunne entering into Leo, we discovered land Eastward of vs, vnto the which we sayled that night as much as we might: and after wee went on shoze with our Pinneſſe, & found little houſes to the number of 30, where we knew that it was inhabited, but the people were fled away, as we iudged, for feare of vs.

Iulij.

The land was all full of little Iſlands, and that innumerable, which were called (as we learned afterwards) Egeland and Halgeland, which lieth from Orfordnesse North and by East, being in the latitude of 66 degrees. The distance betweene Orfordnesse and Egeland 250 leagues. Then we sailed from thence 12 leagues North-west, and found many other Iſlands, and there came to anker the 19 day, and manned our Pinneſſe, and went on shoze to the Iſlands, and found people mowing and making of hay, which came to the shoze and welcomed vs. In which place were an innumerable sort of Iſlands, which were called the Iſles of Roſt, being vnder the dominion of the king of Denmarke: which place was in latitude 66 degrees, and 30 minutes. The winde being contrary, we remayned there three dayes, & there was an innumerable sort of foules of diuers kindes, of which we tooke very many.

In this land dwell other as it seemeth.

Roſt Iſlands.

The 22 day the winde comming fayre, we departed from Roſt, sailing North-north-east, keeping the sea vntill the 27 day, and then we dyed neere vnto the land, which was still East of vs: then went forth our Pinneſſe to seeke harbour, & found many good harbours, of the which we entred into one with our shippes, which was called Stanfew, and the land being Iſlands, were called Lewfoot, or Lofoot, which were plentifully inhabited, and very gentle people, being also vnder the king of Denmarke: but we could not learne how farre it was from the maine land: and we remained there vntill the 30 day, being in latitude 68 degrees, and from the foresaid Roſt about 30 leagues North-north-east.

Stanfew harbor.

Lofoot.

The 30 day of Iulij about noone we weyed our ankers, and went into the Seas, and sayled along these Iſlands North-north-east, keeping the land still in sight vntill the second day of August: then hailing in close aboord the land, to the entent to knowe what land it was, there came a skiffe of the Iſland aboord of vs, of whom we asked many questions, who shewed vnto vs, that the Iſland was called Seynam, which is the latitude of seuentie degrees, and from Stanfew thirtie leagues, being also vnder the king of Denmarke, and that there was no merchandise there, but onely dyed fish, and craine oyle. Then we being purposed to goe vnto Finmarke, inquired of him, if we might haue a pilot to bring vs vnto Finmarke, & he said, that if we could beare in, we should haue a good harbour, and on the next day a pilot to bring vs to Finmarke, vnto the warehouse, which is the strongest holde in Finmarke, and most respected to by report. But when wee would haue entred into an harbour, the land being very high on euery side, there came such flaxes of winde and terrible whirlewinde, that we were not able to beare in, but by violence were constrained to take the sea agayne, our Pinneſſe being vnshipt: we sailed North and by East, the wind increasing so feze that we were not able to beare any saile, but tooke them in, and lay a dyſt, to the end to let the strome ouer passe. And that night by violence of winde, and thickenesse of mists, we were not able to keepe together within sight, and then about midnighr we lost our pinneſſe, which was a discomfort vnto vs. As soone as it was day, and the fogge ouerpass, we looked about, and at the last we descried one of our shippes to Leeward of vs: then we spied an hullocke of our foresaile, and bare roome with her, which was the Confidence, but the Edward we could not see. Then the stau something abating, we and the Confidence hoyped by our sailes the fourth day, sayling

August.

Seynam in 70 degrees.

saying North-east and by North, to the end to fall with the Wardhouse, as we did consule to doe before, in case we should part company. Thus running North-east and by North, and North-east fiftie leagues, then we sounded, and had 160 fadomes, whereby we thought to be farre from land, and perceiued that the land lay not as the Globe made mention. Wherefore we changed our course the next day, and sailed South-east and by South eight and forty leagues, thinking thereby to find the Wardhouse.

The eight day much winde rising at the Westnorthwest, we not knowing how the coast lay, strook our sayles, and lay a drift, where we sounded and found 160 fadomes as afoze.

The ninth day, the wind bearing to the South South-east, we sailed North-east 25 leagues.

The tenth day we sounded, and could get no ground, neither yet could see any land, wherat we wondered: then the wind comming at the North-east, we ran South-east about 48 leagues.

The 11 day, the wind being at South, we sounded, and found 40 fadoms, and faire land.

The 12 day the winde being at South and by East, we lay with our saile East, and East and by North 30 leagues.

The 14 day early in the morning we descried land, which land we bare with all, hoisting out our boat to discover what land it might be: but the boat could not come to land the water was so shoale, where was very much ice also, but there was no similitude of habitation, and this land lyeth from Seynam East and by North 160 leagues, being in latitude 72 degrees. Then we plyed to the Northward the 15, 16 and 17 day.

The 18 day, the winde comming at the North-east, and the Confidence being troubled with bilge water, and stoked, we thought it good to seeke harbour for her redresse: then we bare roome the 18 day South-south-east, about 70 leagues.

The 21 day we sounded, and found 10 fadome, after that we sounded againe, and found but 7 fadome, so shoalder and shoalder water, and yet could see no land, where we maruelled greatly: to auoid this danger, we bare roome into the sea all that night North-west and by West.

The next day we sounded, and had 20 fadoms, then shayed our course, and ran West South-west vntill the 23 day: then we descried Low land, vnto which we bare as nigh as we could, and it appeared vnto vs uninhabitable. Then wee plyed Westward along by that lande, which lyeth West South-west, and East North-east, and much winde blowing at the West, we haled into the sea North and by East 30 leagues. Then the winde comming about at the North-east, we sailed West North-west: after that, the winde bearing to the North-west, we lay with our sailes West South-west, about 14 leagues, and then descried land, and bare in with it, being the 28 day, finding shoale water, and bare in till we came to 3 fadome, then perceiuing it to be shoale water, and also seeing drie lands, we haled out againe North-east along that land vntill we came to the point thereof. That land turning to the West ward, we ran along 16 leagues North-west: then comming into a faire bay, we went on land with our boat, which place was uninhabited, but yet it appeared vnto vs that the people had bin there, by crosses, and other signes: from thence we went all along the coast Westward.

September.

The fourth day of September we lost sight of land, by reason of contrary winds, and the eight day we descried land againe. Within two dayes after we lost the sight of it: then running West and by South about 30 leagues, we gat the sight of land againe, and bare in with it vntill night: then perceiuing it to be a lee shore, we gat vs into the sea, to the end to haue sea roome.

The 12 of September we haled to shoare ward againe, hauing then indifferent winde and weather: then being neere vnto the shoare, and the tide almost spent, wee came to an anker in 30 fadoms water.

The 13 day we came along the coast, which lay North-west and by West, and South-east and by East.

The 14 day we came to an anker within two leagues of the shoare, hauing 60 fadoms.

There we went a shore with our boat, & found two or thre good harboroughs, the land being rocky, and high, but as for people could we see none. The 15 day we ran still along the coast vntill the 17 day: then the winde being contrary vnto vs, we thought it best to returne vnto the harbor which we had found before, and so we bare roome with the same, howbeit we could not accomplish our desire that day. The next day being the 18 of September, we entred into the hauen, and there came to an anker at 6 fadoms. This hauen runneth into the maine, about two leagues, and is in breadth halfe a league, wherein were very many seale fishes, & other great fishes, and vpon the maine we saw beares, great deere, foxes, with diuers strange beasts, as Iguinoies, and such other which were to vs vnknown, and also wonderfull. Thus remaining in this hauen the space of a weeke, seeing the yeare farre spent, & also very euill weather, as frost, snow, and haile, as though it had bene the deepe of winter, we thought best to winter there. Wherefore we sent out three men

South-south-

Willoughbie his
land, in 72 de-
grees.

In this hauen
they died.

101, Ellons.

Southsouthwest, to search if they could find people, who went three dayes iourney, but could finde none: after that, we sent other three Westward foure daies iourney, which also returned without finding any people. Then sent we three men Southeast three dayes iourney, who in like sorte returned without finding of people, or any similitude of habitation.

Here endeth
Sir Hugh Wil-
loughbie his
note, which
was written
with his owne
hand.

These two notes following were written vpon the outside of this
Pamphlet, or Booke.

- 1 The proceedings of Sir Hugh Willoughbie after he was separated from the Edward Bonauenture.
- 2 Our shippe being at an anker in the harbour called Sterfier in the Island Lofdote.

The riuer of hauen wherein Sir Hugh Willoughbie with the companie of his two ships perished for cold, is called Arzina in Lapland, neere vnto Kegor. But it appeareth by a Will found in the ship that Sir Hugh Willoughbie and most of the company were alieue in January 1554.

The booke of the great and mighty Emperor of *Russia*, and Duke of Moscouia, and of the dominions orders and commo- dities thereunto belonging: drawn by *Richard Chancelour*.

Inasmuch as it is meeete and necessary for all those that minde to take in hande the trauell into farre or strange countreys, to endeouour themselves not onely to vnderstande the orders, commodities, and fruitfulnessse thereof, but also to applie them to the setting forth of the same, whereby it may encourage others to the like trauaile: therefore haue I nowe thought good to make a brieue rehearfall of the orders of this my trauaile in *Russia* and *Moscouia*, and other countreys thereunto adioyning; because it was my chauce to fall with the North partes of *Russia* before I came towards *Moscouia*, I will partly declare my knowledg there in. *Russia* is very plentifull both of land and people, and also welthy for such commodities as they haue. They be very great fishers for *Salmons* and small *Coddes*: they haue much oyle which wee call *treine oyle*, the most whereof is made by a riuer called *Duina*. They make it in other places, but not so much as there. They haue also a great trade in seething of saite water. Co the North parte of that countrey are the places where they haue their *Furres*, as *Sables*, *marterns*, *greesse Beuers*, *Fores white*, *blacke*, and *redde*, *Hinkes*, *Ermines*, *Hiniuer*, and *Harts*. There are also a fishes teeth, which fish is called a *Hoyle*. The takers thereof dwell in a place called *Postefora*, which bring them vpon *Hartes* to *Lampas* to sell, and from *Lampas* carie them to a place called *Colmogro*, where the hie market is holden on *Saint Nicholas day*. To the West of *Colmogro* there is a place called *Gratanoue*, in our language *Nouogorode*, where much fine *Flaxe* and *Hemp* groweth, and also much ware and honie. The *Dutch* marchants haue a *Staplehouse* there. There is also great stoe of *hides*, and at a place called *Plesco*: and thereabout is great stoe of *Flaxe*, *Hemp*, *Ware*, *Honie*; and that to wine is from *Colmogro* 120 miles.

Duyna

Note.

There is a place called *Vologda*; the commodities whereof are *Tallowe*, *Ware*, and *Flaxe*: but not so great plenty as is in *Gratanoue*. From *Vologda* to *Colmogro* there runneth a riuer called *Duyna*, and from thence it falleth into the sea. *Colmogro* serueth *Gratanoue*, *Vologda* and the *Mosco* with all the countrey thereabout with saite and saltfish. From *Vologda* to *Ierasslaue* is two hundred miles: which towne is very great. The commodities thereof are *hides*, and *tallowe*, and come in great plenty, and some *Ware*, but not so plentifull as in other places.

The *Mosco* is from *Ierasslaue* two hundred miles. The countrey betwixt them is very well replenished with small *Villages*, which are so well filled with people, that it is wonder to see them: the ground is well stozed with cozne which they carie to the citie of *Mosco* in such abundance that it is wonder to see it. You shall meete in a morning seuen or eight hundred sleds coming or going thither, that carrie cozne, and some carrie fish. You shall haue some that carrie cozne to the *Mosco*, and some that fetch cozne from thence, that at the least dwell a thousand miles off: and all their cariage is on sleds. Those which come so farre dwell in the North partes of the *Dukes* dominions, where the cold will suffer no cozne to grow, it is so
extreine.

extreme. They bring thither fishes, furrer, and beastes skiuues. In those partes they haue but small stoze of cattell.

The Mosco it selfe is great: I take the whole towne to bee greater then London with the suburbes: but it is very rude, and standeth without aliozder. Their houses are all of timber very dangerous for fire. There is a faire Castle, the walles whereof are of bricke, and very high: they say they are eightene foote thicke, but I doe not beleene it, it doth not so seeme, not withstanding I doe not certainly know it: for no stranger may come to vew it. The one side is ditched, and on the other side runneth a riuer called Moscu which runneth into Tartarie and so into the sea called Mare Caspium: and on the North side there is a balle towne, the which hath also a bricke wall about it, and so it ioyneeth with the Castle wall. The Emperour lieth in the castle, wherein are nine sayre Churches; and therein are religious men. Also there is a Metropolitane with diuers Bishops. I wil not stande in description of their buildinges nor of the strength thereof because we haue better in all points in England. They be well furnished with ordnance of all sortes.

The Emperours or Dukes house neither in building nor in the outward shew, nor yet within the house is so sumptuous as I haue seene. It is very lowe built in eight square, much like the olde building of England, with small windowes, and so in other poynts.

Now to declare my comming befoze his Maiestie: After I had remained twelue daies, the Secretary which hath the hearing of strangers did send for me, aduertising me that the Dukes pleasure was to haue me to come befoze his Ma. with the kings my makers letters: whereof I was righte glad, and so I gaue mine attendance. And when the Duke was in his place appointed, the interpytour came for me into the vtter chamber, where sate one hundred or more gentlemen, all in cloth of golde very sumptuous, and from thence I came into the Counsaile chamber, where sate the Duke himselfe with his nobles, which were a faire company: they sate round about the chamber on high, yet so that he himselfe sate much higher then any of his nobles in a chaire gilt, and in a long garment of beaen golde, with an imperial crowne upon his head, and a staffe of Cristall and golde in his right hand, and his other hand halfe leaning on his chaire. The Chancelour stoode vp with the Secretary befoze the Duke. After my dutie done and my letter deliuered, he bade me welcome, & enquired of me the health of the King my master, and I answered that he was in good health at my departure from his court, and that my trust was that he was now in the same. Upon the which he bade me to dinner. The Chancelour presented my present vnto his Grace bareheaded (for befoze they were all covered) and when his Grace had receiued my letter, I was required to depart: for I had charge not to speake to the Duke, but when he spake to me. So I departed vnto the Secretaries chamber, where I remayned two houres, and then I was sent for againe vnto another palace which is called the golden palace, but I saw no cause why it should be so called; for I haue seene many fayer then it in all poynts: and so I came into the hall, which was small and not great as is the Kings Maiesties of England, and the table was covered with a tablecloth; and the Marshall sate at the ende of the table with a little white rod in his hand, which boorde was full of vessell of golde: and on the other side of the hall did stand a faire cupboorde of plate. From thence I came into the dining chamber, where the Duke himselfe sate at his table without cloth of estate, in a gowne of siluer, with a crowne imperiall upon his head, he sate in a chaire somewhat hie: There sate none neare him by a great way. There were long tables set round about the chamber, which were full set with such as the Duke had at dinner: they were all in white. Also the places where the tables stoode were higher by two steppes then the rest of the house. In the middelt of the chamber stoode a table of cupboord to set plate on; which stoode full of cuppes of golde: and amongst all the rest there stoode foure marvellous great pottes or crudences as they call them, of golde and siluer: I thinke they were a good yarde and a halfe hie. By the cupboorde stoode two gentlemen with napkins on their shoulders, and in their handes each of them had a cuppe of gold set with pearles and pzeious stones, which were the Dukes owne drinking cups: when he was disposed, he drunke them off at a draught. And for his seruice at meate it came in without order, yet it was very rich seruice: for all were serued in gold, not onely he himselfe, but also all the rest of vs, and it was very massie: the cups also were of golde and very massie. The number that dined there that day was two hundred persons, and all were serued in golden vessell. The gentlemen that waited were all in cloth of gold, and they serued him with their caps on their heads. Befoze the seruice came in, the Duke sent to euery man a great shiuer of bread, and the bearer called the party so sent to by his name aloude, and sayd, Iohn Basiluich Emperour of Russia and great Duke of Moscouia doth reward thee with bread: then must all men stand by, and doe at all times when those wordes are spoken, And then last of all he giueth the Marshall bread

bread, whereof he eateth before the Dukes Grace, and so doth reuerence and departeth. Then cometh the Dukes seruice of the Swannes all in pieces, and euery one in a seuerall dish: the which the Duke sendeth as he did the bread, and the bearer saythe the same wordes as he sayd before. And as I sayd before, the seruice of his meate is in no order, but cometh in dish by dish: and then after that the Duke sendeth drinke, with the like saying as before is tolde. Also before dinner hee changed his crowne, and in dinner time two crownes; so that I saw three seuerall crownes vpon his head in one day. And thus when his seruice was all come in hee gaue to euery one of his gentlemen waiters meate with his owne hand, & so likewise drinke. His intent thereby is, as I haue heard, that euery man shall know perfectly his seruants. Thus when dinner is done hee calleth his nobles before him name by name, that it is wonder to heare how he could name them, hauing so many as he hath. Thus when dinner was done I departed to my lodging, which was an hower within night. I will leaue this, and speake no moze of him nor his household: but I will some what declare of his land and people, with their nature and power in the wars. This Duke is Lord and Emperour of many countreys, & his power is marvellous great. For he is able to bring into the field two or three hundred thousand men: he neuer goeth into the field himselfe with vnder two hundred thousand men: And when he goeth himselfe he furnissheth his borders all with men of warre, which are no small number. He leaueth on the borders of Liesland fortie thousand men, and vpon the borders of Letto 60 thousand men, and towards the Magayan Tartars sixtie thousand, which is wonder to heare of: yet doeth hee neuer take to his warres neither husbandman nor marchant. All his men are horsemen: he useth no footmen, but such as goe with the ordinance and labourers, which are thirtie thousand. The horsemen are all archers, with such bowes as the Turkes haue, and they ride shor as doe the Turkes. Their armour is a coate of plate, with a skull on their heads. Some of their coates are couered with veluet or cloth of gold: their desire is to be sumptuous in the field, and especially the nobles and gentlemen: as I haue heard their trimming is very costly, and partly I haue seene it, or else I would scarcely haue beleued it: but the Duke himselfe is richly attired aboue all measure: his pavilion is couered either with cloth of gold or siluer, and so set with stones that it is wonderfull to see it. I haue seene the Kings Pauesies of England and the French Kings pavilions, which are sayze, yet not like vnto his. And when they bee sent into sacre or strange countreys, or that strangers come to them, they be very gorgeous. This the Duke himselfe goeth but meanly in apparell: and when he goeth betwixt one place and another hee is but reasonably apparelled ouer other times. In the while that I was in Mosco the Duke sent two ambassadours to the King of Poleland, which had at the last fife hundred horses; their sumptuousnes was aboue measure, not onely in themselves, but also in their horses, as veluet, cloth of golde, and cloth of siluer set with pearles and not scant. What shall I farther say: I neuer heard of nor saw men so sumptuous: but it is no dayly guise, for when they haue not occasion, as I sayd before, all their doing is but meane. And now to the effect of their warres: They are men without all order in the field. If or they rume hurling on heapes, and for the most part they neuer giue bartell to their enemies: but that which they doe, they doe it all by stealth. But I beleue they be such men for hard liuing as are not vnder the sun: for no cold wil hurt them. Dea and though they lie in the field two moneths, at such time as it shall freeze moze then a yard thicke, the common souldier hath neither eene nor any thing else ouer his head: the most defence they haue against the wether is a felte, which is set against the winde and weather, and when Snowe cometh hee doth cast it off, and maketh him a fire, and laieth him down thereby. Thus doe the most of all his men, except they bee gentlemen which haue other prouision of their owne. Their lying in the field is not so strange as is their hardnes: for euery man must carie & make prouision for himselfe & his horse for a moneth or two, which is very wonderfull. For he himselfe shall liue vpon water & otomeale mingled together cold, and drinke water thereto: his horse shall eat green wood, & such like baggage, & shall stand open in the cold field without couert, & yet wil he labour & serue him right wel. I pray you amongst all our boasting warriors how many should we find to endure the field with the but one moneth. I know no such region about vs that beareth that name for man & beast. Now what might be made of these men if they were trained & broken to order and knowledge of ciuill wars: If this Prince had within his countreys such men as could make the to vnderstand þ things aforesaid, I do beleue that 2 of the best or greatest princes in Christendome were not wel able to match with him, considering the greatnes of his power & the hardnes of his people & strait liuing both of people and horse, and the small charges which his warres stand him in: for he giueth no wages, except to strangers. They haue a perely stipend & not much. As for his owne countrey men euery one serueth of his owne proper costes and charges, sauing that he giueth to his Harcubusers certaine allowance for powder & shot: or else no

man in all his countrey hath one pennie wages. But if any man hath done very good seruice he giueth him a ferme or a picce of lande; for the which hee is bound at all times to bee readie with so many men as the Duke shall appoynt: who considereth in his mind what that lande or ferme is well able to finde: and so many shall he bee bound to furnish at all and euery such time as warres are holden in any of the Dukes dominions. For there is no man of liuing, but hee is bound likewise, whether the Duke call for either souldier or labourer, to furnish them with all such necessaries as to them belong.

Also, if any gentleman or man of liuing do die without issue male, immediately after his death the Duke entrench his land, notwithstanding he haue neuer so many daughters, and peradventure giueth it forth with to another man, except a small portion that he spareth to marrie the daughters with all. Also if there be a rich man, a fermour, or man of liuing, which is striken in age or by chance is maimed, and be not able to doe the Duke seruice, some other gentleman that is not able to liue and moze able to doe seruice, will come to the Duke and complayne, saying, your Grace hath such an one, which is vnmeet to doe seruice to your Highnes, who hath great abundance of welth, and likewise your Grace hath many gentlemen which are poore and lacke liuing, and we that lacke are well able to doe good seruice, your Grace might doe well to looke vpon him, and make him to helpe those that want. Immediately the Duke sendeth forth to inquire of his wealth: and if it be so proued, he shall be called before the Duke, and it shall bee sayd vnto him, friend, you haue too much liuing, and are vnseruiceable to your prince, lesse will serue you, and the rest will serue other men that are moze able to serue. whereupon immediately his liuing shall be taken away from him, sauing a little to find himselfe and his wife on, and he may not once repine thereat: but for answer he will say, that he hath nothing, but it is Gods and the Dukes Graces, and cannot say, as we the common people in England say, if wee haue any thing; that it is Gods and our owne. When may say, that these men are in wonderfull great awe, and obedience, that thus one must giue and grant his goods which he hath bene scraping and scratching for all his life to be at his Princes pleasure and commandement. Oh that our sturdie rebels were had in the like subiection to knowe their duety towards their Princes. They may not say as some snudges in England say, I would find the Queene a man to serue in my place, or make his friends carrie at home if money haue the byper hand. No, no, it is not so in this countrey: for hee shall make humble sute to serue the Duke. And whom he sendeth most to the warres he thinketh he is most in his fauour: and yet as I before haue sayd, hee giueth no wages. If they knewe their strength no man were able to make match with them: nor they that dwel neere them should haue any rest of them. But I thinke it is not Gods will: For I may compare them to a young horse that knoweth not his strength, whome a little childe ruleth and guideth with a byble, for all his great strength: for if hee did, neither childe nor man could rule him. Their warres are holden against the Crimme Tartarians and the Magarians.

I will stand no longer in the rehearfall of their power and warres. For it were too tedious to the reader. But I will in part declare their lawes, and punishments, and the execution of iustice. And first I will begin with the commons of the countrey, which the gentlemen haue rule on: And that is, that euery gentleman hath rule and iustice vpon his owne tenants. And if it so fall out that two gentlemen seruaunts or tenants doe disagree, the two gentlemen examine the matter, and haue the parties before them, and soe giue the sentence. And yet cannot they make the ende betwixt them of the controuersie, but either of the gentlemen must bring his seruant or tenant before the high iudge or iustice of that countrey, and there present them, and declare the matter and case. The plaintife sayth, I require the law; which is graunted: then commeth an officer and arresterh the party defendant, and vseth him contrarie to the lawes of England. For when they attach any man they beate him about the legges, vntill such time as he findeth suezties to answer the matter: And if not, his handes and necke are bound together, and he is led about the towne and beaten about the legges, with other extreme punishments till he come to his answer: And the Iustice demaundeth if it be for debt, and sayth: Dwell thou this man any such debt? He will perhaps say nay. Then sayth the Iudge: art thou able to denie it? Let vs heare how? By othe sayth the defendant. Then he commandeth to leaue beating him till further triall be had.

Their order in one point is commendable. They haue no man of Lawe to pleade their causes in any court: but euery man pleadeth his owne cause, and giueth bill and answer in writing: contrarie to the order in England. The complaint is in maner of a supplication, & made to the Dukes Grace, and deliuered him into his owne hand, requiring to haue iustice as in his complaint is alleaged.

The duke giueth sentence himselfe vpon all matters in the Law. Which is very comendable, that such a Prince will take paines to see ministration of iustice. Yet notwithstanding it is wonderfully abused: and thereby the Duke is much deceived. But if it fall out that the officers be espied in cloaking the trueth, they haue most condigne punishment. And if the plaintiffe can nothing prooue, then the defendant must take his oth vpon the crucifixe whether he bee in the right or no. Then is demanded if the plaintiffe be any thing able further to make prooue: if hee bee not; then sometimes he will say, I am able to prooue it by my body and hands, or by my champions body, so requiring the Campe. After the other hath his othe, it is graunted aswell to the one as to the other. So when they goe to the field, they swear vpon the Crucifixe, that they bee both in the right, and that the one shall make the other to confesse the trueth before they depart footth of the field: and so they goe both to the battell armed with such weapons as they vse in that countrey: they fight all on foote, & seldome the parties themselues do fight, except they be Gentlemen. for they stand much vpon their reputation, for they will not fight, but with such as are come of as good an house as themselues. So that if either partie require the combate, it is graunted vnto them, and no champion is to serue in their roome: wherein is no deceit: but otherwise by champions there is. For although they take great othes vpon them to doe the battell truely, yet is the contrary often seene: because the common champions haue none other liuing. And as soon as the one party hath gotten the victorie, hee demaundeth the debt, and the other is carried to prison, and there is shamefully vsed till he take order. There is also another order in the lawe, that the plaintiffe may swear in some causes of debt. And if the partie defendant be pooze, hee shall be set vnder the Crucifixe, and the partie plaintiffe must swear ouer his head, and when hee hath taken his othe, the Duke taketh the partie defendant home to his house, and vseth him as his bond-man, and putteth him to labour, or letteth him for hire to any such as neede him, vntill such time as his friends make prouision for his redemption: or else hee remaineth in bondage all the dayes of his life. Againe there are many that will sell themselues to Gentlemen or Marchants to bee their bond-men, to haue during their life meate, drinke and cloth, and at their comming to haue a piece of mony, yea and some will sell their wiues and children to bee batwdes and drudges to the byer. Also they haue a Lawe for Fellons and pickers contrary to the Lawes of England. For by their law they can hang no man for his first offence; but may keepe him long in prison, and oftentimes beate him with whips and other punishment: and there he shall remaine vntill his friends be able to bayle him. If he be a picker or a cut-purse, as there be very many, the second time he is taken, he hath a piece of his Nose cut off, and is burned in the forehead, and kept in prison till hee finde sureties for his good behauiour. And if he be taken the third time, he is hanged. And at the first time he is extremely punished and not releas'd, except hee haue very good friends, or that some Gentleman require to haue him to the warres: And in so doing, he shall enter into great bonds for him: by which meanes the countrey is brought into good quietnesse. But they be naturally giuen to great deceit, except extreme beaung did byde them. They be naturally giuen to hard liuing aswell in fare as in lodging. I heare a Russian say, that is was a great deale merrier liuing in prison then footth, but for the great beaung. For they haue meate and drinke without any labour, and get the charitie of well disposed people: But being at libertie they get nothing. The pooze is very innumerable, and liue most miserably: for I haue seene them eate the pickle of Herring and other stinking fish: nor the fish cannot be so stinking nor rotten, but they will eate it and praise it to be moze wholesome then other fish or fresh meate. In mine opinion there be no such people vnder the sunne for their hardnesse of liuing. Well, I will leaue them in this poynt, and will in part declare their Religion. They doe obserue the lawe of the Greekes with such excess of superstition, as the like hath not bene heard of. They haue no grauen images in their Churches, but all painted, to the intent they will not breake the commandement: but to their painted images they vse such idolatrie, that the like was neuer heard of in England. They will neither worship nor honour any image that is made forth of their owne countrey. For their owne images (say they) haue pictures to declare what they be, and howe they be of God, and so be not ours: They say, Looke how the Painter or Caruer hath made them, so we doe worship them, and they worship none before they be Christened. They say we be but halfe Christians: because we obserue not part of the olde law with the Turks. Therefore they call themselues moze holy then vs. They haue none other learning but their mother tongue, nor will suffer no other in their countrey among them. All their seruice in Churches is in their mother tongue. They haue the olde and newe Testament, which are daily read among them: and yet their superstition is no lesse. For when the Priests doe reade, they haue such tricks in their reading, that no man can vnderstand them, nor no man giueth eare to them. For all the while the Priest readeth, the people sit downe and one talke with another. But when the Priest is at seruice no man sitteth, but gagle

and ducke like so many Geele. And as for their prayers they haue but little skill, but vse to say As bodi pomele: As much to say, Lord haue mercy vpon me. For the tenth man within the land cannot say the Pater noster. And as for the Creebe, no man may be so bolde as to meddle therewith but in the Church: for they say it shoulde not bee spoken of, but in the Churches. Speake to them of the Comandements, and they wil say they were giuen to Moses in the law, which Christ hath nowe abrogated by his precious death and passion: therefore, (say they) we obserue little or none thereof. And I doe beleue them. For if they were examined of their Lawe and Comaimdements together, they shoulde agree but in fewe poynts. They haue the Sacrament of the Lords Supper in both kindes, and moze ceremonies then wee haue. They present them in a dish in both kindes together, and carrie them rounde about the Church vpon the Priestes head, and so doe minister at all such times as any shall require. They bee great offerers of Candles, and sometimes of money, which wee call in England, Soule penite, with moze ceremonies then I am able to declare. They haue foure Lents in the yeere, whereof our Lent is the greatest. Looke as we doe begin on the Wednesday, so they doe on the Sunday befoze: And the weeke befoze that they call The Butter weeke: And in that weeke they eate nothing but Butter and milke. Howbeit I beleue there bee in no other countrey the like people for drunkenesse. The next Lent is called Saint Peters Lent, and beginneth alwayes the Sunday next after Trinitie Sunday, and endeth on Saint Peters euen. If they shoulde bzeake that fast, their beleue is, that they shoulde not come in at heauen gates. And when any of them die, they haue a testimoniall with them in the Coffin, that when the soule commeth to heauen gates it may deliuer the same to Saint Peter, which declareth that the partie is a true and holy Rusian. The third Lent beginneth fiftene dayes befoze the later Lady day, and endeth on our Lady Euen. The fourth Lent beginneth on Saint Martins day, and endeth on Christmas Euen: which Lent is fasted for Saint Philip, Saint Peter, Saint Nicholas, and Saint Clement. For they foure be the principall and greatest Saints in that countrey. In these Lents they eate neither Butter, Egges, Milke, nor Cheese; but they are very straitely kept with Fish, Cabbages, and Rootes. And out of their Lents, they obserue truly the Wednesdayes and Fridayes throughout the yeere: and on the Saturday they doe eate flesh. Furthermoze they haue a great number of Religious men: which are blacke Monks, and they eate no flesh throughout the yeere, but fish, milke and Butter. By their order they shoulde eate no fresh-fish, and in their Lents they eate nothing but Colewortes, Cabbages, salt Cowcumbers, with other rootes, as Radish and such like. Their drinke is like our peny Ale, and is called Quass. They haue seruice daily in their Churches; and vse to goe to seruice two houres befoze day, and that is ended by day light. At nine of the clocke they goe to Masse: that ended, to dinner: and after that to seruice againe: and then to supper. You shall vnderstand that at euery dinner and supper they haue declared the exposition of the Gospel that day: but howe they wrest and twine the Scripture and that together by report it is wonderfull. As for whozedome and drunkenesse there be none such liuing: and for extortion, they be the most abhominable vnder the sunne. Nowe iudge of their holinesse. They haue twice as much land as the Duke himselfe hath: but yet hee is reasonable euen with them, as thus: When they take bybes of any of the poore and simple, he hath it by an order. When the Abbot of any of their houses dieth, then the Duke hath all his goods moueable and vnmoueable: so that the successour buyeth all at the Dukes hands: and by this meane they be the best Fermers the Duke hath. Thus with their Religion I make an ende, trusting hereafter to know it better.

To the right worshipfull and my singular good Vncle,
Mastei Christopher Frothingham, giue these.

Sir, Reade and correct;
For great is the defect.

The Testimonie of M. Richard Eden in his Decades, *concerning the Booke following.*



AND whereas (saith he) I haue befoze made mention howe Moscouie was in our time discovered by Richard Chanceler in his voyage toward Cathay, by the direction and information of M. Sebastian Cabora, who long befoze had this secret in his minde: I shall not neede here to describe that voyage, forasmuch as the same is largely and faithfully written in the Latine tongue, by that learned yong man Clement Adams, schoolemaster to the Queenes henshmen, as he receiued it at the mouth of the said Richard Chanceler.

The newe

The newe Navigation and discoverie of the kingdome of
Moscovia, by the Northeast, in the yeere 1553: Enterprised by Sir Hugh
 Willoughbie knight, and performed by Richard Chancelor Pilot maior of the
 voyage: Written in Latine by Clement Adams.



What time our Marchants perceined the commodities and wares of England to bee in small request with the countreys and people about vs, and neere unto vs, and that those Marchandises which strangers in the time and memorie of our auncesters did earnestly seeke and desire, were nowe neglected, and the price thereof abated, although by vs carried to their owne portes, and all forreine Marchandises in great accompt, and their prizes wonderfully raised: certaine graue Citizens of London, and men of great wisdom, and carefull for the good of their Countrey, began to thinke with themselves, howe this mischiefe might bee remedied. Neither was a remedie (as it then appeared) wanting to their desires, for the attoyding of so great an inconuenience: for seeing that the wealth of the Spaniards and Portugales, by the discoverie and search of newe trades and Countreys was maruailously increased, supposing the same to be a course and meane for them also to obtaine the like, they therupon resalued vpon a newe and strange Navigation. And whereas at the same time one Sebastian Cabota, a man in those dayes very renowned, happened to bee in London, they began first of all to deale and consult diligently with him, and after much speech and conference together, it was at last concluded that three shippes should bee prepared and furnished out, for the search and discoverie of the Northern part of the world, to open a way and passage to our men for trauaile to newe and unknowen kingdomes.

Upon what occasions, and by whom this voyage was set out, and of the discoverie of *Moscovia* by the North.

And whereas many things seemed necessary to bee regarded in this so hard and difficult a matter, they first make choise of certaine graue and wise persons in maner of a Senate, or companie, which should lay their heads together, and giue their iudgements, and prouide things requisite and profitable for all occasions: by this companie it was thought expedient, that a certaine summe of money should publicquely bee collected to serue for the furnishing of so many shippes. And lest any private man should bee too much opprelled and charged, a course was taken, that euery man willing to be of the societie, should disburle the portion of twentie and five pounds a peece: so that in short time by this meane the summe of five thousand pounds being gathered, the three shippes were bought, the most part whereof they prouided to be newly built and trimmed. But in this action, I wote not whether I may moze admire the care of the Marchants, or the diligence of the Shipwrights: for the Marchants, they get very strong and well seasoned planks for the building, the Shipwrights, they with daily trauaile, and their greatest skill doe fitte them for the dispatch of the shippes: they calke them, pitch them, and among the rest, they make one most stanch and firme, by an excellent and ingenious inuention. For they had heard that in certaine parts of the Ocean, a kinde of wormes is bredde, which many times pearceh and eateth through the strongest oake that is: and therfore that the Mariners, and the rest to bee employed in this voyage might bee free and safe from this danger, they couer a peece of the keele of the shippe with thinne sheetes of leade: and hauing thus built the ships, and furnished them with armour and artillerie, then followed a second care no lesse troublesome and necessarie then the former, namely, the prouision of victuals, which was to be made according to the time and length of the voyage. And whereas they also determined to haue the East part of the world layed vnto, and yet that the sea towards the same was not open, except they kept the Northern tract, whereas yet it was doubtfull whether there were any passage yea or no, they resolved to victuall the ships for eightene moneths, which they did for this reason. For our men being to passe that huge and colde part of the world, they wisely foresawing it, allowe them sixe moneths victuall to saile to the place, so much moze to remaine there if the extremitie of the winter hindered their returne, and so much moze also for the time of their comming home.

3. Shippes furnished for the discoverie.

Prouision of victuals for 18. moneths.

Howe this prouision being made and caried aboard, with armour and munition of all sorts, sufficient Captaines and governours of so great an enterpryse were as yet wanting: to which office and place, although many men, (and some boyde of experience) offered themselves, yet one Sir Hugh Willoughbie a most valiant Gentleman, and well bozne very earnestly requested to haue that care and charge committed vnto him: of whom before all others, both by reason of his goodly personage (for he was of a tall stature) as also for his singular skill in the seruices of warre, the company of the Marchants made greatest accompt: so that at the last they concluded and made choise of him for the Generall of this voyage, and appoynted to him the Ad-

Choise of Captaines and Pilots. Sir Hugh Willoughbie.

mirall, with authoritie and commaund ouer all the rest. And for the gouernement of other ships although diuers men seemed willing, and made offers of themselves therunto, yet by a common consent one Richard Chancellor, a man of great estimation for many good partes of wit in him, was elected, in whom alone great hope for the performance of this businesse rested. This man was brought by by one master Henry Sidney, a noble yong Gentleman and very much beloued of King Edward, who at this time comming to the place where the Marchants were gathered together, beganne a very eloquent speech of Oration, and spake to them after this maner following.

After Henry
Sidney his
Oration.

My very worshipfull friends; I cannot but greatly commend your present godly and deuotious intention, in the serious enterprising (for the singular loue you beare to your Countrey) a matter, which (I hope) will prooue profitable for this nation, and honourable to this our land: Which intention of yours wee also of the Nobilitie are ready to our power to helpe and further: neither doe wee holde any thing so deare and precious vnto vs, which wee will not willingly forgoe, and lay out in so commendable a cause. But principally I reioyce in my selfe, that I haue nourished and maintained that witte, which is like by some meanes and in some measure, to profite and serue you in this worthy action. But yet I would not haue you ignorant of this one thing, that I doe now part with Chancellor, not because I make little reckoning of the man, or that his maintenance is burdenous and chargeable vnto mee, but that you might conceiue and vnderstand my good will and promptitude for the furtherance of this businesse, and that the authoritie and estimation which hee deserueth may be giuen him. You know the man by report, I by experientie, you by wordes, I by deedes, you by speech and companie; but I by the daily triall of his life haue a full and perfect knowledge of him. And you are also to remember, into howe many perils for your sakes, and his countreys loue, he is now to runne: whereof it is requisite that wee be not vnmindfull, if it please God to send him good successe. Wee commit a little money to the chaunce and hazard of Fortune: We commit his life (a thing to a man of all things most deare) to the raging Sea, and the vncertainties of many dangers. Wee shall here liue and rest at home quietly with our friends, and acquaintance: but hee in the meane time labouring to keepe the ignorant and brutish Mariners in good order and obedience, with howe many cares shall hee trouble and bere himselfe: with how many troubles shall hee breake himselfe: and howe many disquietings shall hee be forced to sustaine: Wee shall keepe our owne costes and countrey: Wee shall seeke strange and vnknewen kingdomes, Wee shall commit his safetie to barbarous and cruell people, and shall hazard his life amongst the monstrous and terrible beastes of the Sea. Wherefore in respect of the greatnesse of the dangers, and the excellencie of his charge, you are to fauour and loue the man thus departing from vs: and if it fall so happily out that hee returne againe, it is your part and duetie also, liberally to reward him.

After that this noble yong Gentleman had deliuered this or some suchlike speech, much more eloquently then I can possible report it, the companie then present beganne one to looke vpon another, one to question and conferre with another: and some (to whom the vertue and sufficiencie of the man was knowne) began secretly to reioyce with themselves, and to conceiue a speciall hope, that the man would prooue in time very rare and excellent, and that his vertues already appearing and shining to the world would growe to the great honour and aduancement of this kingdome.

After all this, the companie growing to some silence, it seemed good to them that were of greatest grauity amongst them, to inquire, search and seeke what might be learned & knowne, concerning the Easterly part or tract of the world. For which cause two Tartarians, which were then of the kings Stable, were sent for, & an interpreter was gotten to be present, by whom they were demaunded touching their Countrey and the maners of their nation. But they were able to answer nothing to the purpose: being in deede more acquainted (as one there merrily and openly said) to cosse portes, then to learne the states and dispositions of people. But after much adoe and many things passed about this matter, they grewe at last to this issue, to set downe and appoynt a time for the departure of the shippes: because diuers were of opinion, that a great part of the best time of the yeere was already spent, and if the delay grewe longer, the way would be stoppt and hard by the force of the Ice, and the colde climate: and therefore it was thought best by the opinion of them all, that by the twentieth day of May, the Captaines and Mariners should take shipping, and depart from Radcliffe vpon the ebbe, if it pleased God. They hauing saluted their acquaintance, one his wife, another his children, another his kinsfolkes, and another his friends deerer then his kinsfolkes, were present and ready at the day appoynted: and hauing waped ancre, they departed with the turning of the water, and sailing easily, came

They depart
from Rad-
cliffe the 20. of
May 1553.

first

first to Greenwich. The greater shippes are towed downe with boates, and oars, and the mariners bring all apparell in Wachuset or skie coloured cloth, rowed amaine, and made way with diligence. And being come neere to Greenwich, (where the Court then lay) presently vpon the newes thereof, the Courtiers came running out, and the common people flockt together, standing very thicke vpon the shoare: the priuie Counsel, they lookt out at the windowes of the Court, and the rest ranne vp to the toppes of the towers: the shippes hereupon discharge their Ordnance, and shoot off their pieces after the maner of warre, and of the sea, insomuch that the tops of the hilles sounded therewith, the valleys and the waters gaue an Echo, and the Mariners, they shouted in such sort, that the skie rang againe with the noyle thereof. One stood in the poope of the ship, and by his gesture bids farewell to his friends in the best maner hee could. Another walkes vpon the hatches, another climbs the shrouds, another stands vpon the maine yard, and another in the top of the shippe. To be short, it was a very triumph (after a sort) in all respects to the beholders. But (alas) the good King Edward (in respect of whom principally all this was prepared) hee onely by reason of his sickenesse was absent from this shewe, and not long after the departure of these ships, the lamentable and most sorrowfull accident of his death followed.

But to proceede in the matter.

The shippes going downe with the tyde came at last to Woolwich, where they stayed and cast ancre, with purpose to depart therehence againe, as soone as the turning of the water, and a better winde should drawe them to set saile. After this they departed and came to Harwich, in which porte they stayed long, not without great losse and consuming of time: yet at the last with a good winde they hopped vp saile, and committed themselues to the sea, giuing their last adieu to their native Countrey, which they knewe not whether they should euer returne to see againe or not. Many of them looked oftentimes backe, and could not reframe from teares, considering into what hazards they were to fall, and what vncertainties of the sea they were to make triall of.

Amongst the rest, Richard Chanceler the Captaine of the Edward Bonauenture, was not a little grieued with the feare of wanting virtuales, part whereof was found to be corrupt and putrified at Harwich, and the hoggesheads of wine also leaked, and were not stanch: his naturall and fatherly affection also somewhat troubled him, for he left behinde him his two little sonnes; which were in the case of Orphanes if he speede not well: the estate also of his companie mooued him to care, being in the former respects after a sort vnhappie, and were to abide with himselfe euery good or badde accident: but in the meane time while his minde was thus tormented with the multiplictie of sorowes and cares, after many dayes sayling, they keened land afarre off, whereunto the Pilots directed the ships: and being come to it, they land, and finde it to be Rost Island, where they stayed certaine dayes, and afterwards set saile againe, and proceeding towards the North, they espied certaine other Islands, which were called the Crosse of Islands. From which places when they were a litle departed, Sir Hugh Willoughby the General, a man of good foresight and prouidence in all his actions, erected and set out his flagge, by which hee called together the chiefeest men of the other shippes, that by the helpe and assistance of their counsels, the order of the gouernement, and conduction of the shippes in the whole voyage might be the better: who being come together accordingly, they conclude and agree, that if any great tempest should arise at any time, and happen to disperse and scatter them, euery shippe should indeuour his best to goe to Wardhouse, a haven or castell of some name in the kingdome of Norway, and that they that arriued there first in safetie should stay and expect the comming of the rest.

The very same day in the afternoone, about foure of the clocke, so great a tempest suddenly arose, and the Seas were so outragious, that the ships could not keepe their intended course, but some were perforce driuen one way, and some another way, to their great perill and hazard: The generall with his lowdest voyce cried out to Richard Chanceler, and earnestly requeste him not to goe farre from him: but hee neither would nor could keepe companie with him, if he sailed still so fast: for the Admirall was of better saile then his shippe. But the said Admirall (I knowe not by what meanes) bearing all his sailes, was caried away with so great force and swiftnesse, that not long after hee was quite out of sight, and the thirde ship also with the same storme and like rage was dispersed and lost vs.

The shippe boate of the Admirall (striking against the shippe,) was ouerwhelmed in the sight and viewe of the Partners of the Bonauenture: and as for them that are already returned and arriued, they know nothing of the rest of the ships what was become of them.

They returne the next yeere not knowing what was become of the other 2. ships.

But if it be so, that any miserable mishap haue ouertaken them, If the rage and furie of the

Sea haue deuoured those good men, or if as yet they liue, and wander by and downe in strange Countreys, I must needs say they were men worthy of better fortune, and if they be liuing, let vs with them safetie and a good returne: but if the crueltie of death hath taken hoide of them, God send them a Christian graue and Sepulchre.

Nowe Richard Chancellor with his shippe and company being thus left alone, and become very pensie, heauie, and sorrowfull, by this dispersion of the flecte, hee (according to the order before taken,) shapeth his course for Wardhouse in Norway, there to expect and abide the arrivall of the rest of the shippes. And being come thither, and hauing stayed there the space of 7. dayes, and looked in vaine for their comming, hee determined at length to proceede alone in the purposed voyage. And as hee was preparing himselfe to depart, it happened that hee fell in company and speech with certaine Scottishmen: who hauing vnderstanding of his intention, and wishing well to his actions, beganne earnestly to dissuade him from the further prosecution of the discouerie, by amplifying the dangers which hee was to fall into, and omitted no reason that might serue to that purpose. But hee holding nothing so ignominious and reprochfull, as inconstancie and leuitie of minde, and perswading himselfe that a man of valour could not commit a more dishonourable part then for feare of danger to atoyde and shunne great attempts, was nothing at all changed or discouraged with the speches and words of the Scots, remaining stedfast and immutable in his first resolution: determining either to vying that to passe which was intended, or els to die the death.

And as for them which were with Master Chancellor in his shippe, although they had great cause of discomfort by the losse of their companie (whom the foresaid tempest had separated from them,) and were not a little troubled with cogitations and perturbations of minde, in respect of their doubtfull course: yet notwithstanding, they were of such consent and agreement of minde with Master Chancellor, that they were resolute, and prepared vnder his direction and government, to make prooffe and triall of all adventures, without all feare or mistrust of future dangers. Which constancie of minde in all the companie did exceedingly increase their Captaines carefulnesse: for hee being swallowed by with like good will and loue towards them, feared lest through any error of his, the safetie of the companie should be endangered. To conclude, when they sawe their desire and hope of the arrivall of the rest of the shippes to be euery day more and more frustrated, they prouided to sea againe, and Master Chancellor held on his course towards that unknowen part of the world, and sailed so farre, that hee came at last to the place where hee found no night at all, but a continuall light and brightnesse of the Sunne shining clearely vpon the huge and mightie Sea. And hauing the benefite of this perpetuall light for certaine dayes, at the length it pleased God to bring them into a certaine great Bay, which was of one hundred miles or thereabout ouer. Whereinto they entred, and somewhat farre within it call ancre, and looking euery way about them, it happened that they espied a farre off a certaine fisher boate, which Master Chancellor, accompanied with a fewe of his men, went to wards to common with the fishermen that were in it, and to knowe of them what Countrey it was, and what people, and of what manner of liuing they were: but they being amazed with the strange greatnesse of his shippe, (for in those partes before that time they had neuer seene the like) beganne presently to atoyde and to flee: but hee still following them at last ouertooke them, and being come to them, they (being in great feare, as men halfe dead) prostrated themselves before him, offering to kisse his feete: but hee (according to his great and singular courtesie,) looked pleasantly vpon them, comforting them by signes and gestures, retuling those dueties and reuerences of theirs, and taking them by in all louing soze from the ground. And it is strange to consider howe much fauour after wards in that place, this humanitie of his did purchase to himselfe. For they being dismissed spread by and by a report abroad of the arrivall of a strange nation, of a singular gentlenesse and courtesie: whereupon the common people came together offering to these newe-come ghests victuals freely, and not refusing to traffique with them, except they had bene bound by a certaine religious vse and custome, not to buy any certaine commodities, without the knowledge and consent of the king.

By this time our men had learned that this Countrey was called Russia, or Moscouie, and that Iuan Vasiluich (which was at that time their Kings name) ruled and gouerned farre and wide in those places. And the barbarous Russes asked likewise of our men whence they were, and what they came for: whereunto answer was made, that they were Englishmen sent into those coastes, from the most excellent King Edward the sixt, hauing from him in commendement certaine things to deliuer to their King, and seeking nothing els but his amitie and friendship, and traffique with his people, where by they doubted not, but that great commodie and profit would grow to the subjects of both kingdomes.

They arrive
in the Bay of
Saint Joris
choias.

The discouerie
of Russia.

The Barbarians heard these things very gladly, and promised their aide and furtherance to acquaint their king out of hand with so honest and a reasonable request.

In the meane time *Haster Chanceler* intreated victuals for his money of the gouernour of that place (who together with others came aboord him) and required hostages of them likewise for the more assurance of safetie to himselfe and his company. To whom the Gouernours answered, that they knewe not in that case the will of their king, but yet were willing in such things as they might lawfully doe, to pleasure him: which was as then to afford him the benefit of victuals,

Nowe while these things were a doing, they secretly sent a messenger vnto the Emperour, to certifie him of the arriual of a strange nation, and withall to knowe his pleasure concerning them. Which message was very welcome vnto him, inso much that voluntarily hee invited them to come to his Court. But if by reason of the tediousnesse of so long a iourney, they thought it not best so to doe, then hee granted libertie to his subiects to bargain, and to traffique with them: and further promised, that if it would please them to come to him, hee himselfe would beare the whole charges of post horses. In the meane time the gouernours of the place deferred the matter from day to day, pretending diuers excuses, and saying one while that the consent of all the gouernours, and another while, that the great and waightie affaires of the kingdome compelled them to differ their answer: and this they did of purpose, so long to protract the time, vntill the messenger (sent before to the king) did returne with relation of his will and pleasure.

But *Haster Chanceler*, (seeing himselfe held in this suspense with long and vaine expectation, and thinking that of intention to delude him, they posted the matter off so often,) was very instant with them to performe their promise: Which if they would not doe, hee tolde them that hee would depart and proceede in his voyage. So that the Moscouites (although as yet they knew not the minde of their king) yet fearing the departure in deede of our men who had such wares and commodities as they greatly desired, they at last resolved to furnish our people with all things necessarie, and to conduct them by land to the presence of their king. And so *Haster Chanceler* beganne his iourney, which was very long and most troublesome, where-in hee had the vse of certaine sleds, which in that Countrey are very common, for they are carried themselves vpon sleds, and all their carriages are in the same sort, the people almost not knowing any other maner of carriage, the cause wherof is the exceeding hardnesse of the ground congealed in the winter time by the force of the colde, which in those places is very extreme and horrible, whereof hereafter we will say something.

But nowe they hauing passed the greater part of their iourney, mette at last with the *Siedde-man* (of whom I spake before) sent to the king secretly from the Iustices or gouernours, who by some ill happe had lost his way, and had gone to the Sea side, which is neere to the Countrey of the Tartars, thinking there to haue found our ship. But hauing long erred and wandered out of his way, at the last in his direct returne, hee met (as hee was comming) our *Captaine* on the way. To whom hee by and by deliuered the Emperours letters, which were written to him with all courtesie and in the most louing maner that could be: wherein expresse cominandement was giuen, that post horses should bee gotten for him and the rest of his company without any money. Which thing was of all the Russes in the rest of their iourney so willingly done, that they began to quarrell, yea, and to fight also in struiuing and contending which of them should put their post horses to the sledde: so that after much adoe and great paines taken in this long and wearie iourney, (for they had trauielled very neere fiftene hundred miles) *Haster Chanceler* came at last to *Mosco* the chiefe citie of the kingdome, and the seate of the king: of which citie, and of the Emperour himselfe, and of the principall cities of *Moscouie*, wee will speake immediately more at large in this discourse.

The Emperours courtesie
in his letters to
H. Chanceler.

Of Moscouie, which is also called Rufsia.

Moscouie, which hath the name also of *Russia* the white, is a very large and spacious Countrey, euery way bounded with diuers nations. Towards the South and the East, it is compassed with *Tartaria*: the Northen side of it stretcheth to the *Seycian* Ocean: vpon the West part border the *Lappians*, a rude and sauage nation, liuing in woods, whose language is not knownen to any other people: next vnto these, more towards the South, is *Swecia*, then *Finlandia*, then *Liuania*, and last of all *Lituania*. This Countrey of *Moscouie*, hath also very many and great riuers in it, and is marish ground in many places: and as for the riuers, the greatest

and most famous amongst all the rest, is that, which the Russes in their owne tongue call Volga, but others know it by the name of Rha. Next vnto it in fame is Tanais, which they call Don, and the third Boristhenes which at this day they call Neper. Two of these, to wit, Rha, and Boristhenes issuing both out of one fountaine, runne very farre through the land: Rha receiuing many other pleasant riuers into it, & running from the very head or spring of it towards the East, after many crooked turnings and windings, dischargeth it selfe, and all the other waters and riuers that fall into it by diuers passages into the Caspian Sea. Tanais springing from a fountaine of great name in those partes, and growing great neere to his head, spreads it selfe at length very largely, and makes a great lake: and then growing narrowe againe, doth so runne for certaine miles, vntill it fall into another lake, which they call Iuan: and therence fetching a very crooked course, comes very neere to the riuier Volga: but disdaining as it were the company of any other riuier, doth there turne it selfe againe from Volga, and runnes toward the South, and falls at last into the Lake of Mœotis, Boristhenes, which comes from the same head that Rha doth, (as wee sayde before) carrieth both it selfe, and other waters that are neere vnto it, towards the South, not refusing the mixture of other small riuers: and running by many great and large Countreys falls at last into Pontus Euxinus. Besides these riuers, are also in Moscouie certaine lakes, and pooles, the lakes breede fish by the celestiall influence: and amongst them all, the chiefe and most principall is called Bealozera, which is very famous by reason of a very strong towre built in it, wherein the kings of Moscouie reserue and repose their treasure in all time of warre and danger.

The mightie
lake of Bealozera.

Touching the Riphean mountaines, whereupon the snow lieth continually, and where hence in times past it was thought that Tanais the riuier did spring, and that the rest of the wonders of nature, which the Grecians fained and inuented of olde, were there to be seene: our men which lately came from thence, neither sawe them, nor yet haue brought home any perfect relation of them, although they remained there for the space of thre moneths, and had gotten in that time some intelligence of the language of Moscouie. The whole Countrey is plaine and champion, and few hills in it: and towards the North it hath very large & spacious woods, wherein is great store of Firre trees, a wood very necessarie, and fit for the building of houses: there are also wilde beastes bred in those woods, as Buffes, Beares, and blacke Wolves, and another kinde of beast vnknewen to vs, but called by them Rossomakka: and the nature of the same is very rare and wonderfull: for when it is great with yong, and ready to bring forth, it seeketh out some narrow place betweene two stakes, and so going through them, presseth it selfe, and by that meanes is eased of her burden, which other wise could not be done. They hunt their buffes for the most part a horsebacke, but their Beares a foot, with woodden forks. The north parts of the Countrey are reported to be so cold, that the very ice or water which distilleth out of the moist wood which they lay vpon the fire is presently congealed and frozen: the diuersitie growing suddenly to be so great, that in one and the selfe same fire, and, a man shall see both fire and ice. When the winter doth once begin there it doth still more & more increase by a perpetuities of cold: neither doth that colde slake, vntill the force of the Sunne beames doth dissolve the cold, and make glad the earth, returning to it againe. Our mariners which we left in the ship in the meane time to keepe it, in their going by onely from their cabbins to the hatches, had their breath oftentimes so suddenly taken away, that they closenes fell downe as men very neere dead, so great is the sharpenesse of that colde climate: but as for the South parts of the Countrey, they are somewhat more temperate.

The sharpnes
of the winter
in Moscouie.

Of Mosco the chiefe Citie of the kingdome, and of the Emperour thereof.

It remaineth that a larger discourse be made of Mosco, the principall Citie of that Countrey, and of the Prince also, as before we haue promised. The Empire and gouernment of the king is very large, and his wealth at this time exceeding great. And because the citie of Mosco is the chiefe of all the rest, it seemeth of it selfe to challenge the first place in this discourse. Our men say, that in bignesse it is as great as the Citie of London, with the suburbs thereof. There are many and great buildings in it, but for beautie and fairenesse, nothing comparable to ours. There are many Townes and Villages also, but built out of order, and with no handsomnesse: their streetes and wayes are not paved with stone as ours are: the walles of their houses are of wood: the roofes for the most part are couered with shingle boozes. There is hard by the Citie a very faire Castle, strong, and furnished with artillerie, whereunto the Citie is ioyned directly towards

Their manner
of building.

towards the North, with a bricke wall: the walles also of the Castle are built with bricke, and are in breadth or thickenesse eightene foote. This Castle hath on the one side a drie ditch, on the other side the riuer Moscua, whereby it is made almost incerpugnable. The same Moscua trending towards the East doth admit into it the companie of the riuer Occa.

In the Castle aforesaide, there are in number nine Churches, or Chappels, not altogether vrbansome, which are vsed and kept by certaine religious men, ouer whom there is after a soze, a Patriarke, or Gouvernour, and with him other reuerend Fathers, all which for the greater part, dwell within the Castle. As for the kings Court and Palace, it is not of the neatest, onely in forme it is foure square, and of lowe building, much surpassed and excelled by the beautie and elegance of the houses of the kings of England. The windows are very narrowly built, and some of them by glasse, some other by lettices admit the light: and whereas the Palaces of our Princes are decked, and adorned with hangings of cloth of gold, there is none such there: they build and sojnye to all their wals benches, and that not onely in the Court of the Emperour, but in all priuate mens houses.

Nowe after that they had remained about twelue dayes in the Citie, there was then a Messenger sent vnto them, to bring them to the Kings house: and they being after a soze wearied with their long stay, were very ready, and willing so to doe: and being entred within the gates of the Court, there sae a very honorable companie of Courtiers, to the number of one hundred, all apparelled in cloth of golde, downe to their ankles: and there-hence being conducted into the chamber of presence, our men beganne to wonder at the Maiestie of the Emperour: his seate was a loft, in a very royall throne, hauing on his head a Diademe, or Crowne of golde, apparelled with a robe all of Goldsmiths worke, and in his hand hee held a Scepter garnished, and beset with pccious stones: and besides all other notes and apparances of honour, there was a Maiestie in his countenance pproportionable with the excellencie of his estate: on the one side of him stood his chiefe Secretarie, on the other side, the great Commander of silence, both of them arayed also in cloth of gold: and then there sae the Councel of one hundred and fiftie in number, all in like sort arayed, and of great state. This so honorable an assemblie, so great a Maiestie of the Emperour, and of the place might very well haue amazed our men, and haue dasht them out of countenance: but notwithstanding Master Chanceler being there with all nothing dismayed saluted, and did his ductie to the Emperour, after the maner of England, and withall, deliuered vnto him the letters of our king, Edward the first. The Emperour hauing taken, & read the letters, began a litle to question with them, and to aske them of the welfare of our king: whereunto our men answered him directly, & in few words: hereupon our men presented some thing to the Emperour, by the chiefe Secretarie, which at the deliuey of it, put of his hat, being before all the time couered: and so the Emperour hauing inuited them to dinner, dismissed them from his presence: and going into the chamber of him that was Master of the Requests to the Emperour, & hauing stayed there the space of two howres, at the last, the Messenger cometh, and calleth them to dinner: they goe, and being conducted into the golden Court, (for so they call it, although not very faire) they finde the Emperour sitting vpon an high and stately seate, apparelled with a robe of siluer, and with another Diademe on his head: our men being placed ouer against him, sit downe: in the middes of the roome stode a mightie Cupboord vpon a square foote, whereupon stode also a round boord, in manner of a Diamond, boade beneath, and towards the toppe narrowe, and euery steppe rose by more narrowe then another. Upon this Cupboorde was placed the Emperours plate, which was so much, that the very Cupboord it selfe was scant able to sustaine the waight of it: the better part of all the vessels, and goblets, was made of very fine gold: and amongst the rest, there were foure pots of very large bignesse, which did adorne the rest of the plate in great measure: for they were so high, that they thought them at the least siue foote long. There were also vpon this Cupboord certaine siluer calkes, not much differing from the quantitie of our Spyzkins, wherein was reserued the Emperours drinke: on each side of the Hall stood foure Tables, each of them layde and couered with very cleane table clothes, whereunto the company ascended by thre steps or degrees: all which were filled with the assemblie present: the ghests were all apparelled with linnen without, and with rich skinnes within, and so did notably set out this royall feast. The Emperour, when hee takes any bread or knife in his hand, doth first of all crosse himselfe vpon his forehead: they that are in speciall fauour with the Emperour sit vpon the same bench with him, but somewhat farre from him: and before the comming in of the meate, the Emperour himselfe, according to an ancient custome of the kings of Moscouy, doth first bestow a peece of bread vpon euery one of his ghests, with a loud ppronunciation of his title, and honour, in this manner: The great Duke of Moscouie, and chiefe Emperour of Russia, Iohn Basiluwich (& then the officer nameth the ghest)

King Edward's letters delivered.

doth giue thee bread. Whereupon all the ghests rise vp, and by & by sit downe againe. This done, the Gentleman Usher of the Hall comes in, with a notable company of seruants, carrying the dishes, and hauing done his reuerence to the Emperour, puts a yong Swanne in a golden platter vpon the table, and immediatly takes it thence againe, deliuering it to the Carver, and seuen other of his fellowes, to be cut vp: which being perfourmed, the meate is then distributed to the ghests, with the like pompe, and ceremonies. In the meane time, the Gentleman Usher receiues his bread, and tasteth to the Emperour, and afterward, hauing done his reuerence, he departeth. Touching the rest of the dishes, because they were brought in out of order, our men can report no certaintie: but this is true, that all the furniture of dishes, and drinking vessels, which were then for the vse of a hundred ghests, was all of pure golde, and the tables were so laden with vessels of gold, that there was no roome for some to stand vpon them.

We may not forget, that there were 140. seruitors arrayed in cloth of gold, that in the dinner time, changed thise their habit and apparcell, which seruitors are in like sort serued with bread from the Emperour, as the rest of the ghests. Last of all, dinner being ended, and candles brought in, (for by this time night was come) the Emperour calleth all his ghests and Noble men by their names, in such sort, that it seemes miraculous, that a Prince, otherwise occupied in great matters of estate, should so well remember so many and sundry particular names. The Russes tolde our men, that the reason thereof, as also of the bestowing of bread in that maner, was to the ende that the Emperour might keepe the knowledge of his owne houthold: and withal, that such as are vnder his displeasure, might by this meanes be known.

Of the discipline of warre among the Russes.

Whensoever the iniures of their neighbours doe call the King forth to battell, hee neuer armeth a lesse number against the enemye, then 300. thousand soldiers, 100. thousand whereof hee carrieth out into the field with him, and leaueth the rest in garison in some fit places, for the better safetie of his Empire. He presseth no but bandeman, nor Marchant: for the Countrey is so populous, that these being left at home, the youth of the Realme is sufficient for all his wars. As many as goe out to warfare doe prouide all things of their owne cost: they fight not on foote, but altogether on horsebacke: their armour is a coate of maile, & a helmet: the coate of maile wout is gilbed, or els adozned with silke, although it pertaine to a common soldier: they haue a great pride in shewing their wealth: they vse bowes, and arrows, as the Turkes do: they carry lances also into the field. They ride with a short stirrop, after the maner of the Turkes: They are a kinde of people most sparing in diet, and most patient in extremitie of cold, about all others. For when the ground is covered with snowe, and is growen terrible and hard with the frost, this Russe hangs by his mantle, or souldiers coate, against that part from whence the winde and Snowe driues, and so making a little fire, lieth downe with his backe towards the weather: this mantle of his serues him for his bed, wall, hoile and all: his drinke is colde water of the river, mingled with oatemeale, and this is all his good chere, and he thinketh himselfe well, and daintily feede therewith, and so lieth downe by his fire, and vpon the hard ground, resteth as it were his wearie liues thus daintily stuffed: the hard ground is his feather bed, & some blocke or stone his pillow: and as for his horse, he is as it were a chamberfellow with his master, faring both alike. How iustly may this barbarous, and rude Russe condemne the daintinesse and nicenesse of our Captaines, who liuing in a soile & aire much more temperate, yet commonly vse furred boots, and clokes: But this much of the furniture of their common souldiers. But those that are of higher degrees come into the field a litle better prouided. As for the furniture of the Emperour himselfe, it is then aboute all other times, most notable. The coverings of his tent for the most part, are all of gold, adozned with stones of great price, and with the curious workmanship of plumasters. As often as they are to skirmish with the enemye, they goe forth without any order at all: they make no wings, nor militarie diuisions of their men, as we doe, but lying for the most part, in ambush, doe suddenly set vpon the enemye. Their horses can well abstaine two whole daies from any meate. They feede vpon the barks of trees, and the most tender branches, in all the time of warre. And this scant and miserable maner of liuing, both the horse and his Master can well endure, sometimes for the space of two moneths, lustie, and in good state of body. If any man behaue himselfe valiantly in the feld, to the contentation of the Emperour, he bestoweth vpon him in recompense of his seruice, some farme, or so much ground as he and his may liue vpon, which notwithstanding after his death, returneth againe to the Emperour, if he die without a male issue. For although his daughters be neuer so many, yet no part of that inheritance comes to them, except peraduenture the Emperour of his goodnesse, giue some portion of the land amongst

amongst them, to bestowe them withall. As for the man, whose cure he be, that is in this soze rewarded by the Emperours liberalitie, hee is bound in a great summe, to maintaine so many souldiers for the warre, when need shall require, as that land, in the opinion of the Emperour, is able to maintaine. And all those, to whom any land falls by inheritance, are in no better condition: for if they die without any male issue, all their lands fall into the hands of the Emperour. And moreover, if there be any rich man amongst them, who in his owne person is unfit for the warres, and yet hath such wealth, that thereby many Noble men and warriours might be maintainted, if any of the Courtiers present his name to the Emperour, the unhappy man is by and by sent for, and in that instant, deprived of all his riches, which with great paines and trauell all his life time he had gotten together: except perhaps some small portion thereof be left him, to maintaine his wife, children and familie. But all this is done of all the people so willingly at the Emperours commandement, that a man would thinke, they rather make restitution of other mens goods, then giue that which is their owne to other men. Nowe the Emperour hauing taken these goods into his hands, bestoweth them among his Courtiers, according to their desert: and the oftener that a man is sent to the warres, the more fauour he thinketh is bozne to him by the Emperour, although he goe vpon his owne charge, as I said before. So great is the obedience of all men gener ally to their Prince.

Of the Ambassadors of the Emperour of Moscouie.

The Moscouite, with no lesse pompe, and magnificence, then that which we haue spoken of, sends his Ambassadors to forren Princes, in the affaires of estate. For while our men were abiding in the Citie of Mosco, there were two Ambassadors sent to the King of Poland, accompanied with 500. notable horses, and the greater part of the men were arrayed in cloth of gold, and of silke, and the worst apparell was of garments of blewe colour, to speake nothing of the trappings of the horses, which were adorned with gold and siluer, and very curiously embrodred: they had also with them one hundred white and faire spare horses, to vse them at such times, as any wearinesse came vpon them. But now the time requireth me to speake briefly of other Cities of the Moscouites, and of the wares and commodities that the Countrey yeildeth.

Nouogorode.

Next vnto Mosco, the Citie of Nouogorode is reputed the chiefest of Russia: for although it be in Daiesie inferior to it, yet in greatnesse it goeth beyond it. It is the chiefest and greatest Parte Towne of all Moscouie: and albeit the Emperours seate is not there, but at Mosco, yet the commodiousnesse of the riuer, falling into that gulfe, which is called Sinus Finnicus, whereby it is well frequented by Marchants, makes it more famous then Mosco it selfe. This towne excels all the rest in the commodities of flaxe and hempe: it yeeldes also hides, honie, and waxe. The Flemings there sometimes had a house of Marchandize, but by reason that they vsed the like ill dealing there, which they did with vs, they lost their priuileges, a restitution whereof they earnestly sued for at the time that our men were there. But those Flemings hearing of the arrivall of our men in those parts, wrote their letters to the Emperour against them, accusing them for pirates and rouers, wishing him to detaine, and imprison them. Which things when they were knowen of our men, they conceiued feare, that they should neuer haue returned home. But the Emperour belceuing rather the Kings letters, which our men brought, then the lying and false suggestions of the Flemings, vsed no ill increateie towards them.

The manner
of the Flemings
against
our men.

Yeraslaue.

Yeraslaue also is a Towne of some good fame, for the commodities of hides, tallow, and cozne, which it yeeldes in great abundance. Cakes of waxe are there also to bee soide, although other places haue greater stoze: this Yeraslaue is distant from Mosco, about two hundred miles: and betwixt them are many populous villages. Their fields yeeld such stoze of cozne, that in carrying it towards Mosco, sometimes in a fozenoone, a man shall see seuen hundred or eight hundred sleds, going and coming, laden with cozne and salt fish: the people come a thousand miles to Mosco, to buy that cozne, and then carry it away vpon sleds: and these are those people that dwell in the North parts, where the colde is so terrible, that no cozne both growe there, or if it spring vp, it neuer comes to ripenesse. The commodities that they bring with them, are salt fish, skinned, and hides.

Vologda.

Vologda.

Vologda being from Mosco, 550. miles yeeldes the commodities of *Hempe* and *Flaxe* also : although the greatest stoze of *Flaxe* is solde at *Nouogrode*.

Plesco.

The Towne of *Plesco*, is frequented of *Harchants* for the good stoze of *Honie* and *Ware* that it yeeldeth.

Colmagro.

The North parts of *Russia* yeelde very rare and precious *Skinnes* : and amongst the rest, those principally, which we call *Sables*, worne about the neckes of our *Noble* women and *Ladies* : it hath also *Hartins* *Skinnes*, white, blacke, and red *Fore* *Skinnes*, *Skinnes* of *Hares*, and *Ermys*, and others, which they call and terme barbarously, as *Beuers*, *Hinres*, and *Hinuers*. The sea adioyning, bzeedes a certaine beast, which they call the *Mors*, which seeketh his foode vpon the rockes, skinning by with the helpe of his teeth. The *Russes* vse to take them, for the great vertue that is in their teeth, whereof they make as great accompe, as we doe of the *Elephants* tooth. These commodities they cary vpon *Deeres* backs to the towne of *Lampas* : and from thence to *Colmagro*, and there in the winter time, are kept great *Faires* for the sale of them. This Citie of *Colmagro*, serues all the Countrey about it with salt, and salt fish. The *Russians* also of the North parts, send thither oyle, which they call *traine*, which they make in a riuer called *Vna*, although it be also made else-where : and here they vse to boile the water of the sea, wherof they make very great stoze of salt.

157, *Dolina*.

Of controuerfies in Lawe, and how they are ended.

Having hitherto spoken so much of the chiefest *Cities* of *Russia*, as the matter required : it remaineth that we speake somewhat of the lawes, that the *Moscovits* doe vse, as farre forth as the same are come to our knowledge. If any controuerfie arise among them, they first make their *Landlords* *Judges* in the matter, and if they cannot end it, then they preferre it to the *Magistrate*. The plaintiff craueth of the said *Magistrate*, that he may haue leaue to enter law against his aduersarie : and hauing obtained it, the officer fetcheth the defendant, and beateth him on the legges, till he bying forth a suretie for him : but if he be not of such credite, as to procure a surety, then are his hands by an officer tied to his necke, and he is beaten all the way, till he come before the *Judge*. The *Judge* then asketh him (as for example in the matter of debt) whether he oweth any thing to the plaintiffe. If he denies it, then saith the *Judge*, How canst thou deny it : the defendant answereth, By an othe : thereupon the officer is commaunded to cease from beating of him, vntill the matter be further tried. They haue no *Lawyers*, but euery man is his owne *Advocate*, and both the complaint of the accuser, and the answer of the defendant, are in maner of petition deliuered to the *Emperour*, intreacing iustice at his hands. The *Emperour* himselfe heareth euery great controuerfie, and vpon the hearing of it, giueth iudgement, and that with great equitie, which I take to be a thing worty of speciall commendation, in the *State* of a *Prince*. But although he doe this with a good purpose of mind, yet the corrupt *Magistrates* do wonderfully peruert the same : but if the *Emperour* take them in any fault, he doeth punish them most severely. Now at the last, when each partie hath defended his cause with his best reasons, the *Judge* demandeth of the accuser, whether he hath any moze to say for himselfe : he answereth, that he will trie the matter in fight by his *Champion*, or else increateth, that in fight betwixt themselues the matter may be ended : which being graunted, they both fight it out : or if both of them, or either of them seeme unfit for that kinde of triall, then they haue publike *Champions* to be hired, which liue by ending of quarrels. These *Champions* are armed with yron *ares*, and *speares*, and fight on foote, and he whose *Champion* is ouercome, is by and by taken, and imprisoned, and terribly handled, vntill he agree with his aduersarie. But if either of them be of any good calling, and degree, and doe challenge one another to fight, the *Judge* granteth it : in which case they may not vse publike *Champions*. And he that is of any good birth, doth contemme the other, if he be basely borne, and will not fight with him. If a pooze man happen to grow in debt, his *Creditor* takes him, & maketh him pay the debt, in working either to himselfe, or to some other man, whose wages he taketh by. And there are some among them, that vse willingly to make themselues, their wiues, and chil-

open, bondslaves vnto rich men, to haue a little money at the first into their hands, and so for euer after content themselues with meate and drinke: so little accompt doe they make of libertie.

Of punishments vpon theeues.

If any man be taken vpon comitting of thest, he is imprisoned, and often beaten, but not hanged for the first offence, as the manner is with vs: and this they call the lawe of mercie. He that offendeth the second time hath his nose cut off, and is burnt in the forehead with a hot yron. The third time, he is hanged. There are many cutpurses among them, and if the rigour of the Prince did not cut them off, they could not be auoyded.

Of their religion.

They maintaine the opinions of the Greeke Church: they suffer no grauen Images of Saints in their Churches, but their pictures painted in tables they haue in great abundance, which they do adore and offer vnto, and burne waxe candles before them, and cast holy water vpon them, without oether honour. They say that our images which are set vp in Churches, and carued, haue no diuinitie in them. In their priuate houses they haue images for their household saints, and for the most part, they are put in the darkest place of the house: hee that comes into his neighbours house doth first salute his saints, although he see them not. If any foorme or stoole stand in his way, hee oftentimes beatech his browe vpon the same, and often ducking downe with his head, and body, worshippeth the chiefe Image. The habite, and attire of the Priests, and of the Lay men, doth nothing at all differ: as for marriage, it is forbidden to no man: onely this is receiued and helo amongst them for a rule, and custome, that if a Priests wife doe die, he may not marry againe, nor take a second wife: and therefore they of secular Priests, as they call them, are made Honkes, to whom then chastitie for euer is commanded. Their diuine seruice is all done and said in their owne language, that euery man may vnderstand it: they receiue the Lords Supper with leauened bread, and after the consecration, they carry it about the Church in a saucer, and prohibite no man from receiuing and taking of it, that is willing so to doe. They vse both the Olde and the Newe Testament, and read both in their owne language, but so confusedly, that they themselues that doe reade, vnderstand not what themselues doe say: and while any part of either Testament is read, there is libertie giuen by custome to prattle, talke, and make a noyse: but in the time of the rest of the seruice they vse very great silence and reuerence, and behaue themselues very modestly, and in good sort. As touching the Lords prayer, the tenth man amongst them knowes it not: and for the articles of our faith, and the ten commandments, no man, or at the least very fewe of them doe either know them or can say them: their opinion is, that such secreete and holy things as they are should not rashly and imprudently be communicated with the common people. They holde for a Sacrame amongst them, that the olde Lawe, and the commandments also are abolished by the death and blood of Christ: all studies and letters of humanitie they vtterly refuse: concerning the Latine, Greeke, and Hebrew tongues, they are altogether ignozant in them.

Euery yeere they celebrate fouze seuerall fastes, which they call according to the names of the Saints: the first bginnes with them, at the time that our Lent begins. The second is called amongst them the fast of S. Peter. The third is taken from the day of the Virgin Marie. And the fourth and last begins vpon S. Philips day. But as we begin our Lent vpon Wednesday, so they begin theirs vpon the Sunday. Upon the Saturday they eate flesh: whensoever any of those fasting fastes doe drawe nere, looke what weeke doth immediatly goe before them, the same weeke they linn altogether vpon white meates, and in their common language they call those weekes, the fast of Butter.

In the time of their fasts, the neighbours euery where goe from one to another, and visite one another, and kisse one another with kisses of peace, in token of their mutuall loue and Christian concord: and then also they doe more often then at any other time goe to the holy Communion. When seuen dayes are past, from the beginning of the fast, then they doe often either goe to their Churches, or keepe themselues at home, and vse often prayer: and for that seuen night they eate nothing but hearbes: but after that seuen nightes fast is once past, then they returne to their old intemperancie of drinke, for they are notable tospots. As for the keeping of their fasting dayes, they doe it very strictly, neither doe they eate any thing besides hearbes, and salt fish, as long as those fasting dayes doe endure: but vpon euery Wednesday and Friday, in euery weeke throughout the yeere, they fast,

There are very many Monasteries of the order of S. Benedict, amongst them, to which many great livings, for their maintenance, doe belong: for the Friars and the Monks doe at the least possesse the third part of the livings, throughout the whole Moscouite Empire. To those Monks that are of this order, there is amongst them a perpetuall prohibition, that they may eat no flesh: and therefore their meate is onely salt fish, milke, and butter: neither is it permitted them by the lawes, and customes of their religion, to eat any fresh fish at all: and at those foure fastyng times, whereof we spake before, they eat no fish at all: onely they live with hearbes, and cucumbers, which they doe continually for that purpose cause and take order to grow and spring, for their use and diet.

As for their drinke, it is very weake, and small. For the discharge of their office, they do every day say service, and that early in the mornings before day: and they doe in such sort, and with such observation begin their service, that they will be sure to make an end of it, before day: and about nine of the clocke in the morning they celebrate the Communion. When they have so done, they goe to dinner, and after dinner they goe againe to service, and the like also after supper: and in the meane time while they are at dinner there is some exposition or interpretation of the Gospel used.

Whensoever any Abbot of any monasterie dieth, the Emperour taketh all his household stuffe, beastes, flockes of sheepe, golde, silver, and all that he hath: or els hee that is to succede him in his place and dignitie doth redeeme all those things, and buyeth them of the Emperour for money.

Their churches are built of timber, and the towers of their churches for the most part are covered with shingle boozes. At the doozes of their churches, they usually build some entrance or porch as we doe, and in their churchyardes they erect a certaine house of wood, wherein they set by their bells, wherein some times they have but one, in some two, and in some also thre.

There is one use and custome amongst them, which is strange and rare, but yet it is very ridiculous, and that is this: when any man dyeth amongst them, they take the dead body and put it in a coffine or chest, and in the hand of the corpes they put a litle scroule, & in the same there are these wordes written, that the same man died a Russe of Russes, having received the faith, and died in the same. This writing or letter they say they send to S. Peter, who receiuing it (as they affirme) reades it, and by and by admits him into heauen, and that his glory and place is higher and greater then the glory of the Christians of the Latine church, reputing themselves to be followers of a more sincere faith and religion then they: they hold opinion that we are but halfe Christians, and themselves onely to be the true and perfect church: these are the foolish and chidish dotages of such ignorant Barbarians.

Of the Moscouites that are Idolaters, dwelling nere to *Tartaria*.

*Aurea vetula, 93
Zclotibaba.*

There is a certaine part of Moscouie bordering vpon the countreys of the Tartars, wherein those Moscouites that dwell are very great idolaters: they haue one famous idole amongst them, which they call the Golden old wife: & they haue a custome that whensoever any plague or any calamitie doth afflict the countrey, as hunger, warre, or such like, then they goe to consult with their idole, which they do after this manner: they fall downe prostrate before the idole, & pray vnto it, & put in the presence of the same, a cymbal: & about the same certaine persons stand, which are chosen amongst them by lot: vpon their cymball they place a silver tode, and sound the cymball, and to whomsoever of those lotted persons that tode goeth, he is taken, and by and by slaine: and immediately, I know not by what illusions of the deuill, or idole, he is againe restored to life, & then doth reueale and deliuer the causes of the present calamitie. And by this meanes knowing how to pacifie the idole, they are deliuered from the imminent danger.

Of the forme of their priuate houses, and of the apparell of the people.

The common houses of the countrey are euery where built of beames of Firre tree: the tower beames doe so receiue the round holownesse of the vppermost, that by the meanes of the building thereupon, they resist, and expell all winds that blow, and where the timber is ioined together, there they stop the chinks with mosse. The forme & fashion of their houses in all places is foure square, with streit and narrow windowes, whereby with a transparent casement made or couered with skinne like to parchment, they receiue the light. The roofes of their houses are made of boozes couered without with y^e bark of trees: within their houses they haue benches or
grieces

griezes hard by their wals, which commonly they sleepe vpon, for the common people knowe not the vse of beds: they haue stoues wherein in the morning they make a fire, and the same fire doth either moderately warme, or make very hote the whole house.

The apparell of the people for the most part is made of wooll, their caps are picked like vnto a rike or diamond, broad beneath, and sharpe vpward. In the maner of making whereof, there is a signe and representation of nobilitie: for the loftier or higher their caps are, the greater is their birth supposed to be, and the greater reuerence is giuen them by the common people.

The Conclusion to Queene Marie.

These are the things most excellent Queene, which your Subjects newly returned from Russia haue brought home concerning the state of that countrey: wherefore if your maiestie shall be fauourable, and grant a continuance of the trauell, there is no doubt but that the honour and renowne of your name will be spread amongst those nations, whereunto thzee onely noble personages from the verie creation haue had access, to whom no man hath bene comparable.

The copie of the Duke of Moscouie and Emperour of Russia his letters, sent to King Edward the sixt, by the hands of Richard Chancelour.



We Almighty power of God, and the incomprehensible holy Trinitie, rightfull Christian belife, &c. We great Duke Iuan Vasiluich, by the grace of God great lord and Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosco, and Nouograd, King of Kazan, King of Astracan, lord of Plesko, and great duke of Smolensko, of Twerria, Ioughoria, Pernia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, lord and great duke of Nouograd in the Low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostoue, Yaruslaueley, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condenfa, Commanroy of all Siberia, and of the north parts, and lord of many other countries, greeting. Before all, right great and worthy of honour Edward King of England &c. according to our most hearty and good zeale, with good intent and friendly desire, & according to our holy Christian faith, & great gouernance, & being in the light of great vnderstanding, our answere by this our honourable writing vnto your kingly gouernance, at the request of your faithfull seruant Richard Chancelour, with his company, as they shall let you wisely know, is this. In the strength of the twentieth yeeve of our gouernance, be it knowen, that at our sea coastes arriued a shippe, with one Richard, and his companie, and sayd, that hee was desirous to come into our dominions, and according to his request, hath seene our Maiestie, and || our eyes: and hath declared vnto vs your Maiesties desire, as that we should grant vnto your subjects, to goe and come, and in our dominions, and among our subiects, to frequent free parts, with all sortes of marchandizes, and vpon the same to haue wares for their returne. And they haue also deliuered vs your letters, which declare the same request. And hereupon we haue giuen order, that whereloener your faithful seruant Hugh Willoughbie land or touch in our dominions, to be wel entertained, who as yet is not arriued, as your seruant Richard can declare.

Iuan Vasiluich, that is to say, John the sonne of Basilus.

That is, come into our presence.

And we with Christian belife and faithfulness, and according to your honourable request, and my honourable commandement will not leaue it vdone: and are furthermore willing that you send vnto vs your ships and vessels, when and as often as they may haue passage, with good assurance on our part to see them harmelesse. And if you send one of your maiesties counsell to treat with vs whereby your countrey marchants may with all kinds of wares, and where they will make their market in our dominions, they shall haue their free parte with all free libertiees throug my whole dominions with all kinde of wares to come and goe at their pleasure, without any let, damage or impediment, according to this our letter, our word and our seale which we haue commaunded to be vnder sealed. Written in our dominion, in our citie and our palace in the citie of Mosco, in the yeeve 7060, the second moneth of February.

This letter was written in the Moscouian tongue, in letters much like to the Greeke letters, very faire written in paper, with a broad seale hanging at the same, sealed in paper vpon waxe. This seale was much like y broad seale of England, hauing on the one side the image of a man on horseback in complete harness fighting with a dragon. Under this letter was another paper written in the Dutch tongue, which was the interpretation of the other written in the Moscouian letters. These letters were sent the next yeeve after the date of king Edwards letters, 1554.

The coines, weights and measures vsed in *Russia*, written
by John Hassé, in the yere, 1554.



Inasmuch as it is most necessary for all marchants which seeke to haue traffique in any strange regions, first to acquaint themselves with the coines of those lands with which they do intend to ioyne in traffique, and how they are called from the valuation of the highest piece to the lowest, and in what sort they make their payments, as also what their common weights and measures be: for these causes I haue thought good to write some thing thereof according to mine owne knowledge and experience, to the end that the marchants of that new aduventure may the better understand how the wealth of that new frequented trade will arise.

No coines of gold in Russia, but all of silver

First, it is to be noted that the Emperour of Russia hath no other coines then silver in all his land, which goeth for payment amongst merchants, yet notwithstanding there is a coine of copper, which serueth for the reliefe of the poore in Mosco, & no where els, and that is but only for quasse, water and fruit, as nuts, apples, and such other like. The name of which money is called *Pode* or *Poles*, of which *Podes* there goe to the least of the silver coines, 18. But I will not stand by you this, because it is no currant money among merchants.

Of silver coines there be three sortes of pieces: the least is a *Polodenga*, the second a *Denga*, the third, *Nowgrote*, which is as much to say in English as halfe penie, penie, and two pence, and for other valued money then this, there is none: there are oftentimes there coines of gold, but they come out of forein countreys, whereof there is no ordinarie valuation, but they passe according to the agreement of merchants.

Their order in summing of money is this: as we say in England, halfe penie, penie, shilling and pound, so say they *Polodenga*, *Denga*, *Altine* and *Rubble*: There goeth two *Polodengas* to a *Denga*, six *Dengas* to an *Altine*, and 23 *Altines*, and two *Dengas* to a *Rubble*.

The weights in Russia.

Concerning the weights of Russia they are these: There are two sortes of pounds in vse amongst them, the one great, & other small: the great pound is iust two small pounds: they call the great weight by the name of *Beasemar*, and the small they call the *Skalla* weight: with this small weight they weigh their silver coines, of the which the Emperour hath commanded to put to euery small pound three *Rubbles* of silver, and with the same weight they weigh all Grocerie wares, and almost all other wares which come into the land, except those which they weigh by the *Pode*, as hops salt, iron, lead, tinne & batrie with diuers others, notwithstanding they vse to weigh batrie more often by the small weight then by the great.

Whensoever you find the prices of your wares rated by the *Pode*, consider that to be the great weight, and the pound to be the small. Also they diuide the small pound into 48 parts, and they call the eight and fortieth part a *Slocnike*, by the which *Slocnike* the retailers sell their wares out of their shops, as Goldsmiths, Grocers, Silkesellers and such other like as we doe vse to retaille by the ounce: and as for their great weight which they call the *Beasemar*, they sel by *pode*, or shippond. The *pode* doth containe of the great weight, 40 pounds, and of the small 80: there goe 10. *podes* to a shippond.

Yet you must consider that their great weight is not full with ours: for I take not their great pound to be full 13 ounces, but about 12 I thinke it be. But for your iust prooffe, weigh 6 *Rubbles* of Russia money with our pound weight, and then shal you see what it lacketh: for 6 *Rubbles* of Russia is by the Emperours standerd, the great pound: so that I thinke it the next way to know the iust waight, as well of the great pound as of the small.

The weight of Wardhouse.

There is another weight needfull to be knownen, which is the weight of *Wardhouse*, for so much as they weigh all their drie fish by weight, which weight is the *Beasemar*, as they of Russia doe vse, notwithstanding there is another sorte in it: the names of those weights are these: the marke pound, the great pound, the *weie*, and the shippond. The marke pound is to be understood as our pound, and their great pound is 24 of their marke pound: the *weie* is 3 great pound, and 8 *weie* is a shippond.

The Russia measures.

Now concerning their measures. As they haue two sortes of weights, so they haue also two sortes of measures: wherewith they measure cloth both linnen and wollen: they call the one an *Archshine*, and the other a *Locut*: the *Archshine* I take to bee as much as the Flanders ell, and their *Locut* halfe an English yard: with their *Archshine* they may mete all such sortes of clothes as come into the land, and with the *Locut* all such cloth both linnen and wollen, as they make themselves. And whereas we vse to giue yard and inch, or yard and handfull, they do giue nothing but bare measure,

They have also a measure wherewith they doe mete their cozne, which they cal a Setforth, and the halfe of that an Omine: this Setforth I take take to bee three bushels of London measure. And as for their binke measure, they call it a Spanne, which is much like a bucket, and of that I never saw any true rate, but that some was greater then other some. And as for the measures of Wardhouse wherewith they mete their cloth, there is no difference betwenn that and the measure of Danske, which is halfe an English ell.

The measure of Wardhouse in cloth, is the measure of Danske.

Concerning the colles & customs of Russia, it was reported to me in Moscouia, that the Turkes and Armenians pay the tenth penie custome of all the wares they bring into the Emperors land; and aboue that they pay for all such goods as they weigh at the Emperours beame, two pence of the Rubble, which by buyer or seller must make report to of the Master of the beame: they also pay a certaine horse toll, which is in diuers places of his Realme foure pence of a horse.

The Turkes and Armenians pay custome.

The Emperours beame.

The Dutch nation are free of this: notwithstanding for certaine offences, they had lost their priuiledges which they haue recouered this Summer to their great charge. It was reported to me by a Justice of that countrey, that they paid for it thirtie thousand Rubbles, and also that Rye, Dorpre and Reuel haue yeilded themselves vnder the gouernment of the Emperour of Russia: whether this was a byagge of the Russes or not, I know not, but thus he sayd, and in deed whiles we were there, there came a great Ambassadour out of Liefland, for the assurance of their priuiledges.

The Dutch nation lost their priuiledges, & renued them with a great summe.

To speake somewhat of the commodities of this countrey, it is to be vnderstood, that there is a certaine place foure score miles from the Sea called Colmogro: to which place there resort all the sortes of Wares that are in the North parts, as Oyles, Salt, Stockfish, Salmon, Fetters and Furrer: their Salt they make of saltwater by the sea side: their Oyles they make of Seales, whereof they haue great store which is brought out of the Bay where our shippes came in: they make it in the Spring of the yeere, and bring it to Colmogro to sell, and the merchants there carie it to Nouogrode, and so sell it to the Dutch nation. Their Stockfish and Salmon cometh from a place called Malluns, not farre from Wardhouse: their Salmon and their Salt they carrie to Mosco, and their byie fische they carrie to Nouogrode, and sell it there to the Lieflanders.

The commodities of Russia.

The Furrer and Fetters which come to Colmogro, as Sables, Beauers, Hinkes, Armine, Lettis, Gales, Wooluerings, and white fores, with Deere skinned, they are brought thicher, by the men of Penninge, Lampas, and Powstezer, which fetch them from the Samoedes that are counted sauage people: and the merchants that bring these Furrer doe vse to trucke with the merchants of Colmogro for Cloth, Tinne, Barrie, & such other like, and the merchants of Colmogro carie them to Nouogrode, Vologda, or Mosco, & sell them there. The Fetters which come from Penninge they doe little esteeme.

If our merchants do desire to know the meekest place of Russia for the standing house, in mine opinion I take it to be Vologda, which is a great towne standing in the heart of Russia, with many great and good towns about it. There is great plentie of cozne, victuals, and of all such wares as are raised in Rusland, but specially, flaxe, hempo, tallow and bacon: there is also great store of ware, but it cometh from the Mosko.

The towne of Vologda is meekest for our marchants, because it lieth amongst all the best towns of Russia, and there is no towne in Russia but trades with it: also the water is a great commodity to it. If they plant themselves in Mosco or Nouogrode, their charge will be great and wonderfull, but not so in Vologda: for all things will there be had better cheape by the one half. And for their vent, I know no place so meet. It is likely that some will thinke by Mosko to be the meekest by the reason of the court, but by that reason I take it to be woofle: for the charge there would be so great by crauers and expences, that the moitie of the profite would bee wholly consumed, which in the other place will bee saued. And yet notwithstanding our marchants may be there in the Winter to serue the Emperour and his court. The Emperour is a great marchant himselfe of ware and sables, which with good foresight may bee procured to their hands: as for other commodities there are litle or none in Moscouia, besides those aboue rehearsed: if there bee other, it is brought thicher by the Turkes, who will be daintie to buy our clothes considerin^g the charges of cartage ouer land.

Vologda and the State thereof.

The Emperour of Moscouie is a marchant himselfe.

Our marchants may doe well to provide for the Russes such wares as the Dutch nation doeth serue them of, as Flanders and Holland clothes, which I beleue, they shal serue better and with lesse charge then they of Rye or Dorpre, or Reuel: for it is no smal aduenture to bring their clothes out of Flanders to either of these places, and their charge not litle to cary them ouer lande to Nouogrode, which is from Rye nine hundred Russian miles.

This Nouogrode is a place wel furnished with flaxe, Ware, Hides, tallow and many other things: the best flaxe in Russia is brought thither and there sold by the hundred bundles, which is done also at Vologda, and they that bring the flaxe to Nouogrode, well as neere Vologda, as Nouogrode, and when they heare of the viterance which they may haue with our nation, they will as willingly come to them as goe to other.

Two sorts of
flaxe.

They haue in Russia two sorts of flaxe, the one is called great flaxe, and the other small: that which they call great flaxe is better by foure rubbles in 100. bundles then the small: It is much longer then the other, and cleaner without wood: and whereas of the small flaxe there goe 27. or 28 bundles to a shippond, there goeth not of the greater sort about 22. or 24 at the most. There are many other trifles in Russia, as sope, mats, &c. but I thinke there will bee no great account made of them.

The letters of king *Philip* and Queene *Marie* to *Juan Vasiliuich* the Emperour of *Russia* written the first of April 1555 and in the second voyage.



Rhilip and Marie by the grace of God, King and Queene of England, France, Naples, Ierusalem, and Ireland, defenders of the faith, Princes of Spaine and Sicilie, Archdukes of Austrich, Dukes of Burgundie, Millaine, and Brabant, Counties of Haspurge, Flanders, and Tiroll: To the right High, right High-tye, and right excellent Prince, garnished with all gifes of nature, by Gods grace John Vasiliuich Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesco, and great Duke of Smolensko, of Tucria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadska, Bulghoria, and others, Lorde and great Duke of Nouogrod of the lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polorskay, Rostoue, Yeraslaue, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condena, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North partes, and lord of many other countreys, greeting. Whereas by the consent and licence of our most deare and entirely beloued late brother, King Edward the sixt, whose soule God pardon, sundrie of our subiects marchants of the citie of London within this our realme of England did at their owne proper costs and aduventure furnish thre shippes to discouer, serch, and find lands, Islands, regions, and territories before this aduventure not knowne, ne commonly haunted and frequented by seas, The one of the which thre shippes, named the Edward Bonaventure, (whereof our right welbeloued Richard Chancelour was then gouernour and great Captaine) chanced by the grace of God, and the good conduct of the sayd Chancelour to arrive and winter in the North part of your Empire of Russia, Sozasmuch as we be credibly informed by the repoze of our trustie and welbeloued subiect, that your Maiestie did not onely call him and certaine of his company to your imperiall ptesence and speech, entertayned and banqueted them with all humanitie and gentlenes: but also being thereunto requested partly by the letters of our said brother, & partly by request of the sayd Richard Chancelour, haue by your letters patents vnder your scale among other things granted: That all such marchants as shall come forth of anye of our realms of England or Ireland with any maner of wares, if they wil tranel or occupie within your dominions, The same marchants with their marchandises in any your lordship may freely, & at their libertie traualle out and in without hinderance or any maner of losse: And of your farther ample goodnesse haue promised that our ambassadours, if we send any, shall with free good will passe to and from you without any hinderance or losse, with such mesage as shall come vnto you, and to returne the same to our kingdomes well answered, as by the same your letters, witten in your lordly Palace and Castle of Mosco in the yeere 7063 the moneth of februarye moze at large appeareth. Like as wee cannot but much commend your princely fauour and goodnesse, and in like manner thanke you for the abundant grace, extended to the sayd Richard Chancelour, and others our subiects marchants: Euen so these are to pray and request you to continue the same beneuolence toward them, and other our marchants and subiects, which doe or heereafter shall resort to your countrey: And for the moze assurance and incouragement to trade and exercise the feate of marchandise with your subiects and all other marchants within your dominions, that it may please you at this our contemplation to assigne and authorize such Commissaries as you shall thinke meete to trade and conferre with our welbeloued subiects and marchants, the sayd Richard Chancelour, George Killingworth, & Richard Graie, bearers of these our letters: who are by vs authorized for

for that purpose: and to confirme and graunt such other liberties and priuiledges vnto the Governour, Consuls, Assistants, and Communitie of the fellowship of the saide Marchants, as the saide bearers in their name propone and requite by you to be granted for their safe conduct, good government, and order to bee erected and continued among them in your saide dominions; And this with such your clemencie and expedition, as wee, vpon the next arriual of the saide Richard Chancelour may bee enforced of your gracious disposition and answer. Which your beneuolences so to bee extended, wee bee minded to requite towards any your subiects Marchants, that shal frequent this our realme at your contemplation therefore to be made. Thus right high, right Excellent, and right mightie, Abnightrie God the Father, the Sonne and the holy Ghost haue you in his blessed keeping. Given vnder our seale at our Palace of Westminster, the first of Aprill, in the yere from the blessed incarnation of our Saviour Iesus Christ, 1555, and in the first and second yeres of our reignes.

Articles conceiued and determined for the Commission of the Merchants of this company resident in Russia, and at the Warehouse, for the second voyage, 1555. the first of May, as followeth.

First, the Governour, Consuls, Assistants and whole company assembled this day in open court, committeth and authorizeth Richard Gray and George Killingworth, jointly and severally to be Agents, factozs, and Attorneys generall and speciall, for the whole body of this companie, to buy, sel, trucke, change and permute al, and euery kind and kindes of wares, marchandizes and goods to the saide company appertaining, now laden & shipped in the good ship called the Edward Bonauenture, appointed for Russia, the same to utter and sell to the best commoditie, profit and aduantage of the saide corporation, be it for ready money, wares & marchandises, or truck, presently, or for time, as occasion & benefit of the company shal require: and all such wares as they or either of them shal buy, trucke, or prouide, or cause to be bought for the company to lade the homeward in good order and condition, as by prudent course of marchandises, shall, and ought to appertaine, which article extendeth also to John Brooke for the Warehouse, as in the 17. and 18. articles of this commission appeareth.

2 Item, it is also committed, as aboue, to the saide Agents, to binde & charge the saide company by debt for wares vpon credit, as good opportunity and occasion shal serue, with power to charge and bind the saide company, and their successors, for the payments of such things as shalbe taken vp for credite, and the saide Agents to be relieued ab opere satis dandi.

3 Item full authoritie and power is committed to the saide first named factozs, together with Richard Chancelor grand Pilot of this flecte, to repaire to the Emperors court, there to present the King and Queenes Maiesties letters, written in Greeke, Polish, and Italian, and to giue and exhibite the marchants presents at such time and place as shalbe thought most expedient, they, or one of them to demand, and humbly desire of the Emperour such further grants and priuiledges to be made to this companie, as may be beneficiall for the same, to continue in traffike with his subiects, according to such instructions as bee in this behalfe deuiled and deliuered to the Agents whereunto relation is to be had, and some one of these persons to attend vpon the court for the obtaining of the same, as to their discretions shalbe thought good.

4 Item, that all the saide Agents doe well consider, ponder and weigh such articles as bee deliuered to them to know the natures, dispositions, lawes, customes, maners and behaviours of the people of the countreys wherethey shal traffike, as well of the Nobilitie as of the Lawyers, Marchants, Partners and common people, and to note diligently the subtilties of their bargaining, buying and selling, making as fewe debtes as possible may bee, and to bee circumspect, that no lawe neither of religion nor positieue bee broken or transgressed by them or any minister vnder them, ne yet by any mariner or other person of our nation, and to foresee that all tolles, customes, and such other rites be so duely paid, that no forfeiture or confiscation may ensue to our goods either outward or inward, and that al things passe wick quiet, without breach of the publike peace or common tranquillitie of any of the places where they shall arrive or traffique.

5 Item, that prouision bee made in Mosco or els where, in one or mo good townes, where good trade shall be found for a house or houses for the Agents, and companie to inhabit and dwell at your accustomed diets, with warchouses, sellers, and other houses of offices requisite, and that none of the inferiour ministers of what place or vocation soeuer he be, doe lie out of the house of the Agents without licence to be giuen, and that euery inferiour officer shalbe obedient to the or-

ders, rules and governments of the said Agents, and in case any disobedient person shall be found among any of them, then such person to be punished for his misbehaviour, at the discretion of the said Agents, or of one of them in the absence of the other.

6 Item, if any person of the said ministers shall be of such pride or obstinacie, that after one or two honest admonitions, hee will not be reformed nor reconciled from his faultes, then the saide Agents to displace every such person from the place or roome to him heere committed, and come other discrete person to occupie the same, as to the saide Agents by their discretions shall seeme meete.

7 Item, if any person shall be found so arrogant, that he will not be ordered nor reformed by the said Agents or by one of them in the absence of the other, then the sayde person to be deliuered to the Justice of the countrey, to receiue such punishment, as the lawes of the countrey doe require.

8 Item, that the saide Agents and factours shall daily one houre in the morning conferre and consult together what shall be most convenient and beneficiall for the companie, and such orders as they shall determine, to be writtten by the Secretarie of the companie in a booke to be provided for that purpose, and no inferiour person to infringe or breake any such order or devise, but to obserue the same exactly, vpon such reasonable paine as the Agents shall put him to by discretion.

9 Item, that the said Agents shall in the ende of euerie weeke, or oftener as occasion shall require, peruse, see and trie, not onely the Cashiers, bookes, reckonings and accounts, signing the same with their handes, but also shall receiue and take weekly the account of every other officer, as well of the Vendes, as of the emproues, and also of the state of the household expenses, making thereof a perfect declaration as shall appertaine, the same accounts also to be signed by the saide Agents handes.

10 Item, that no inferiour minister shall take vpon him to make any bargaine or sale of any wares, marchandises or goods, but by the Commission and Warrantie of the sayde Agents vnder their handes, and hee not to transgresse his Commission by any way, pretense or colour.

11 Item, that every inferiour minister, that is to vnderstand, all Clerks and yong merchants being at the order of the saide Agents, shall ride, goe, saile and trauaile to all such place, and places, as they or hee shall be appointed vnto by the saide Agents, and effectually to follow and do all that which to him or them shall be committed, well and truly to the most benefite of the companie, according to the charge to him or them committed, euen as by their othes, dueties and bondes of their masters they be bounden and charged to doe.

12 Item, that at every moneths end, all accounts and reckonings shalbe brought into perfect order, into the Lidger or memoziell, and the decrees, orders, and rules of the Agents together with the priuileges, and copies of letters, may and shall be well and truly writtten by the secretarie, in such forme as shalbe appointed for it, and that copies of all their doings may be sent home with the said ship at her returne.

13 Item, that all the Agents doe diligently learne and obserue all kinde of wares, as well naturals as forein, that be beneficiall for this Realme, to be sold for the benefite of the companie, and what kinde of our commodities and other things of these West partes be most vendible in those Realms with profite, giuing a perfect aduise of all such things requisite.

14 Item, if the Emperour will enter into bargain with you for the whole masse of your stock, and will haue the trade of it to vtter to his owne subiects, then debating the matter prudently among your selues, let such high piles of your commodities, as you may assure your selues to be gainers in your owne wares, and yet to buy theirs at such base piles, as you may here also make a commoditie and gaine at home, hauing in your mindes the notable charges that the companie haue distrayed in aduancing this voyage: and the great charges that they sustaine dayly in wages, victuals and other things: all which must be required by the wise handling of this voyage, which being the first president shalbe a perpetual president for euer: and therefore all circumspection is to be vsed, and to be seene in this first enterprise, which God blesse and prosper vnder you, to his glorie, and the publike wealth of this Realme, whereof the Queenes Maiestie, and the Lords of the Councell haue conceiued great hope, whose expectations are not to be frustrated.

15 Item, it is to be had in minde, that you vse all wayes and meanes possible to learne howe men may passe from Russia, either by land or by sea to Cathaia, and what may be heard of our other ships, and to what knowledge you may come, by conferring with the learned or well trauailed persons, either naturall or forein, such as haue trauailed from the North to the South,

16 Item, it is committed to the said Agents, that if they shall be certified credibly, that any

Note.

Inquirit for
the way to
Cathaya.

of our said first ships be arrived in any place wher unto passage is to be had by water or by land, that then certaine of the company at the discretion of the Agents shall bee appointed to be sent to them, to learne their estate & condition, to visite, refresh, relieue, and furnish them with all necessaries and requisites, at the common charges of the companie, and to embrace, accept, and intreat them as our deare and welbeloued brethren of this our societie, to their reioyting and comfort, aduertising Syr Hugh Willoughbie and others of our carefullnes of them and their long absence, with our desire to heare of them, with all other things done in their absence for their commoditie, nolesse then if they had bene present.

17 Item, it is decreed, that when the ships shal arrive at this going forth at the Wardhouse, that their Agents, with master Chancelor grand pilot, John Brooke merchant, deputed for the Wardhouse, with John Buckland master of the Edward, John Howler master, and John Robins pilot of the Philip and Marie, shall conferre and consult together, what is most profitable to be done therfore for the benefit of the company, & to consider whether they may bargain with the captaine of the caille, and the inhabitants in that place, or alongst the coast for a large quantity of fish, orie or wet, killed by the naturals, or to be taken by our men at a price reasonable for trucke of cloth, meale, salt, or beere, and what traine oyle, or other commodity is to be had there at this time, or any other season of the yeere, and whether there will be had or found sufficient lading for both the sayd shippes, to be bought there, and how they may conferre with the naturals for a continuance in having the place, if profit wil so arise to the company, and to consider whether the Edward in her returne may receiue at the Wardhouse any kind of lading homeward, and what it may amount unto, and whether it shall be expedient for the Philip to abide at the Wardhouse the returne of the Edward out of Russia, or getting that she may returne with the first good wind to England, without abiding for the Edward, and so to conclude & accord certainly among themselves vpon their arrival, that the certaintie may (vpon good deliberation) be so ordered and determined betweene both ships, that the one may be assured of the other, and their determinations to be put in writing duplicate to remaine with ech ship, according to such order as shall be taken betweene them.

The Philip and Marie.

18 Item, that John Brooke our marchant for the Wardhouse take good aduise of the rest of our Agents, how to vse himselfe in all affaires, whiles the ship shalbe at the Wardhouse, he to see good order to be kept, make bargains aduisedly, not crediting the people untill their natures, dispositions & fidelities shal be well tried, make no debtes, but to take ware for ware in hand, and rather be trusted then to trust. Note diligently what be the best wares for those parts, and howe the fishe falleth on the coast, and by what meane it is to bee bought at the most aduantage, what kinds and diuersities of sortes in fishes be, and whether it will keepe better in bulke piled, or in caskes.

Note.

Note.

19 Item, he to haue a diligent eye & circumspection to the beere, salt, and other liquid wares, and not to suffer any waste to be made by the companie, and he in all contracts to require aduise, counsell, and consent of the master and pilot, the marchant to be our housewife, as our speciall trust is in him, he to tender that no lawes nor customes of the countrey be broken by any of the company, and to render to the prince, and other officers, all that which to them doth appertaine, the company to be quiet, voide of all quarrelling, fighting, or vexation, abstaine from all excesses of drinking as much as may bee, and in all to vse and behaue themselves as to quiet marchants doeth, and ought to appertaine.

20 Item, it is decreed by the companie, that the Edward shall returne home this yeere with as much wares as may be conueniently & profitably prouided, bought, and laden in Russia, and the rest to be taken in at the Wardhouse, as by the Agents shall be accorded. But by all meanes it is to be foreseene and noted, that the Edward returne home, and not to winter in any foreign place, but to come home, and bring with her all the whole aduertisements of the marchants, with such further aduise for the next yeeres prouision, as they shall giue.

21 Item, it is further decreed and ordeined, inuolably to be obserued, that when the good ships, or either of them (by Gods grace) shall returne home to the coastes of England, that neither of them shall stay or touch in any Hauen or Port of England, other wise then wind and weather shall serue, but shall directly saile and come to the Port of the citie of London, the place of their right discharge, and that no bulke be broken, hatches opened, chests, sardell, ruffe, barrel, fat, or whatsoever thing it shall be, be brought out of the shippe, vntill the companie shall giue order for the same, and appoint such persons of the companie as shall be thought meet for that purpose, to take viewe, and consider the shippe and her lading, and shall giue order for the breaking vp of the saide bulke, or giue licence by discretion, for things to be brought to land. And that euery officer shall shewe the muscle of his charge to him first committed, and to examine the wares and losses,

losses, and to deliuer the remainder to the vse and benefit of the company, according to such order as shall be appointed in that behalfe.

Note.

22 Item, the company exhorteth, willetch, and requir eth, not onely all the said Agents, pilots, masters, marchants, clerkes, boatswaines, stewards, skafemasters, and all other officers and ministers of this present voyage, being put in charge and trust dayly to peruse, reade, and studie such instructions as be made, giuen, & deliuered to them for perfect knowledge of the people of Russia, Moscouia, Wardhouse, and other places, their dispositions, maners customs, vses, tollies, carriages, coines, weights, numbers, measures, wares, merchandises, commodities, and incommo- dities, the one to be accepted and imbraced, the other to be reiected and utterly abandoned, to the intent that euery man taking charge, may be so well caught, perfected, and readily instructed in all the premises, that by ignorance, no losse or prejudice may grow or chance to the company: as- suring themselves, that forasmuch as the company hath trauelled and laboured so in these their in- structions to them giuen, that euery man may bee perfect, and fully learned to eschew all los- ses, hurts and damages that may inlue by pretence or colour of none knowledge, the company enten- deth not to allow, or accept ignorance for any lawfull or iust cause of excuse, in that which shall be misordered by negligence, the burden whereof shall light vpon the negligent offending person, especially vpon such as of their owne heads, or temeritie, will take vpon him or them to doe or to attempt any thing, whereby prejudice may arise, without the commission of the Agents as aboue is mentioned, whereunto relation must be had.

23 Forasmuch as it is not possible to write and indite such prescribed orders, rules and com- missions to the Agents and factours, but that occasion, time and place, and the pleasures of the princes, together with the operation or successe of fortune shall change or shift the same, although not in the whole, yet in part, therefore the said company doe commit to you their deare and intire beloued Agents and factours to doe in this behalfe for the commodity and wealth of this company, as by your discretions, vpon good advised deliberations shall be thought good and beneficiall. Pro- mised alwayes, that the honour, good name, fame, credite, and estimation of the same companie be conserued and preserued: which to confirme we beseech the liuing Lord to his glory, the publike benefite of this realme, our common profits, and your praices.

As finally for the seruice, and due accomplishment of all the premises, euery Agent and mini- ster of and for this voyage, hath not onely giuen a coppyall othe vpon the Euangelists to ob- serue, and cause to be obserued, this commission, and euery part, clause and sentence of the same, as much as in him lyeth, as well for his owne part as for any other person, but also haue bounde themselves and their friendes to the companie in severall summes of money, expessed in the actes and records of this societie, for the tructh and fidelities of them, for the better, and also manifestter testification of the tructh, and of their othes, promises, and bands aforesaid, they haue to this Commission subscribed particularly their seuerall hands, and the company also in confir- mation of the same, haue set their seale. Vpon the day, moneth, and yeeres first aboue mentioned,

The othe ministred to the seruants of the fellowship.



Sweare by the holy contents of that booke, that ye shall wel, faithfully and true- ly, and vprightly, and with all your indenour, serue this right worshipfull com- pany in that order, which by this fellowships Agent or Agents in the dominions of the Emperours of Russia, &c. shall bee vnto you committed, by commission, commandement, or other his direction. And that you shall bee obedient and faith- full to the same our Agent or Agents, and that well, and truly and vprightly ac- cording to the commission, charge, commandement, or other direction of the said Agent or Agents to you from time to time giuen and to be giuen, you shall prosecute and doe all that which in you li- eth, for the good renowne, commoditie, benefite and profite of the said fellowship: and you shall not directly or indirectly, openly or couertly doe, exercise or vse any trade or feates of marchand- izes for your owne puiuate account, commodity, gaine or profite, or for the account of or for any o- ther person or persons, without consent or licence of this said fellowship, first obtained in witing. And if you shall know or vnderstand any other person or persons to vse, exercise or doe any trade, traffike or feat of merchandise, to or for his or their own account or accounts, at any time or times hereafter, that then ye shall cruelly and plainly disclose, open, vtter and reueale, and shew the same vnto this said fellowship, without fraude, colour, couin or delay: So helpe you God, &c.

The letter of M. George Killingworth the companies first
Agent in Moscouie, touching their interteinement in their se-
cond voyage. Anno 1555. the 27. of Nouember
in Mosco.



Right worshipfull, my duetie considered, &c. It may please your worship to vnderstand, that at the making hereof we all be in good health, thanks be to God, saue onely William our cooke as we came from Colmogro fell into the ritter out of the boate, and was drowned. And the 11. day of September wee came to Vologda, and there we laide all our wares by, and sold very litle: but one marchand would haue giuen vs 12. robes for a broad cloth, & he said he would haue had them all, and 4. altines for a pound of sugar, but we did refuse it because he was the first, and the marchants were not come thither, nor would not come before Winter, trusting to haue more: but I feare it will not be much better. Yet notwithstanding we did for the best. And the house that our wares lie in costs from that day vntil Easter ten robes. And the 28. day of September we did determine with our selues that it was good for D. Gray, Arthur Edwards, Thomas Hautory, Christopher Hudson, Iohn Segewicke, Richard Iohnson, and Richard Iudde, to tarie at Vologda, and D. Chancelor, Henry Lane, Edward Prife, Robert Best and I should goe to Mosco. And we did lade the Emperours sugar, with part of all sorts of wares to haue had to the Mosco with vs, but the way was so deepe, that we were faine to turne back, and leaue it still at Vologda till the frost. And we went forth with poste horse, & the charge of euery horse being still ten in number, comes to 10. s. 7. d. halfe penie, besides the guides. And wee came to the Mosco the 4. day of October, and were lodged that night in a simple house: but the next day we were sent for to the Emperour his secretarie, and he bade vs welcome with a cheerefull countenance and cheerefull wordes, and wee shewed him that we had a letter from our Queenes grace to the Emperour his grace, and then he desired to see them all, and that they might remain with him, to haue them perfect, that the true meaning might be declared to the Emperour, and so we did: and then we were appointed to a better house: and the seueneth day the secretarie sent for vs againe, & then he shewed vs that we should haue a better house, for it was the Emperour his will, that we should haue all things that we did lacke, and did send vs meade of two sorts, and two hens, our house free, and euery two dayes to receiue eight hens, seuen altines, and two pence in money, and meade a certaine, and a poore fellow to make cleane our house, & to doe that wherunto we would set him. And wee had giuen many rewards before, which you shal perceiue by ocher, and so we gaue the messengers a reward with thanks: and the ninth day we were sent to make vs readie to speak with the Emperour on the morow. And the letters were sent vs, that wee might deliuer them our selues, & we came before him the tenth day: and before we came to his presence we went thorow a great chamber, where stood many small tunnes, pailles, bowles and pots of siluer, I meane, like washing bowles, all parcel gilt: and within that another chamber, wherein sate (I thinke) neere a hundred in cloth of gold, and then into the chamber where his grace sate, & there I thinke were more then in the other chamber also in cloth of gold, and we did our duety, & shewed his grace our Queenes graces letters, with a note of your present which was left in Vologda: and then his grace did aske how our Queenes grace did, calling her cousin, saying that hee was glad that wee were come in health into his Realme, and we went one by one vnto him, and tooke him by the hand, and then his grace did bid vs goe in health, and come to dinner againe, and we dined in his presence, and were set with our faces towards his grace, & none in the chamber sate with their backs towards him, being I thinke neere a hundred at dinner then, and all serued with golde, as platters, chargers, pottes, cuppes, and all not slender but very massy, and yet a great number of platters of golde, standing still on the cupboard, not moued: and diuers times in the dinner time his grace sent vs meat and drinke from his owne table, and when we had dined we went vp to his grace, and receiued a cuppe with drinke at his owne hand, and the same night his grace sent certaine gentlemen to vs with diuers sortes of wine and meade, to whome wee gaue a rewarde. And afterwarde we were by diuers Italians counselled to take heed whom we did trust to make the copie of the priuileges that we would desire to haue, for feare it should not be writte in the Ruffie tongue, as we did meane. So first a Ruffian did write for vs a breuiat to the Emperour, the tenour wherof was, that we did desire a stronger priuilege: & when the Secretary saw it, he did deliuer it to his grace, and when we came againe, his grace willed vs to write our minds, and hee would see it, and so we did. And his grace is so troubled with preparations to warres, that as yet wee haue no answer: but we haue byn required of his Secretary, and of the vnder Chancelor, to know what wares we had brought

Queene Marias
letters to the
Emperour of
Rusia.

The Italians
counsel to our
people.

brought into the Realme; and what wares we doe intend to haue, that are, or may bee had in this Realme: and we shewed them, and they shewed the Emperour thereof. And then they said his graces pleasure was, that his best marchants of the Mosco should be spoken to, to meet and talk with vs. And so a day was appointed, and wee mette in the Secretarie his office, and there was the vnder Chancelour, who had made promise since the Emperours marchant, and not his Chancelour: and then the conclusion of our talke was, that the Chancelour willed vs to thinke vs, where we would desire to haue a house or houses, that wee might come to them as to our owne house, and for marchandize to be made preparation for vs, and they would know our piles of our wares and frise: and we answered, that for our prices they must see the wares before we could make any price thereof, for the like in goodnesse hath not bene brought into the Realme, and we did looke for an example of all sorts of our wares to come from Vologda, with the first sledway, and then they should see them, and then we would shew them the prices of them: and likewise we could not tell them what we would giue them iustly, till we did knowe as well their iust weights as their measures: for in all places where we did come, all weights and measures did vary. Then the Secretarie (who had made promise vnto vs before) saide, that we should haue all the iust measures vnder scale, & he that was found faultie in the contrary, to buy or sel with any other measure then that, the law was, that he should be punished: he said mozeouer, that if it so happed that any of our marchants do promise by couenât at any time to deliuer you any certain sum of wares in such a place, and of such like goodnesse, at such a day, for such a certaine price, that then because of variance, we should cause it to be writtē, according as the bargain is, before a iustice or the next ruler to the place: if he did not keepe couenât & promise in all points, according to his couenât, that then looke what losse or hinderance we could iustly proue that we haue thereby, he should make it good if he be worth so much: and in like case we must do to them: and to that we did agree, saue onely if it were to come ouer the sea, then if any such fortune should bee (as God forbid) that the ship should mischance or be robbed, & the prooffe to be made that such kind of wares were laden, the English marchants to beare no losse to the other marchant. Then the Chancelour saide, me thinks you shall do best to haue your house at Colmogro, which is but 100. miles frō the right discharge of the ships, and yet I trust the ships that come neerer hereafter, because the ships may not tary long for their lading, which is 1000. miles from Vologda by water, and all our marchants shall bring all our marchandize to Colmogro to you, and so shall our marchants neither go empty nor come empty: for if they lacke lading homeward, there is salt, which is good ware here, that they may come laden againe. So we were very glad to heare that, and did agree to his saying: that we shal neuer thelesse, if we list, haue a house at Vologda, & at the Mosco, yea, & at Nouogrode, or where we wil in Rusland: But the thre & twentieth of this present we were with the secretary, and then among other talke, we moued, that if we should tary at Colmogro with our wares, and should not come to Vologda, or further to seeke our market, but tary stil at Colmogro, and then the marchants of the Mosco and others should not come and bring their wares, and so the ships should come, and not haue their lading ready, that then it were a great losse and hinderance for vs: then saide he againe to vs, that the marchants had bene againe together with him, and had put the like doubt, that if they should come and bring their wares to Colmogro, and that they should not find wares there sufficient to serue them, that then they should be at great losse and hinderance, they leauing their other trades to sal to that: and to that we did answer, that after the time that we do appoint with them to bring their wares to Colmogro, God willing, they should neuer come thither, but at the beginning of the yere, they should find that our marchants would haue at the least for a thousand rubles, although the ships were not come: so that he saide, that then wee must talke further with the marchants: so that as yet I know not, but that we shall haue neede of one house at Colmogro, and another at Vologda, and if that they bring not their wares to Colmogro, then wee shall be fure to buy some at Vologda, and to be out of bondage.

The diuersitie
of weights &
measures in
Russia.

Colmogro.

Vologda.

And thus may we continue thre or foure yeeres, and in this space we shall know the countrey and the marchants, and which way to saue our selues best, and where to plant our houses; and where to seeke for wares: for the Mosco is not best for any kind of wares for vs to buy, saue onely ware, which we cannot haue vnder seven pence the Russe pound, and it lackes two ounces of our pound, neither will it be much better cheape, for I haue bidden 6. pence for a pound. And I haue bought moze, five hundred weight of parne, which stands mee in eight pence farthing the Russe pound one with another. And if wee had receiued any stoze of money, and were dispatched here of that we tary for, as I doubt not but we shall be shortly (you know what I meane) then as soone as we haue made sale, I doe intend to goe to Nouogrode, and to Plesco, whence all the great number of the best tow flaxe cometh, and such wares as are there I trust to buy part. And feare you not but we will do that may be done, if God send vs health, desiring you to prepare fully for
one

Nouogrode.

one ship to be ready in the beginning of April to depart off the coast of England.

Concerning all those things which we haue done in the wares, you shall receiue a perfect note by the next bearer (God willing) for he that carrieth these from vs is a marchant of Terwill and he was caused to carry these by the commandement of the Emperour his secretarie, whose name is Iuan Mcallawich Weskawate, whom we take to be our very friend, And if it please you to send any letters to Danciske to Robert Elson, or to William Watsons seruitant Dunstan Walton to be conueyed to vs, it may please you to inclose ours in a letter sent from you to him, written in Polish, Dutch, Latine or Italian: so inclosed, comming to the Mosco to his hands, he wil conuey our letters to vs wheresoeuer we be. And I haue written to Danciske already to them for the conueyance of letters from thence.

The Russian
secretarys
name.

And to certifie you of the weather here, men say that these hundred yeres was neuer so warme weather in this countrey at this time of the yeere. But as yesternight wee receiued a letter from Christopher Hudson from a citie called Yeraslaue, who is comming hither with certaine of our wares, but the winter did deceiue him, so that he was faine to tarie by the way: and he wrote that the Emperours present was deliuered to a gentleman at Vologda, and the sled did ouerthrow, and the butte of Pollocke was lost, which made vs all very soyy.

I pray you be not offended with these my rude letters for lacke of tyme: but as soone as sales be made, I will finde the meanes to conuey you a letter with speed: for the way is made so doubtful, that the right messenger is so much in doubt, that he would not haue any letters of any effect sent by any man, if he might, for he knowes not of these: and to say the truth, the way is not for him to trauell in. But I will make another shift beside, which I trust shall serue the turne till he come, if sales be made befoze he be ready, which is and shall be as pleaseth God: who euer preserve your woꝝship, and send vs good sales. Written in haste.

By yours to commaund
GEORGE KILLINGWORTH
Draper.

A copie of the first Priuileges graunted by the Emperour
of *Russia* to the English Marchants in the yeere

1555.



Ohn Vashliuch, by the grace of God Emperour of Russia, great duke of Noouogrode, Moscouia, &c. To all people that shall see, reade, heare or vnderstand these presents, greeting. Forasmuch as God hath planted all realmes and dominions in the whole world with sundry commodities, so as the one hath neede of the amity and commodities of the other, and by means thereof traffike is used from one to another, and amity thereby increased: and for that as amongst men nothing is moze to be desired then amity, without the which no creature being of a naturall good disposition can liue in quietnes, so that it is as troublesome to be utterly wanting, as it is perceiued to be grieuous to the body to lacke aire, fire, or any other necessaries most requisite for the conseruation and maintenance thereof in health: considering also how needfull marchandize is, which furnissheth men of all that which is conuenient for their liuing and nouriture, for their clothing, trimming, the satisfiing of their delights, and all other things conuenient and profitable for them, and that marchandize bringeth the same commodities from diuers quarters in so great abundance, as by meanes thereof nothing is lacking in any part, and that all things be in euery place (where entercourse of marchandizes is receiued and embraced) generally in such sort, as amity thereby is entered into, and planted to continue, and the inioyers thereof be as men liuing in a golden world: Upon these respects and other weighy and good considerations, vs hereunto mouing, and chiefly vpon the contemplation of the gracious letters, directed from the right high, right excellent, and right mighty Queene Mary, by the grace of God Queene of England, France, &c. in the fauour of her subiectes, merchants, the gouernour, consuls, assistants, and communitie of merchants aduenturers for discouery of lands, &c.

Know ye therefore, that we of our grace speciall, meere motion, and certaine knowledge, haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, do giue and grant as much as in vs is and lieth, vnto Sebastian Cabora Gouernour, Sir George Barnes knight, &c. Consuls: Sir Iohn Gresham, &c. Assistants, and to the communitie of the afozenamed fellowship, and to their successours for euer, and to the successours of euerie of them, these articles, graunts,

graunts, immunities, franchises, liberties and privileges, and euery of them here after following, exprested and declared. Videlicet:

1 First, we for vs, our heires and successors, do by these presents giue and graunt free licence, facultie, authoritie and power vnto the said Governour, Consuls, Assistants, and communalty of the said fellowship, and to their successors for euer, that all and singular the marchants of the same company, their Agents, factours, doers of their businesse, attornies, seruants, and ministers, and euery of them may at all times hereafter for euer moze surely, freely and safely with their shippes, merchandizes, goods and things whatsoeuer saile, come and enter into all and singular our lands, countreies, dominions, cities, townes, villages, castles, portes, iurisdictions and destracts by sea, land or fresh waters, and there tary, abide and sojourne, and buy, sell, barter and change all kind of merchandizes with al maner of marchants and people, of whatsoeuer nation, rite, condition, state or degrees they be, and with the same or other ships, wares, merchandizes, goods & things whatsoeuer they be, vnto other empires, kingdomes, dukedomes, parts, and to any other place or places at their pleasure and liberty by sea, land or fresh waters may depart, and exercise all kinde of merchandizes in our empire and dominions, and euery part thereof freely and quietly without any restraint, impeachment, price, exaction, yuell, straight custome, toll, imposition, or subsidie to be demanded, taxed or paid, or at any time hereafter to be demaded, taxed, set, leuied or inferred vpon them or any of them, or vpon their goods, ships, wares, merchandizes and things, of, for or vpon any part or parcell thereof, or vpon the goods, ships, wares, merchandizes, and things of any of them, so that they shall not need any other safe conduct or licence generall, ne speciall of vs, our heires or successours, neither shall be bound to aske any safe conduct or licence in any of the aforesaid places subiect vnto vs.

2 Item, we giue and graunt to the said marchants this power and liberty, that they, ne any of them, ne their goods, wares, merchandizes or things, ne any part thereof, shall be by any meanes within our dominions, landes, countreies, castles, townes, villages, or other place or places of our iurisdiction, at any time hereafter attached, stayed, arrested ne disturbed for anie debt, due tie or other thing, for the which they be not principall debtors or sureties, ne also for any offence or trespass committed, or that shall be committed, but onely for such as they or any of them shall actually commit, and the same offences (if any such happen.) shall bee by vs onely heard, and determined.

3 Item, we giue and graunt, that the said Marchants shall and may haue free libertie, power, and authoritie to name, choose and assigne brokers, shippers, packers, weighers, measurers, wagoners, and all other meet and necessary labozers for to serue them in their feat of marchandises, and minister and giue vnto them and euery of them a cozpo all othe, to serue them well and cruelly in their offices, and finding them or any of them doing contrary to his or their othe, may punish and dismisse them, and from time to time choose, sweare and admit other in their place or places, without contradiction, let, veration or disturbance, either of vs, our heires or successors, or of any other our Iustices, officers, ministers or subiects whatsoeuer.

4 Item, we giue and graunt vnto the saide Marchants and their successours, that such person as is, or shall be commended vnto vs, our heires or successors by the Governour, Consuls and assistants of the said fellowship resident within the citie of London within the realme of England, to be their chiefe Factor within this our empire and dominions, may and shall haue full power and authoritie to gouerne and rule all Englishmen that haue had, or shall haue access, or repaire in or to this said Empire and iuridictions, or any part thereof, and shall and may minister vnto them, and euery of them good iustice in all their causes, plaints, quarrels, and disorders betweene them moued, and to be moued, and assemble, deliberate, confide, conclude, define, determine and make such actes, and ordinauces, as he so commended with his Assistants shall thinke good and meete for the good order, gouernment and rule of the said Marchants, and all other Englishmen repairing to this our saide empire and dominions, or any part thereof, and to let and leuie vpon all, and euery Englishmen, offender or offenders, of such their acts and ordinauces made, and to be made, penalties and mulcts by fine or imprisonment.

5 Item, if it happen that any of the saide Marchants, or other Englishman, as one or moze doe rebell against such chiefe Factor or Factors, or his or their deputies, and will not dispose him or themselves to obey them and euery of them as shall appertaine; if the saide Rebels or disobedients doe come, and bee founde in our saide Empire and iuridictions, or any part and place thereof, then wee promise and graunt, that all and euery our officers, ministers, and subiects shall effectually ayde and assist the saide chiefe Factor or Factors, and their deputies, and for their power shall really woork, to bring such rebell or disobedient rebels, or disobedients to due obedience: And to that intent shall lende vnto the same Factor or Factors, and their deputies

deputies vpon request theretofore to be made, prisons, and instruments for punishments from time to time.

6 Item, we promise vnto the saide Marchants, and their successours vpon their request to exhibite and doe vnto them good, exact and fauourable iustice, with expedition in all their causes, and that when they or any of them shall haue access, or come to or before any of our Iustices, for any their plaints moued, and to be moued betwene any our subiects or other stranger, and them, or any of them, that then they shall be first and forthwith heard, as soon as the party which they shall find before our Iustices shall be depeached, which party being heard forthwith, and as soone as may be, the saide English marchants shall be ridde and dispatched: And if any action shall be moued by or against any of the saide Marchants being absent out of our saide empire and dominions, then such Marchants may substitute an Atturney in all and singular his causes to be followed as need shall require, and as shall seeme to him expedient.

7 Item, wee graunt and promise to the saide Marchants, and to their successours, that if the same Marchants or any of them shall be wounded, or (which God forbid) slaine in any part or place of our Empire or dominions, then good information thereof giuen, and our Iustices and other officers shall execute due correction and punishment without delay, according to the exigence of the case: so that it shall be an example to all other not to commit the like. And if it shall chauce the factors, seruants, or ministers of the saide Marchants or any of them to trespass or offende, whereby they or any of them shall incurre the danger of death or punishment, the goods, wares, marchandizes, and things of their Masters shall not theretofore be forfeited, confiscated, spoiled ne seized by any meanes by vs, our heires or successours, or by any our officers, ministers or subiects, but shall remaine to their vse, franke, free, and discharged from all punishment and losse.

8 Item, wee graunt that if any of the English nation be arrested for any debt, he shall not be laid in prison, so farre as he can put in sufficient suretie and pawne: neither shall any sergeant, or officer leade them or any of them to prison, before he shall haue knowen whether the chiefe factor or factors, or their deputies shall be sureties, or vying in pawne for such arrested: then the officers shall release the partie, and shall set him or them at libertie.

9 Moreover, wee giue, graunt and promise to the saide Marchants, that if any of their ships or other vessels shall be spoiled, robbed, or damaged in sayling, anchoring or returning to or from our saide Empires and Dominions, or any part thereof, by any Pirats, Marchants, or other person, whatsoeuer hee or they be, that then and in such case, wee will doe all that in vs is to cause restitution, reparation, and satisfaction to be duely made to the saide English marchants by our letters and otherwise, as shall stand with our honour, and be consonant to equitie and iustice.

10 Item, for vs, our heires and successours, wee doe promise and graunt to performe, mainteine, corroborate, authenticate, and obserue all and singular the aforesaide liberties, franchises, and priuiledges, like as presently we firmly doe intend, and will corroborate, authenticke and performe the same by all meane and way that we can, as much as may be to the commoditie and profite of the saide English Marchants, and their successours for euer.

And to the intent that all and singular the saide gistes, graunts and promises, may be inuiolably obserued and performed, we the saide Iohn Vasiluich by the grace of God Emperoz of Russia, great Duke of Nouogrode, Mosco, &c. for vs, our heires and successours, by our Imperiall and lordly word in stead of an othe, haue and doe promise by these presents, inuiolably to mainteyne and obserue, and cause to be inuiolably obserued and maintained all and singular the aforesayde gistes, graunts and promises from time to time, and at all and euery time and times hereafter. And for the more corroboracion hereof haue caused our Signet hereunto to be put: Dated in our Castle of Mosco the 20. day of in the peere.

The Charter of the Marchants of *Russia*, graunted vpon the discoverie of the saide Countrey, by King

Philip and Queene Marie.



Philip and Marie, by the grace of God King and Queene, &c. To all manner of officers, true Iurie men, ministers and subiects, and to all other people as well within this our Realme or elsewhere under our obeylance, iurisdiction, and rule, or otherwise vnto whome these our letters shall be shewed, scene, or read, greeting.

Whereas wee be credibly informed, that our right trustie, right faithfull,

and welbeloued Counsaillors, William Marques of Winchester Lord high Treasurer of this our Realme of England, Henrie Earle of Arundel Lord Steward of our houtholde, Iohn Earle of Bedford Lord keeper of our priuite Seale, William Earle of Pembroke, William Loyde Howard of Effingham Lord high Admirall of our saide Realme of England, &c. Haue at their owne aduenture, costs and charges, provided, rigged, and tackled certaine shippes, pinnacles, and other meere vessels, and the same furnished with all things necessary haue aduanced and set forward, for to discouer, deserue, and finde Isles, landes, territoriez, Dominions, and Seigniozies vnknown, and by our subiects befoze this not commonly by sea frequented, which by the sufferance and grace of Almighty God, it shall chaunce them sailing Northwards, Northeastwards, and Northwestwards, or any partes thereof, in that race or course which other Christian Marches (being with vs in league and amitie) haue not heeretofore by Seas traffiqued, haunted, or frequented, to finde and attaine by their said aduenture, as well for the glorie of God, as for the illustrating of our honour and dignitie royall, in the increase of the reuenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of this and other our Realmes and Dominions, and of our subiects of the same: And to this intent our subiects aboue specified and named, haue most humbly beseeched vs, that our abundant grace, fauour and clemencie may be graciously extended vnto them in this behalfe: Whereupon wee inclined to the petition of the foresaide our Counsaillors, subiects and marchants, and willing to animate, aduance, further and nourish them in their said godlie, honest, and good purpose, and, as we hope, profitable aduenture, and that they may the more willingly, and readilye achieue the same, Of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, haue graunted, and by these presents doe graunt, for vs, our heires and successours, vnto our said right trustie, and right faithfull, and right welbeloued Counsaillors, and the other befoze named persons, that they by the name of marchants aduenturers of England, for the discouery of lands, territoriez, Isles, Dominions, and Seigniozies vnknown, and not befoze that late aduenture or enterpryse by sea or Nauigation, commonly frequented as aforesaid, halbe from henceforth one bodie and perpetuall fellowship and communitie of themselves, both in deede and in name, and them by the names of Marchants aduenturers for the discouerie of lands, territoriez, Isles & seigniozies vnknown, and not by the seas, and Nauigations, befoze their saide late aduenture or enterpryse by sea or Nauigation commonly frequented, We doe incorporate, name, and declare by these presents, and that the same fellowship or communitie from henceforth halbe, and may haue one Governour of the saide fellowship, and communitie of Marchants aduenturers.

The discouerie
principally int
ended for
Gods glorie.

Sebastian Cabota
first governour
of the
Gouernour
companye.

And in consideration that one Sebastian Cabota hath bin the chiefest letter forth of this iourney or voyage, therefore we make, ordeine, and constitute him the said Sebastian to be the first and present governour of the same fellowship and communitie, by these presents. To haue and enioy the said office of Governour, to him the said Sebastian Cabota during his naturall life, without amouing or dimissing from the same roome.

And furthermore, we graunt vnto the same fellowship and communitie and their successours, that they the saide fellowship and communitie, and their successours after the deceale of the saide Sebastian Cabota, shall, and may freely and lawfully in places conuenient and honest, assemble themselves together, or so many of them as will or can assemble together, as well within our citie of London, or else where, as it shall please them, in such sort and maner, as other workshopfull corporations of our saide citie haue used to assemble, and there yeerely name, elect and choose one Governour or two, of themselves, and their liberties, and also as well yeerely during the naturall life of the said Sebastian Cabota now Governour, as also at the election of such saide Governour or governours befoze his deceale, to choose, name and appoint eight and twenty of the most sayd, discrete, and honest persons of the saide fellowship, and communitie of Marchant aduenturers, as is aboue specified, and 4. of the most expert and skilfull persons of the same 28. to be named and called Consuls, and 24. of the residue, to be named and called Assistants to the saide Governour or governours, and Consuls for the time being, which shall remaine and stand in their authoritties for one whole yeere then next following. And if it shall fortune the saide Governour, Consuls, and assistants, or any of them so to be elected, and chosen as is aforesaid, to die within the yeere after his or their election, that then and so often, it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said fellowship, and communitie, to elect and choose of themselves other Governour or governours, Consuls and assistants, in the place and steade of such as so shall happen to die, to serue out the same yeere.

Sir George
Barnes, William
Garret, Anthony
Hulse, Iohn, Suth-
cor, the first 4.
Consuls.

And further we do make, ordeine, and constitute George Barnes knight and Alderman of our Citie of London, William Garret Alderman of our saide Citie, Athonie Hulse, and Iohn Suthcor, to be the first and present 4. Consuls of the said fellowship and communitie by these presents, to haue and enioy the said offices of Consuls to them the said George Barnes, William Garret,

Anthonic

Anthony Husie, & John Suthcot, for terme of one whole yere next after y^e date of these our letters patents: And we doe likewise make, ordeine and constitute Sir John Gresham knight, Sir Andrew Iudde knight, Sir Thomas White knight, Sir John Yorke knight, Thomas Offley the elder, Thomas Lodge, Henry Herdson, Iohn Hopkins, William Watson, Will. Clifton, Richard Pointer, Richard Chamberlaine, William Mallorie, Thomas Pallie the elder, William Allen, Henry Becher, Geoffrey Walkenden, Richard Fowles, Rowland Heyward, George Eaton, Iohn Ellor, Iohn Sparke, Blase Sanders, & Miles Mording, to be the first and present 24. Assistants to the saide Governour or governours, and Consuls, and to the said fellowship and communalitie by these presents, to haue and enioy the said offices of assistants to them for terme of one whole yere, next after the date of these our letters patents. And further, we for vs, our heires and successours, as much as in vs is, wil & graunt by these presents vnto the saide Governour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship & company of Marchants aduenturers aforesaid, & to their successours, that the said Governour or governours, 4. Consuls, & 24. assistants, that now by these patents are nominated and appointed, or that hereafter by the saide fellowship & communalitie of marchants aduenturers, or the more part of them, which shalbe then present, so from time to time to be chosen, so that there be 15, at the least wholly agreed therof, the said Governour or governours, or one of them, and 2. of the said Consuls shalbe there, and 12. of the residue of the said number of 15. shall be of the saide assistants, and in the absence of such Governour, that then 3. of the said Consuls, and 12. of the saide assistants at the least for the time being shal & may haue, vse and exercise full power and auctoritie to rule and gouerne all and singular the Marchants of the said fellowship and communalitie, and to execute and doe full and speedie iustice to them, and euery of them, in all their causes, differences, variantes, contentions, quarrels, and complaints, within any our realmes, dominions & iurisdictiones onely moued, and to be moued touching their marchandise, traffikes, and occupiers aforesaid, or the good order or rule of them or any of them.

Also wee for vs, our heires and successours, so much as in vs is, doe likewise by these presents graunt, that the said Governour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communalitie, and their successours shall and may haue perpetuall succession, and a common Seale which shall perpetuallie serue for the affaires and businesse of the saide fellowship and communalitie. And that they and their successours, shall and may bee for euery able persons, and capar in the lawe, for to purchase and possesse in fee and perpetuities, and for terme of life or liues, or for terme of yeres or otherwise, lands, tenements, rents, reuertions, and other possessions, and hereditaments whatsoeuer they bee, by the name of the Governour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communalitie of the Marchants aduenturers by Seas and Navigations for the discouerie of lantes, territories, Isles, Dominions, and Seignories vnknownen, and befoze the saide last aduenture or enterpryse by Seas not frequented, as befoze is specified, and by the same names shall and may lawfully alien, graunt, let and set the same or any part thereof to any person or persons able in the lawe to take and receiue the same. So that they doe not graunt nor alien the same, or any part thereof into mortmaine, without speciall licence of vs, our heires or successours, first had and obtained.

Also wee for vs, our heires and successours haue graunted, and by these presents doe graunt vnto the saide Governours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communalitie of the saide Marchants and to their successours, that they and their successours, shall and may lawfully purchase vnto them and their successours for euer, landes, tenements and hereditaments whatsoeuer, of the cleare yeerely value of threescore sixe pounds, thirtene shillings & foure pence of lawful money of England and not about, as well of such landes, tenements and hereditaments, as bee holden or shall be holden of vs, our heires or successours, as of any other person or persons, the statutes provided against alienations into mortmaine, or any of them, or any article or clause in them or any of them contained, or any other lawe, custome, statute or prouision to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And that they by the name of the Governour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communalitie of Marchants aduenturers, for the discourrie of lands territories, Isles, dominions and Seignories vnknownen by the Seas and Navigations, and not befoze the said last aduenture or enterpryse by Seas frequented as aforesaid, shall and may be able in the lawe to implead, and be impleaded, to answer, and to be answered, to defende, and to be defended befoze whatsoeuer Judge or Justice, temporall or spirituall, or other persons whatsoeuer, in whatsoeuer court, or courts, and in all actions personall, real, and mixt, and in euery of them, and in all plaints of nouel disseison, and also in all plaints, suites, quarrels, affaires, businesse and demaunds whatsoeuer they bee, touching and concerning the saide fellowship and communalitie, and the affaires and businesse of the same onely, in as ample manner and forme, as any other corporation of this our Realme may doe,

Moreover, wee for vs, our heires and successours, haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents doe giue and graunt vnto the said Governour, Consuls, assistants, fellowshipe, and communalitie of Marchants aduenturers aforesaid, and to their successours, that the said Governour, or Governours, Consuls and assistants, and their successours, in maner, forme, and number afoze rehearsed, shall haue full power and authoritie from time to time hereafter, to make, ordeine, establish and erect all such statutes, actes and ordinaunces, for the gouernement, good condition, and laudable rule of the said fellowshipe and communalitie of Marchants aduenturers aforesaid, as to them shall bee thought good, meete, conuenient and necessarie, and also to admit vnto the said Corporation and fellowshipe to be free of the same, such and as many persons, as to them shall bee thought good, meete, conuenient and necessarie. And that euery such person or persons, as shall fortune heereafter to bee admitted into the said fellowshipe, communalitie and corporation, shall from the time of his or their admittance, be free of the same. And also wee will, and by these presents graunt for vs, our heires and successours, vnto the said Governours, Consuls, assistants, fellowshipe, communalitie of Marchants aduenturers aforesaid, and to their successours, that the Governour, or gouernours, Consuls and assistants of the same, in maner, forme, and number afoze rehearsed, and their successours for the time being, shall, and may haue full power and authoritie by these presents from time to time, as to them shall seeme good, to limite, set, ordeine and make, mulcts, and penalties by fines, forfeitures, & imprisonmentes, or any of them vpon any offender of the said fellowshipe and communalitie, for any offence touching the same fellowshipe and communalitie, and also that all acts and ordinaunces by them or their successours to bee made, which inue shall thinke not necessarie or preiudiciall to the said fellowshipe or communalitie, at all times to reuoke, breake, frustrate, annihilate, repeale and dissolue at their pleasure and libertie. And further, wee will, that if any of the said fellowshipe and communalitie shall be found contrarious, rebellious, or disobedient to the said Governour or gouernours, Consuls, and the said assistants for the time being, or to any statutes, acts or ordinaunces by them made or to be made, that then the said Governour or gouernours, Consuls, and the said assistants, in maner, forme, and number aboue specified, for the time being, shall and may by vertue of these presents, mulct, and punish euery such offender or offenders, as the quality of the offence requirerth, according to their good discretions.

And further, we will that none of the said offender or offenders shall decline from the power of the said Governour, or gouernours, Consuls and assistants, in maner, forme, and number abouesaid for the time being: so alwayes, that the said actes, statutes and ordinaunces, doe onely touch and concerne the said Governour or gouernours, Consuls, assistants, and the said fellowshipe and communalitie of our before named Marchants aduenturers, or the men of the same fellowshipe any communalitie, and none other; And so alwayes, that such their acts, statutes and ordinaunces bee not against our prerogative, lawes, statutes, and customes of our realmes and Dominions, nor contrary to the seuerall duetie of any our subjects towards vs, our heires and successours, nor contrarie to any compacts, treaties or leagues, by vs or any our progenitours heretofore had or made, or hereafter by vs, our heires and successours to be made, to or with any forreine Prince or potentate, nor also to the preiudice of the corporation of the Maior, communalities and Citizens of our Citie of London, nor to the preiudice of any person or persons, bodie politique, or corporate, or incorporate, iustly pretending, clayming, or hauing any liberties, franchises, priuiledges, rightes or preheminences, by vertue or pretext of anie graunt, gift, or Letters patents, by vs, or anie our progenitours, heretofore giuen, graunted, or made.

Moreover, we for vs, our heires, and successours, will, and by these presents, doe graunt vnto the said Governours, Consuls, assistants, fellowshipe and communalitie of our Marchants aforesaid, that their said Governour or gouernours, Consuls and assistants, and their successours for the time being, in maner, forme and number aboue rehearsed, shall haue full power and authoritie to assigne, constitute and ordaine one officer, or diuers officers as well within our aforesaid Citie of London, as also in any other place or places of this our Realme of England, or else where within our dominions, which officer or officers, wee will to be named and called by the name of Sergeant or Sergeants to the fellowshipe or communalitie of the said marchants, and that the said Sergeant or sergeants, shall and may haue full power and authoritie by these presents, to take, leuie and gather all maner fines, forfeitures, penalties and mulcts of euery person and persons, of the said fellowshipe and communalitie conuict, and that shall be conuicted, vpon or for breaking of any statutes, acts, ordinaunces, to be made by the said Governour or gouernours, Consuls and assistants for the time being.

And further, wee will and also graunt for vs, our heires and successours, that the said officer

or officers shall haue further power and authoritie for the default of payment, or for disobedience in this behalfe (if neede be) to set hands and arrest aswell the bodie and bodies, as the goods and chattels of such offender, and offenders, & transgressors, in euery place and places not franchised. And if it shall fortune any such offender or offenders, their goods and chattels or any part thereof, to be in any citie, borough, towne incorporated, or other place franchised or priuiledged, where the said officer or officers may not lawfully intromit or intermeddle, that then the Mayor, Shirifes, baylifes, and other head officers, or ministers, within euery such citie, borough, towne incorporated, or place or places franchised, vpon a precept to them, or any of them, to be directed from the gouernour or gouernours, Consuls and assistants of the said fellowship, in number and forme aforesaid, vnder the common seale of the sayd fellowship and communitie for the time being, shall and may attach & arrest the body or bodies of such offender or offenders, as also take, and seise the goods and chattels of all and euery such offender or offenders, being within any such place or places franchised, and the same body and bodies, goods and chattels of all and euery such offender and offenders, being within any such place or places franchised, and euery part thereof so attached and seized, shall according to the tenor and purport of the sayd precept, returne, and deliuer vnto the sayd officer or officers of the aforesaid fellowship, and communitie.

And further, we will and grant for vs, our heires and successours by these presents, that all, and euery such Mayor, shirife, baylife, or other head officers or ministers of any citie, borough, towne incorporated, or other places franchised, shall not be impeached, molested, vexed or sued in any our court or courts, for executing or putting in execution of any of the said precept or precepts.

And furthermore, we of our ample and abundant grace, mere mocion, & certaine knowledge, for vs, our heires, and successours, as much as in vs is, haue giuen and granted, and by these presents doe giue and grant vnto the sayd gouernour, Consuls, assistants, fellowship, and communitie of Marchants aduenturers, and to their successours, and to the Factor and Factors, assigne and assignees of euery of them, full and free authoritie, libertie, facultie and licence, and power to saile to all portes, regions, dominions, territories, landes, Isles, Islands, and coastes of the sea, wheresoever before their late aduenture or enterprise vnknownen, or by our Marchants and subiects by the seas not heretofore commonly frequented, vnder our banner, standerd, flags and ensignes, with their shippe, ships, barke, pinnelles, and all other vessels of whatsoeuer portage, bulke, quantitie or qualitie they may be, and with any Mariners, and men as they will leade with them in such shippe or shippes, or other vessels at their owne and proper costs and expences, for to traffique, descric, discover and finde, whatsoeuer Isle, Islands, countreys, regions, prouinces, creekes, armes of the sea, riuers & streames, as wel of Gentiles, as of any other Emperour, king, prince, gouernour or Lord whatsoeuer he or they shall be, and in whatsoeuer part of the world they be situated, being before the sayd late aduenture or enterprise vnknownen, and by our Marchants and subiects not commonly frequented: and to enter and land in the same, without any manner of deuying, paine, penaltie or forfeiture to be had or taken by anie our lawes, customes or statutes to our vse, or to the vse of our heires or successours for the same.

Philip and
Queene Mary
hereby do dis-
miss Hope
Alexanders dis-
mission.

And we haue also granted, and by these presents, for vs, our heires and successours, doe graunt vnto the sayd Gouernours, Consuls, assistants, fellowship and communitie, and to their successours, and to their Factors and assignes, and to euery of them, licence for to reare, plant, erect, and fallen our banners, standards, flags, and Ensignes, in whatsoeuer citie, towne, village, castle, Isle, or maine lande, which shall be by them newly found, without any the penalties, forfeitures, or dangers aforesayde, and that the sayd fellowship and communitie, and their successours, Factors & assignes and euery of them shall and may subdue, possesse and occupie, all manner cities, townes, Isles, and maine landes of infidelitie, which is or shall be by them, or any of them newly founde or descriced, as our vassals and subiects, and for to acquire and get the Dominion, title, and iurisdiction of the same Cities, Townes, Castles, Villages, Isles, and maine landes, which shall be by them, or any of them newly discovered or found vnto vs, our heires and successours for euer.

Conquest pre-
mitted.

And furthermore, whereas by the voyage of our subiects in this last || yeere attempted by Nauigation, towards the discoverie and disclosure of vnknownen places, Realmes, Islandes, and Dominions by the seas not frequented, it hath pleased Almighty God to cause one of the thre shippes by them set forth for the voyage, and purpose aboue mentioned, named the Edward Bonauenture, to arrive, abide, and winter within the Empire and dominions of the high and mightie Prince our cousin and brother, Lord Iohn Basiluich Emperour of all Russia, Volodomer, great duke of Moscouie, &c. Who, of his clemencie, for our loue and zeale, did not onely admitt the Captaine, and marchants our subiects into his protection, and Princely presence, but also receiued and intertaind them very graciously, and honourably, granting

Anno 1554.

The Apoco-
rites pmi-
ledges vnto
the English.

granting vnto them by his letters addrested vnto vs, franke accesse into all his Seigniozies and dominions, with licence freely to traffique in and out with all his Subiects in all kinde of Marchandise, with diuers other gracios pmiiledges, liberties and immunities specified in his sayde letters vnder his Signer: Know yee therefore that wee of our further royall fauour and munificence, of our meere motion, certaine knowledge, and speciall grace, for vs our heires and successours, haue giuen and granted, and by these presents doe giue and grant vnto the same Governours, Consuls, assistants, fellowshipp, and comunalty about named, and to their successours, as much as in vs is, that all the mayne landes, Isles, portes, hauens, creekes, and riuers of the said mighty Emperour of all Russia, and great duke of Mosco, &c. And all and singular other lands, dominions, territozies, Isles, Portes, hauens, creekes, riuers, armes of the sea, of al and euery other Emperoz, king, pince, ruler and gouernoz, whatsoeuer he or they befoze the said late adventure or enterpryse not knownen, or by our foze sayd marchants and subiects by the seas, not commonly frequented, nor by any part nor parcel thereof lying Northwards, North-eastwards, or Northwestwards, as is afoze sayd, by sea shall not be visited, frequented nor hanted by any our subiects, other then of the sayd company and felowshipp, and their successours without expresse licence, agreement and consent of the Governour, Consuls, and Assistants of the said felowshipp and comunaltie about named, or the moze part of them, in manner and number afoze sayd, for the time being, vpon paine of forfiture and losse, as well of the shippe and shippes, with the appurtenances, as also of all the goods, marchandise, and things whatsoeuer they be, of those our subiects, nor being of the sayd felowshipp and comunalty, which shall attempt or presume to faile to any of those places, which bee, or hereafter shall heppn to bee found, and trafficked vnto: the one halfe of the same forfiture to be to the vse of vs, our heires and successours, and the other halfe to be to the vse of the sayd felowshipp and comunaltie. And if it shall fortune anie stranger or strangers, for to attempt to hurt, hinder, or endamage the same marchants, their factors, deputies or assignes, or any of them in sailing, going or returning at any time in the sayd adventure, or for to faile or trade to or from any those places, landes or coastes, which by the sayd marchants, their factors, deputies and assignes haue bene, or shall bee descriced, discouered and found, or frequented, as well within the coastes and limites of gentility, as within the dominions and Seigniozies of the sayd mighty Emperour and Duke, and of all and euery other Emperour, King, Pince, Ruler and gouernour whatsoeuer he or they be, befoze the sayd late adventure or enterpryse not knownen by any our said marchants and subiects, by the seas not commonly frequented, and lying Northwards, Northwestwards or Northeastwards as afoze said, then wee will and grane, and by these presents doe licence, and authozite for vs, our heires and successours, the said marchants, their factors, deputies, and assignes, and euery of them to doe their best in their defence, to resist the same their enterpryses and attempts. Willing therfore, and straightly commanding and charging al and singular our Officers, Maiors, Sherifes, Escheatoz, Constables, Bailifes, and all and singular other our ministers and liege men, and subiects whatsoeuer, to be aiding, fauouring, helping & assisting vnto the sayd gouernour or gouernours, Consuls, assistants, fellowshipp and comunalty, and to their successours and deputies, factors, seruants, and assignes, and to the deputies, factors and assignes of euery of them, in executing and enioying the pmisses, as well on land as in the sea, from time to time, and at all times when you or any of you shall be therunto required. In witnesse whereof, &c.

Anno 1555.

Apud Westmonasterium, 6 die Feb. Annis regnorum nostro-
rum, primo & secundo.

Certaine instructions deliuered in the third voyage, Anno 1556.
for *Russia*, to euery Purser and the rest of the sernants, taken for the
voyage, which may serue as good and necessary directions,
to all other like aduenturers.

First you shall befoze the ship doth begin to lade, goe aboard, and shall there take, and write one inuentorie, by the aduise of the Master, or of some other principall officer there aboard, of all the tackle, apparell, cables, ankers, ordnance, chambers, shot, powder, artilleric, and of all other necessaries whatsoever doth belong to the sayd ship: and the same iustly taken, you shall write in a booke, making the sayd Master, or such officer pmiue of that which you haue so writtten, so that the same may not be denied, when they shall call account thereof: that done, you shall write a copie of the same with your owne hand, which you shall deliuer befoze the shippe

Shippe shall depart, for the voyage to the companies booke keeper here to be kept to their behalfe, to the ende that they may be iustly answered the same, when time shall require: and this order to be seene and kept euery voyage orderly, by the Purfers of the companies owne ship, in any wise.

2 Also when the shippe beginneth to lade, you shall be ready a boord with your booke, to enter such goods as shall be brought aboard, to be laden for the company, packed, or vnpacked, taking the markes and numbers of euery packe, fardell, trulle, or packer, cozouoga, chest, fatte, butte, pipe, puncheon, whole barrell, halfe barrell, firken, or other caske, maunde, or basket, or any other thing, which may, or shall be packed by any other manner of wates or deuise. And first, all such packes, or trusses, &c. as shall be brought aboard to be laden, not marked by the companies marke, you shall doe the best to let that the same be not laden, and to enquire diligently to know the owners thereof, if you can, and what commoditie the same is, that is so brought aboard to be laden: if you can not know the owners of such goods, learne what you can thereof, as well making a note in your booke, as also to send or bying word thereof to the Agent, and to some one of the foure Merchants with him adioyned to speevely as you can, if it be here laden or to be laden in this riuer, being not marked with the companies marke, as is aforesaid: and when the sayd shippe hath receiued in all that the companies Agent will haue laden, you shall make a iust copie of that which is laden, reciting the parcels, the markes and numbers of euery thing plainly, which you shall likewise deliuer to the sayd bookekeeper to the vse aforesaid.

3 Also when the ship is ready to depart, you shall come for your cockets and letters to the Agent, and shall shew him all such letters as you haue receiued of any person or persons priuately or openly, to be deliuered to any person or persons in Russia or elsewhere, and also to declare if you know any other that shall passe in the ship either master or mariner that hath receiued any letters to be priuily deliuered to any there, directed fro any person or persons, other then from the Agent here to the Agent there: which letters so by you receiued, you shall not carie with you, without you be licenced so to doe by the Agent here, and some of the foure merchants, as is aforesaid: and such others as do passe, hauing receiued any priuie letters to be deliuered, you shall all that in you lieth, let the deliuerie of them at your arriuing in Russia: and also if you haue or do receiue, or shall know any other that doth or hath receiued any goods or ready money to be employed in Russia, or to be deliuered there to any person or persons from any person or persons, other then such as bee the companies goods, and that vnder their marke, you shall before the ship doeth depart, declare the same truly to the sayd Agent, and to some of the other merchants to him adioyned, as it is before declared.

4 Also when the shippe is ready to depart, and hath the master and the whole company aboard, you shall diligently foresee and take heed, that there passe not any priuie person or persons, other then such as be authorized to passe in the said ship, without the licence and warrant of one of the Gouernours and of the assistants, for the same his passage, to be first shewed. And if there be any such person or persons that is to passe and will passe without shewing the same warrant, you shall let the passage of any such to the uttermost of your power: And for that there may no such priuie person passe vnder the cloke and colour of some mariner, you shall vpon the weying of your ships anker, call the master and the mariners within boord by their names and that by your bookes, to the ende that you may see that you haue neither moze nor lesse, but iust the number for the voyage.

5 Also you must haue in remembzance, that if it shall chance the shippe to bee put into anie harbour in this coast by contrary windes or other wise in making the voyage, to send word thereof from time to time as the case shall require, by your letters in this maner. To master I. B. Agent for the company of the New trades in S. in London: If you doe hier any to bying your letters, write that which he must haue for the portage. And for your better knowledge and learning, you shall do very well to keepe a dayly note of the voyage both outwards and homewards.

6 And principally see that you forget not dayly in all the voiage both morning and euening, to call the company within boord to prayer, in which doing you shall please God, and the voiage will haue the better successe thereby, and the company prosper the better.

7 Also in calme weather and at other times when you shall fortune to come to anker in the seas during the voyage, you shall for the companies profite, and for the good husbanding of the victuals aboard, call vpon the Boatewaine and other of the company to vse such hookes and other engines as they haue aboard to take fish with, that such fish so taken may bee eaten for the cause aforesaid: and if there bee no such engines aboard, then to provide some before you goe from hence.

8 And when God shall send you in safetie into the Bay of S. Nicholas at an anker, you shall goe a hoze with the first boate that shall depart from the ship, taking with you such letters as you haue

haue to deliuer to the Agent there : and if he be not there at your comming a land , then send the companies letters to Colmogro to him by some sure mariner or otherwise, as the master and you shall thinke best , but goe not your selfe at any hand, noꝝ yet from aboord the ship , vntlesse it bee a shoꝛe to treat with the Agent for the lading of the ship that you be appointed in, which you shall applye diligently to haue done so speedily as may be. And for the discharging of the goods therein in the Bay , to be carried from thence, see that you doe looke well to the vnlading thereof, that there be none other goods sent a shoꝛe then the companies , and according to the notes entered in your booke as is afoꝛe said : if there be, inquire diligently for whom they bee, and what goods they be, noting who is the receiuer of the sayd goods, in such sort that the company may haue the true knowledge thereof at your comming home.

9 Also there a shoꝛe, and likewise aboord, you shall spie and search as secretly as you may, to learne and know what bargaining, buying and selling there is with the master and the mariners of the shippe and the Russes, or with the companies seruants there : and that which you shall perceiue and learne, you shall keepe a note thereof in your booke secretly to your selfe, which you shall open and disclose at your comming home to the gouernours and assistants, in such sort as the truth of their secret trades and occuppings may be reuealed and knowen. You shall need alwayes to haue Argos eyes, to spie their secret packing and conueyance, as well on land as aboord the shippe, of and for such furrer and other commodities, as yeerely they doe vse to buy, packe and conuey hither. If you will bee vigilant and secreete in this article, you cannot misse to spie their priuie packing one with another, either on shoꝛe or aboord the shippe : woꝛke herein wisely, and you shall deserue great thanks of the whole company.

10 Also at the lading againe of the shippe, you shall continue and abide aboord, to the ende that you may note and write in your booke all such goods and marchandises as shall be brought and laden, which you shall orderly note in all sortes as heretofore, as in the second article partly it is touched : and in any wise put the Master and the company in remembrance, to looke and seeke substantially to the roomaging of the shippe, by faire means or threats, as you shall see and thinke will serue for the best.

11 Thus when the shippe is full laden againe, and all things aboord in good order, and that you doe fortune to goe a shoꝛe to the Agent for your letters, and dispatch away : you shall demand whether all the goods be laden that were brought thither, and to know the truely thereof, you shall repaire to the companies storehouse there at S. Nicholas, to see if there be any goods left in the sayd storehouse : if there be, you shall demand why they be not laden, and note what kinde of goods they be that be so left : and seeing any of the shippes there not fully laden, you shall put the Agent in remembrance to lade those goods so left, if any such be to be laden, as is afoꝛe said. And thus God sending you a faire wind, to make speede and atway.

12 Finally, when God shall send you to arriue againe vpon this coast in safetie, either at Harewich, or else where, goe not you aland, if you may possible, to the ende that when you be gone a shoꝛe, there may no goods be sent priuily a shoꝛe to be solde, or else to be solde aboord the ship in your absence, but keepe you still aboord, if you can by any means, for the causes afoꝛe said, and write the company a letter from the shippe of your good arriual, which you may conuey to them by land by some boy or mariner of the shippe, or otherwise as you shall thinke best : and likewise when God shall send you and the shippe into the riuer here, doe not in any wise depart out of the shippe that you be in, vntil the company doe send some other aboord the shippe, in your steede and place, to keepe the shippe in your absence.

The Navigation and discouerie toward the riuer of *Ob*, made by Master *Steuens Burrough*, Master of the Pinnesse called the *Serchthrift*, with diuers things worth the noting, passed in the yere 1556.

April 23.



Departed from Ratcliffe to Blackewall the 23 of April. Saturday being S. Markes day, we departed from Blackewall to Grays.

27

The 27 being Sunday, the right Worshipfull Sebastian Cabota came aboord our Pinnesse at Grauesende, accompanied with diuers Gentlemen, and Gentlewomen, who after that they had vied our Pinnesse, and talked of such chere as we could make them aboord, they went on shoꝛe, giuing to our mariners right liberall rewards : and the good olde Gentleman Master Cabota gaue to the pooꝛe most liberall almes, wishing them to pray for the good fortune, and prosperous successe of the Serchthrift, our Pinnesse. And then at the signe of the Christopher, hee and his friends banqueted, and made me, and them that were in the company great chere : and for very ioy that he had

to see the towardnes of our intended discoverie, he entred into the dance himselfe, amongst the rest of the young and lusty company: which being ended, hee and his friends departed most gently, commending vs to the gouernance of almighty God.

Tuesday we rode till at Grauesend, making provision for such things as we wanted. 28

Wednesday in the morning we departed from Grauesende, the winde being at South-west, that night we came to an anchor thwart our Lady of Hollands. 29

Thursday at three of the clocke in the morning we weped, and by eight of the clocke we were at an anchor in Orwell wannes, and then incontinent I went aboard the Edward Bonauenture, where the worshipfull company of marchants appointed me to be, vntill the sayd good ship arrived at Wardhouse. Then I returned againe into the pinnelle. 30

Friday the 15 of May we were within 7 leagues of the shoze, on the coast of Norway: the latitude at a South sunne, 58 degrees and a halfe, where we saw three sailes, beside our owne company: and thus we followed the shoare of land, which lieth North-north-west, North and by West, and North-west and by North, as it doth appeare by the plat.

Note
May 15.

Saturday at an East sunne we came to S. Dunstons Island, which Island I so named. It was off vs East two leagues and a halfe, the wind being at Southeast: the latitude this day at a South sunne 59 degrees, 42 minutes. Also the high round mountaine bare East of vs, at a South sunne: and when this hill is East of you, and being bound to the Northward, the land lyeth North and halfe a point West, from this sayd South sunne, vnto a North sunne twenty leagues North-west alongst the shoare. 16

Upon Sunday at six of the clocke in the morning, the farthest land that we could see that lay North-north-west, was East of vs three leagues, and then it trended to the Northwards, and to the Eastwards of the North, which headland I iudged to be Scournesse. At seuen of the clocke we changed our course and went North, the wind being at South-southeast, and it waied very thicke and mistie, and when it cleered, we went North-northeast. At a South sunne we lost sight of the Seichehrife, because of the mist, making our way North. And when we lost sight of the shoare and pinnelle, we were within two leagues & a halfe of the shoare: the last land that we saw when this mist came vpon vs, which is to the Northwards of Scournesse, lay North-northeast, and South-south-west, and we made our way North vntill a west sunne five leagues.

From that vntill Monday three a clocke in the morning ten leagues North-northeast: and then we went North and by East, because the winde came at the West-south-west with thicke mist: the latitude this day at a South sunne sixtie three degrees and a halfe truly taken: at this season we had sight of our Pinelle againe. 17

From that vntill Tuesday a South sunne North-northeast fortye foure leagues, and then North-east. From a South sunne vntill eight of the clocke, sixtene leagues Northeast. 18

From that vntill Wednesday a South sunne North-northeast, except the first watch North-east: then had we the latitude in sixtie seuen degrees, thirtie nine minutes. From that vnto a North-west sunne eighteen leagues Northeast, & then we were within two leagues off the shoze, and saw the high land to the Southwards of Lowfoot breake out through the mist, and then we went North and by east. 19

From the sayd North-west sunne vntill foure of the clocke in the morning North and by East ten leagues and a halfe: and then North-northeast vntill a South sunne, the latitude being sixtie nine degrees, and a halfe. From that vntill halfe an houre past seuen of the clocke, North-northeast eleuen leagues and a halfe, and then we went Northeast ten leagues. From that 3 leagues and a halfe East-northeast, and then we sawe the land through the cloudes and hazie thwart on the broad side of vs the winde being then at South-south-west. 20

From that vntill Saturday, at eight of the clocke in the morning East-northeast, and to the Northwards fortye eight leagues, and then the wind came vpon at North, wee being aboard the shoze, and thwart of the Chappel, which I suppose is called Kedilwike: then we cast the shippes head to the seawards, because the winde was verie scant: and then I caused the Pinelle to heare in with the shoze, to see whether she might find an harborough for the ships or not, and that she found and saw two roaders ride in the sound: and also they sawe houses. But notwithstanding, God be prayed, the winde enlarged vpon vs, that we had not occasion to goe into the harborough: and then the Pinelle bare her Hysen mast our boord with flagge and all, and lost the flagge: with the mast there fell two men ouer boord, but God be praised, they were saued: the flagge was a token, whereby we might vnderstand whether there were a good harbour there or not. 21

At a North sunne the North cape (which I so named the first voyage) was thwart of vs, which is nine leagues to the Eastwards of the foresayd Chappel from the Eastermost point of it. 22

Kedilwike Chappel.

At a North sunne the North cape (which I so named the first voyage) was thwart of vs, which is nine leagues to the Eastwards of the foresayd Chappel from the Eastermost point of it. 23

The North cape so named by Steuen Burrowe.

Iune.

7 **T**he Sunday we towed in Corpus Christi Bay, at a North-east and by East sunne: the Bay is almost halfe a league deepe: the headland which is Corpus Christi point, lyeth Southeast and by East, one league from the head of the Bay, where we had a great tyde, like a race ouer the flood: the Bay is at the least two leagues ouer: so doe I imagine from the sayre foze land to Corpus Christi popnt ten leagues Southeast and by East: It floweth in this Bay, at a South and by West moone full sea. From that we went vntill seuen a clocke at after noone twentie leagues Southeast and by South: and then we tooke in all our sailes, because it was then very mistie, and also we met with much ice that ran out of the Bay, and then wee went South-south-east with our foze layle: at eight of the clocke, we heard a piece of ordnance, which was out of the Edward, which had vs fare well, and then we shot off another piece, and bade her fare well: we could not one see the other, because of the thicke miste: at a North-west sunne it began somewhat to cleere, and then we sawe a head lande, and the shoare trended to the South-westward, which I iudged to be about Crosse Island: it was off vs at a North-north-west sunne, West-south-west.

8 From this North-north-west sunne, vntill Sunday, we went Southeast, and this morning we came at anker among the shoales that lie off of point Looke out, at a North-east and by East sunne, the wind being at East-south-east. At this popnt Looke out, a south Moone maketh a full sea. Cape good fortune lyeth from the Isle of Crosse Southeast, and betweene them is tenne leagues: point Looke out lieth from Cape Good fortune East-south-east, and betweene them are sixe leagues. S. Edmonds point lieth from point Looke our East-south-east, and halfe a point to the Southwards, and betweene them are sixe leagues. There is betweene these two points, a Bay that is halfe a league deepe, and is full of shoales and dangers. At a Southeast sunne we weyed, and turned to the windwards, the winde being at East-south-east: and at a Southeast sunne, we came to an anker, being then a full sea, in five fadoms and a halfe water. It bieth at this place where we roade, and also at point Looke out, foure fadome water. At a West-north-west sunne we weyed, and dyued to the windwards, vntill Tuesday, a North-north-east sunne, and then being a high water, we came to an anker open of the riuer Cola, in eight fadome water, Cape S. Bernard lyeth from S. Edmonds point, Southeast and by South, and betwixt them are sixe leagues, and also betwixt them is the Riuer Cola, into which Riuer wee went this euening.

9 Wednesday we roade still in the sayd riuer, the winde being at the north: we sent our skiffe a land to be dresled: the latitude of the mouth of the riuer Cola is sixtie five degrees, fortye and eight minutes.

10
The latitude
of Cola.

11
Russe Lobia.

Thursday at 6 of the clocke in the morning, there came aboord of vs one of the Russe Lobiaes, rowing with twentie oares, and there were scure and twenty men in her. The master of the boate presented me with a great loafe of bread, and sixe ringes of bread, which they call Colatches, and foure dyed pikes, and a pecke of fine otemeale, and I gaue vnto the Master of the boate, a combe, and a small glasse: and he declared vnto me, that he was bound to Pechora, and after that, I made them to dyinke, the tide being somewhat broken, they gently departed. The Masters name was Pheodor.

Whereas the tenth day I sent our Pinnesse on shoare to be mended, because she was leake, and weake, with the Carpenter and thzee men moze to helpe him, the weather chanced so, that it was Sunday before they could get aboord our shippe. All that time they were without provision of victuals, but onely a litle bread, which they spent by Thursday at night, thinking to haue come aboord when they had listid, but winde and weather denied them: insomuch that they were faine to eate grassie, and such weedes as they could finde then about grounde, but fresh water they had plentie, but the meate with some of them could scant frame by reason of their queazie stomackes.

14 From Thursday at afternoone, vntill Sunday in the morning, our barke did ride such a roade that it was to be maruelled, without the helpe of God, how she was able to abide it.

In the bight of the Southeast shoare of the riuer Cola, there is a good roade in five fadome, or foure fadome and a halfe, at a lowe water: but you shall haue no land North-north-east of you then. I proued with our pinnesse, that the depth goeth on the Southeast shoare.

18 Thursday we weyed our ankers in the Riuer Cola, and went into the Sea seuen or eight leagues, where we met with the winde farre Northerly, that of force it constrained vs to goe againe backe into the sayd riuer, where came aboord of vs sundry of their Boates, which decla-

red unto me that they were also bound to the northwards, a fishing for Horse, and Salmon, and gave me liberally of their white and wheaten bread.

As we rode in this river, we sawe daily comming downe the river many of their Lodias, and they that had least, had foure and twenty men in them, and at the last they grew to thirtie saile of them: and amongst the rest, there was one of them whose name was Gabriel, who shewed me very much friendship, and he declared unto mee, that all they were bound to Pechora, a fishing for Salmon, and Horses: in somuch that hee shewed mee by demonstrations, that with a faire winde wee had seven or eight dayes sailing to the River Pechora, so that I was glad of their company. This Gabriel promised to give mee warning of shoales, as hee did indeede.

Lodias having
24 men a peice

From Cola to
Pechora is but
7 or 8 dayes
sailing.

Sunday being the one and twentieth day, Gabriel gave me a barrell of Peade, and one of his speciall friends gave me a barrell of buce, which was carped upon mens backs at least 2 miles.

21

Monday we departed from the river Cola, with all the rest of the said Lodias, but sailing befoze the wind, they were all too good for vs: but according to promise, this Gabriel and his friend did often strike their sayles, and taried for vs forsaking their owne company.

22

The curtesie
of one Gabriel.

Tuesday at an Eastnortheast lurre we were thwart of Cape S. Iohn. It is to be understood, that from the Cape S. Iohn unto the river or bay that goeth to Mezen, it is all sunke land, and full of shoales and dangers, you shall haue scant two sadome water, and see no land. And this present day wee came to an anker thwart of a creeke, which is 4 or 5 leagues to the Northwards of the sayd Cape, into which creeke Gabriel and his fellow rowed, but we could not get in: and befoze night there were about 20 saile that went into the sayd creeke, the wind being at the North-east. We had indifferent good landfang.

23

So good & nee
cellarie note.

This afternoone Gabriel came aboard with his skiffe, and then I rewarded him for the good company that he kept with vs over the shoales with two small iuoy combes, and a steele glasse, with two or thre trifles more, for which he was not ungratefull. But notwithstanding, his first company had gotten further to the Northwards.

Wednesday being Midsummer day, we sent our skiffe ahand to sound the creeke, where they found it almost drie at a low water. And all the Lodias within were on ground.

24

Although the harborough were euil, yet the stormie similitude of Northerly winds tempted vs to set our sayles, & we let slip a cable and an anker, and bare with the harborough, for it was then neere a high water: and as alwaies in such ionneis varieties do chance, when we came vpon the barre in the entrance of the creeke, the wind did shynk so suddenly vpon vs, that we were not able to lead it in, and befoze we could haue flatted the shippe befoze the winde, we should haue bene on ground on the lee shore, so that we were constrained to let fall an anker vnder our sayles, and rode in a very beach, thinking to haue warpt in. Gabriel came out with his skiffe, and so did sundry others also, shewing their good will to helpe vs, but all to no purpose, for they were likely to haue bene drowned for their labour, in so much that I desired Gabriel to lend me his anker, because our owne ankers were too big for our skiffe to lay out, who lent me his owne, and borrowed another also and sent it vs. Then we layd out one of those ankers, with a hawser which he had of 140 fadom long, thinking to haue warpt in, but it would not be: for as we shorted vpon y^e said warpe the anker came home, so that we were faine to heare the end of the warpe, that we rushed in vpon the other small anker that Gabriel lent aboard, and layd that anker to seawards: and then betweene these two ankers we trauesed the ships head to seawards, and set our foresaile and maine sayle, and when the barke had way, we cut the hawser, and so gate the sea to our friend, and tryed out at that day with our maine cable.

The Thursday we went roome with Cape S. Iohn, where we found indifferent good rode for a Northnortheast wind, and for a neede, for a North and by West wind.

25

Friday at afternoone we weyed, and departed from thence, the wether being meetly faire, & the winde at Eastsoutheast, and plied for the place where we left our cable and anker, and our hawser: & as soone as we were at an anker, the foresaid Gabriel came aboard of vs, with 3 or foure more of their small boats, and brought with them of their Aquauice & Peade, professing unto me very much friendship, and reioiced to see vs againe, declaring that they earnestly thought that we had bene lost. This Gabriel declared unto me, that they had saued both the ankers and our hawser, and after we had thus communed, I caused 4 or 5 of them to goe into my cabin, where I gave them figs, and made them such cheere as I could. While I was thus banketing of the, there came another of their skiffes aboard with one who was a Keril, whose name afterwarde I learned, & that he dwelt in Colmogro, & Gabriel dwelled in the towne of Cola. which is not far from the rivers mouth. This foresaid Keril said unto me that one of the ankers which I borrowed was his, I gave him thanks for the lone of it, thinking it had bene sufficient. And as I continued in one accustomed

26

maner, that if the present which they brought were worth entertainment, they had it accordingly, he brought nothing with him, & therefore I regarded him but little. And thus we ended, & they took their leave and went ashore. At their coming ashore, Gabriel and Keril were at convenient words, and by the eares, as I understand: the cause was because the one had better entertainment then the other: but you that understand that Gabriel was not able to make his party good, because there were 17 lodias of the Kerils company who tooke his part, and but 2 of Gabriels company,

Twenty eight
Lodias belong
ing to Cola.

The next high water Gabriel and his company departed from thence, and rowed to their former company and neighbours, which were in number 28 at the least, and all of them belonging to the river Cola.

27

And as I understood Keril made reckoning that the hawser which was fast in his anker should have bene his owne, and at first would not deliver it to our boat, in somuch that I sent him word that I would complaine vpon him, whereupon he deliuered the hawser to my company.

The next day being Saturday, I sent our boat on shore to fetch fresh water and wood, and at their coming on shore this Keril welcomed our men most gently, and also banketed them: and in the meane time caused some of his men to fill our baricoes with water, and to help our men to beare wood into their boat: and then he put on his best silke coate, and his collar of pearles, and came aboard againe, & brought his present with him: and thus having more respect vnto his present then to his person, because I perceiued him to be vainglorious, I bade him welcome, and gaue him a dish of figs: and then he declared vnto me that his father was a gentleman, and that he was able to shew me pleasure, and not Gabriel, who was but a priests sonne.

28

The latitude of
Cape S. Iohn
66 degrees 50
minutes.

After their departure from vs we weied, and plyed all the ebbe to the winde wards, the winde being Northerly, & towards night it waied very stormie, so that of force we were constrained to go roome with Cape S. Iohn againe, in which storme wee lost our kiffe at our sterne, that wee bought at Wardhouse, and there we rode vntil the fourth of Iuly. The latitude of Cape S. Iohn is 66 degrees 50 minutes. And it is to be noted, that the land of Cape S. Iohn is of height from the full sea marke, as I iudge, 10 fadomes, being cleane without any trees growing, & also without stones or rockes, and consists onely of blacke earth, which is so rotten, that if any of it fall into the sea, it will swimme as though it were a piece of wood. In which place, about three leagues from the shore you shall not haue about 9 fadom water, and clay ground.

Earth swim-
ming about
water like
wood.

Iulie.

4

Saturday at a Northnorthwest sunne the wind came at Eastnortheast, & then we weied, and plied to the Northwards, and as we were two leagues shot past the Cape, we saw a house standing in a valley, which is dainty to be scene in those parts, and by and by I saw three men on the top of the hill. Then I iudged them, as it after wards proued, that they were men which came from some other place to set traps to take vermin for their furrers, which trappes we did perceiue very thicke alongst the shore as we went.

5

Sunday at an East sunne we were thwart off the creeke where the Russes lay, and there came to an anker, and perceiuing the most part of the Lodias to be gone we thought it not good to tary any longer there, but weyed and spent all the ebbe, plying to the windwards.

6

Monday at a South sunne it was high water. All alongst the coast it floweth little, onely a South moone makes a full sea: and as we were a weying we espied the Russe Lodias, which we first lost. They came out of a creeke amongst the sandy hills, which hills beginne 15 leagues Northnortheast from Cape S. Iohn.

7

Plying this ebbe to an end, we came to an anker 6 leagues Northnortheast fro the place where we saw the Russes come out: and there the Russes harboured themselves within a soonke banke, but there was not water enough for vs.

The latitude
68 degrees
and a halfe.

At a North sunne we weyed and plied to the Northwards, the land lying Northnortheast, and Southsouthwest, vntill a South sunne, and then we were in the latitude of 68 degrees & a halfe: and in this latitude ende those sandy hills, and the land beginneth to lye North and by West, South and by East, and Northnorthwest, and to the Westwards, and there the water beginneth to waie deepe.

At a Northwest sunne we came to an anker within halfe a league of the shore, where we had good plenty of fish, both Haddockes and Codds, riding in 10 fadom water.

8

Tuesday we weyed, and plyed neerer the headland, which is called Caninoz, the wind being at East and by North.

9

Thursday the wind being scant we turned to windwards the ebbe, to get about Caninoz: the latitude this day at noone was 68 degree 40 minutes.

Friday

Friday we turned to the windward of the ebbe, but to no purpose: and as we rode at an anchor, we saw the limittude of a fozme rising at Northnorthwest, & could not tell where to get rode nor succoe for that winde, and harborough we knew none: & that land which we rode vnder with that winde was a lee shoze. And as I was musing what was best to be done, I saw a saile come out of a creeke vnder the foz sayd Caninoz, which was my friend Gabriel, who forsooke his harborough and company, and came as neere vs as he might, and pointed vs to the Eastwards, & then we weped and followed him, and went East and by South, the wind being at Westnorthwest, and very mistie.

10

Saturday we went Eastsoutheast & followed Gabriel, and he brought vs into an harborough called Morgiouets, which is 30 leagues from Caninoz, & we had vpon the barre going in two fadome and a fourth part: and after we were past in ouer the barre, it wared deeper, for we had 5 fadoms, 4 and a half, and 3 fadom &c. Our barke being mozed, I sent some of our men to shoare to provide wood, where they had plenty of drift wood, but none growing: and in this place we found plenty of young foule, as Gullies, Seapies, and others, whereof the Russes would eat none, whereof we were nothing loy, for there came the moze to our part.

11

Morgiouets an Harbour.

Drift wood.

Sunday our men cut wood on shoare, and brought it aboard, and wee balasted our shippe with stones.

12

This morning Gabriel saw a smoke on y way, who rowed vnto it with his skiffe, which smoke was two leagues from the place where we rood: and at a Northwest sunne he came aboard again, and brought with him a Samoed, which was but a young man: his apparell was then strange vnto vs, and he presented me with thre young wild geese, and one young barnacle.

A Samoed.

Monday I sent a man to the maine in Gabriels boat, and he brought vs aboard 8 barricoes of fresh water: the latitude of the said Morgiouets is sixtie eight degrees and a terce. It floweth there at a Southsouthwest moone full sea, and hyceth two fadome and a halfe water.

13

At a Westnorthwest sunne we departed from this place, and went East 25 leagues, and then saw an Island North and by West of vs eight leagues, which Island is called Dolgoieue: and from the Eastermost part of this Island, there lyeth a land East and by South 7 leagues long.

14

Dolgoieue an Island.

Tuesday at a North and by East sunne Swerinoz was South of vs 5 leagues. This day at afternoone we went in ouer the dangerous barre of Pechora, and had vpon the barre but one fadome water.

15

Pechora.

Thursday we rood still.

16

Friday I went on shoare and obserued the variation of the Compasse, which was thre degrees and a halfe from the North to the West: the latitude this day was sixtie nine degrees ten minutes.

17

The variation of the Compas

From two or thre leagues to the Eastward of Swerinoz, vntill the entering of the riuer Pechora, it is all sandy hilles, and towards Pechora the sandie hilles are very low.

It higheth on the barre of Pechora foure foote water, & it floweth there at a Southwest moone a full sea.

Monday at a North & by East sunne, we weped, and came out ouer the sayd dangerous barre, where wee had but sine foote water, insomuch that wee found a foote lesse water coming out then we did going in. I thinke the reason was, because when we went in the winde was off the sea, which caused the sands to bzeake on either side of vs, and wee kept in the smoothest betweene the bzeaches, which we durst not haue done, except we had seene the Russes to haue gone in before vs: and at our coming out the winde was off the shoare, and fayze weather, and then the sands did not appeare with bzeaches as at our going in: we thanke God that our ship did draw so little water.

20

When we were a leaboard the barre the wind scanted vpon vs, and was at Eastsoutheast, insomuch that we stopped the ebbs, and plyed all the floods to the windwards, and made our way Eastnortheast.

Tuesday at a Northwest sunne we thought that we had seen land at East, or East & by North of vs: which after wards proved to be a monstrous heape of ice.

21

Within a little moze then halfe an hoare after, we first saw this ice, we were inclosed within it before we were aware of it, which was a fearefull sight to see: for, for the space of sixe houres, it was as much as we could doe to keepe our shippe aloofe from one heape of ice, and beare roomer from another, with as much wind as we might beare a coarfe. And when we had past from the danger of this ice, we lay to the Eastwards close by the wind.

Ice.

The next day we were againe troubled with the ice.

22

Thursday being calme, we plyed to the windwards, the winde being Northerty. We had the latitude this day at noone in 70 degrees 11 minutes.

23

The lat. 70 degrees 11 min.

We had not runne past two houres North-west, the wind being at North-north-east and North-east and by North a good gale, but we met againe with another heape of ice: we weered the head of it, and lay a time to the seawards, and made way West 6 leagues.

24 Friday at a Southeast sunne we cast about to the Eastwards, the wind being at North-north-east: the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 15 minutes.

25 On S. James his day bolting to the windwardes, we had the latitude at noone in seuen degrees twentie minutes. The same day at a Southwest sunne, there was a monstrous Whale aboard of vs, so nere to our side that we might haue thrust a sworde or any other weapon in him, which we durst not doe for feare hee should haue ouerthrowen our shippe: and then I called my company together, and all of vs shouted, & with the crye that we made he departed from vs: there was as much aboute water of his backe as the bredth of our pinnelle, and at his falling downe, he made such a terrible noyse in the water, that a man would greatly haue marvelled, except hee had knowen the cause of it: but God be thanked, we were quietly deliuered of him. And a little after we spied certaine Islands, with which we bare, and found good harbor in 15 or 18 fadome, and blacke oze: we came to an anker at a North-east sunne, & named the Island S. James his Island, where we found fresh water.

S. James
Island.

26 Sunday, much wind blowing we rode still.

27 Sunday I went on shoare and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 42 minutes: the variation of the compasse was 7 degrees and a halfe from the North to the West.

The variation
of the Compas
7 degrees and
a halfe.

28 The relation
of Loshak.
The way to
the riuier of Ob.
A mighty hill
in Noua Zembla.

Tuesday we plyed to the Westwards alongst the shoare, the wind being at North-west, and as I was about to come to anker, we saw a sayle comming about the point, wherunder we thought to haue ankered. Then I sent a skiffe aboard of him, and at their comming aboard, they tooke acquaintance of them, and the chiefe man said hee had bene in our company in the riuier Cola, and also declared vnto them that we were past the way which should bring vs to the Ob. This land, sayd he, is called Noua Zembla, that is to say, the New land: and then he came aboard himselfe with his skiffe, and at his comming aboard he told mee the like, and sayd further, that in this Noua Zembla is the highest mountaine in the worlde, as he thought, & that Camen Bolshay, which is on the maine of Pechora, is not to be compared to this mountaine, but I saw it not: he made me also certaine demonstrations of the way to the Ob, and seemed to make haste on his owne way, being very lothe to tarye, because the yeere was farre past, and his neighbour had set Pechora, and not he: so I gaue him a Steele glasse, two pewter spoones, and a paire of velvet sheathed knives: and then he seemed somewhat the more willing to tarye, and shewed me as much as he knew for our purpose: he also gaue me 17 wilde geese, and shewed me that foure of their lodias were dyuen perforce from Caninoze to this Noua Zembla. This mans name was Loshak.

Loshak.

29 Wednesday, as we plyed to the Eastwards, we espied another saile, which was one of this Loshaks company, and we bare roome, and spake with him, who in like sort tolde vs of the Ob, as the other had done.

30 Thursday, we plyed to the Eastwards, the wind being at East-north-east.

31 The Islands
of Bagants.

Friday, the gale of winde began to increase, and came Westerly withall, so that by a North-west sunne we were at an anker among the Islands of Aigats, where we saw two small lodias, the one of them came aboard of vs, and presented me with a great loafe of bread: and they told me that they were all of Colmogro, except one man that dwelt at Pechora, who seemed to be the chiefe among them in killing of the Hoyle.

There were some of their company on shoare, which did chase a white beare ouer the high cliffs into the water, which beare the lodia that was aboard of vs killed in our sight.

This day there was a great gale of wind at North, and we saw so much ice vniuing a sea aboard, that it was then no going to sea.

August.

1 Saturday I went ashore, and there I saw three moyses that they had killed: they held one tooth of a Hoyle, which was not great, at a roble, and one white beare skin at three robes & two robes: they further tolde me, that there were people called Samoeds on the great Island, and that they would not abide them nor vs, who haue no houses, but onely coverings made of Deerskins, set ouer them with stakes: they are men expert in shooting, and haue great plenty of Deere.

Samoeds.

This night there fell a cruell storme, the wind being at West.

2 Sunday we had very much winde, with plenty of snow, and we rode with two ankers a head.

3 Monday we weped and went roome with another Island, which was five leagues East-north-east from vs: and there I met againe with Loshak, and went on shore with him, and hee brought me

me to a heape of the Samoeds tools, which were in number about 300, the worst and the most un-
 artificiall worke that euer I saw: the eyes and mounches of sundrie of them were bloodie, they had
 the shape of men, women and children, very grossly wrought, & that which they had made for other
 parts, was also sprinkled with blood. Some of their idols were an olde wicke with two or thre
 notches, made with a knife in it. I saw much of the footing of the sayd Samoeds, and of the sleds
 that they ride in. There was one of their sleds broken, and lay by the heape of idols, & there I saw
 a deers skinne which the foules had spoiled: and befoze certaine of their idols blocks were made
 as high as their mounthes, being all bloody, I thought that to be the table wheron they offered their
 sacrifice: I saw also the instruments, wherupon they had roasted flesh, and as farre as I could
 perceiue, they make their fire directly vnder the spit.

The manners
 of the Sa-
 moeds.

Lozhak being there present tolde me that these Samoeds were not so hurtful as they of Ob
 are, and that they haue no houses, as indeede I saw none, but onely tents made of Deers skins,
 which they vnderpoype with stakes and poles: their boates are made of Deers skins, and when
 they come on shoare they cary their boates with them vpon their backes: for their cariages they
 haue no other beastes to serue them, but Deere only. As for bread and cozne they haue none, ex-
 cept the Russes bring it to them: their knowledge is very base, for they know no letter.

The Samoeds
 of the Ob very
 hurtfull and
 shrewd people.

Tuesday we turned for the harborough where Lozhaks barke lay, whereas befoze we rood vn-
 der an Island. And there he came aboard of vs and said vnto me: if God sende winde and wea-
 ther to serue, I will goe to the Ob with you, because the Horses were scant at these Islands
 of Vaigats: but if he could not get to the riuer of Ob, then he sayd hee would goe to the riuer of
 Naramzay, where the people were not altogether so sauage as the Samoyds of the Ob are: hee
 shewed me that they will shoot at all men to the vttermost of their power, that cannot speake their
 speech.

4

Naramzay,

Wednesday we saw a terrible heape of ice approach neere vnto vs, and therefore wee thought
 good with al speed possible to depart from thence, and so I returned to the Westwards againe, to
 the Island where we were the 31 of July.

5

Thursday I went a shoare, and tooke the latitude, which was 70 degrees 25 minutes: and the
 variation of the compasse was 8 degrees from the North to the West.

6

The latitude.
 The variation
 of the compas.

Lozhak and the two small Lodias of Pechora departed from this Island, while I was on
 shoare taking the latitude, and went to the Southwards: I marvelled why he departed so sudden-
 ly, and went ouer the shoales amongst the Islands where it was impossible for vs to follow them.
 But after I perceiued them to be weatherwise.

Friday we rood still, the winde being at Northnortheast, with a cruell storme. The ice came in
 so abundantly about vs at both ends of the Island that we rood vnder, that it was a fearefull sight
 to behold: the storme continued with snow, raine, and hable plenty.

7

Saturday we rood still also, the storme being somewhat abated, but it was altogether mis-
 sily, that we were not able to see a cables length about vs, the winde being at Northeast and by
 East.

8

Sunday at foure of the clocke in the morning we departed from this Island, the winde being
 at Southeast, and as we were cleere a sea boord the small Islands and shoales, it came so thick
 with mistes, that we could not see a base shotte from vs. Then we tooke to all our sailes to make
 little way.

9

At a Southeast sunne it waxed cleere, and then we set our sayles, and lay close by the wind to
 the Southwards alongst the Islands of Vaigats. At a West sunne we tooke in our sayle againe
 because of the great mist and raine. Wee sounded at this place, and had fise and twenty fadomes
 water, and lost blacke oze, being thre leagues from the shoare, the winde being at South and
 by East, but still misty.

Monday at an East sunne we sounded, and had 40 fadomes, and oze, still misty: at noone wee
 sounded againe, and had 36 fadome, still misty.

10

Tuesday at an Eastnortheast sunne we let fall our anker in thre and twenty fadome, the mist
 still continuing.

11

Wednesday at thre of the clocke in the morning the mist brake by, the wind being at North-
 east & by East, and then we saw part of the Islands of Vaigats, which we bare withall, and went
 Eastsoutheast close by the winde: at a West sunne we were at an anker vnder the Southwest
 part of the said Vaigats, and then I sent our skiffe to shoare with thre men in her, to see if they
 might speake with any of the Samoeds, but could not: all that day was raine, but not windie.

12

They land by
 on Vaigatz.

Thursday the wind came Westerly, so that we were faine to secke vs another place to ride in,
 because the wind came a sea boord land, and although it were misty, yet wee followed the shoare
 by our lead: and as we brought land in the winde of vs, we let fall our anker. At a West sunne

10

the mist brake up, so that we might see about vs, and then we might perceiue that we were entred into a sound.

This afternoone weooke in two or three skiffes lading of stones to balast our shippe withall, It byeth here foure foot water, and floweth by fits, vncertaine to be iudged.

14
The vncertaine
of ebbing &
flowing.

Ifriday we roade still in the sound, the wind at South west, with very much raine, and at the end of the raine it wared againe mistie.

15

Saturday there was much winde at West, and much raine, and then againe mistie.

16

Sunday was very mistie, and much winde.

17

Munday very mistie, the winde at Westnorthwest.

18

Tuesday was also mistie, except at noone: then the sunne brake out through the mist, so that we had the latitude in 70 degrees 10 minutes: the afternoone was misty againe, the wind being at Westnorthwest.

19

Wednesday at three of the clocke afternoone the mist brake up, & the wind came at Eastnortheast, and then we weyed, and went South & by East, vntil seuen of the clocke, eight leagues, thinking to haue had sight of the sandie hilles that are to the Eastwards of the riuer Pechora. At a North west sunne we took in our maine saile, because the wind increased, & went with a fore saile Westnorthwest, the wind being at Eastnortheast: at night there grewe so terrible a storme, that we saw not the like, although we had indured many stormes since we came out of England. It was wonderfull that our barke was able to brooke such monstrous & terrible seas, without the great helpe of God, who neuer sayleth them at neede, that put their sure trust in him.

20

They were
within 15
leagues of
Pechora

Thursday at a Southsouthwest sunne, thanks be to God, the storme was at the highest, & then the winde began to flake, and came Northerly withall, & then I reckoned the Westermost point of the riuer Pechora to be South of vs 15 leagues. At a Westsouthwest sunne we set our maine saile, and lay close by the winde, the winde being at North west and by North, making but little way, because the billow went so high: at midnight wee cast about, and the shippe caped Northnortheast, making little way.

21

Ifriday at noone we had the latitude in 70 degrees 8 minutes, and we sounded, and had 29 fadomes sand, and in maner stremy ground. At a West sunne we cast about to the Westwards, and a litle after the wind came vp at West.

22

Saturday was calme: the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees and a cerce, we sounded heere, and had nine and forty fadomes and oze, which oze signified that we drez towards Noua Zembla.

And thus we being out of all hope to discouer any moze to the Eastward this yeere, wee thought it best to returne, and that for three causes.

They returne
the 22 of August.

The first, the continuall North east and Northerly winds, which haue moze power after a man is past to the Eastwards of Caninoze, then in any place that I doe know in these Northerly regions.

Second, because of great and terrible abundance of ice which we saw with our eyes, and we doubt greater soze abideth in those parts: I aduentured already some what too farre in it, but I thanke God for my safe deliurance from it.

Third, because the nights wared darke, and the winter began to draw on with his stormes: and therefore I resolued to take the first best wind that God should send, and plye towards the bay of S. Nicholas, and to see if we might do any good there, if God would permit it.

24

This present Saturday we saw very much ice, and were within two or three leagues of it: it thewed vnto vs as though it had bene a firme land as farre as we might see from North west off vs to the Eastwards: and this afternoone the Lord sent vs a litle gale of wind at South, so that we bare cleere off the Westermost part of it, thanks be to God. And then against night it wared calme againe, and the winde was at South west: we made our way vntill Sunday noone North west and by West, and then we had the latitude in 70 degrees and a halfe, the winde at South west: there was a billow, so that we could not discern to take the latitude exactly, but by a reasonable gesse.

25

Munday there was a pretie gale of wind at South, so that wee went West and by South, the latitude this day at noone was 70 degrees 10 minutes: wee had litle winde all day: at a Westnorthwest sunne we sounded, and had 29 fadomes blacke sandie oze, & then we were North east 5 leagues from the Northeast part of the Island Colgoieue.

26

Tuesday the wind all Westerly we plyed to the wind wards.

27

Wednesday the wind was all Westerly, and calme: wee had the latitude this day in 70 degrees 10 minutes, we being within three leagues of the North part of the Island Colgoieue.

28

Thursday, we went roome about the Westermost part of the Island, seeking where we might finde

finde a place to ride in for a North west wind, but could find none, and then we cast about againe to the seawards, and the winde came at Westsouthwest, and this morning we had plenty of Inow.

Friday, the winde being at Southwest and by West, we plied to the windewards.

29

Saturday, the winde being at South, we plied to the Westwards, and at afternoone the mist brake vp, and then we might see the land seuen or eight leagues to the Eastwards of Caninoz: we sounded a litle before and had 35. fathoms and oze. And a while after wee sounded againe, and had 19. fadome and land: then we were within three leagues and a halfe of the Shore, and towards night there came downe so much winde, that we were faine to bring our ship a trie, and laide her head to the Westwards.

Sunday, the winde became moze caline, and then it wared verie mystie: At noone wee cast about to the Eastwards, the winde beeing at South, and ranne eight houres on that boozde, and then we cast about and rayed West south west: we sounded and had 32. fathomes, and tough oaze like clay.

30

Munday, we doubled about Caninoze, and came at an anker there, to the intent that we might kill some fish if God would permit it, and there we gate a great Masse, which Masses were there so plentie, that they would scarcely suffer any other fish to come neere the hookes: the said Masses carried away sundrie of our hookes and leads.

31

A litle after at a West Sunne, the winde began to blow stormie at West south west, so that we were faine to wey and forsake our fishing ground, and went close by the winde Southwest, and Southwest and by West, making our way South south west.

September.

Tuesday at a West Sunne we sounded and had 20. fathoms, and broken Wilkeshels: I reckoned Canonize to be 24 leagues Northnorth east from vs.

1

The elcuenth day we arrived at Colmogro, and there we wintered, expecting the approach of the next Sommer to procede farther in our intended discouerie for the Ob: which (by reason of our imployments to Warehouse the next spring for the search of some English ships) was not accordingly performed.

11

Certaine notes vnperfectly written by Richard Iohnson seruant

to Master Richard Chancelour, which was in the discouerie of Vaigatz

and Nona Zembla, with Steven Burrowe in the Serchthrift 1556, and afterwarde among the Samoedes, whose deuillish rites hee

1556

describeth.

Tirst, after we departed out of England we fell wth Norway, and on that coste lieth Northbern or Northbergen, and this people are vnder the King of Denmarke: But they differ in their speech from the Danes, for they speake North. And North of Northbern lie the Isles of Roste and Lofoor, and these Islands pertaine vnto Finmarke, and they keepe the lawes and speake the language of the Islanders. And at the Eastermost part of that land is a castle which is called the Ward house, and the King of Denmarke doeth fortifie it with men of warre: and the Russes may not goe to the Westward of that castle. And East Southeast from that castle is a lande called Lappia: in which lande be two maner of people, that is to say, the Lappians, and the Scrickfinnes, which Scrickfinnes are a wilde people which neither know God, nor yet good order: and these people liue in tents made of Deares Skines: and they haue no certaine habitations, but continue in herds and companies by one hundred and two hundreds. And they are a people of small stature, and are clothed in Deares Skines, and drinke nothing but water, and eat no bread but flesh all raw. And the Lappians be a people adioyning to them & be much like to them in al conditions: but the Emperour of Russia hath of late ouercome manie of them, and they are in subiection to him. And this people will say that they beleene in the Russes God. And they liue in tents as the other doe. And Southeast and by South from Lappia lyeth a prouince called Corelia, and these people are called Kerilli. And South southeast from Corelia lyeth a countrey called Nouogardia, And these three nations are vnder the Emperour of Russia, and the Russes keepe the Lawe of the Grekes in their Churches; and write somewhat like as the Grekes write, and they speake their owne language, and they abhorre the Latine tongue, neither haue they to doe with the Pope of Rome, and they holde it not good to worshippe any carried Image, yet they will worshippe paynted Images on tables or boozdes. And in Russia their Churches,

Norway.

Roste & Lofoor.
Finmarke.

Warehouse.

Lappia.
The Scrick-
finnes.

The Lappians.

Corelia.

Nouogardia.
The Russes.

Tartaria.

Lampas a mart
of faire of the
Russes, Tar-
tars and Sa-
moeds.
The Samoeds
countrey.
S, Pechora,
Vaigatz.

Nova Zembla.
Store of foule.
White fores.
White beares.

The manner of
the Samoeds
sacrifices, a-
bout the riuer
of Pechere.

ches, treepies, and houses are all of wood: and their shippes that they haue are sowed with wiches and haue no nayles. The Kerisses, Russians and Dolcouians bee much alike in all conditions. And South from the Dolcouians lyeth the Tartarians, which bee Mahumetans, and liue in tentes and wagons, and keepe in herdes and companies: and they holde it not good to abide long in one place, for they will say, when they will curse any of their childe, I would thou mightest tary so long in a place that thou mightest smell thine owne dung, as the Christians doe: and this is the greatest curse that they haue. And East North-east of Russia lieth Lampas, which is a place where the Russes, Tartars and Samoeds meete twice a yeere, and make the faire to barter wares for wares. And North-east from Lampas lieth the countrey of the Samoeds, which be about the riuer of Pechere, and these Samoeds bee in subiection to the Emperour of Russia, and they lie in tentes made of Deere skimes, and they vse much witchcraft, and shoot well in bowes. And North-east from the riuer Pechere lieth Vaygarz, and there are the wilde Samoeds which will not suffer the Russes to land out of the Sea, but they will kill them and eate them, as wee are tolde by the Russes: and they liue in herdes, and haue all their carriages with deere, for they haue no horses. Beyond Vaygarz lyeth a lande called Nova Zembla, which is a great lande, but wee sawe no people, and there wee had foule enough, and there wee sawe white Fores and white Beares. And the sayde Samoeds which are about the bankes of Pechere, which are in subiection to the Emperour of Russia, when they will remoue from one place to another, then they will make sacrifices in manner following. Euerie kinred doeth sacrifice in their owne tent, and hee that is most auncient is their Priest. And first the Priest doeth beginne to playe upon a thing like to a great heue, with a skinn on the one ende like a drumme: and the stick that he playeth with is about a spanne long, and one ende is round like a ball, couered with the skinn of an Hart. Also the Priest hath upon his head a thing of white like a garlande, and his face is couered with a piece of a shirt of maile, with manie small ribbes, and teeth of fishes, and wilde beastes hanging on the same maile. Then hee singeth as wee vse heere in Englande to hallow, or shouere at houndes, and the rest of the company answer him with this Dwtis, Igha, Igha, Igha, and then the Priest replieth againe with his voyces. And they answer him with the selfelame wordes so manie times, that in the ende he becommeth as it were madde, and falling downe as hee were dead, hauing nothing on him but a shirt, lying vpon his backe I might perceiue him to breathe. I asked them why hee lay so, and they answered mee, Nowe doeth our God tell him what wee shall doe, and whither wee shall goe. And when he had lye still a litle while, they cried thus thre times together, Oghao, Oghao, Oghao, and as they vse these thre calles, hee risseth with his head and lieth downe againe, and then hee rose vp and sang with like voyces as hee did before: and his audience answered him, Igha, Igha, Igha. Then hee commaunded them to kill fise Dens or great Deere, and continued singing still both hee and they as before. Then hee tooke a sward of a cubite and a spanne long; (I did meete it my selfe) and put it into his bellie halfe way and sometime lesse, but no wounde was to be seene, (they continuing in their sweete song still) Then he put the sward into the fire till it was warme, and so thrust it into the slitte of his shirt and thrust it through his bodie, as I thought, in at his nauill and out of his fundament: the poynt being out of his shirt behinde, I layde my finger vpon it, then hee pulled out the sward and sate downe. This beeing done, they set a kettle of water ouer the fire to heate, and when the water doeth see the, the Priest beginneth to sing againe they answering him, for so long as the water was in heating, they sate and sang not. Then they made a thing being foure square, and in height and squarenesse of a chaire, and couered with a gown very close the forepart therof, for the hinder part stood to the tents side. Their tents are rounde and are called Chome in their language. The water still see the on the fire, and this square seate being ready, the Priest put off his shirt, and the thing like a garland which was on his head, with those things which couered his face, & he had on yet all this while a paire of hosen of deeres skins with hair on, which came vpon his buttocks, so he went into the square seate, and sate down like a tailour and sang with a strong voyce or halowing. Then they tooke a small line made of deeres skines of foure fathoms long, and with a small knotte the Priest made it fast about his necke, and vnder his left arme, and gaue it vnto two men standing on both sides of him, which held the ends together. Then the kettle of hote water was set before him in the square seate, at this time the square seate was not couered, and then it was couered w a gown of broad cloth without lining, such as the Russes do weare. Then the 2. men which did hold the ends of the line still standing there, began to draw, & drew till they had drawn the ends of the line tisse and together, and then I hearde a thing fall into the kettle of water which was before him in the tent, Therupon I asked them that sate by me what it was that fell into the water that stood before him, And they answered me, that it was his head, his shoulder and left arme, which the line had

cut off, I meane the knot which I sawe afterwarde drawen hard together. Then I rose vp and would haue looked whether it were so or not, but they laid hold on me, and said, that if they should see him with their bodily eyes, they should lue no longer. And the most part of them can speake the Russe tongue to bee understood: and they tooke me to be a Russian. Then they beganne to hallow with these wordes, Oghao, Oghao, Oghao, many times together. And as they were thus singing & outcailing, I sawe a thing like a finger of a man two times together thrust through the gowne from the Priest. I asked them that late next to me what it was that I sawe, and they saide, not his finger; for he was yet dead: and that which I sawe appeare through the gowne was a beast, but what beast they knew not nor would not tell. And I looked vpon the gowne, and there was no hole to bee seene: and then at the last the Priest lifted vp his head with his shoulder and arme, and all his bodie, and came forth to the fire. Thus farre of their seruice which I sawe during the space of certaine houres: but how they doe worship their Idoles that I sawe not: for they put vp their suffes to remoue from that place where they lay. And I went to him that serued the Priest, and asked him what their God saide to him when he lay as dead. He answered, that his owne people doeth not know, neither is it for them to know: for they must doe as he commanded. This I sawe the fift day of Ianuarie in the yere of our Lord 1556. after the English account.

A discourse of the honourable receiuing into England of the first Ambassador from the Emperour of Russia, in the yeere of Christ

1556, and in the third yeere of the raigene of Queene Marie, seruing for the third voyage to Moscome. Registred by Master John Incent Protonotarie.

IT is here recozded by writing and autenticall testimonie, partly for memoize of things done, and partly for the veritie to be knowen to posteritie in time to come, that where as the most high and mightie Iuan Vasiluich Emperour of all Russia, gre at Duke of Volodemer, Moscouia and Nouogrode, Emperour of Cassan, and of Astrachan, Lord of Pleskie, and great Duke of Smolenskie, Tuerskie, Yowgoriskie, Permskie, Viatskie, Bolgarskie, and Sibierskie, Emperour and great Duke of many others, as Nouogrode in the nether countreies, Chernigoskie, Rezenskie, Polodskie, Rezewskie, Bielskie, Rostoskie, Yeraslaueskie, Bealozarskie, Oudarskie, Obdorskie, Condenskie, and manie other countreies, and lord ouer all those partes, in the yere of our Lord God, folowing the account of y Latin church, 1556. sent by the sea from the port of S. Nicholas in Russia, his right honorable ambassador surnamed Osep Napea, his high officer in the towne and countrey of Vologda, to the most famous and excellent princes, Philip and Mary by the grace of God, king and Queene of England, Spaine, France and Ireland, defenders of the faith, Archdukes of Austria, dukes of Burgundie, Millaine, & Brabant, counties of Haspurge, Flanders and Tyroll, his ambassador & Orator with certaine letters tenderly conceiued, together with cert ain presents and gifts mentioned in the foot of this memorial, as a manifest argument and token of a mutual amity and friendship to be made and continued betweene their maiesties & subiects respectiuelly, for the commoditie and benefit of both the realmes and people: which Orator was the 20. day of July imbarked and shipped in, and vpon a good English ship named the Edward Bonauenture, belonging to the Gouernor, Consuls and company of English marchants, Richard Chancellor being grand Pilot, and Iohn Buckland master of the said ship. In which was laden at the aduenture of the foresaid Ambassador, and marchants at severall accounts, goods & merchandizes, viz. in ware, trane oyle, tallow, fures, felts, yarne and such like, to the summe of 20000. li. sterling, together with 16. Russies attendant vpon the person of the said Ambassador.ouer and aboue ten other Russies shipped within the said Bay of S. Nicholas, in one other good ship to the said company also belonging called the Bona Speranza, with goods of the said Orators & marchants to the value of 6000. li. sterling, as by the inuoyces and letters of lading of the said severall ships (wherunto relation is to be had) particularly appeareth. Which good ships comming in good order into the seas, & traueling the same in their iourney towards the coast of England, were by contrary winds and extreme tempests of weather seuered the one from the other, that is to say, the saide Bona Speranza with two other English ships also appertaining to the saide company, the one surnamed the Philip and Mary, the other the Confidentia, were driuen on the coast of Norway, into Drenton water, where the saide Confidentia was seene to perish on a Rocke, and the other, videlicet, the Bona Speranza, with her whole company, being to the number of foure and twentie persons seemed to winter there, wherof no certaintie at this present day is knowen. The third, videlicet, the Philip and Mary arriued in the Thames nigh London the eighteenth day of April, in the yere of our

four ships.

The Edward Bonaventure arriv'd in Scotland, in the Bay of Perislego, Novemb. 7. 1556.

Rich. Chancellor drown'd.

Lozd one thousand five hundred fiftie and seven. The Edward Bonaventure traivering the seas foure moneths, finally the tenth day of November of the aforesaide yeere of our Lozde one thousand five hundred, fiftie and sixe, arriv'd within the Scottish coast in a Bay named Perislego, where by outrageous tempests, and extreme stormes, the said ship being brazen from her ground tackles, was driven upon the rockes on shoze, where she brake and split in pieces in such sort, as the grand Pilot using all carefulness for the safetie of the bodie of the sayde Ambassadour and his trayne, taking the boat of the said ship, trusting to attaine the shoze, and so to save and preserve the bodie, and seven of the companie or attendants of the saide Ambassadour, the same boat by rigorous waues of the seas, was by darke night overwelmed and drowned, wherein perished not only the bodie of the said grand Pilot, with seven Russes, but also divers of the Partners of the sayd ship: the noble personage of the saide Ambassadour with a fewe others (by Gods preservation and speciall favour) onely with much difficultie saved. In which shipwacke not onely the saide shippe was broken, but also the whole masse and bodie of the goods laden in her, was by the rude and ravenous people of the Countrey therunto adioyning, rifled, spoyled and caried away, to the manifest losse and utter destruction of all the lading of the said ship, and together with the ship, apparell, ordnance and furniture belonging to the companie, in value of one thousand pounds, of all which was not restozed toward the colts and charges to the summe of five hundred pound sterling.

As soone as by letters address'd to the said companie, and in London delivred the first of December last past, it was to them certainly knowen of the losse of their Pilote, men, goods and ship, the same merchants with all celeritie and expedition, obtained not onely the Queenes maiesties most gracious and favourable letters to the Ladie Dowager, and lordes of the Councell of Scotland for the gentle comfortment and entertainment of the saide Ambassadour, his traine and companie, with preservation and restitution of his goods, as in such miserable cases, to Christian pitie, princely honour and meere Justice appertaineth, but also address'd two Gentlemen of good learning, grauitie and estimation, videlicet, Master Lawrence Huffie Doctor of the Ciuill Lawe, and George Gilpin with money and other requisites into the Realme of Scotland, to comfort, ayde, assist, and relieue him and his there, and also to conduct the Ambassadour into England, sending with them by poste a Talmach or Speechman for the better furniture of the service of the sayde Ambassadour, trusting thereby to haue the more ample and speedie redresse of restitution: which personages using diligence, arriv'd at Edenborough (where the Queenes court was) the thre and twentieth day of the saide moneth of December, who first visitting the saide Ambassadour, declaring the causes of their coming and Commission, shewing the letters address'd in his favour, the order giuen them for his solace and furniture of all such things as hee woulde haue, together with their daily and readie service to attend upon his person and affaires, repaired consequently unto the Dowager Queene, deliivering the letters.

Whereupon they receiv'd gentle answers, with hope and comfort of speedie restitution of the goods, apparell, jewels and letters: for the more apparance whereof, the Queene sent first certaine Commissioners with an Harold of armes to Perislego, the place of the Shipwacke, commanding by Proclamation and other Edictes, all such persons (no degree excepted) as had any part of such goods as were spoyled and taken out of the ship to bring them in, and to restoze the same with such further order as her grace by advise of her Councel thought expedient: by reason whereof not without great labours, paines and charges (after long time) divers small parcels of Ware, and other small trifling things of no value, were by the poorer sort of the Scottes brought to the Commissioners, but the Jewels, rich apparell, presents, gold, silver, costly furrtes, and such like, were convey'd away, concealed and utterly embezelled. Whereupon, the Queene at the request of the said Ambassadour, caused divers persons to the number of 180. or moe, to be called personally befoze her princely presence, to answer to the said spoile, & really to exhibite and bring in all such things as were spoyled and violently taken, & caried out of the same, whereof not onely good testimonie by writing was shew'd, but also the things themselves found in the hands of the Scottish subiects, who by subtilie and craftie dealings, by connivence of the commissioners, so used or rather abused themselves towards the same Draco & his attendants, that no effectuall restitution was made: but he fatigat'd with daily attendance and charges, the 14. day of february next ensuing, distrusting any reall and effectuall restozing of the saide goods and marchandizes and other the premises, upon leave obtained of the saide Queene, departed towards England, having attending upon him the said two English Gentlemen and others (leaving neuertheless in Scotland thre Englishmen to pursue the delivrie of such things as were collected to haue bene sent by ship to him in England: which being in April next, and not

His departure from Scotland towards England.

before

before imbarked for London, was not at this present day here arriv'd) came the 18. day of February to Bar wike within the dominion and realme of England, where he was by the Queenes maiesties letters and commandement honourably receiued, used and intertained by the right honourable lord Wharton, lord Warden of the East marches, with goodly conducting from place to place, as the dayly iourneys done ordinarily did lie, in such order, maner and forme, as to a personage of such estate appertaineth. He profecuting his voyage until the 27. of February approached to the citie of London within twelve English miles, where he was receiued with four score merchants with chaines of gold and goodly apparell, as wel in order of men seruants in one waiforne liuerie, as also in and vpon good hozles and geldings, who conducting him to a marchants house foure miles from London, receiued there a quanttie of gold, veluet and silke, with all furniture therunto requisite, where with he made him a riding garment, reposing himselfe that night. The next day being Saturday and the last day of February, he was by the merchants' aduencuring for Russia, to the number of one hundred and foztie persons, and so many or more seruants in one liuerie, as abouesaid, conducted towards the citie of London, where by the way he had not onely the hunting of the fore and such like sport shewed him, but also by the Queenes maiesties commandement was receiued and embazied by the right honourable Viscount Montague, sent by her grace for his entertainment: he being accompanied with diuers lustie knights, esquires, gentlemen and yeomen to the number of three hundred hozles led him to the North partes of the Citie of London, where by foure notable merchants richly apparellled was presented to him a right faire and large gelding richly trapped, together with a footcloch of Orient crimson veluet, enriched with gold laces, all furnished in most gloriois fashion, of the present; and gift of the sayde merchants: where vpon the Ambassadour at instant desire mounted, riding on the way towards Smithfield barres, the first limites of the liberties of the Citie of London. The Lord Mayor accompanied with all the Aldermen in their skarlet did receiue him, and so riding through the Citie of London in the middle, betweene the Lord Mayor and Viscount Montague, a great number of merchants and notable personages riding before, and a large troupe of seruants and apprentices following, was conducted through the Citie of London (with great admiration and plausibilitie of the people running plentifully on all sides, and replenishing all streets in such sort as no man without pitticullie might passe) into his lodging situate in Saint church Greece, where were provided for him two chambers richly hanged and decked, ouer and aboue the gallant furniture of the whole house, together with an ample and rich cupboord of plate of all sortes, to furnish and serue him at all meales, and other seruices during his abode in London, which was, as is vnderwritten, until the third day of May: during which time daily diuers Aldermen and the grauest personages of the said companie did visite him, providing all kind of victuals for his table and his seruants, with all sorts of Officers to attend vpon him in good sort and condition, as to such an ambassadour of honour doeth and ought to appertaine.

It is also to be remembred that at his first entrance into his chamber, there was presented vnto him on the Queenes Maiesties behalfe for a gift and present, and his better furniture in apparel, one rich piece of cloth of tissue, a piece of cloth of golde, another piece of cloth of golde raised with crimosin veluet, a piece of crimosin veluet in graine, a piece of purple veluet; a piece of Damask purple, a piece of crimosin damaske, which he most thankfully accepted. In this beautifull lodging refreshing and preparing himselfe and his traine with things requisite he abode, expecting the kings maiesties repaire out of Flanders into England, whose highnesse arriuing the one and twentieth of March, the same Ambassadour the five and twentieth of March being the Annunciation of our Ladie (the day tweluenometh he tooke his leaue from the Emperour his master) was most honourably brought to the King and Queenes maiesties court at Westminster, where accompanied first with the said Viscount and other notable personages, and the merchants, hee arriuing at Westminster bridge, was there receiued with sixe lords, conducted into a stately chamber, where by the lords, Chancellor, Treasurer, Priuie seale, Admirall, bishop of Elie, and other Counsellors, hee was visited and saluted: and consequently was brought vnto the Kings and Queenes maiesties presence, sitting vnder a stately cloth of honour, the chamber most richly decked and furnished, and most honourably presented. Where, after that hee had deliuered his letters, made his Oration, given two timber of Sables, and the report of the same made both in English and Spanish, in most louing maner embazied, was with much honour and high entertainment, in sight of a great confluence of people, Lordes and Ladies chifsoones remitted by water to his former lodging, to the which, within two dayes after by the assignement of the King and Queenes maiesties, repaired and conferred with him secretly two graue Counsellors, that is, the lord Bishop of Elie, and Sir William Peter Knight, chiefe Secretary to their Highnesse, who after diuers secret talks and conferences, reported to their highnesse their proceedings, the gra-
His honorable
receiving into
the citie of
London.

uitie, wisdom, and stately behaviour of the sayd Ambassadour, in such sort as was much to their maiesties contentations.

A league and articles of amitie concluded and confirmed by the great seale of England.

Finally concluding vpon such treaties and articles of amitie, as the letters of the Kings and Queenes maiesties most graciously vnder the great seale of England to him by the sayd counsellors deliuered, doth appeare.

The thre and twentieth of April, being the feast of S. George, wherein was celebrated the Solemnitie of the Noble order of the Garter at Westminster, the same lord ambassadour was estoones required to haue audience: and therefore conducted from the sayd lodging to the court by the right Noble the lords Talbot and Lumley to their maiesties presence: where, after his Oration made, and thanks both giuen and receiued, hee most honourably tooke his leaue with commendations to the Emperour. Which being done, he was with special honour led into the chappell, where before the Kings and Queenes maiesties, in the sight of the whole Order of the Garter, was prepared for him a stately seate, wherein he accompanied with the Duke of Norfolk, the lords last aboue mentioned, and many other honorable personages, was present at the whole seruice, in ceremonies which were to him most acceptable: the diuine seruice ended, he estoones was remitted and reduced to his barge, and so repaired to his lodging, in like order and gratulation of the people vniuersally, as before.

Four goodly ships of the merchants provided for Russia, 1557.

The time of the yeere hastning the profection and departure of the Ambassadour, the merchants hauing prepared foure goodly and well trimmed shippes laden with all kinds of merchandises apt for Russia, the same Ambassadour making prouision for such things as him pleased, the same ships in good order valed downe the Riuer of Thames, from London to Grauesend, where the same Ambassadour with his traine and furniture was imbarked to wards his voyage homeward, which God prosper in all felicitie.

It is also to be remembred, that during the whole abode of the sayd Ambassadour in England, the Agents of the sayde marchants did not onely prosecute and pursue the matter of restitution in Scotland, and caused such things to be laden in an English shippe hired purposely to conuey the Ambassadours goods to London, there to be deliuered to him, but also during his abode in London, did both inuite him to the May, and diuers worshopfull mens houses, feasting and banquetting him right friendly, shewing vnto him the most notable and commendable sights of London, as the kings palace and house, the Churches of Westminster and Powles, the Tower and Guild hall of London, and such like memorizable spectacles. And also the said 29. day of April, the said merchants assembling themselves together in the house of the Drapers hal of London, exhibited and gaue vnto y^e said Ambassadour, a notable supper garnished with musike, Enterludes and bankets: in the which a cup of wine being drunke to him in the name and lieu of the whole companie, it was signified to him that the whole companie with most liberal and friendly hearts, did frankly giue to him and his all manner of costs and charges in victuals riding from Scotland to London during his abode there, and untill setting of saile aboord the ship, requesting him to accept the same in good part as a testimonie and witness of their good hearts, zeale and tenderesse towards him and his countrie.

It is to be considered that of the Bona Speranza no word nor knowledge was had at this present day, nor yet of the arriual of the ships or goods from Scotland.

The third of May the Ambassadour departed from London to Grauesend, accompanied with diuers Aldermen and merchants, who in good gard set him aboord the noble shippe, the Primrose Admiral to the fleete, where leaue was taken on both sides and parts, after many embracements and diuers farewells not without expressing of teares.

The King and Queenes letters to the Emperour of Russia.

Memorandum, that the first day of May the Counsellors, videlicet, the Bishop of Elye, and Sir William Peter on the behalfe of the Kings and Queenes Maiesties repairing to the lord Ambassadour did not onely deliuer vnto him their highnes letters of recommendations vnder the great seale of England to the Emperour, very tenderly and friendly wyritten, but also on their maiesties behalfe gaue and deliuered certaine notable presents to the Emperours person, and also gifts for the lord Ambassadours proper vse and behoofe, as by the particulars vnder wyitten appeareth, with such further good wordes and commendations, as the more friendly haue not bin heard, whereby it appeareth how well affected their honours be to haue and continue amitie and traffique betwene their honours and their subiects: which thing as the kings and Queenes maiesties haue shewed of their princely munificences & liberalities, so haue likewise the merchants and fellowship of the Adventurers, for and to Russia, manifested to the world their good willes, mindes and zeales borne to this new commenfed voyage, as by the discourse aboue mentioned, and other the notable actes ouer long to be recited in this present memoriaziall, doeth and may most clearly

clearly appeare, the like whereof is not in any president or hiltorie to bee shewed.

Forasmuch as it may bee doubted how the ship named the Edward Bonauenture suffered shipwracke, what became of the goods, howe much they were spoiled and deteined, howe little restored, what charges and expences ensued, what personages were drowned, howe the rest of the ships either arriued or perished, or howe the disposition of almightie God hath wrought his pleasure in them, howe the same ambassadour hath bene after the miserable case of shipwracke in Scootland unreuerently abused, and consequently into England receiued and conducted, there intertaind, vsed, honoured, and finally in good safetie towards his returne, and repaire furnished, and with much liberalitie and franke handling friendly dismissed, to the intent that the trueth of the premises may bee to the most mightie Emperour of Ruffia sincerely signified in eschewment of all euents and misfortunes that may chauce in this voyage (which God defend) to the Ambassadours person, traine, and goods, this present memoziall is written, and authentically made, and by the sayde Ambassadour his seruants, whose names be vnderwritten, and traine in presence of the Notarie, and witnesses vndernamed, recognized, and acknowledged. Given the day, moneth, and yeere vnderwritten, of which instrument into euery of the sayde Shippes one testimoniall is deliuered, and the first remaineth with the sayde Companie in London.

**Giftes sent to the King and Queenes Maiesties of England
by the Emperour of Ruffia, by the report of the Ambassadour, and
spoiled by the Scots after the Shipwracke.**

- 1 First, sixe timber of Sables rich in colour and haire.
- 2 Item, twentie entire Sables exceeding beautifull with teeth, eares and claws.
- 3 Item, foure lining Sables with chaines and collars.
- 4 Item, thirtie Lufarnes large and beautifull.
- 5 Item, sixe large and great skinnes very rich and rare, woyme onely by the Emperour for woorthinesse.
- 6 Item, a large and faire white Herfawron for the wilde Swanne, Crane, Goole, and other great Fowles, together with a drumme of silver, the hoopes gilt, vled for a lure to call the sayd Hawke.

**Giftes sent to the Emperour of Ruffia by the King and
Queenes Maiesties of England.**

- 1 First, two rich pieces of cloth of Tissue.
- 2 Item, one fine piece of Scarlet.
- 3 Item, one fine Violet in graine.
- 4 Item, one fine Azur cloth.
- 5 Item, a notable paire of Bygandines with a Hurrian couered with Crimson velvet and gilt nailles.
- 6 Item, a Male and Female Lions.

**Giftes giuen to the Ambassadour at his departure, ouer and
about such as were deliuered vnto him at his first arriuall.**

- 1 First, a chaine of golde of one hundred pound.
- 2 Item, a large Balon and Cwer, silver and gilt.
- 3 Item, a paire of pottle pots gilt.
- 4 Item, a paire of flaggons gilt.

The names of all such Russies as were attendant vpon the
Ambassadour, at and before his departure out of England.


Isaak Fweßcheneke.
Demerre.
Gorbolones,
Symonde.
Yeroffia,
Stephen.
Lowca.
Andria.
Foma.

Memorandum, the day and yeere of our Lord aboute mentioned, in the house of the worshipfull Iohn Dimmocke Citizen and Draper of London, situate within the famous Citie of London in the Realme of England, the aboute named honourable Osep Gregorywich Napea Ambassadour and Orator aboute mentioned, personally constituted and present, having declared vnto him by the mouth of the right worshipfull master Anthonie Hussie Esquire, the effect of the causes and contents, of, and in this booke, at the interpretation of Robert Best his interpreter, sworne, recognized, and knowledged in presence of me the Notarie & personages vnderwritten, the contents of this booke to be true, as well for his owne person as for his seruants aboute named, who did not subscribe their names as is aboute mentioned, but onely recognized the same. In witnesse whereof, I Iohn Incent Notarie Publike, at the request of the said Master Anthonie Hussie, and other of the Merchants haue to these presents vnderwritten set my accustomed signe, with the Subscription of my name, the day and yeere aboute written, being present the right Worshipfull,

Andrew Iudde.
George Barne. } Knights.
William Chester. } Aldermen of London:
Rafe Greeneaway. }
Iohn Merth Esquier.
Iohn Dimmock.
Blase Sanders.
Hubert Hussie, and
Robert Best aboute mentioned.

The voyage of the foresaid M. Stephen Burrough, An. 1557. from
Colmogro to Wardhouse, which was sent to seeke the Bona Esperanza, the Bona Confidentia, and the Philip and Mary, which were not heard of the yeere before.

May.

- 23 pon Sunday the 23. of May, I departed with the Searchpist from Colmogro, the latitude whereof is 64. degrees, 25. minutes, and the variation of the compasse, 5. degrees, 10. minutes from the North to the East.
- 26 Wednesday we came to the Island called Pozanka, which Island is within foure leagues of the barre Berouzoua. It floweth here at an East and by South Hoone full sea.
- 29 Saturday in the morning we departed from Pozanka, and plied to the barre of Berouzoua Gooba, whereupon we came to anker at a lowe water, and sounded the said Barre with our two Skiffes, and found in the best vpon the shoaldest of the barre 13. foote water by the rule. It higheth vpon this barre, in spring streames 3. foote water: and an East Hoone maketh a full sea vpon this barre.
- 30 Sunday in the morning wee departed from the barre of Berouzoua, and plied along by the shoals in five fadome, vntill I had sight of S. Nicholas roade, and then wee cast about to the Northwards, and went with a hommocke, which is halfe a mile to the Eastwards of Coia Recca, which hommocke and S. Nicholas abbey lye Southsouthwest, and Northnortheast, and betweene

twene them are 11. leagues. Coia Reca is halfe a mile to the Eastwards of Coscaynos, Coscaynos is the middes of the Island called Mondeuſtona oſtroue, which is thwart of the barre of Berozoua lieth South and by East, North and by West, and betweene them are 4. leagues, or as you may say from the Scaboord part of the barre to Coscaynos are 3. leagues and a halfe.

Sunday at a North east and by East sunne we were thwart of Coscaynos.

Dogs nose lieth from Coscaynos Northnorthwest, and betweene them are eight leagues; and Dogs nose sheweth like a Turners head, if you be inwardly on both sides of it: on the lowe point of Dogs nose there standeth a crosse alone.

June.

From Dogs nose to Forenose are three leagues, North and by West.

The 2. day of June I went on shoare 2. miles to the Northwards of Dogs nose, and had the latitude of that place in 65. degrees, 47. minutes. It floweth a shoare at this place, at an East Hoone full sea, and the Shippe lay thwart to wende a flood, in the off, at a Southsoutheast moone. So that it is to be vnderſtoode, that when it is a full sea on the shoare, it is two points to ebbe, before it be a lowe water in the off. The variation of the Compasse at this place is 4. degrees from the North to the East.

This day the Northnorthwest winde put vs backe againe with Dogs nose, where a ship may ride thwart of a salt house, in 4. fadome, or 4. fadome and a halfe of water, and haue Landſange for a North and by West winde: which Salt house is halfe a mile to the Southwards of Dogs nose.

Friday at a Southsouthwest Sunne, wee departed from this Salt house. It is to be noted that foure miles to the Northwards of Dogs nose there growe no trees on the banke by the water side: and the bankes consist of fullers earth.ouer the cliffes there growe some trees: so that Dogs nose is the better to be knowen because it is fullers earth, and the like I haue not scene in all that Countrey.

A head of Fore nose a league from the shoare there are 15. fadome: betwixt Fore nose and Zolatitſa there are 6. leagues, I meane the Southerly part of Fore nose.

Sunday I founded the barre of Zolatitſa, which the Russes told me was a good harborow, but in the best of it I found but 4. foote water.

Sunday, I had the latitude in 66. degrees, and then was point Penecost sixe leagues South of vs.

Wednesday I went on land at Crosse Island, and tooke the latitude, which was 66. degrees 24. minutes.

We being one league North east of Crosse Island, I sawe the land on the Eastside, which I iudged to be Cape good fortune, and it was then Eastsoutheast of vs 9. leagues.

Cape grace is 7. leagues and a halfe North east from Crosse Island.

There are 2. Islands 5. leagues Northnorth east from Cape grace, the Southermost of them is a little long Island almost a mile long, and the Northermost a little round Island, and they are both hard aboord the shoare.

Cape Race is from the Southermost Island North and by West, and betweene them are two leagues, and from that and halfe a league Northnorth west, there is another poynt. Betweene which poynt and Cape Race, the Russes haue a Scanauish or harborow for their Lodias: and to the Westwards of the said poynt, there is a shoale bay.

Three leagues and a halfe to Northwards of Cape Race, we had the latitude on the 10. day of this moneth in 67. degrees 10. minutes. Riding within half a league of the shoare in this latitude I found it to be a full sea at a North and by East moone. I had where we roade two and twentie fadome, and the tallow which is taken by is full of great broken shels, and some stones withall like unto small sand congealed together.

From a South sunne that wee weyed, the winde being at North and by East, wee driued to the windwards halfe the ebbe, with the ships head to the Eastwards. And then when we cast her head to the Westwards, we founded, and had 22. fadome broken shels, and gray sand; this present day was very mistie, with frost on the shrowds as the mist fell.

Friday in the morning at an East sunne, the mist brake by a little, the winde being at North and by West a stiff gale, our shrowdes and roapes ouer head being covered with frost, and likely to be a hoyme: I thought it good to seeke an harborow, and so plied roome with the Islands which are two leagues to the Southwards of Cape Race, and within these Islands (thankes bee to God) we found harborow for vs. It higheth at these Islands two fadome water: it floweth in the

Coscaynos.

31

1

2

Dogs nose. The variation of the Compasse 4. degrees.

3

4

Fore nose.

6

Point Penecost.

9

Crosse Island. Cape good fortune.

Cape grace.

Cape Race.

10

Frost in June.

Tri Ostrove.

harbour at this place at a South-southeast moone full sea: and a sea boord it floweth at a South-southwest moone a full sea. The Russes call this Island, Tri Ostrove.

You may come in betwene the little Island and the great Island, and keepe you in the mids of the Sound, and if you boord we on any side, let it bee on the greatest Island, and you shall haue at a low water, foure fadome, and thre fadome and a halfe, and thre fadome, until that you be shot so farre in as the narrowest, which is betwene the Northmost point of the greatest Island, and the Southerne point of the maine which is right against it, and then hale to the Northwards with the crosse which standeth in the maine, and you shall haue at a lowe water 10. foote water, and faire sand. And if you be disposed to goe through the Sound to the Southwards, keepe the Northwest shoare aboord, for on the Island side after you be shotte so farre in as the crosse, it is a shoale of rockes halfe the sound ouer: which rockes do last unto the Southerly part of the great Island, and rather to the Southwards. And if you be constrained to seeke a harbour for Northely windes, when you come out of the sea, hale in with the Southerly part of the great Island, giuing the Island a faire birch, and as you shoote towards the maine, you shall finde roade for all Northely windes, in foure fadome, fūe, sixe and seuen fadome, at a lowe water.

Also within this great Island (if neede bee) you may haue a good place to ground a ship: in the great Island is almost a mile long and a quarter of a mile ouer.

16

Ice.

The variation.

This storme of Northely winde lasted until the 16. of this moneth, and then the winde came Southerly, but we could not get out for Ice. I went on shoare at the crosse, and tooke the latitude, which is 66. degrees, 58. minutes, 30. seconds: the variation of the Compasse 3. degrees and a halfe from the North to the East.

17

This day being faire weather, and the winde at North we plied to the winde-wards with sailes and oares: wee stopped the flood this day thre leagues to the Northwards of Cape Race, two miles from the shoare, and had twentie fadome water, faire gray and blacke sand, and broken shels. And when the flake came wee wayed and made aboord to the shoare-wards, and had within two cables length of the shoare, eighteene fadomes faire gray and blacke sand: a man may finde roade there for a North winde, and so to the Westwards.

18

Two leagues to the Southward of Corpus Christi poynt, you may haue Landfang for a North and by East winde, and from that to the Westwards in 23. fadome almost a mile from shoare, and faire sand, and amongst the sand little pong small limpets, or such like as growe upon muscles: and within two cables length and lesse of the shoare are eighteene fadomes, and the sounding aforesaid, but the pong limpets more plentifull. It was a full sea where we roade, almost a mile from shoare, at a South and by West moone: two leagues to the Southwards of Corpus Christi point is the uttermost land, which land and Cape Race lyeth South and halfe a point to Westwards, and North and halfe a point to the Eastwards, and betwene them are sixe leagues. Riding this day sixe leagues to the Northwards of Cape Race, the winde at North-northwest, with mist and fross, at noone the sunne appeared throughe the mist, so that I had the latitude in 67. degrees, 29. minutes.

19

21
Corpus Christi
popul.

Sunday we were thwart of Corpus Christi point, two leagues and a halfe from shoare, or rather more, where we sounded, and had 36. fadoms, and broken coele shels, with byannie sand, but the broken shels very thicke.

22
Cape Gal
lant.

Tuesday in the morning we were shotte ahead of Cape gallant, which the Russes call Sotinoz. And as we were shot almost halfe a league betwixt it, and Cape comfort, the wind came by at the Northwest, and alter to the Northwards, so that we were faine to beare roome to seeke a harbour, where we found good harbour for all windes, and the least 7. fadome water betwene S. Johns Islands, and the maine.

After that we came to an ancre, we tooke the latitude, which was 68. degrees 1. minute, after noone, the winde at North with plentie of snowe.

At a West sunne there came aboord vs certaine Lappians in a boate, to the number of sixteene persons, and amongst them there were two wenches, and some of them could speake the Russe tongue: I asked them where their abiding was, and they tolde mee that there was a companie or heard of them, to the number of 100. men, besides women and childzen, but a litle from vs in the riuer Iekonga.

They tolde me that they had bene to seeke meate among the rockes, saying, If wee get no meate, wee ate none. I sawe them eate rocke weedes as hungrily, as a cowe doeth grasse when shee is hungrie. I sawe them also eate soules egges rawe, and the pong birdes also that were in the egges.

I obserued

I obserued certaine wordes of their language, which

*I thought good to set downe for their vse, that here-
after shall haue occasion to continue
this voyage.*

C owghtie coreat, what call you this.	Keatykye, a stone.
Poddythecke, come hither.	Sellowpe, siluer.
Auanchythocke, get the hence.	Solda, golde.
Anna, farewell.	Tennae, timme.
Teyruc, good morrowe.	Veskue, copper.
Iomme lemaufes, I thanke you.	Rowadt, yron.
Passeuellie, a friend.	Neybx, a knife.
Olmuelke, a man.	Axlhe, a hatchet.
Capella, a woman.	Leabee, bread.
Alke, a some.	Ieauegoat, meale.
Neit, a daughter, or yong wench.	Pencka, the winde.
Oyuie, a head.	Iowte, A platter.
Cyelme, an eye.	Kemnie, a kettle.
Nenna, a nose.	Keestes, gloues.
Nealma, a mouth.	Sapege, shoes.
Pannea, teeth.	Conde, a wilde Deare.
Neughtrema, a tongue.	Poatfa, the labouring Deare.
Seaman, a beard.	
Pealtec, an eare.	
Teappat, the necke.	
Voapt, the haire.	
Kear, a hand.	
Soarme, fingers.	
Iowlkie, a legge.	
Peelkie, the thombe, or great toe.	
Sarke, wollen cloth.	
Lein, linnen cloth.	
Payte, a shirt.	
Tol, fire.	
Keatse, water.	
Murr, wood.	
Vannace, a boate.	
Arica, an oare.	
Nurr, a roape.	
Peyuc, a day.	
Hyr, a night.	
Peyurzea, the Summe.	
Manna, the Hoone.	
Laste, startes.	
Cozam volka, whither goe you.	
Ottapp, sleepe.	
Tallye, that.	
Keiedde pieue, a weeke.	
Iskie, a peere.	
Kesse, Sommer.	
Talue, Winter.	
Iowksam, colde.	
Parox, warme.	
Abryc, raine.	
Youghang, yre.	

Their wordes of num-
ber are these as fol-
loweth.

O Fte,	1.
Noumpte,	2.
Colme,	3.
Nellye,	4.
Vitte,	5.
Cowte,	6.
Keydeem,	7.
Kastis,	8.
Owghchte,	9.
Locke,	10.
Ostretumbelocke,	11.
Cowghtnumbelocke,	12.
Colmenonbelocke,	13.
Nellynombelocke,	14.
Virtie nombelocke,	15.
Cowtenombelocke,	16.
Keydemnombelocke,	17.
Kastis nombelocke,	18.
Owght nombelocke,	19.
Coffeylocke,	20.
Colmelocke,	30.
Nelly locke,	40.
Vittè locke,	50.
Cowtelocke,	60.
Keydemlocke,	70.
Kassitelocke,	80.
Oughcheteloke,	90.
Tewet,	100.

25 Friday in the morning we departed from Saint Johns Island: to the Westwards thereof,
a mile from the shoare, we sounded, and had 36, fadoms, and oazie sand,

- Iuana Creos.** Iuana Creos is from Cape gallant Westnorthwest, and halfe a point to the Northwards, and betweene them is 7. leagues. The point of the Island, which is Cape comfort, lyeth from Iuana Creos, Northwest and by North, and almost the 3. part of a point to the Westwards, and betweene them are 3. leagues.
- S. Georges Islands.** The Eastermost of S. Georges Islands, or the 7. Islands, lyeth from Iuana Creos North-west, & halfe a point to the Northwards, and betweene them are 14. leagues & a halfe. The uttermost of the 7. Islands, & Cape comfort lieth Northwest, & by North, Southeast, and by South.
- Cape comfort.** Under the Southermost Island you shall finde good roade for all Northerly windes from the Northwest to the Northeast. From the Southeast part of the 7. Islands, vnto the Northwest part of them, are 3. leagues and a halfe.
- S. Peters Islands.** From the Northwest part of the Islands aforesaid, vnto S. Peters Islands, are 11. leagues Northwest.
- 26 S. Peters Islands rise an indifferent low point, not seeming to be an Island, and as if it had a rattle vpon it.
- S. Pauls Islands.** S. Pauls Islands lie from S. Peters Islands Northwest and to the Westwards, and betweene them are 6. leagues. Within these Islands there is a faire sandy bay, and there may be found a good roade for Northerly windes.
- Cape Sower beere.** Cape Sower beere lyeth from S. Pauls Islands Northwest and by West, and betweene them are 5. leagues.
- Rubina.** Cape comfort, which is the Island of Kildina, lieth from Cape Sower beere, 6. leagues West Northwest, and it is altogether a bay betweene them seeming many Islands in it.
- Cape Bonauenture.** From Cape Bonauenture, to Chebe Nauoloche are 10. leagues Northwest, and a litle to the Westwards. Chebe Nauoloche is a faire point, wheron standeth a certaine blacke, like an empty butte standing a head.
- Kegor.** From Chebe Nauoloch to Kegor, is 9. leagues and a halfe Northwest, and halfe a point to the Westwards. Kegor riseth as you come from the Eastwards like 2. round homocks standing together, and a faire saddle betweene them.
- 27 It floweth where we roade this Sunday to the Eastwards of Kegor, at a Southeast and by East moone, a full sea: we roade in 15. sadome water within halfe a mile of the shoare: at a Northwest Sunne the mist came downie so thicke, that we were faine to come to an ancre within lesse then a mile of the point that turneth to Doms haff, where we had 33. sadome, and the sounding like to the skurfe of a skalde head.
- Doms haff.** 28 Sunday at afternoone, wee came into the Sound of Wardhouse, although it were very mistie. Then I sent a man a shoare to know some netwes, and to see whether they could heare any thing of our ships.
- Wardhouse.** 29 Tuesday I went on shoare, and dined with the Captaines deputie, who made mee great cheere: the Captaine himselfe was not as yet come from Bergen: they looked for him euery houre, and they said that he would bring netwes with him.
- At a Northwest and by North sunne we departed from Wardhouse, toward Colmogro.
- 30 Wednesday we came to Kegor, where we met with the winde at East Southeast, so that we were faine to go in to a bay to the Westwards of the point Kegor, where a man may moare 2. or 3. small ships, that shall not draw past 11. or 12. foote water, for all windes, an East Northeast winde is the worst. It is a ledge of rocks, that defendeth the Northerly winds fro the place where they moare. When we came into the bay we saw there a barke which was of Droncon, & three or foure Norway yeaghes, belonging to Northberne: so when I came a shoare, I met first with the Dutchmen, amongst whom was the Boyrow-masters sonne of Droncon, who tolde me that the Philip and Mary wintered at Droncon, and departed from thence for England in March: and withall he shewed me that the Confidence was lost, and that he had bought her sailes for his ship. Then the Dutch-men caried me to their Boothe, and made me good cheere, where I sawe the Lappians chepen of the said Dutchmen, both silver platters and dishes, spoones, gilt rings, ornaments for girdles of silver & gilt, and certaine things made to hang about the necke, with silver chaines belonging to them.
- The Dutchmen bring hither mightie strong beere, I am certaine that our English double beere would not be liked of the Kerils and Lappians, as long as that would last.
- Here I sawe the Dutchmen also haue course cloth, both blew, greene and redde, and sad horse-flesh colour. And hither they bring also Detars cases and foxe cases, both blacke and redde: our English fore cases are but counterfeites vnto them.
- They would not let me vnderstand any of their pyises, but as I other wise vnderstood they bartered 2. load of silver for 100 of stockfish, and 2. load is a doller. And the Dutchmen told me, that they

Which were the Bona Esperanza, the Bona confidencia and the Philip and Marie. Where of the two first were lost.

Sh, Croncon.

The Whittip and Marie. The Bona Confidentia cast away.

they had made a notable good yeere this present yeere 1557. They tolde me that they should be faine to goe to Wardhouse with one lading, and lay it on land there, and so come againe and fetch another. The Boyrowmasters some told me, that he would go to Amsterdam with his lading of stockfish, who gaue me a barrell of strong beere, and brough it in aboard our ship himselfe.

After this I went among the Russes and Kerils, who offered me fish to sell, and likewise the Lappians desired me to looke vpon their fish. I made them answer, that I had nowe no wares nor money to barter with them, and said that I came only to see if I might meete with our English ships. Then they desired me that I would come thither the next yeere: I said to them, If I should come the next yeere, I thinke here would not be fish ynough to serue the Dutchmen and vs also. They answered me, that if more ships did resort thither, there would more people labour to kill and make fish: and further they said, that some of them came thither a fishing 8. weekes journey with Deere, which Deere will trauaile more speedily then hozles will.

so gainefull
trade of fishing
at Kego.

As I was thus in talke with the Kerils and Lappians, the Emperour of Russia his deputie (who was there to gather the tribute of the Lappians) sent for me to come to his tent, who alter familiar salutations, made me good cheere. He demaunded of me, why none of our ships came thither. I answered him, because we knew not the place befoze now, neither yet heard of any faire chat was kept there. Then said he, If you will come hither, here would more people resort to kill fish, I thinke it good (said he) that you make a beginning. I tolde him, that by the grace of God the next yeere, one English ship should come thither.

Because I sawe the seruants of the king of Denmarke there also gathering the tribute, I asked Vasilie Pheodorouich the Russie deputie, whether the Denmarks would not be a let to vs, if we should come to this Kego. And he said, no, they should not: for this land is my kings, and therefore be bolde to come hither.

The Kerils and the Lappians solde no fish, vntill the said deputie had looked vpon it, and had giuen them leaue to sell. I asked him what wares were best for vs to bring thither, and he said, siluer, pearles, cloth, blew, red, and greene, meale, strong beere, wine, pewter, fore cases, and gold.

Commodities
fit for Kego.

The Lappians pay tribute to the Emperour of Russia, to the king of Denmarke, and to the king of Sweden. We tolde me that the Riuer Cola is litle more then 20. leagues to the Southwards of Kego, where we should haue great plentie of salmion, if corne were any thing cheape in Russia: for then poore men would resort thither to kill salmion.

The Dutchmen tolde me that they had made a good yeere of this, but the Kerils complained of it, because they could not sell all their fish, and that which they sold was as pleased the Dutchmen, and at their owne price. I asked the Kerils at what price they sold their fish to the Russes, & they said good cheape: wee sell 24. fishes for 4. altines. I thinke they solde litle aboue 20. pence, the 25. fishes this yeere.

The Dutchmen tolde me that the best stockfish is made at Kego. I sawe at Vasilies tent 7. or 8. iauelins, and halfe a dozen of bowes bent, with their budgets of arrowes, & likewise swordes with other weapons: Other wise I sawe no weapons there.

I was also conuycd to their lodgings, which gathered tribute for the king of Denmarke, where I sawe a paire of bilbowes: and I asked whether they were for the Lappians (if neede were,) and they said no, but onely for their owne company if they should chance to be vnruly.

The Kerils and the Lappians are not to be trusted, for they will steale as well as the Russes, if they may conueniently come by any thing.

Concerning my voyage, because the winde was scant to goe backe againe to Colmogro, I tarried to the Eastwards of the poynt Kego, and sent to land, and baked two batches of bread in the ouens that the Kerils haue for their poution.

Instructions giuen to the Masters and Mariners to be obserued in

and about this Fleete, passing this yeere 1577. toward the Bay of S. Nicolas in Russia, for this present Race to be made & returne of the same by Gods grace to the port of London, the place of their right discharge, as in the Articles ensuing is deduced.



First, it is accorded and agreed betweene the seuerall proprietaries and owners, masters and companies of the foure ships, surnamed the Primrose, the John Euangelist, the Anne and the Trinitie, and the Lieutenant, Consuls, assistants and companie of the Marchant aduenturers, that the abouze named foure ships shall in good order and conduct, saile, passe, and trauaile together in one flote, ging, and conferue of societie, to be kept indissolubly and not to be seuered, but vnited within continuall sight, so farre soorth as (by winde & weather) by possibilitie shall or may

be

be without any separation or departure of one from the other.

2 Item, it is agreed that the good ship named the *Primerose*, shall be Admirall of this flete, and that *Anthony Lenkinson* Gentleman, shall be captaine thereof: and that all other the 3. ships shall ensue and follow her in all courtes, and that no course nor waying (in harborough especially) shall be made without advice, consent and agreement of the sayd Captaine, the *Master*, his mate, and two other officers of the said ship, or of three of them at the least.

3 Item, that the said *Anthony* is and shall be reputed & taken for Captaine general of the said flete together with all such orders, preeminences, priuiledges and preferments as by the order of seas is due and accustomed to a Captaine during his abode and exercise of the same.

4 It is also ordered, that if any one or more of the said 3. ships shall be out of sight either before or behinde the Admirall, that then the rest of the ships shall tacke or take off their sailes in such sort as they may meete and come together, in as good order as may be, to the intent to keepe the consoyrtment exactly in all poynts.

5 It is constituted, that if any ships shall be seuered by mist or darke weather, in such sort as the one cannot haue sight of the other, then and in such case the Admirall shall make sound and noise by drumme, trumpet, horne, gunne or other wise or meanes, that the ships may come as nigh together, as by safetie and good order they may.

6 It is also to be obserued, that euery day once the other three shippes shall send and come aboard the Admirall, and there consult and determine of such matter and things as shall be for the assurance of their Navigation, and most expedition of the same.

7 Item, that notes & entrie be daily made of their Navigations put in writing & memozy, and that the young Mariners and apprentices may be taught & caused to learne and obserue the same.

8 It is accorded that the said Captaine shall haue the principall rule and gouernement of the apprentices: And that not onely they, but also all other the sailors, shall be attendant and obedient to him, as of duetie and reason appertaineth.

9 Also that no beere nor vnoch, or other liqur be spilt vpon the ballast, or other place of the ship, whereby any amoyance, stinke, or other vnlaouzinelle shall growe in the shippe to the infection or hurt of the persons in the same.

10 Item, that the Captaine by discretion shall from time to time disship any artificer or English seruicingman or apprentice out of the *Primerose* into any of the other three ships, and in lieu of him or them, take any such apprentice as he shall thinke conuenient and most meete to serue the benefite of the companie.

11 Item, that great respect be had to the Gunners and Cookes roomes, that all danger and perill of powder and fire may be escheued and auoyded.

12 Item, that singular care and respect be had to the ports of the ship, aswell in Navigation as in harborow; and especially in lading and unlading of the shippes, that nothing be lacking or surcharged: and that the bookes may oftentimes be conferred and made to agree in eschumment of such losses, as may ensue.

13 Special foresight is to be had, that at the Warehouse no treacherie, inuasion, or other perill of molestation be done or procured to be attempted to our ships by any kings, princes, or companies, that do unlike this new found trade by seas to Russia, or would let & hinder the same; whereof no small boast hath bene made: which giueth occasion of more circumspection and diligence.

14 If the winde and weather will serue, it is thought good rather to goe by the Warehouse then to come in and ancre there, lest any male engine, or danger may be the rather attempted against vs, our goods and ships as aboue.

15 It is thought good that *Richard Iohnson*, late seruant to *H. Chancellor*, shall be sent home in this next returne, to instruct the company of the state of the Countrey, and of such questions as may be demanded of him, for our better aduertisements and resolutions, in such doubt as shall arise here: and that he shall haue the room of the Captaine in such sort, as *Master Lenkinson* is in this present cocket assigned vnto. And if *Iohnson* can not, may not, nor will not returne and occupie the said place, then any other person to be preferred thereunto, as by the discretion of our said Captaine, with consent of our Agents, shall be thought meete and apt to supply the same.

16 Provided alway, that the ships returning be not disfurnished of one such able man, as shall occupie the Captainship in like order, as is, and hath bene in such case appoynted, as reason and good order requircth.

17 Item that all other former orders, rules, and deuises, made and provided for the good order of our ships, wares, and goods, being not repugnant, contrary or diuerse, to these articles, and the contents of the same, shall be, and stand in full force and effect, to be in all respects obserued and kept of all and euery person and persons, whom the same doth or shall touch or concerne.

In witness of the premises faithfully to be observed and kept, the owners and Masters of the said foure ships, together with the said Captaine, to these seuenteeene articles, contained in two sheetes of paper, haue subscribed their hands. Given in London, the third of May, in the yeere of our Loyd God 1557.

- ¶ Owners of the Primerose.
 - Andrew Iudde.
 - William Chester,
 - Anthony Hickman.
 - Edward Casteline.
- ¶ Owners of the Iohn Euangelist.
 - Andrew Iudde.
 - William Chester.
- ¶ Owner of the Anne.
 - John Dimocke.
- ¶ Owner of the Trinitie.
 - R. T.

A letter of the Company of the Marchants aduenturers to
Russia vnto George Killingworth, Richard Gray, and Henry Lane
 their Agents there, to be deliuered in Colmogro or
 els where : sent in the Iohn Euangelist.



After our heartie commendations vnto you and to either of you : your generall 1557.
 letter and other particular letters with two bookes of the sale and remainders of
 our goods, and the buying of ware there with you, we receiued about the ende
 of November out of the Edward, with heaunie newes of the losse of the sayde
 good shippe and goods at Peislego in Scotland, with the death of Richard Chan-
 celer and his Boy, with certaine of the Embassadours seruantes, and he himselte with nine of his
 seruants escaped very hardly onely by the power of God : but all his goods and curs in maner
 were lost and pilfered away by the Scots, and that that is saued is not yet come to our hands, but
 we looke for it daily, and it will skant pay the charges for the recouering of it. No remedy but
 patience : and to pray to God to send vs better fortune hereafter. As touching the receiuing and
 entertaining of the Embassadour and his retinewe since his coming to England at the king
 and Queenes Maiesties hands, with the Counsell & Lords of this Realme, and the Marchants
 that be free in Russia with feasting and beneuolence giuen him, wee referre it to his report and
 others. The like we thinke haue not bene seene nor shewed here of a long tione to any Ambassa-
 dour. The Philip and Marie arrivied here tenne dayes past : shee wintered in Norway. The
 Confidence is lost there. And as for the Bona Esperanza, as yet we haue no newes of her. We
 feare it is wrong with her. By your billes of lading receiued in your generall letters we per-
 ceite what wares are laden in them both. Your letters haue no dace nor mention where they
 were made, which were witten by Henry Lane, and signed by you George Killingworth and
 Richard Gray : both it and the other Letters and Bookes came so soze spoiled and broken with
 water that we cannot make our reckoning by them. You shall vnderstand we haue freighted for
 the parts of Russia foure good shippes to be laden there by you & your order : That is to say, The
 Primerose of the burthen of 240. Tunnes, Master vnder God Iohn Buckland : The Iohn E-
 uangelist of 170. Tunnes, Master vnder God Laurence Roundal : The Anne of London of the
 burthen of 160. tunnes, Master vnder God Dauid Philly, and the Trinitie of London of the bur-
 then of 140. Tunnes, Master vnder God Iohn Robins, as by their Charter parties may ap-
 peare : which you may require to see for diuers causes. You shall receiue, God willing, out of the
 said good ships, God sending them in safety for the vse of the Company, these kinds of wares fol-
 lowing, all marked with the general marke of the Company as followeth. 25. sardsels containing
 207. sorting clothes, one fine violet in graine, and one skarlet, and 40. cottons for wrappers, be-
 ginning with number 1. and ending with number 52. The sorting clothes may cost the first peny
 5. li. 9. s. the cloth, one with the other. The fine violet 18. li. 6. s. 6. d. The skarlet 17. li. 13. s. 6. d.
 the cottons at 9. li. 10. s. the packe, accompanying 7. cottons for a packe. more 500. pieces of Hamp-
 shire kerlies, that is 400. watchets, 43. blerwes, 53. v. ds, 15. greenes, 5. ginger colours, and 2. pe-
 lowes which cost the first penny 4. li. 6. s. the piece, & 3. packes containing 21. cottons at 9. li. 10. s.
 the packe : and part of the clothes is measured by Arshines. More 9. barrels of Pewter of
 Thomas Hafels making, &c. Also the wares bee packed and laden as is aforesayde, as by
 an Inuoyce in euery Shippe more plainly may appeare. So that when it shall please
 God

Wares sent
 into Russia
 out of Eng-
 land.

The Arshins
 is a Rasse
 incalure,

God

God to send the said good ships to you in safetie, you are to receiue our said goods, and to procure the sales to our most advantage either for ready money, time or batter: hauing consideration that you doe make good debts, and giue such time, if you giue any, as you may employ and returne the same against the next voyage; and also for seeing that you barter to a profit, and for such wares as be here most vendible, as were, traine oyle, hennpe and flaxe. Of fures we desire no great plentie, because they be dead wares. And as for felts, we will in no wise you send any. And whereas you haue prouided tarre, and as as we suppose, some hennpe ready bought, our aduise is, that in no wise you send any of them hither unwrought, because our freight is 4.li. a tunne or little lesse: which is so deare, as it would not beare the charges: and therefore we haue sent you 7. ropemakers, as by the copies of their couenants here inclosed shall appeare. Whom we wil you sit to worke with al expedition in making of cables & ropes of al sorts, from the smallest rope to rii. inches: And that such tarre and hennpe as is already brought to the water side, they may there make it out, and after that you settle their worke in Vologhda or Colmogro as you shall thinke good, where their stufte may be nearest to them: at which place and places you doe assigne them a principall ouerseer aswell to see the deliuerie of the stufte unwrought, as also to take charge of the stufte wrought, & to foresee that neither the yarne be burnt in tarring, nor the hennpe rotted in the watering; and also to furnish them so with labourers, workemen and stufte, as hereafter when these workemen shall come away, we be not destitute of good workmen, and that these may dispatch as much as possibly they may, doing it substantially: for we esteeme it a principall commoditie, and that the Counsel of England doth well allowe. Let all diligence be vsed, that at the returne of these shippes we may see samples of all ropes & cables if it be possible, and so after to continue in worke, that we may haue good store against the next yeere. Therefore they haue neede to haue a place to worke in, in the winter: and at any hand let them haue helpe ynough to spinne their stufte: for seeing you haue great plentie of hennpe there, and at a reasonable price, we trust we shall be able to bring as good stufte from thence, and better cheape then out of Danske: if it be diligently vsed, and haue a good ouerseer.

7. Ropemakers sent into Russia.

Cables and Ropes a principall commoditie.

Danske the old chiefe place for Cables.

Commodities not bearing the charges of long freight.

Fures most vendible.

Steels.

Copper.

Wollen cloth of Rie and Reuel, of Poland and Lettolue.

Russian leather.

Things good to die withall.

Let the chiefest lading of these foure shippes be principally in were, flaxe, tallowe and traine oyle. And if there be any more wares then these shippes be able to take in, then leaue that which is least in value and grossest in stouage vntill the next shipping: for wee doe purpose to ground our selues chiefly vpon these commodites, as were, cables and ropes, traine oyle, flaxe and some linnen yarne. As for Halls, Tarre, Hennpe, & catthers, or any such other like, they would not beare the charges to haue any, considering our deere freight. We haue sent you a Skinner to be there at our charges for meate, drinke and lodging, to viewe and see such fures as you shall cheape or buye, not minding neuerthelesse, that you shall charge your selues with many, except those which bee most vendible, as good martens, minuers, otherwise called Lettis, and Hynkes. Of these you may send vs plentie, finding them good and at a reasonable price. As for Sables and other rich fures, they bee not euery mans money: therefore you may send the fewer, vsing partly the discretion of the skinner in that behalfe.

Wee heare that there is great plentie of Steele in Russia and Tartarie, whereof wee would you send vs part for an example, and to write your mindes in it what store is to be had: for we heare say there is great plentie, and that the Tartars Steele is better then that in Russia. And likewise we be informed that there is great plentie of Copper in the Emperours Dominions: we would be certified of it what plentie there is, and whether it be in plates or in round flat cakes, and send vs some for an example. Also we would haue you to certifie vs what kinde of wollen cloth the men of Rie and Reuel, and the Poles and Lettoes doe bring to Russia, and send the skantings of them with part of the lists, and a full aduise of the lengths and breadths, colours and prices, and whether they be strained or not: and what number of them may be vttered in a yeere, to the intent we may make prouision for them for the like sortes, and all other Flemish wares which they bring thither and be most vendible there. And to certifie vs whether our set clothes be vendible there or not: and whether they be rowed and thorne: because oftentimes they goe vnderest. Moreover, we will you send vs of euery commoditie in that Countrey part, but no great quantitie other then such as is before declared. And likewise euery kinde of Leather, whereof wee bee informed there is great store bought yeerely by the Esterlings and Duches for hie Almaine and Germanie.

Hope, that you doe send vs for prooue a quantity of such earth, hearbes, or what thing soeuer it be, that the Russes do die and colour any kinde of cloth ltaeu or wollen, Lether or any other thing withall: and also part of that which the Tartars and Turkes doe bring thither, and how it must be vsed in dying and colouring. Moreover, that you haue a speciall foresight in the chusing of your Tallowe, and that it may be well purified and tried, or els it will in one yeere purifie & consume. Also

Also that you certifie vs the truely of the waights and measures, and howe they doe answere with ours, and to send vs 3. robes in money, that we may trie the iust value of them.

Also we doe send you in these ships ten yong men that be bound Apprentises to the Companie, whom we will you to appoynt euery of them as you shall there finde most apt and meete, some to keepe accompts, some to buy and sell by your order and Commission, and some to send abroad into the notable Cities of the Countrey for vnderstanding and knowledge. And we will you send vs aduertisement from time to time aswell of the demeanours of our Apprentises which we doe send now, as also of such other as bee already there with you. And if you finde any of them remisse, negligent, or othertwise misuse themselves and will not be ruled, that then you doe send him home, and the cause why.

Ten yong men
sent into Rus-
sa.

And because we doe perceiue the Countrey to be large, and that you haue three households, we doe appoynt Henry Lane to be one of our Agents, and to ioyne with you in all your doings, and to haue like authoritie and power as you George Killingworth and Richard Gray haue: not doubting but you three will so conferre together, as boch our Apprentises and others may be appoynted and diuided euery of them to his office, and to that he can best skill of: and you also to diuide your selues euery of you to an house, as by aduertisement one from another, our businesse and trafficke may take good successe. And for diuers considerations, to auoyde many troubles and businesse that might happen; wee haue appoynted that hee which shall abide at Colmogro (which we doe thinke to bee most meetest Henry Lane) shall haue with him three such of our yong men, as can best skill in keeping of accompts after the maner of Marchants, that is, by Debitor and Creditor: And that there shall be the place, where our bookes shall be kept: because it is neerer the sea side, where our goods shall be discharged and our ships laden. And the said Henry Lane to be charged with all such goods as we shall discharge there out of our ships, according to our Inuoyces. Which goods are to be sent from Colmogro to Vologhda or to Mosco, or to any other place where you three or two of you do appoynt the to be sold, so that Henry Lane be one. And so from time to time immediatly as any thing is sold, doe you certifie the same to Henry Lane, that he may enter it into the Bookes as appertaineth: otherwise he should be too farre behinde in his Bookes at the comming of our ships, when he should send vs the accompt of the whole yeere passed. And we will also that you George Killingworth and Richard Gray doe in the fine of April next send either of you vnto Henry Lane a whole, perfitt, & iust accompt firm'd with your owne hands of all the goods you haue solde and bought vntill that time, and what remaineth vnsolde: and also the accompt of all maner costs of wares, and charges of you and the yong men vnder you particularly in such sort as the said accompt may bee with him in Colmogro at the fine of May at the furthest: to the intent that hee may make all our accompts perfitte against the comming of our ships: and in any wise to keepe accompt of euery voyage by it selfe, and not mingle one voyage with another at no hand. And as we will haue you to keepe accompt of euery voyage by it selfe, euen so wee would haue all the whole costes and charges of euery yeere put into the voyage of that yeere. As the charges of all the last yeere must be put to the accompt of the third voyage: and the charges of this yeere present, must in the fine of April next, be put to the fourth voyage. Not doubting but your wisdom is such, that you will not take it in euill part, that wee doe appoynt Henry Lane to take the accompt of the rest. For we doe it for none other cause, but to keepe a good order in our bookes, that his bookes and ours may by this means agree: and hee being the yonger man, may best take paines: and that you doe keepe accompt of euery kinde of wares by it selfe, to the intent wee may perceiue wherein is our most gaine. And also in the making of your returne, in any wise name in your billes of lading, letters, and accompts, what wares doe appertaine to the first, second, and third voyage: and that wee may knowe the same by the numbers or otherwise as you shall thinke good by your wisdomes, putting the charges of the saide wares vnto them, as nigh as you can. And all such money as shall bee made of your goods in any place, wee referre that to your discretion, where it shall remaine vntill it bee employed, either at Vologhda, Mosco, or els where. And likewise wee will that Henry Lane doe make in a readinesse about the beginning of June euery yeere our whole accompt of the voyage in that yeere passed: in such sort that wee may receiue the same by our shippes: and that wee may plainely perceiue what sales are made, and what remaineth of the first, second, third, and fourth voyage, and what charges haue bene layde out for the sayd voyages, and what wares bee bought, and laden, and what they cost, and for what voyage euery parcell thereof is: and to send vs a copie of the same accompt in euery shipp. And also forasmuch as at this time we haue sent you but small store of wares in comparison of that we haue hope will bee vttered in short space, and yet neuertheless much moze then you wrote for, whereby there shall not be sufficient to make any ample returne

Henry Lane
Agent.

The fourth
voyage.

returne: and vnderstanding that there is great quantitie of goods stayed for our trade there by the Emperour, wee haue moued the Embassadoꝝ that you may haue credite for such quantitie as shall seeme good to you to prouide for our benefite. Which credite if you may by his meanes obtaine, or otherwise haue, we would you bought as much there principally as you may get. For if there be in that countrey so great quantitie, as we be informed there is, it will be the best commoditye we may haue: for hauing that wholly in our hands, we may serue our owne countrey and others. Therefore seeing the Emperour doeth minde, that such commodities as bee in his dominions shall not passe to Rie and Rebel and Poland as they haue done, but bee reserved for vs: therefore we must so lay for it, that it may not ly vpon their hands that haue it to sell, alwayes hauing consideration in the price and time as our next dispatch may correspond. Whereof you may send a certaine aduise, as well what you shall receiue of credit, and to what quantitie, as also what wares are remaining in your hands: which together well considered, you may aduertise vs as well for how many hundred tonnes we must prouide freight against the next yeere, as also what sortes, quantities and qualities of wares we shall send you, as well to pay your credite, as also to furnish the next aduventure after. Of this we would be answered largely. For we trust by this time you are able to giue full instructions of the state of the countrey: according to the articles of your first Commissions, and what commodities doe principally abound there with their prices: and likewise what of our commodities haue most vtterance there, and what prices will be giuen for them there: and all other things requisite and necessary to be knowne.

The olde trafike of Russia to Rie, Ruel and Poland turned to Saint Petersburgs.

The articles of their first Commission giuen 1555.

Leonard Brian sent to search our Peue in the North parts of Russia.

2 Coopers sent into Russia.

Also we doe vnderstand that in the Countrey of Permia or about the riuer of Pechora is great quantitie of Peue, and likewise in the Countrey of Vgory, which we be desirous to haue knowledge of, because it is a speciall commoditye for our Realme. Therefore wee haue sent you a yong man, whose name is Leonard Brian, that hath some knowledge in the wood, to shew you in what sort it must be cut and clouen. So our minde is if there be any more, and that it bee found to be good, that there you doe prouide a good quantitie against the next yeere for the comming of our shippes: and if there can bee found none that will serue for our purpose, then you may let the sayd Leonard Brian to any other businesse that you shall finde most fittest for him, vntill the returne of our ships the next yeere. For he is hired by the yeere onely for that purpose. We doubt not but that hee shall doe you good seruice there, for hee hath good knowledge of wares of that Countrey: for his bringing vp hath bene most in Danske, and hath good vnderstanding in making of Ropes and Cables. Also we doe send you two Coopers to remaine there with you at our finding for meate and drinke and lodging to make in a readinesse all such caske as shall be needfull for traine oyle, tallowe, or any thing else. One of them may goe with Leonard Brian to cut and cleue such Peue as he shall like there. And because we be not sure what timber they shall finde there to make Caske, we haue laden in these ships 140. tunnes emptie Caske, that is 94. tunnes shaken Caske and 46. tunnes whole, and ten thousand hoopes, & 80. wretches of twigs: they may be doing with that till they can prouide other timber, which we would be glad to heare of. They haue an example with them of the bignesse of the Caske they shall make. Nevertheless, all such Buttes and Hoggeheads as may be found to serue we will shalbe filled with Traine Oyle.

Also we charge you that you suffer no goods nor marchandies of any persons being not free of the Company, and of the account of the Company to be laden in any wise in our ships either now or at any time hereafter: except the Emperour or Embassadour minde to send any thing to the King and Queenes Maiesties, or to any noble man, or to the Marchants of the Company: Nor likewise that you suffer any goods that goe in these ships to be brought on land there, except the Ambassadors goods, and the Physicians & Apothecaries, and others that hee hath with him, who carie no Marchandise. And because our ships be freighted by the great, it shall be very needfull that you do appoynt certaine to see the romaging of the ships, and to giue the master or Boatwaine, or him that will take vpon him to romage, a good reward for his labour to see the goods well romaged. If it be iii. d. or iiii. d. the tunne, it shall not be amisse. For if it be not substantially well looked vnto, it may bee a great deal of money out of our wayes.

Also because we reckon that from the Mosco will bee alwayes better conueyance of letters to vs by land: our minde is that from time to time as occasion shall serue, our Agents shall write to him that shall lie at Mosco of all things that shall passe, that hee may giue vs large instructions, as well what is solde and bought, as also what lading we shall take, and what quantitie and kinde of goods we shall send. For hitherto we haue had but a slender aduise, moze like a bill to serue a Chapman, then for quantitie of wares to serue a kingdome. For we must procure to vtter good quantitie of wares, especially the commodities of our Realme, although we affoord a good pennyworth, to the intent to make other that haue traded thither, wearie, and so to bring our selues and our commodities in estimation, and likewise to procure to haue the chiefe commodities of that

Countrey

countrey in our hands, as ware and such others, that other nations may be served by us and at our hands. For wee doe understand that the greatest quantitie of ware that cometh to Danske, Lubeck, and Hambourgh, cometh out of Russia. Therefore if wee should buy part, and they also buy, it would raise the price there, and would be little woorth here. And all such letters of importance and secrecie as you doe send by land for any wares or other wise, you must write them in Cyphers, after the order of a booke sent you in the shippes: alwayes taking good heede in placing of your letters and cyphers, that wee may understand them by the same booke here, and to send them in such sort, that we may have them here by Christmas or Candlemas, if it be possible. And because you cannot so certainly advertise us by letters of your doings, but some doubt may arise, whereof we would most gladly be certified: our mind is therefore that with these shippes you send us home one such young man as is most expert in knowledge of that countrey, and can best certify us in such questions as may be demanded, whome we will remit unto you againe in the next shippes. We thinke Arthur Edwards will be fittest for that purpose: neuerthelesse use your discretion in that matter.

The marchants
letters over
land written in
cyphers.

As touching our goods that were robbed and pilfered out of our shippes at Colmogro and Vollogda we trust by this time they are restored againe, and the malefactorz so punished that other may take example for doing the like, other wise it will be an evill president. Moreover, wee doe perceiue that Richard Gray doeth buy masses to send into England, they will not quit the costes, except we had a ship of purpose for them. And like wise that Steuen Burrow is returned from his discoverie with the Serchthrift, and wintereth at Colmogro, and is minded to set forth in the beginning of June next to seeke the riuer of Ob. We pray God to speede him well, and trust to haue him here in England this yeere to bring us good newes.

The voyag of
Steuen Burrowe
for the discoverie
of the riuer
of Ob.

We doe perceiue there is a riuer found about the mouth of S. Nicholas Bay that hath thirteent foot upon the barre at a lowe water, and is as neere Colmogro as S. Nicholas: which will be a great pleasure unto vs. We will that Steuen Burrowe doe proceed on his voyage to discover. Also we haue sent you one Anthonie Jenkinson Gentleman, a man well trauctled, whom we mind to use in further trauctling, according to a Commission deliuered him, subscribed by master Anthonie Huse and others. Therefore we will you deliuer him one or more of such painfull young men as he shall thinke meetest for his purpose: and likewise such money and wares as he shall thinke best to take with him. He must haue forty pounds a yeere for foure yeeres, to be paid him by the halfe yeere, or as he will demaund it of you, so let him haue it from Easter last. Also the prices of wares here at this present are, bale flaxe twenty pound the packe and better, tow flaxe twentie eight pound the hundred, traine oyle at nine pound the tunne, ware at foure pound the hundred, tallow at sixtene shillings the hundred, cables and ropes very deare: as yet there are no shippes come out of Danske.

M. Anthonie
Jenkinson his
first trauctle
intended for Ca-
staly by the Ca-
spian sea and
Boghar.

Kept vntill the tenth day of this present. As this day came the goods out of Scotland that were recovered out of the Edward Bonauenture: and now we doe perceiue that the caske that the trayne oyle came in, is verie good, and much better then ours. Therefore our minde is, that you shall lade it all in such barrells of the bigger sort as you laded in the Edward, and no long barrells nor small. And that caske that wee haue sent may serue for the Tallowe or any other ware that is not leakage. Neuerthelesse, this voyage you must take such as you can get.

Good caske
made in Russia.

Also if the Emperour bee minded to deliuer you any summe of money, or good Ware at as reasonable a price as you may hope for ready money, wee will that you shall take it and lade it for our accomptes, and to come at our adventure, and hee to be payed at the returne of the shippes in Velucts, Sartens, or any other kinde of silke, or cloth of golde, cloth of tulle, or according as his Commission shall bee that hee shall sende vs in the shippes, and according to such patermes as hee shall lend. Wee doe not finde the Ambassadour nowe at the last so conformable to reason as wee had thought wee should. Hee is very mistrustfull, and thinke theuetic man will beguile him. Therefore you had neede to take heede howe you haue to doe with him or with any such, and to make your bargaines plaine, and to set them downe in writing. For they be subtil people, and doe not alwaies speake the truth, and thinke other men to be like themselves. Therefore we would haue none of them to send any goods in our shippes at any time, nor none to come for passengers, vntill the Emperour doe make a bargain with you, as is aforesaid, for his owne person.

Also we charge you not to suffer any of our nation to send any wares to their wiues or friends in any of our shippes: but to take their money there to be paid here by the companie and not otherwise: and to haue consideration how you doe take the robe. For although we doe rate it after sixtene shillings eight pence of our money, yet it is not worth past 12. or 13. shillings sterling.

Bozeour, you had neede to sende newe accomptes, for them that came in the Edward hee marred and tozned, so that we can make no reckoning by them: and likewise to write vs a perfect note of all the goodes which you received the last voyage out of the Edward, and heerein not to faile,

Andrew Iudde.
George Barne.
Anthonie Huse.
William Garrard.
William Chester.

A Letter of Master *Thomas Hawtrey* to the worshipfull
Master *Henrie Lane* Agent at *Colmogro*, written in *Vologda*
the 31. of Ianuarie 1557.

1557

Worshipfull Sir, heartie commendations premised. These may bee to aduertise you, that yester day the thirtieth of this present came hither Robert Best, and brought with him two hundred roubles, that is, one hundred for this place, and one hundred for you at Colmogro. As for hempe which is here at two roubles and a halfe the bercouite, master Gray hath written to buy no more at that price: for John Sedgewicke hath bought for sixe or seuen hundred roubles worth at Nouogrode for one roble and a halfe the bercouite, and better cheape: and white Nouogrode flaxe is there at thzee roubles the bercouite. I trust hee will doe much good by his going thither. As I doe vnderstand, Richard Iohnson is gone to Nouogrode with money to him, I doubt not but Master Gray hath aduertised you of all their doings, both at the Mosco and at Nouogrod. And touching our doings heere, you shall perceiue that wee haue solde wares of this fourth voyage for one hundred and fourtie roubles, besides fiftie roubles of the second and third voyage since the giuing vp of my last account, and for wares of the Countrey, you shall vnderstand that I haue bought tried and vntried for 77. roubles foure hundred podes of tried tallowe, besides foure hundred podes that I haue giuen out money for, whereof God graunt good receipt when the time commeth, which is in Lent. And in browne flaxe and hempe I haue bought seuentene bercouites, sixe podes and sixtene pound, which cost 28. roubles, elcuen altines two pence. And as for other kindes of wares I haue bought none as yet. And for mastes to bee prouided, you shall vnderstand that I wrote a letter to Toma the 28. of this present for fiftie mastes, to wit, for 25. of fiftene fathoms, and 25. of fourteteene fathoms, to be an arshine and a halfe at the small ende. And more, I haue written for 30. great trees to be two arshines and a halfe at the small end, and for the other that were prouided the last yeere, I trust they shall be sent downe in the spring of the yeere. And as concerning the Ropemakers, you shall vnderstand that their abiding place shall bee with you at Colmogro, as I doe thinke Master Gray hath aduertised you. For, as Roger Bontinge Master of the woorkes doeth say, there is no plate more meete for their purpose then with you: and there it will be made with lesser cost, considering that the pale is the one halfe of it: which is to set one pale more to that, and so for to couer it ouer, which as they say, will be but little cost. They doe pray that it may bee made sixtene foote broade, and one hundred and eightie fathoms long: and that in the midde way twentie foote from the pale towards the water side there may be a house made to tarre in, standing alone by it selfe for danger of fire. The Tarre house that they would haue made, is to bee fiftene fathoms long, and ten fathoms broade, and they would that house should be made first: for I thinke they will not tarre before they come there. And farther they desire that you will prouide for as much tarre as you may, for heere wee haue small store, but when the time commeth that it should be made, I will prouide as much as I can here, that it may bee sent downe when the Nasade commeth. The stuffe that they haue ready spanne is about fise thousand waight, and they say that they trust to haue by that time they come downe yarne ynough to make 20. cables. As concerning a copie of the Alphabet in cyphers Master Gray hath written hither that Robert Austen had one, which he willed that he should deliuer to you. Thus I surcease, beseeching God to preserue you in health, and to send you your hearts desire.

John Sedgewick
At Nouogrode.

Mastes of 30.
pards.

In Arshine is
3. quarters of
a pard or more.

A rope house
erected at Col-
mogro.

A tarre house.

Robert Austen.

By yours to command to his power,
Thomas Hawtrey.

A Letter

A Letter of Master Richard Gray one of the first Agents of
the *Moscouie* companie to Master Henrie Lane at *Mosco*, writ-
ten in *Colmogro* the 19. of Februarye 1558.

1558

Worshipfull Sir, after heartie commendattons &c. You shall vnderstand that this Lent
comminchly to Lampas such a number of men of diuers nations with wares, as hath not
bene seene these ten yeeres. Thither come many out of Vgori: therefore I would haue bene there
my selfe, and also haue receiued such money as is owing vs in wares by Kerill his brother and
Olep Boscouo. For as you well know, thence they will goe with their wares to the *Mosco*, and
make vs payment with delayes, as they haue done these other yeeres past. Colobone and his
partner be departed towards Lampas with seuen sledges laden with victuals Others also are
gone to that Part. As touching the bringing of money with you, it will bee good, for I assure
you since our coming to this countrey haue not so many persons gone to the *Sea*, as will doe
this yeere. Trusting that God will send good store of traine oyle, I will cause as much calke to
bee in a readinesse as I can, if you shall thinke it meete to send some money before. All our olde
hempe is spunne and wrought in tenne cables from fifteene ynches to ten the least, and thirceue
Hauers from sixe ynches to thre ynches: and all may weigh white eight and twenty thou-
sande pounde weight and bywarde. There is in hempe ockam five thousand pound two hun-
dred weight in twelue sakes or the least: the flare that came downe in the *Nassadaes* with those
seuen podes that came last is all spunne with a good part of that hempe that came last. God send
more shortly, for all that is here and that is coming in the thre other sledges, will bee dispat-
ched by the fourth weeke in Lent. Within these few dayes I bought thirceue podes, seuen pound
of hempe that cost two robes, twenty eight altines, foure pence, which together with that that
was bought before, shall bee laide in dipping and soundfug lines, for it is very good. There are
spent aboute fiftie barrells of tarre aseradie: you shall vnderstand that these eight workemen will
spinne and lay aboue fourscore and tenne thousand pound of hempe, so it bee dyed readieto
their hands, hauing two to turne the wheelles, and two to winde vp. Therefore I haue agreed
with these two boyes to serue the worshipfull companie foure yeeres a piece. One of them win-
deth vp and is very apt to spinne: therefore I will haue two other young men Russes to spinne,
if they can finde good sureties for their truth. I haue bene in hand with these two young men that
came out of the *Trinie*, and they with me, but vnder seuen pound a yeere they will not serue, nor
Thomas Bunting that was Roger Bunting his seruant. Therefore I would haue thre Rus-
ses at the least to spinne, five of them will be as good as these thre, and will not be so charge-
able all, as one of these would be. I thinke it were good that our *Nassada* were somewhat streng-
thened in her floore on both sides with planks of fine or sixe ynches thicke, from the *Stemme* to
the *Verne*, as I haue written to Thomas Hawtreay at *Vokogda*. Also if you shall so thinke meet;
your ware and tallowe shall bee laden in two *Dostrikes*, for they bee meete to goe aboard the
shippes: I doe intend to set vp an house at *Borofeua* ouer against the place whereas the
shippes shall ride, your aduise therein I expect, it shall not cost aboute thre robes, and yet if
we will, there shall be two warme rooms in it. As for other matter at this present I haue not to
trouble you withall, and if it would please you I would be glad to heare some good newes of Ma-
ster Ienkinson. Thus Iesus be with you and be his guide.

Lampas a great
mart for the
Saimeeda in
the North.

What quanti-
tie of hempe &
workmen will
weeke in a
yeere.

Postscriptum.

As for these our Hawkes they bee not white, but white and mayed, but indeede are Jar-
sawkons. These dayes past our Olen died. So this yeere our Masters of the companie are like
to haue none, nor any white beares. Neither may any passe out of the realme without a special li-
cence from the Emperour.

White hawks
& white beares
prohibited
without li-
cence.
Master Grayes
tourney to
Lampas.

I intend God willing to goe to Lampas, if I doe I will take foure or five kerseys with me,
but as for money there is small store here to carie.

Yours, Richard Gray.

A Letter of Thomas Alcocke to the worshipfull Richard
Gray, and Henrie Lane Agents in *Mosconia* from *Tirwill* in
Polonia, written in *Tirwill* the 26. of Aprill 1558.

1558

Mercy promised vnto your worshipps, with comendations &c. It may please you to be ad-
uertised, by my last I sent fro *Smolefco*, which I trust you haue receiued by other letters to

diuers of our English men, wherein I certified you of my long stayning there, as also of my departure from thence, and howe that I had hired a *Tocar* to bring mee to *Danske*. We came to a certaine village on *Satterday* the five and twentieth of *Febzuarie*, and there remained that night and *Sunday* to refresh our hozles, intending to haue gone away on *Hunday* early. But on *Saturday* at night one of his neighbours departed to *Tirwill*, and there declared to the *Captaine* howe that at such a place there was a *Dutch* man that was come from the *Mosco*, and would ride to *Danske*, saying, for the one, I cannot tell what he is. The *Captaine* incontinent rode to the *King* to shewe him thereof, so that without any delay there was sent out for mee one of the *Gentlemen* of the *Kings* house, and one of the *Helmicks* of the *Towne* with five *Officers* to take mee. They came thither in the night about *midnight*, and there apprehended mee and tooke all that I had from me: they left mee nothing but my clothes to put on my backe, and so brought mee to *Tirwill* to the *Captaines* house, where befoze I dyed, I had a paye of letters clapped on my legges, wherewithall I late vntill it was *Hunday* in the *Easter* weeke. On which day, after long and earnest calling to the *Captaine* as hee ridde by the windowe, hee commaunded the *Marshall* that mine prons should be taken off, but no worde I could heare when I should be deliuered out of captiuitie till it was *Saint George* his day: on which day I was had befoze the *Marshall*, who declared vnto me that the *Kings* *Maiestie* had shewed his mercie and goodnesse towardes mee: for his pleasure was that I should be deliuered out of prison to depart into *England*, but no way else. So after I had giuen thanks for the *Kings* *Maiesties* goodnesse shewed vnto me, I desired him that he would be a meane that I might haue the remaynder of such things as were taken from me restozed vnto me againe. Hee made me answere, that I might thanke God that I escaped with my head, and that if euer there came any more of vs through the land, they should not so doe. The weeke befoze *Easter* they deliuered mee my *Corobia* againe with all things that were therein. They tooke from mee in money nine *Hungers* *gylberns* in golde, five *shillings* foure pence in *Lettoes* money, fourtie *Altines* in *Russe* money, whereof twentie and more were for tokens, halfe an angell and a quarter of *Master* *Doctour* *Standishes*, with his golde ring. Your two pieces of money (*Master* *Gray*) that you sent to your wife and daughter, with my two pieces of *Boghary* money. Of all this I had eight *Hungers* *gylberns* deliuered mee the thirde weeke of mine imprisonment to paye for my charges, which stode mee in a *Doller* a weeke. So that at the day of my deliuerie I had but three *gylbernes* left me. For the rest I made a supplication to the *Captaine* and had the like answere giuen mee as the *Marshall* gaue me. So that all the rest of the things befoze written are lost, and no recouerie to bee had, which grieueth me more for the tokens sakes then doeth mine eight weeks imprisonment. They haue also my sword, my bootes, my bowe and arrowes that I bought at *Smolensco*, which cost me foure marks, my sled, my felt, the combold, a booke of the *Fl* to wyes of godly prayers, and my booke wherein my charges were written. Of all these I can get nothing againe, not so much as my two bookes.

Doctour Standish the Circumcisers Profession.

After I had remayned there five and thirtie dayes, I was had befoze the *Captaine* by into a great chamber to bee examined for letters and of the cause of my comming through the *Councey*. In the *Captaines* companie was one of the *Lordes* of *Danske*. They demanded of mee where my letters were, I declared vnto them that I had none: your *Officers* (sayd I) tooke me when I was in my bedde, they searched mee and tooke all that I had from mee, if there be any they shall finde them among my stuffe which they haue. They asked mee then, for what cause I went home ouer lande: I declared vnto them, that the *Winter* beeing a warme season, and hauing intelligence that The frozen Sea was not much frozen, and supposing this *Sommer* it would be nauigable, I was onely sent to prouide a *Shipp* to bee sent to passe the sayde Seas to discover *Cataia*: which if God graunted wee might doe, it would not onely bee a commoditie to the *Realme* of *Englande*, but vnto all *Christian* landes; by the riches that might bee brought from thence, if the histories bee true that are written thereof. Much other communication I had with them concerning the same voyage. Then he demanded of mee what wares wee brought into *Russia*, and what wee carried from thence. I declared the same vnto them. Then they burdened mee, that wee brought thither thousandes of ordnance, as also of harreis, swordes, with other munitions of warre, artificers, copper, with many other things: I made them answere, that wee had brought thither about one hundred shittes of maple, such olde thinges newe scowzed as no man in *Englande* would be wear. Ocher talke they had with mee concerning the trade of *Moscouia* too long to commit to writing.

At my comming hither heere were *Ambassadours* from the townes of *Danske*, *Lubeck*,

and

and Hamburg, as also out of Liefland to desire this king to bee their Captaine and head in their intended voyage, which was to stoppe all such shippes as should goe out of England for Moscouia. Whereunto the King graunted, and immediatly they departed to prepare their shippes. So that I am affraide that either these our enemies, or the great warres that we haue with France and Scotland will be an occasion that you shall haue no shippes at Colmogro this yeere.

Our attempt to hinder our trade to Moscouia by the Hans towne & Easterlings.

To conclude, although I haue no tokens to deliuer them, that the tokens taken from me were sent vnto, yet I will declare vnto them that I had tokens for them, with the mischance. And thus I commit you to Amightie God with the rest of the companie, who keepe you in health to his holy will and pleasure.

By yours to commaund

THOMAS ALCOCKE.

A Letter of Master *Anthonie Ienkinson* vpon his returne from *Boghar* to the worshipfull Master *Henrie Lane* Agent for the *Moscouie* companie resident in *Vologda*, written in the *Mosco* the 18. of September, 1559.

1559

Worshipfull Sir, after my heartie commendations premised with most desire to God of your welfare and prosperous successe in all your affaires. It may please you to bee aduertised that the fourth of this present I arriued with Richard Iohnson and Robert Iohnson all in health, thanks bee to God. Wee haue bene as farre as Boghar, and had proceeded farther on our voyage toward the lande of Cathay, had it not bene for the vncessant and continuall warres, which are in all these bytall and wilde countreys, that it is at this present impossible to passe, neither went there any Carauan of people from Boghar that way these thre yeeres. And although our iourney hath bene so miserable, dangerous, and chargeable with losses, charges and expences, as my penne is not able to expresse the same: yet shall wee bee able to satisfie the woorthypfull Companies mindes, as touching the discoverie of The Caspian Sea, with the trade of merchandise to bee had in such landes and countreys as bee thereabout adiacent, and haue brought of the wares and commodities of those Countreies able to answere the principall with profite: wishing that there were vterance for as great a quantitie of kerkies and other wares as there is profite to bee had in the sales of a small quantitie, (all such euill fortunes being escaped as to vs haue chaunced this present voyage,) for then it woulde be a trade woorthie to bee followed. Sir, for that I trust you will be here shortly (which I much desire) I will deferre the discourse with you at large vntill your comming, as well touching my trauel, as of other things. Sir, Iohn Lucke departed from hence toward England the seuenth of this present, and intendeth to passe by the way of Sweden, by whom I sent a letter to the woorthypfull Companie, and haue written that I intend to come downe vnto Colmogro to be readie there at the next shipping to imbarke my selfe for England, declaring that my seruice shal not be needfull here, for that you are a man able to serue their woorthips in greater affaires then they haue heere to doe, so farre as I perceiue. As touching the Companies affaires heere, I referre you to Christopher Hudsons letters, for that I am but newly arriued. Hauing here but litle businesse to doe, I send you Richard Iohnson to helpe you there in your affaires. Thus giuing you most heartie thanks for my wench *Aura Solcana*, I commend you to the tuition of God, who send you health with hearts desire.

Master Ienkinson's voyage intended for Cathay.

The discoverie of the Caspian sea.

Passage to and from Moscouia by Sweden.

This was a pong Tawer game which he gaue to the Queene after ward.

Your assured to command,

Anthonie Ienkinson.

A Letter of the *Moscouie* companie to their Agents in *Russia*, Master *Henrie Lane*, *Christopher Hudson*, and *Thomas Glouer* sent in their seuenth voyage to *Saint Nicholas* with three ships; the *Swallowe*, the *Philip* and *Marse*, and the *Iesus* the fifth of May, 1560.

After our heartie commendations to you. The twelfth day of the last moneth here arriued in safetie, thanks be to God, our two shippes, & by them we receiued your letters & inuices very well

Tallowe. well perceiuing what you haue laden in them. The tallowe came euill conditioned and broken, by reason it came in Corrobias, wee lose and spoyle moze then the Caske will cost, and much of this tallowe is verie euill, blacke, soft and putrified. Touching the Ware, as yet wee knowe not howe the weight will rise, by reason that some of it was lost in the barkes. The weight of the last yeeres ware did not rise so well as the other yeeres before it did. There had neede good heede to bee taken in the weighing. Also much of this Ware had a great foote and is not so faire ware as in times past wee haue had. You must cause the foote to bee taken off before you doe weigh it, or else you must seeke to haue a good allowance for it. The traine

Ware.

Traine oyles. Oyles which you laded this yeere came well conditioned, and the caske was good and of a good sife. But if they were made a little bigger it were the better, for they be not hogshreds. You haue written to vs to send your caske which is not heere to be had, ueither doe wee thinke it so best if it were heere, considering it must goe either shaken and bounde vp, or else emptye, which will bee pestorable, and likewise will thinke and drie, and not be fitte to lade oyles in. Therefore our minde is, you shall cause so much caske to bee made there of the sife of hogshreds as will serue both for your oyles and tallowe, and let them be well trimmed with pitch on the heads and seames, and stand full of water three or foure dayes before you put Oyles in them. Your Cowper may bee ouerseer to them that make them, that they be well hooped and cleere tymbre without knottes, the woozst caske you may put the tallowe in. Wee that seech the filling of the oyles had neede to looke well to it, for there was much water in this that came nowe. Wee perceiue you haue bought and haue in a readinesse one hundred and fourtie tunnes of oyles, and that if neede be you may haue moze store. Wherefore we doe minde to send you shipping for three hundred tunnes and bywards, because we would haue this next Sommer as great a returne as you can of the commodities of that Countrey, as also such of our wares as you haue that are not vendible, or will not be solde or bartered, because we would haue a full knowledge and state of our accounts. The Sables which you sent this yeere be very base, among them all we could not make oue principall timber: we haue alwayes written vnto you to send them that bee good or else none. The Woluerings were indifferent, and some of the wolues, the rest verie base, the Lusernes but meane, the Lettes not so large skinned as we haue had: the best is, they were of a new death. As for the Ermines, they cost moze there with you, then we can sell them for here. Therefore buy no moze of them, nor of Squirrels, for wee lost the one halfe in the other. The wares that we would haue you prouide against the coming of the shippes are, Ware, Tallowe, traine Oyles, Flaxe, Cables and Ropes, and furrer, such as we haue written to you for in our last letters by the shippes: and from henceforth not to make any great prouision of any rich furrer except principall Sables & Lettes: for now there is a Proclamation made that no furrer shall be worne here, but such as the like is growing here within this our Realme. Also we perceiue that there might be a great deal of tallowe moze prouided in a yeere then you send. Therefore our minde is, you should enlarge somewhat moze in the price, and to send vs if you can three thousand podes a yeere: for we doe most good in it. And likewise the Russes, if you would giue them a reasonable price for their wares, would be the willinge to buy and sell with you, and not to carie so much to Nouogrode as they doe, but would rather bring it to Vologda to you, both Ware, Tallowe, Flaxe, Denye, and all kinde of other wares fitte for our Countrey. Our minde is you should prouide for the next shippes five hundred Loth hives, of them that be large and faire, and thickest in hand, and to be circumspect in the choosing, that you buy them that bee killed in season and well dyed and whole. If they bee good we may sell them here for sixteene shillings and better the piece, wee would haue the whole skinned, that is, the necke and legges withall, for these that you sent now lacke their neckes and legges. Neuertheless for this time you must sende them as you may get them: if you could finde the meanes that the haire might bee clipped off them, they would not take so much roome in the shippes as they doe. Wee perceiue by your letters that the prices of Ware doe rise there with you, by reason that the Poles and Lifelanders doe trade into Russia by licence: which, if there should bee peace betweene them, would bee an occasion that all other commodities in Russia would rise to a bigger price, and not bee sufficient to serue them and vs too, and likewise would bring downe there the prices of our commodities. Therefore we thinke it good you should make a supplication to the Emperour in the name of The Companie to returne the trade from Rye and Reuel to vs, especially for such wares as wee doe buy: promising that wee will bee bounde to take them at a reasonable price, as wee haue bought them in times past: and likewise that wee will bring to them such wares of ours, as are thought fitte for the Countrey, and to sell them at such reasonable prices as wee haue done. If this should not come to passe, wee might be out of hope of doing any good by the trade there: but

Sables.

Woluerings.

Lusernes.

Lettes.

Ermines.

Squirrels.

Flaxe.

Cables and ropes.

A proclamation against frozen furrer.

3000. podes of Tallowe a yeere.

500. Loth hives.

Note.

that

that we haue a further hope of some good trade to be found out by Master Antonie Ienkinson : by reason we doe perceiue by your letters, that raw silke is as plentifull in Persia, as flaxe is in Russia: beside other commodities that may come from thence. Wee vnderstand by your letters that you be at a point with the Russe for the Ware, Callow, and Crane byles that he shipped the last yere for 311 robes 20 altines, which is well: although much be not gotten by it; but because they should not vnderstand our reckonings Wee much maruel what you mean to buy Seale skins and canne them. All that you haue sent in times past lie here vsold, and will yeelde no money. If you send 100 of them tawed with the haire on, they will bee solde; or else not. In our shippe we will send you such things as you wite to haue for the ropers: and wee would they should make moze stoze of small cables and ropes, as cables of 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, inches. For these great cables be not for euery man; and the greatest cables bee not best laded: and likewise small ropes for shroudes, sholes, and other small tackeling: and that you looke better to the spinning of their yarne that it be euen and well tarred. The cables that you doe mind to send vs let them be principall and sayze, and not past foure or fise timbars. For they will not be so commonly woyme here as they haue bin with noble men: and likewise of Lucerns send fewe and principall good. Wee mind to send you in our shippes 100 tunnes of salte. And because we perceiue that balast is hardly to be had at our lading place there with you, we would you should haue in a readinesse 100 tunnes of the white stones whercof you sent vs home an example two yeres past. And likewise to haue in a readinesse mastes of all sortes for our shippes: for we know not what neede wee shall haue of them. The byinger hercof is Thomas Alcock, he could not be suffered the the last yere to passe through Poland. And as we wrote vnto you in our shippes, hee is our seruant for yeres: And for that we know him to be honest, true and painefull, our mind is hee shall be placd where he may do best seruice. Wee doth know the commodities and discommodities of all kinde of wares which you doe send vs. Therefore we would you should creede his sayings both in quantitie of wares and goodnes, as also wherin is most our profit. Wee see by your letters that your opinion is that the ropemakers should remaine there two yeres moze; and that you haue pprovided great plentie of hempe, which we are content withall. But as yet we haue solde none of our cables nor hatters, neither is the prooffe of them known; because the first you sent vs were made of flaxe, which are woorth no money: for after they be once wet they will rotte and moulder away like mosse. And those which you sent vs now last, by misfortune there with you at the lading were wette and fretted in many places, and haue lost their colour: by means whercof they be not so vendible as if they had come well conditioned. Of an hard beginning we trust God will send vs a good ending. Wee hope in your next letters to heare good newes of the proceedings of Master Antonie Ienkinson. Wee perceiue by his letters that Astracan is not so good a Hart towne as the same hath gone of it: and maruell much that round pewter should be so good, and good chepe there, and from whence it should come. And whereas you wite that you will come for England in our next shippes, we would gladly haue you to remaine there vntill the next yere following, for the better instruction of our seruants there; who haue not had so long time of continuance for the language, and knowledge of the people, countrey, and wares as you haue had. Neuerthelesse if you will needs come away, we haue no doubt, but that you will leaue good order with our seruants there, namely with Christopher Hodson and Thomas Glouer, whom we appoint to remaine there as Agents in your roome, till further order bee taken: not doubting but that they will vse themselves so discretely and wisely in all their doings, as shall be to the woorthip and benefite of this company. And as we haue a good hope in them that they will be carefull, diligent and true in all their doings: so haue we no lesse hope in all the rest of our seruants there, that they will bee not onely obedient to them (considering what roome they be in) but also will be carefull, painefull, diligent, and true euery one in his roome and place for the benefite and profit of the company: That hereafter in the absence of others they may be called and placed in the like roome there or elsewhere. And if you find any to be disobedient and stubborne, and will not be ruled; wee will you shall send him home in our shippes: who shall find such small fauour and friendship during the time that he hath to serue, as by his disobedience and euill seruice hee hath deserued. And whereas Christopher Hodson hath written to come home, as partly he hath good cause, considering the death of his father and mother: yet in regard that Sir George Barne and the Ladie his wife were his special friends in his absence, we doubt not but that he will remain in the roome, which we haue appointed him, if you doe not tarie and remaine there, till farther order be taken: and for his seruice and paines hee shall be considered, as reason is, as friendly as if his friends were liuing. Thus we trust you will take such order the one to remaine at the Mosco, and the other at Colmogro, or elsewhere, as most neede is. Thomas Alcocke is desirous to be in the Mosco: neuerthelesse you shall find him reasonable to serue where he may doe most good. The

Hope of trade to be found by Master Antonie Ienkinson.

Seale skins tawed.

Small cables best vendible.

Mastes of all sortes to be prepared.

Astracan no great good matter.

Christopher Hodson and Thomas Glouer appointed Agents 1500.

62 robes which you receiued of Iohn Boucher we haue payed him here, and also the 8 robes, which you receiued the yere befoze of Christopher Rose, and the money which you receiued moze of George Burton, for the which we haue you our debtozs. Thus we rest, referring that which is here omitted to the report of the byinger: and so God haue you in his keeping. Also we wold that you should send vs in our shippes 200 hozse-clothes moze. The things befoze witten wee would that you should let our seruants see and reade, to the intent they may perceiue our mindes,

Another letter to the foresaid parties. 1560.

This letter befoze witten is the copie of one sent you by Thomas Alcock, trusting that hee was with you long since. The 26 day of the last moneth we receiued a letter from him, dated in Stockholme in Sweden the 14 day of January, and we perceiue by his letter that hee had talked with a Dutch man that came lately from the Mosco, who informed him that our friend Master Antony Ienkinson was returned to the Mosco in September last past, but how farre he had beene, or what he had done, he could not tell. Also he wote that one Iohn Lucke a Joyner was taken by the Liefelanders, and put in prison. As yet wee haue not heard from the sayd Iohn Lucke, nor know not whether he be released out of prison or not. We suppose that by him you wote some letter which as yet is not come to our hands: so that we thinke hee is yet in prison, or otherwise dispatched out of the way. The fifteenth day of December wee receiued a letter from Christopher Hodson, dated in the Mosco the 29 of July, by the way of Danske: which is in effect a copie of such another receiued from him in our shippes. You that vnderstand that we haue laden in thre good shippes of ours these kind of wares following: to wit, in the Swallowe of London, Master vnder God Steuen Burrow, 34 fardels N^o 136 broad hozt clothes, and foure fardels N^o 58 Hampshire Kersies: and 23 pipes of bastards and seckes, and 263 pieces of raisins and 4 hogsheds N^o 154 pieces of round pewter, and ten hogsheds and poncheons of Munes, and one dyfatte with Almonds. And in the Philip and Marie, Master vnder God Thomas Wade, 25 fardels N^o 100 broad clothes, and thre fardels N^o 42 Hampshire Kersies, and thirte pipes of seckes and bastards, and 100 pieces of raisins. And in the Iesus of London, Master vnder God Arthur Petre, 10 fardels N^o 40 broad hozte clothes, and twenty seven pipes of bastards and seckes, as by the Inuices here withinclosed may appeare: Also you shall receiue such necessaries as you did wite to be sent for the rope makers: trusting that you shall haue better successe with them which you shall send vs in these ships, then with the rest which you haue sent vs yet: for we as yet haue sold none of them. And whereas we wote vnto you in our former letter, that we would send you a hundred tunnes of salte, by reason it is so deare here we doe send you but nine tunnes and a halfe, for it cost here ten pence the bushell the first penic: namely in the Swallow 6 tannes and a halfe, in the Philip and Marie one tunne and a halfe, and in the Iesus one tunne and a halfe. The 4 hogsheds of round pewter goe in the Swallow and in the Philip and Marie N^o 154 pieces, as is aforesaid. We send you thre ships, trusting that you haue provided according to our former writing good stoz of lading for them. If yee haue moze wares then will lade the ships, let it be Traine oyles that you leaue behinde: the price is not here so good as it was; it is worth here 9 pound the tunne. We thinke it good you should let the smallest ship bying as much of the traine as she can cary: And that the masters of the ships doo looke wel to the romaging, for they might bying away a great deale moze then they doe, if they would take paine in the romaging: and bestowe the traine by it selfe, and the ware and tallowe by it selfe: for the leakage of the traine doth fowle the other wares much. As for Allard the Skinner, if you thinke good, he may come home in these shippes. We haue no doubt but that you Henrie Lane, if you minde to come home now in these ships as you requested, will leaue such good order there with our seruants as shall bee for our most profite and their pferment, if they doe their dueties diligently and cruely. If our friend Master Antonie Ienkinson bee returned, and meane to come away in these ships to declare his mind and opinion of his trauaile, if need require and he be so minded he may returne thither by land and be there by the fine of Januarie or befoze. But as we be uncertaine whether he be returned or not: so we know not what he hath done, nor what benefite may rise hereafter of his trauaile. Therefore in this wee remit it to his and your good discretions. We send you Thomas Hawtreay which is our seruant for yeeres: our minde is he should be placed, where he may doe best seruice.

Also we send you Nicholas Chancelour to remaine there, who is our appzntice for yeeres; our minde is hee should be set about such businesse as he is most fit for: he hath been kept at writing schoole long: he hath his Algorisme, and hath vnderstanding of keeping of bookes of reckonings. We send you now but 100 Kersies: but against the next yeere, if occasion serue, wee will send

Stockholme.

John Luck taken
prisoner in Lief-
lands.

The Swallow.

The Philip and
Marie.

The Iesus.

Nicholas Chan-
celour.

send you a greater quantitie, according as you shall advise us: One of the pipes of leekes that is in the Swallow, which hath 2 round compasses vpon the lung, is to be presented to the Emperour: for its special good. The netre waight of the 10 puncheons of pines is 4300. 2 thirds 1 pound. It is written particularly vpon the head of euery puncheon: and the netre weight of the fatte of almonds is 500 li. two quarters. The raisins, pines, and almonds you were best to dispatch away at a reasonable price, and principally the raisins. for in keeping of them will be great losse in the waight, and the fruit will decay. We thinke it good that you prouide against the next yeere for the comming of our shippes 20 or 30 bullockes killed and salted, for beefe is very deare here. Therefore you were best to saue some of this salt that we doe send you in these shippes for the purpose. The salte of that countrey is not so good. In this you may take the opinion of the masters of the shippes. Fore skins, white, blacke, and russet will be vendible here. The last yeere you sent none: but there were mariners that bought in many. If any of the mariners doe buy any triffing furrez or other commodities, we will they shall be registred in our purlers bookes, to the intent we may know what they be. We desire to know how the Emperour tooke the letter which we sent in our shippes, as an answer to the letter that came in his name and vnder his seale for the five thousand dalters. Thus wee rest, committing you to God, from London the fift day of May 1560.

The salt of Russia is not so good as 23ap salt.

Fore skins white, blacke, and russet vendible in England

May 5. 1560.

For lacke of time the gouernours haue not firm'd this letter: which is the copie of the other two letters firm'd by them.

Yours, William Mericke,

Yours, Blase Sanders,

The maner of Iustice by lots in *Russia*, written by Master *Henrie Lane*, and executed in a controuersie betweene him and one *Sheray Costromitskey* in *Mosco*. 1560.

After the comming home into Russia of Ioseph Napea the first ambassadour to Queene Marie, I remaining the Agent there, sundrie Russian marchants by Iosephs procurement obtained letters from the Emperour to freight goods and passe in our shippes for England: which thing vpon good consideration I answered and refused. They were then diuised to credite vs and compound in value vntill the next returne. At which time, notwithstanding good accompt in the value of 600 roubles, there grewe question by their double demand. So in April Anno 1560. before my comming from Moscouia, they obtained trial by combat or letter to haue their summe double, or as I proffered 600 roubles. For combatte I was prouided of a strong willing Englishman, Robert Belt, one of the companies seruants: whome the Russes with their Champion refused. So that we had the words of our priuledge put in effect, which were to draw lots. The day and maner of triall appointed by the Emperour at his castle in his palace and high Court of Moscouia was thus. The Emperours two Treasurers, being also Chancelours and chiefe Judges, sate in court. They appointed officers to bring me, mine interpreter, & the other, through the greas presse within the rayle or barre, and permitted me to sit downe some distance from them: the aduersie parties being withou at the barre. Both parties were first perswaded with great curtesie, to wit, I to enlarge mine offer, and the Russes to mitigate their challenge. Notwithstanding that I protested my conscience to be cleere, and their game by accompt to bee sufficient, yet of gentlenes at the magistrates request I made proffer of 100 roubles more: which was openly commended, but of the plaintifes not accepted. Then sentence passed with our names in two equall balles of ware made and holden vp by the Judges, their sleeves stripped vp. Then with standing vp and wishing well to the truth attributed to him that should be first drawn, by both contents among the multitude they called a tall gentleman, saying: Thou with such a coate or cap, come vp: where roome with speede was made. He was commanded to hold his cappe, wherein they put the balles, by the crowne vpright in sight, his arme not abasing. With like circumspetion, they called at aduventure another tall gentleman, commanding him to strip vp his right sleeue, and willed him with his bare arme to reach vp, and in Gods name seuerally to take out the two balles: which he did, deliuering to either Iudge one. Then with great admiration the lotte in ball first taken out was mine: which was by open sentence so pronounced before all the people, and to be the right and true parte. The chiefe plaintifes name was Sheray Costromitsky. I was willed forthwith to pay the plaintifes the summe by me appointed. Out of which for their wrong or sinne, as it was termed, they payd tenne in the hundred to the Emperour. Ten dayes after, as their maner is, the people tooke our nation to be true and vpright dealers, and talked of this iudgement to our great credite;

Trial by combat of lor.

Note.

The former letters dated 1558, 1559, and 1560, should
all followe *M. Ienkinsons voyage to Boghar.*

The first voyage made by Master *Anthonie Ienkinson*, from
the Citie of *London* toward the land of *Russia*, begun
the twelfth of May, in the yeere 1557.



First by the grace of God, the day and yeere aboue mentioned, I departed from the sayd Citie, and the same day at Grauesend embark'd my selfe in a good shippe, named the *Primerose*, being appointed, although unworthy, chiefe captaine of the same, and also of the other 3 good ships, to say, the *Iohn Euangelist*, the *Anne*, and the *Trinitie*, hauing also the conduct of the Emperour of *Russia* his ambassadour named *Osep Nepea Gregoriwich*, who passed with his company in the sayde *Primerose*. And thus our foure tall ships being well appointed, aboue foiz men as victuals as other necessarie furniture, the saide twelfth day of the moneth of May, we weyed our ankers, and departed from the saide Grauesend, in the after noone, and plying downe the *Chantes*, the wind being Easterly, and saye weather, the 13 day we came a ground with the *Primerose*, vpon a land called the *blache taile*, where we late fast vntill the 14 day in the morning, and then God be prayesd, she came off: and that day we pleyed downe as farre as our *Ladie of Holland*, and there came to an anker, the wind being Easterly, & there remayned vntill the 20 day: then we weyed and went out at *Goldmore gate*, and from thence in at *Balley lade*, and so into *Orwel wands*, where we came to an anker: but as we came out at the sayd *Goldmore gate*, the *Trinitie* came on ground on certaine rockes, that lye to the Northward of the said gate, and was like to be bilged and lost. But by the aide of God, at the last she came off againe, being very leake: and the 21 day the *Primerose* remaing at an anker in the wands, the other thre shippes bare into *Orwel hauen*, where I caused the sayd *Trinitie* to be grounded, searched, and repaired. So we remayned in the said hauen, vntill the 28 day: and then the winde being Westerly, the thre shippes that were in the hauen, weyed and came forth, and in coming forth the *Iohn Enangelist* came on ground vpon a land, called the *Andros*, where she remained one tide, and the next full sea she came off againe without any great hurt, God be prayesd.

The 29 day in the morning all foure ships weied in the *Wands*, and that tide went as farre as *Orfordnesse*, where we came to an anker, because the wind was Northerly: And about sixe of the clock at night, the wind vered to the South west, and we weyed anker, and bare cleere of the nesse, and then set our course North east & by North vntill midnight, being then cleare of *Yarmouth lands*. Then we winded North and by West, and Northnorthwest, vntill the first of *June* at noone, then it waied calme, and continued so vntill the second day at noone: then the winde came at North west, with a tempest, and much raine, and we lay close by, and caped Northnorth east, and North east and by North, as the winde shifted, and so continued vntill the third day at noone: then the wind vered Westerly againe, and we went North our right course, and so continued our way vntill the fourth day, at three of the clocke in the afternoone, at which time the wind vered to the North west againe and blew a fresh gale, and so continued vntill the seuenth day in the morning, we plying with all our shippes close by, and capping to the Northwards: and then the wind vering more Northerly, we were forced to put roomer with the coast of *England* againe, and fell ouerthwart the *Wecastle*, but went not into the hauen, & so pleyed vpon the coast the eight day & the ninth.

The tenth day the winde came to the Northnorth west, & we were forced to beare roomer with *Flamborow head*, where we came to an anker, and there remained vntill the seuenteenth day. Then the winde came faire, and we weyed, and set our course North and by East, and so continued the same with a mery winde vntill the 21 at noone, at which time we tooke the sunne, and had the latitude in sixty degrees. Then we shifted our course, and went Northnorth east, and North east and by North, vntill the 25 day. Then we discovered certaine *Islands*, called *Heilick Islands*, lying from vs North east, being in the latitude of sixty six degrees, 40 minutes. Then we went north and by West, because we would not come too nigh the land, and running that course foure houres, we discovered, and had sight of *Rost Islands*, joining to the main land of *Finmarke*. Thus continuing our course along the coast of *Norway* and *Finmark*, the 27 day we tooke the *Sunn*, being as farre shot as *Lofoot*, and had the latitude in 69 degrees. And the same day in the afternoone appeared ouer our heads a raine bow, like a semicircle, with both ends by ward. Note that there

Heilick Islands
in 66 degrees
40 minutes.

Rost Islands.

Rost Islands.

there is between the said Rost Islands & Lofoot, a whirle poole called Malestrand, which from halfe ebbe untill halfe flood, maketh such a terrible noise, that it shaketh the ringes in the doozes of the inhabitants houses of the sayd Islands tenne miles off. Also if there cometh any Whale within the current of the same, they make a pitifull crie. Moreover, if great trees be carried into it by force of streams, and after with the ebbe be cast out againe, the ends and boughs of them haue bene so beaten, that they are like the stalkes of hempe that is byuiled. Note, that all the coaste of Finmarke is high mountaines and hills, being couered all the yere with snow. And hard aboord the shoare of this coast, there is 100 or 150 fadomes of water in depth. Thus proceeding and sailing forward, we fell with an Island called Zenam, being in the latitude of 70 degrees. About this Island we saw many Whales, very monstrous, about our ships, some by estimation of 60 foot long: and being the ingendring time they roared and cried terrible. From thence we fell with an Island, called Kertelwicke.

Malestrand a strange whirle poole.

Zenam Island.

Kertelwicke Island.

This coast from Rost vnto Lofoot lieth North and south, and from Lofoot to Zenam North-east and south-west, and from Zenam to Kertelwicke East-north-east and West-south-west. From the said Kertelwicke we sailed East and by North 10 leagues, and fell with a land called Inger sound, where we fished, being becalmed, andooke great plenty of Codds. Thus plying along the coast, we fell with a Cape, called the North Cape, which is the Northernmost land that wee passe in our voyage to S. Nicholas, and is in the latitude of 71 degrees and ten minutes, and is from Inger sound East, and to the Northwards 15 leagues. And being at this North Cape the second day of July, we had the sunne at North 4 degrees above the Horizon. The third day wee came to Wardhouse, hauing such mists that we could not see the land. This Wardhouse is a Castle standing in an Island 2 miles from the maine of Finland, subiect to the king of Denmarke, and the Eastermost land that he hath. There are two other Islands neere adioining vnto that, whereon the Castle of Wardhouse standeth. The inhabitants of those three Islands liue onely by fishing, and make much stockefish, which they dry with frost: their most feeding is fish; bread and drinke they haue none, but such as is brought them from other places. They haue small store of cattell, which are also fed with fish. From Wardhouse we sailed South-south-east ten leagues, and fell with a Cape of land called Keger, the Northernmost part of the lande of Lappia. And betwene Wardhouse, and the said Cape is a great Bay, called Dommess haff, in the South part whereof is a Monasterie of Monkes of the Russes religion, called Pechinchow. Thus proceeding forward and sailing along the coast of the said land of Lappia, winding South-east, the fourth day through great mists and darkenes we lost the company of the other three ships, and met not with them againe, untill the seventh day, when we fell with a Cape or headland called Swetinoz, which is the entering into the Bay of S. Nicholas. At this Cape lieth a great stone, to the which the barkes that passed thereby, were wont to make offerings of butter, meale, and other victuals, thinking that vnlesse they did so, their barkes or vessels should there perish, as it hath bene oftentimes seene: and there it is very darke and mistie. Note that the sixt day we passed by the place where Sir Hugh Willoughbie, with all his company perished, which is called Arzina reca, that is to say, the riuer Arzina.

Inger sound.

The North Cape.

Wardhouse.

Cattell fed with fish. The Monasterie of Pechinchow.

Arzina reca the riuer where Sir Hugh Willoughbie was frozen.

The land of Lappia is an high land, hauing snow lying on it commonly all the yere. The people of the Countrey are halfe Gentiles: they liue in the summer time neere the sea side, and vse to take fish, of the which they make bread, and in the winter they remoue by into the countrey into the woods, where they vse hunting, and kill Deere, Beares, Woolues, Fores, and other beastes, with whose flesh they be nourished, and with their skinnes apparelled in such strange fashion, that there is nothing seene of them bare but their eyes. They haue none other habitation, but onely in tents, remouing from place to place, according to the season of the yere. They know no arte nor facultie, but onely shooting, which they exercise dayly, as well men as women, and kill such beastes as serue them for their foode. Thus proceeding along the coast from Swetinoz aforesaid, the ninth day of July wee came to Cape Grace, being in the latitude of 66 degrees and 45 minutes, and is at the entering in of the Bay of S. Nicholas. Aboord this land there is 20 or 30 fadoms water, and sundry grounds good to anker in. The current at this Cape runneth South-west and North-east. From this Cape wee proceeded along untill we came to Crosse Island, which is seuen leagues from the sayd Cape South-west: and from this Island, wee set ouer to the other side of the Bay, and went South-west, and fell with an headland called Foxenose, which is from the sayd Island 25 leagues. The entering of this Bay from Crosse Island to the nearest land on the other side is seuen leagues ouer. From Foxenose proceeding forward the twelfth day of the sayd moneth of July, all our foure ships arrived in safetie at the roade of Saint Nicholas in the land of Russia, where we ankered, and had sailed from London vnto the said roade seuen hundred and fifty leagues. The Russian ambassadour and his company with great ioy got to

The Lappians covered all fasting their eyes.

The current at Cape Grace.

The entering of the Bay of S. Nicholas is seuen leagues broad at the least.

shore

August. **h**oxt, and our ships here forthwith discharged themselves: and being laden againe, and having a faire winde, departed toward England the first of August. The third of the sayd monerth I with other of my company came unto the citie of Colmogro, being an hundred verstes from the Bay of Saint Nicholas, and in the latitude of 64 degrees 25 minutes. I carried at the said Colmogro vntill the fift tenth day: and then I departed in a little boate by the great riuer of Dwina, which runneth very swiftly, and the selfe same day passed by the mouth of a riuer called Pinego, leauing it on our lefte hand fiftene verstes from Colmogro. On both sides of the mouth of this riuer Pinego is high land, great rockes of Alabaster, great woods, and Pineapple trees lying along with in the ground, which by report haue lien there since Noes flood. And thus proceeding forward the nineteenth day in the morning, I came into a towne called Yemps, an hundred verstes from Colmogro. All this way along they make much tarre, pitch and ashes of Alpen trees. From thence I came to a place called Vsiug, an ancient citie the last day of August. At this citie meete two riuers: the one called Iug, and the other Sucana, both which fall into the aforesaid riuer of Dwina. The riuer Iug hath his spring in the land of the Tartars called Cheremizzi, toying to the countrey of Permia: and Succana hath his head from a lake not farre from the citie of Vologda. Thus departing from Vsiug, and passing by the riuer Succana, we came to a towne called Toima. About this place the water is verie shallow, and stonie, and troublesome for Barkes and boats of that countrey, which they call Nassades, and Dosnecks, to passe that way: wherein marchandise are transported from the aforesaid Colmogro to the citie of Vologhda. These vessels called Nassades, are very long builded, broade made, and close aboue, flatte bottomed, and draw not aboue foure foote water, and will carrie two hundred tunnes: they haue none iron appertaining to them but all of rimber, and when the winde serueth, they are made to sayle. Otherwise they haue many men, some to hale and drawe by the neckes with long small ropes made fast to the sayd boats, and some set with long poles. There are many of thise barkes vpon the riuer of Dwina: And the most part of them belongeth vnto the citie of Vologhda: for there dwell many marchants, and they occupie the said boates with carying of salte from the sea side vnto the sayd Vologhda. The twentieth of September I came vnto Vologhda, which is a great citie, and the riuer passeth througgh the midst of the same. The houses are builded with wood of Firre trees, ioynd one with another, and round without: the houses are foure square without any iron or stone worke, couered with birch barkes, and wood ouer the same: Their Churches are all of wood, two for euery parish, one to be heated for Winter, and the other for Summer.

The descripti-
on of their
Nassades.

On the toppes of their houses they laye much earth, for feare of burning: for they are sore plagued with fire. This Vologhda is in 59 degrees, eleuen minutes, and is from Colmogro, 1000 verstes.

Good counsell
for traucters.

All the way I neuer came in house, but lodged in the wilderness, by the riuers side, and carried prouision for the way. And he that will trauell those wayes, must carie with him an hatchet, a tinder bore, and a kettle, to make fire and scethe meate, when he hath it: for there is small succour in those parts, vntil he be in townes.

December.

The first day of December, I departed from Vologhda in posse in a sled, as the maner is in Winter. And the way to Moscu is as followeth. From Vologhda to Commelski, 27 verstes, so to Olmor 25 verstes, so to Teloyeske 20 verstes, so to Vre 30 verstes, so to Vohansko 30 verstes, then to Yeraslau 30 verstes, which standeth vpon the great riuer Volga, so to Rostoue, 50 verstes, then to Rogarin 30 verstes, so to Peraslau 10 verstes, which is a great towne, standing hard by a faire lake. From thence to Dowbnay 30 verstes, so to Godoroke 30 verstes, so to Ouchay 30 verstes, and last to the Mosco 25 verstes, where I arriued the sixt day of December.

There are 14 postes called Yannes betwene Vologhda and Mosco, which are accepted 500 verstes asunder.

The 10 day of December I was sent for to the Emperors Castle by the sayd Emperour, and deliuered my letters vnto the Secretary, who talked with me of diuers matters, by the commandement of the Emperour. And after that my letters were translated, I was answered that I was welcome, and that the Emperour would giue me that I desired.

The 25 day, being the day of the natiuite, I came into the Emperors presence, and kissed his hand, who sat aloft in a goodly chaire of estate, hauing on his heade a crowne most richly decked, and a staffe of gold in his hand, all apparellled with golde, and garnished with precious stones.

There sat distant from him about two yardes his brother, and next vnto him a boy of twelue yeares of age, who was inheritor to the Emperour of Casan, conquered by this Emperour 8 yeares past.

past. Then sate his nobilitie round about him, richly apparelled with gold and stone. And after I had done obeisance to the Emperour, he with his own mouth calling me by my name, bade me to dinner, and so I departed to my lodging till dinner time, which was at five of the clocke, by candle light.

The Emperour dined in a fayre great hall, in the midst whereof was a pillar foure square, very artificially made, about which were diuers tables set, and at the bypermost part of the hall, sate the Emperour himselfe, & at his table sate his brother, his Uncles sonne, the Metropolitane, the young Emperour of Casao, and diuers of his noble men, all of one side. There were diuers Ambassadors, & other strangers, as well Christians as heathens, diuersly apparelled, to the number of 600 men, which dined in the sayd hall, besides 2000 Tartars, men of warre, which were newly come to render themselves to the Emperour, & were appointed to serue him in his wars against the Lieflanders, but they dined in other halls. I was set at a litle table, hauing no stranger with me, directly befoze the Emperours face. Being thus set and placed, the Emperour sent me diuers bowles of wine, and meade, & many dishes of meate from his own hand, which were brought me by a Duke, and my table serued all in gold and siluer, and so likewise on other tables, there were set bowles of gold, set with stone, worth by estimation 400 pounds Sterling one cup, besides the plate which serued the tables.

There was also a Cupbord of plate, most sumptuous and rich, which was not vsed: among the which, was a piece of golde of two yardes long, wrought in the toppes with towers, and dragons heads, also diuers barrels of gold and siluer, with Castles on the bungs, richly and artificially made. The Emperour and all the hall thzoughout was serued with Dukes: and when dinner was ended, the Emperour called me by name, & gaue me drinke with his own hand, & so I departed to my lodging.

Note, that when the Emperour drinketh, all the company stand by, and at euery time he drinketh or casteth of a dish of meate he blesteth himselfe. Many other things I sawe that day, not here noted.

The 4 of Ianuary, which was Twelstide with them, the Emperour, with his brother and all his nobles, all most richly apparelled with gold, pearles, precious stones, and costly fures, with a crovne vpon his head, of the Tartarian fashion, went to the Church in procession, with the Metropolitane, and diuers bishops and priests. That day I was befoze the Emperour again in Russe apparell, and the Emperour asked if that were not I, and his Chancelor answered yea. Then he bade me to dinner: then came he out of the church, and went with the procession vpon the riuer, being all frozen, and there standing bare headed, with all his Nobles, there was a hole made in the ice, and the Metropolitane hallowed the water with great solemnitie and seruice, and did cast of the sayd water vpon the Emperours sonne and the Nobilitie. That done, the people with great thzonging filled pots of the said water to carie home to their houses, and diuers children were thzowen in, and sicke people, and plucked out quickly againe, and diuers Tartars christened: all which the Emperour beheld. Also there were brought the Emperours best horses, to drinke at the sayd hallowed water. All this being ended, he returned to his palace againe, and went to dinner by candle light, and sate in a wooden house, very fairely gilt. There dined in the place, aboue 300 strangers, and I sate alone as I did befoze, directly befoze the Emperour, and had my meate, bread and drinke sent me from the Emperour.

The citie of Mosco is great, the houses for the most part of wood, and some of stone, with windowes of yron, which serue for summer time. There are many faire Churches of stone, but more of wood, which are made hot in the winter time. The Emperours lodging is in a faire and large castle, walled foure square of bricke, high, and thicke, situated vpon a hill, 2 miles about, and the riuer on the South-west side of it, and it hath 16 gates in the walles, & as many bulwarks. His palace is separated from the rest of the Castle, by a long wall going north and south, to the riuer side. In his palace are Churches, some of stone and some of wood, with round towers fairely gilded. In the Church doores and within the Churches are images of golde: the chiefe markets for all things, are within the sayd Castle, and for sundry things sundry markets, and euery science by it selfe. And in the winter there is a great market without the castle, vpon the riuer being frozen, and there is sold corne, earthen pots, tubs, sleds, &c. The castle is in circuit 2900 paces.

The country is full of marsh ground, & plaine, in woods and riuers abundant, but it bringeth forth good plenty of corne. This Emperour is of great power: for he hath conquered much, as wel of the Lieflanders, Poles, Lettoes, and Swethens, as also of the Tartars, & Gentiles, called Samoeds, hauing thereby much enlarged his dominions. He keepeth his people in great subiection: all matters paite his iudgement, be they neuer so small. The law is sharpe for all offenders.

The Metropolitane dealeth in matters of religion, as himselfe listeth, whome the Emperour greatly

greatly honoꝛeth. They vse the ceremonies, and orders of the Greeke Church. They worship many images painted on tables, and specially the image of S. Nicholas, Their Witts be maried, but their wiues being dead, they may not marie the second time, and so become Wnkes, whercof there are a great number in the land.

They haue foure Lents in the yeere, and the weeke before Shrovetide, they call the Butter weeke, &c.

They haue many soꝛtes of meats and dꝛinkes, when they banquet and delight in eating of grosse meates, and sinking sise. Before they dꝛinke they vse to blowe in the cup: their greatest friendship is in dꝛinking: they are great talkers and spers, without any faith or trust in their words, flatterers and dissemblers. The women be there very obedient to their husbands, & are kept straightly from going abroad, but at some seasons.

At my being there, I heard of men and women that drunke away their children, and all their goods at the Emperors tauerne, and not being able to pay, hauing impaired himselfe, the Tauerner bꝛingeth him out to the high way, and beates him upon the legges: then they that passe by, knowing the cause, and hauing peraduenture compassion vpon him, giue the money, and so he is ransomed.

In euery good towne there is a drunken Tauerne called a Curfmay, which the Emperour sometime leaueeth out to farme, & sometimes bestoweth for a yeare or two on some duke or gentle-man, in recompense of his seruice: and for that time he is Lord of all the towne, robbing and spoiling, and doing what pleaseth him: and then he being grown rich, is taken by the Emperour, and sent to the warres againe, where he shall spend all that which he hath gotten by ill meanes: so that the Emperour in his warres is little charged, but all the burden lieth vpon the poore people.

They vse sadles made of wood & sinewes, with the tree gilded with damaske worke, & the seat covered with cloth, sometimes of golde, and the rest Saphian leather, well stitche. They vse little dꝛummes at their saddle bowes, by the sound whercof their horses vse to runne moze swiftly.

The Russe is apparelled in this maner: his upper garment is of cloth of golde, silke, or cloth long, dovne to the foot, and buttoned with great buttons of siluer, or els laces of silke, set on with brooches, the sleeues thereof very long, which he weareth on his arme, ruffed by. Under that he hath another long garment, buttoned with silke buttons, with a high collar standing by of some colour, and that garment is made straight. Then his shirt is very fine, and wrought with red silke, or some gold, with a collar of pearle. Under his shirt he hath linnen breeches, vpon his legs, a paire of hose without feete, and his bootes of red or yellow leather. On his head hee weareth a white Colepecke, with buttons of siluer, gold, pearle, or stone, and vnder it a blacke Foxe cap, turned by very broad.

When he rideth on horsebacke to the warres, or any iourney, he hath a sword of the Turkish fashion, and his bowe and arrowes of the same maner. In the towne he weareth no weapon, but onely two or thre paire of kniues, hauing the hastes of the tooth of a fish, called the Horse.

In the Winter time, the people trauell with sleds, in towne and countrey, the way being hard, and smooth with snow: the waters and riuers are all frozen, and one horse with a sled, will draw a man vpon it 400 miles, in thre daies: but in the Summer time, the way is decepe with mire, and traueilling is very ill.

The Russe, if he be a man of any abilitie, neuer goeth out of his house in the winter, but vpon his sled, and in Summer vpon his horse: and in his sled he sits vpon a carpet, or a white Beares skinne: the sled is drawn with a horse well decked, with many Fores and Woolues tails at his necke, & is conducted by a litle boy vpon his backe: his seruants stand vpon the taile of the sled &c.

The voyage, wherein Osep Napea the Moscouite Amba- sador returned home into his countrey, with his entertainment at his arriual, at *Colmogro*: and a large description of the maners of the Countrey,

The twelfth of Maye, in the yeare of our Lorde 1557 there departed from Grauelend, foure good shippes well appointed for Marchants, which were presently bound into the Baye of S. Nicholas in Russia: with which shippes was transported, or caried home, one Osep Gregorwich Napea, who was sent Messenger from the Emperour and great Duke of Moscouia. The foure shippes were these, whose names follow, viz,

The Primerose Admirall.
The Iohn Euangelist Viceadmirall.

The

The Anne and the Trinitie Attendants.

The 13 of July, the foresayd foure shippes came to an anchor in the Baye of S. Nicholas, be-
foze an Abbey, called the Abbey of S. Nicholas, whereas the sayde Messenger, Osep Gregori-
wich Napea went a shoare, and as many English men as came to serue the Emperour remai-
ned with him at the Abbey for the space of sixe daies, vntill he had gotten all his things a shoare,
and laden the same in barkes, to goe by the riuer Dvina, vnto Vologhda, which is by water
1000 verstes, and euery verst is about three quarters of an English mile;

The 20 of July, we departed from S. Nicholas, and the 24 of the same; we came to Col-
mogro, where we remained eight daies: and the sayd Messenger was there of all his acquaint-
ance welcommed home, and had presents innumerable sent vnto him, but it was nothing but
meate and drinke. Some sent white bread, some rie bread, and some buttered bread & panakes,
beece, mutton, bacon, egges, butter, fishes, swannes, geese, duckes, hennes, and all maner of victu-
als, boch fish and flesh, in the best maner, that the rude people could deuise: for among them, these
presents are highly esteemed.

Presents used
in Russia are
all for the most
part of victu-
als.

The 29 of July, we departed from Colmogro, and the 14 of August we came to Vliug,
where we remained one day, and changed our barkes or boates.

The 27 of August, we came to Vologhda, where we remained 4 daies vnlading the barkes,
and lading our chestes and things in small waggons, with one horse in a piece, which in their
tongue are called Telegos, and with these Telegoes they caried our stuffe from Vologhda vnto
the Mosco, which is 500 verstes: and we were vpon the same way 14 daies: for we went ne fas-
ter then the Telegoes.

There are three great towncs betweene the Mosco and Vologhda, that is to say, Yeraslaue,
Rostauc, & Pereslaue. Vpon one side of Yeraslaue runneth a famous riuer, which is called Volga.
It runneth into the Caspian sea, and it deuideth it selfe befoze it come into the Mare Caspium,
in 50 parts or more, and nere vnto the same sea there stands a great Citie, called Boghar, the in-
habitants of the which are called by the same name.

The citie of
Boghar.

The people of the said Citie doe traffique vnto the Citie of Mosco: their commodities are
spices, muske, ambergreece, rubarbe, with other drugs. They bring also many fures which they
buy in Siberia comming towards the Mosco: the sayd people are of the sect of Mahomet.

The 12 of September we came vnto the citie of Mosco, where we were brought by Napea,
and two of the Emperours gentlemen vnto a large house, where euery one of vs had his chamber
appointed.

They arrived
at Mosco.

The 14 of September we were commanded to come vnto the Emperour, and immediatly af-
tee our coming we were brought into his presence, vnto whom each of vs did his due tie ac-
cordingly, and kissed his right hand, his maiestie sitting in his chaire of estate, with his crowne on his
head, and a staffe of goldsmiths worke in his left hand well garnished with rich and costly stones:
and when we had all kissed his hand and done our dueties, his maiestie did declare by his interpre-
ter that we were all welcome vnto him, and into his countrey, & therupon willed vs to dine with
him: that day we gaue thanks vnto his maiestie, and so departed vntill the dinner was ready.

When dinner time appoched, we were brought againe into the Emperours dining chamber,
where we were set on one side of a table that stood ouer against the Emperours table, to the end
that he might wel behold vs al: and when we came into the foresayd chamber, we found there rea-
die set these tables following.

First at the vpper end of one table were set the Emperour his maiestie, his brother, & the Em-
perour of Cazan, which is prisoner. About two yardes lower sate the Emperour of Cazan his
sonne, being a child of sixe yeeres of age, and beneath him sate the most part of the Emperours no-
ble men.

And at another table neere vnto the Emperours table, there was set a Honke all alone, which
was in all points as well serued as the Emperour. At another table sate another kind of people
called Chirkasses, which the Emperour entertaineth for men of warre to serue against his ene-
mies. Of which people and of their countrey, I will hereafter make mention.

All the tables aforesayd were couered onely with salt and bread, and after that we had sieten a
while, the Emperour sent vnto euery one of vs a piece of bread, which were giuen and deliuered
vnto euery man seuerally by these words: The Emperour and great Duke giue: h the bread this
day, and in like manner theer or foure times befoze dinner was ended, he sent vnto euery man
drinke, which was giuen by these words, The Emperour and great Duke giue: h thee to drinke.
All the tables aforesayd were serued in vessels of pure and fine golde, as well basons and ewers,
platters, dishes and saucers, as also of great pots, with an innumerable sorte of small drinke
pottes of diuers fashions, whercof a great number were set with stone. As for costly meates

I haue many times seene better : but for change of wines, and diuers sorts of meads, it was wonderfull : for there was not left at any time so much void roome on the table, that one cuppe more might haue bin set, and as far as I could perceiue, all the rest were in the like maner serued.

In the dinner time there came in fire singers which stood in the midst of the chamber, and their faces towards the Emperour, who sang there befoze dinner was ended three seuerall times, whose songs or voices delighted our eares little or nothing.

The Emperour neuer putteth more of meate in his mouth, but he first blesseth it himselfe, & in like maner as often as he drinketh: for after his maner he is very religious, & he esteemeth his religious men about his noble men.

This dinner continued about the space of five houres, which being ended, and the tables taken by, we came into the midst of the chamber, where we did reuerence vnto the Emperours maiestie, and then he deliuered vnto euery one of vs with his own hands a cup of mead, which when euery man had receiued and drunke a quantity thereof, we were licenced to depart, & so ended that dinner. And because the Emperour would haue vs to be mery, he sent to our lodging the same Evening three barrells of meade of sundry sortes, of the quantitie in all of one hogshed.

The 16 day of September the Emperour sent home vnto our lodging for euery of vs a Tartarie horse to ride from place to place as we had occasion, for that the streets of Mosco are very fowle and mirie in the Summer.

The 18 of September there were giuen vnto master Standish doctor in Physick, and the rest of our men of our occupatiours, certaine furred gownes of branched veluet and gold, and some of red damaske, of which master Doctors gowne was furred with Sables, and the rest were furred some with white Ermine, and some with gray Squirrel, and all faced and edged round about with blacke beauer.

The 1 of October in the morning we were commanded to come vnto the Emperours court, and when we came thither, we were brought vnto the Emperour vnto whom we did our duties accordingly: whereupon he willed vs to dine with him that day, and so with thanks vnto his maiestie, we departed vntill dinner time, at which time we came and found the tables covered with bread and salt as at the first: & after that we were all set vpon one side of the table, the Emperours maiestie according to his accustomed maner sent vnto euery man a piece of bread by some of the Dukes which attended on his highnesse.

And whereas the 14 of September we were serued in vessels of gold, we were now serued in vessels of silver, and yet not so abundantly as was the first of gold: they brought drinke vnto the table in silver boles which contained at the least sixe gallons a piece, and euery man had a siluer cuppe to drinke in, & another to dip vnto to take his drinke out of the great boll withall: the dinner being ended, the Emperour gaue vnto euery one of vs a cup with meade, which when we had receiued, we gaue thanks and departed.

Moreouer, whensoever the Emperours pleasure is that any stranger shall dine with him, he doth send for them in the morning, and when they come befoze him, he with his owne mouth biddeth them to dinner, and this order he alwaies obserueth.

The 10 of October the Emperour gaue vnto M. Standish 70 rubles in money, and to the rest of our men of occupatiours 30 rubles apiece.

The 3 of November we dined againe with the Emperour, where we were serued as befoze.

The 6 of December being S. Nicholas day, we dined againe at the Emperours, for that is one of the principall feasts which the Moscowites hold: we were serued in silver vessels and ordered in all points as befoze, and it was past 7 of the clocke at night befoze dinner was ended.

The Emperours maiestie blesseth euery yeare in the moneth of December, to haue all his ordinance that is in the citie of Mosco caried into the field which is without the Suburbs of the citie, and there to haue it planted and bent vpon two houses of Wood filled within with earth: against which two houses there were two faire white markes set by, at which markes they discharge all their ordinance, to the ende the Emperour may see what his Gunners can doe. They haue faire ordinance of brasse of all sortes, bales, fanlcons, minions, sakers, culuerings, cannons double and royall, basistikes long and large, they haue sixe great pieces whose shot is a yard of height, which shot a man may easily discern as they flee: they haue also a great many of mortar pieces or pot-guns, out of which pieces they shoote wild fire.

The 12 of December the Emperours Maiestie and all his nobility came into the field on horse-backe, in most goodly order, hauing very fine Jennets & Turkie horses garnished with gold & silver abundantly. The Emperours maiestie hauing on him a gowne of rich tulle, & a cap of skarlet on his head, set not only with pearles, but also with a great number of rich and costly stones: his noble men were all in gownes of cloth of gold, which did ride befoze him in good order by 3. & 3. and befoze

Standish
Doctor of Physicke.

Long dinners

Ordinance in
Russia.

A persely
triumph.

before them there went 5000 harquebusiers, which went by 5 and 5 in a rank in very good order, every of them carrying his gun upon his left shoulder, and his match in his right hand, and in this order they marched into the field where as the foze layd ordinance was planted.

And before the Emperours maiestie came into the field, there was a certaine stage made of small poles which was a quarter of a mile long, and about thret score yardes off from the stage of poles were certaine pieces of ice of two foot thicke, and sixe foote high set by, which ranke of ice was as long as the stage of poles, and as soone as the Emperours maiestie came into the field, the harquebusiers went upon the stage of poles where they setled themselves in order. And when the Emperours maiestie was setled where he would be, and where he might see all the ordinance discharged and shot off, the harquebusiers began to shoot off at the banke of ice, as though it had bin in any skemish or battel, who ceased not shooting, untill they had beaten all the ice flat on the ground.

After the handgunes, they shot off their wild fire by into the aire, which was a goodly sight to behold. And after this, they began to discharge the smal pieces of brasse, beginning with the smallest and so orderly bigger and bigger, untill the last and biggest. When they had shot them all off, they began to charge them againe, and so shot them all off 3 times after the first order, beginning with the smallest, and ending with the greatest. And note that before they had ended their shooting, the 2 houses that they shot vnto were beaten in pieces, & yet they were very strongly made of Wood and filled with earth, being at the least 30 foote thicke. This triumph being ended, the Emperour departed and rode home in the same order that he came forth into the field. The ordinance is discharged every yeare in the moneth of December, according to the order before mentioned.

On Christmas day we were all willed to dine with the Emperours Maiestie, where for bread, meat and drinke, we were serued as at other times before: but for goodly and rich plate, we neuer saw the like or so much before. There dined that day in the Emperours presence about 500 strangers, and two hundred Russes, and all they were serued in vessels of gold, and that as much as could stand one by another vpon the tables. Besides this there were foure cupboards garnished with goodly plate both of gold & silver. Among the which there were 12 barrels of silver, containing about 12 gallons a piece, and at each end of every barrell were 6 hoopcs of fine gold: this dinner continued about sixe houres.

Every yeare vpon the 12 day they vse to blesse or sanctifie the riuer Moscua, which runneth through the citie of Mosco, after this maner.

The blessoing
of the riuer of
Mosco.

First, they make a square hole in the ice about 3 fadoms large every way, which is trimmed about the sides & edges with white boards. Then about 9 of the clocke they come out of the church with procession towards the riuer in this wise.

First and foremost there goe certaine young men with ware tapers burning, and one carrying a great lanterne: then follow certaine banners, then the crosse, then the images of our Lady, of S. Nicholas, and of other Saints, which images men carie vpon their shoulders: after the images follow certaine priests to the number of 100 or more: after them the Metropolitan who is led betwene two priests, and after the Metropolitan came the Emperour with his crowne vpon his head, and after his maiestie all his noble men orderly. Thus they followed the procession vnto the water, & when they came vnto the hole that was made, the priests set themselves in order round about it. And at one end of the same pool there was a scaffold of boards made, vpon which stood a faire chaire in which the Metropolitan was set, but the Emperours maiestie stood vpon the ice.

After this the priests began to sing, to blesse and to senle, and did their seruice, and so by that time that they had done, the water was holy, which being sanctified, the Metropolitane tooke a little thereof in his hands, and cast it on the Emperour, like wise vpon certaine of the Dukes, & then they returned againe to the church with the priests that sate about the water: but that preasse that there was about the water when the Emperour was gone, was wondrous to behold, for there came about 5000 pots to be filled of that water: for that Hostouite which bath no part of that water, thinks himselfe unhappy.

And very many went naked into the water, both men and women and children: after the preasse was a litle gone, the Emperours Jennets and hoxles were brought to drinke of the same water, and likewise many other men brought their hoxles thither to drinke, and by that means they make their hoxles as holy as themselves.

All these ceremonies being ended, we went to the Emperour to dinner, where we were serued in vessels of silver, and in all other points as we had bene beforetime.

The Russes begin their Lent alwaies 8 weekes before Easter: the first weeke they eate eggs, milke, cheese & butter, and make great cheare with pancakes and such other things, one friend visiting another, & from the same Sunday vntil our Shrovelunday there are but few Russes sober, but they are drunke day by day, and it is accounted for no reproch or shame among them.

The Russes
Lent.

The next weeke being our first weeke of Lent, or our ctenling weeke, beginning our Shrofe-
sunday, they make and keepe a great fast. It is reported, and the people do verily beleue that the
Metropolitane neither eateth nor drinketh any manner of thing for the space of seven dayes; and
they say that there are many religious men which doe the like.

The Emperours Maieste eateth but one morsel of bread, and drinketh but one draught of
drinke once in the day during that weeke, and all men that are of any reputation come not out of
their houses during that time, so that the streetes are almost void of company, sauing a few poore
folkes which wander to and fro. The other fixe weekes they keepe as we do ours, but not one of
them will eate either butter, cheese, eggs or milke.

On Palme Sunday they haue a very solemne procession in this maner following.

First, they haue a tree of a good hignesse which is made fast vpon two sleds, as though it were
growing there, and it is hanged with apples, raisins, figs and dates, and with many other fruits a-
bundantly. In the midst of y same tree stand 5 boyes in white vestures, which sing in the tree be-
foze the procession: after this there followed certaine pong men with waxe tapers in their hands
burning, & a great lanterne that al the light should not go out: after them followed two with long
banners, & fixe with round plates set vpon long staues: the plates were of copper very full of holes
and thin: then followed 6 carping painted images vpon their shoulders, after the images followed
certaine priests to the number of 100 or more, with goodly vestures, wherof 10 or 12 are of white
damaske, set and imbrodered round about with faire and orient pearles, as great as peale, and a-
mong them certaine Saphires and other stones. After them followed the one halfe of the Empe-
rours noble men: then commeth the Emperours maieste and the Metropolitane, after this maner.

First, there is a horse couered with white linnen cloth down to y ground, his eares being made
long with the same cloth like to an asses eares. Vpon this horse the Metropolitane sitteth sidelong
like a woman: in his lappe leech a faire booke, with a crucifix of Goldsmiths worke vpon the cover,
which he holdeth fast with his left hand, and in his right hand he hath a crosse of gold, with which
crosse he ceaseth not to blesse the people as he rideth.

There are to the number of 30 men which spread abroad their garments befoze the horse, and
as soone as the horse is past ouer any of them, they take them by againe and run befoze, and spread
them againe, so that the horse doth alway go on some of them. They which spread the garments are
all priests sonnes, and for their labours the Emperour giueth vnto them new garments.

One of the Emperours noble men leadeth the horse by the head, but the Emperour himselfe
going on foote leadeth the horse by the ende of the reine of his bydle with one of his hands, and in
the other of his hands he had a branch of a Palme tree: after this followed the rest of the Em-
perours Noble men and Gentlemen, with a great number of other people. In this order they
went from one church to another within the cawle, about the distance of two flights shot: and so
returned againe to the Emperours Church, where they made an end of their seruice. Which be-
ing done, the Emperours maieste and certaine of his noble men went to the Metropolitane his
houle to dinner, where of delicate fishes and good drinks there was no lacke.

The rest of this weeke untill Easter day they kept very solemnelly, continuing in their houses
for the most part, and vpon Sunday or Thursday the Emperour doth alwayes vse to receiue the
Sacrament, and so doe most of his nobles.

Vpon good Friday they continue all the day in contemplation and prayers, and they vse eue-
ry yere on good Friday to let loose a prisoner in the stead of Barrabas. The night following they
go to the Church where they sleepe vntill the next morning, & at Easter they haue the resurreccion,
& after euery of the Lents they eat flesh the next weeke following, Friday, Saturday and all.

They haue an order at Easter which they alwaies obserue, and that is this: euery yere against
Easter to die or colour red with Brazell a great number of eggs, of which euery man and woman
giueth one vnto the priest of their Parish vpon Easter day in the morning. And moreouer the
common people vse to carie in their hands one of their red eggs, not onely vpon Easter day, but al-
so three or foure dayes after, and gentlemen and gentlewomen haue eggs gilded which they car-
ry in like maner. They vse it as they say for a great loue, and in token of the resurreccion, whereof
they reioyce. For when two friends meete during the Easter holy dayes, they come & take one an-
other by the hand: the one of them sayth, the Lord or Christ is risen, the other answereth, it is so
of a truth, and then they kill and exchange their eggs both men and women, continuing in killing
4 dayes together.

The 12 of Apill being Tuesday in the Easter weeke, master Ienkinson and master Graic,
and certayne other of vs English men dined with the Emperour, where we were serued as we had
bin befoze time. And after dinner the Emperours maieste gaue vnto master Ienkinson and vnto
M. Gray, and so ordeily vnto euery one of vs a cup of Mead, according to his accustomed maner
which

The Emperour
leadeth y Me-
ropolitans
horse in process-
ion.

Killing used in
the Greeke
church.

which when euery man had receiued and giuen thanks, M. Ienkinson stepped into the midst of the chamber befoze the Emperours maiestie, and gaue thanks to his highnesse for his goodnesse vnto him extended, desiring his grace to licence him to depart, and in like maner did Master Gray. His maiestie did not onely licence them to depart, but also graunted vnto master Ienkinson his letters vnder his great seale, vnto all princes through whose dominions master Ienkinson should haue occasion to passe, that he might the sooner and quietlier passe by meanes thereof. Which being granted, master Ienkinson and Gray lowly submitted themselues, thanking his maiestie. So the Emperour gaue vnto either of them a cuppe of mead to drinke, and willed them to depart at their pleasure in Gods peace.

Which these letters M. Ienkinson tooke his voyage the saime Aprill to Boghar.

The 14. of Aprill in the morning when M. Gray and I were ready to depart towards England, the Chancelloz sent vnto vs and willed vs to come to their office in the Chancerie, where at our comming they shewed vs a great number of the Emperours iewels, and rich robes, willing vs to marke and beholde them well, to the end that at our arriual into England, we might make report what we had seene there.

The chiefest was his maiesties crowne, being close vnder the top very faire wrought: in mine opinion, the workmanship of so much gold few men can amend. It was adorned and decked with rich and precious stones abundantly, among the which one was a rubie, which stood a handfull higher then the top of the crown vpon a small wier, it was as big as a good beane: the same crown was lined with a faire blacke Sable, worth by report 400. robes.

The Emperours wardrobe.

We sawe all his maiesties robes which were very richly set with stones, they shewed vs manie other great stones of diuers kindes, but the most part of them were vneuen, in maner as they came out of the worke, for they doe more esteeme the greatnesse of stones, then the proportion of them.

We sawe two goodly gownes which were as heauie as a man could easily carrie, all set with pearles ouer and ouer: the gards or borders round about them were garnished with sapphires and other good stones abundantly. One of the same gownes was very rich, for the pearles were very large, round and orient: as for the rest of his gownes and garments, they were of rich tissue and cloth of gold and all furred with very blacke Sables.

When we had sufficiently perused all these things, they willed master Gray at his arriual in England, to prouide if he could, such iewels and rich clothes as he had seene there, and better if he could, declaring that the Emperour would gladly bestow his money vpon such things.

So we tooke our leaue the same time, and departed towards Vologda immediatly.

The manners, vsages, and ceremonies of the Russes.

Of the Emperour.



The Emperours name in their tongue is Iuan Vasiluich, that is as much to say, as Iohn the sonne of Vasilie and by his princely state hee is called Otesara, as his predecessors haue bene befoze, which to interpret, is a king, that giueth not tribute to any man. And this word Otesara his maiesties interpreters haue of late dayes interpreted to be Emperour, so that now hee is called Emperour and great Duke of all Russia, &c. Befoze his father they were neither called

“M. Basilus.

Emperours nor kings but onely Ruese Velike, that is to say, great Duke. And as this Emperour which now is Iuan Vasiluich, doeth erreede his predecessors in name, that is, from a Duke to an Emperour, euen so much by report he doeth erreede them in stoutnesse of courage and valiantnesse, and a great deale more: for he is no more afraid of his enemies which are not few, then the Hobbie of the larks.

His enemies with whom he hath warres for the most part are these: Litto, Poland, Sweden, Denmark, Lissland, the Crimmes, Nagaians, and the whole nation of the Tartartans, which are a stoute and a hardie people as any vnder the Sunne.

This Emperour vseth great familiaritie, as wel vnto all his nobles and subiects, as also vnto strangers which serue him either in his warres, or in occupations: for his pleasure is that they shall dine oftentimes in the peere in his presence, and besides that he is oftentimes abroad, either at one Church or another, and walking with his noble men abroad. And by this meanes he is not onely beloued of his nobles and commons, but also had in great dread and feare through all his dominions, so that I thinke no prince in Christendome is more feared of his owne then he is, nor yet better beloued. For if he bid any of his Dukes goe, they will runne, if he giue any euill or angrie worde to any of them, the partic will not come into his maiesties presence againe of a long

time

time if he be not sent for, but will saue him to be very like, and will let the haire of his head grow very long, without either cutting or shauing, which is an euident token that hee is in the Emperors displeasure: for when they be in their prosperitie, they account it a shame to weare long haire, in consideration whereof, they vse to haue their heads shauen.

Note, His maiestie heareth all complaints himselfe, and with his owne mouth giueth sentence, and iudgement of all matters, and that with expedition: but religious matters he medleth not withall, but referreth them wholly vnto the Metropolitane.

His maiestie retaineth and well rewardeth all strangers that come to serue him, and especially men of warre.

Hee delighteth not greatly in hauking, hunting, or any other pastime, nor in hearing instruments or musicke, but secrett all his whole delight vpon two things: First, to serue God, as vndoubtedly he is very deuoute in his religion, and the second, howe to subdue and conquere his enemies.

He hath abundance of gold and siluer in his owne handes or treasure: but the most part of his know not a crowne from a counter, nor gold from copper, they are so much cumberd therewithall, and he that is worth 2. 3. or 4. grotes, is a rich man.

Of their Religious men.

The Metropolitane is next vnto God, our Lady and S. Nicholas excepted: for the Emperors maiestie iudgeth & affirmeth him to be of higher dignitie then himselfe; for that, saith he, he is Gods spiritual officer, and I the Emperour am his tempozall officer, and therefore his maiestie submitteth himselfe vnto him in many things concerning religious matters, as in leading the Metropolitans horse vpon Palme Sunday, and giuing him leaue to sitte on a chaire vpon the 12. day, when the riuer Mosco was in blessing, his maiestie standing on the pee.

All matters of religion are reformed by the Metropolitane, he heareth the causes and giueth sentence as himselfe listeth, and is authorized so to doe, whether it be to whip, hang or burne, his will must needs be fulfilled.

They haue both monks, friers and nunnnes, with a great number of great & rich monasteries: they keepe great hospitalitie, and doe relieue much poore people day by day. I haue bene in one of the monasteries called Troieres, which is walled about with bricke very strongly like a castle, and much ordinance of brasse vpon the walles of the same. They told me themselves that there are seuen hundred brethren of the which belong vnto that house. The most part of the lands, towne, and villages which are within 40. miles of it, belong vnto the same. They shewed me the church, wherein were as many images as could hang about, or vpon the wals of the Church round about, and euen the roofof the church was painted ful of images. The chiefe image was of our Ladie, which was garnished with gold, rubies, saphirs and other rich stones abundantly. In the midst of the church stood 12. waxe tapers of two yards long, and a fathom about in bignesse, & there stands a kettle full of waxe with about 100. weight, wherein there is alwayes the wicke of a candle burning, as it were a lampe which goeth not out day nor night.

They shewed me a coffin couered with cloth of gold which stode vpon one side within their church, in which they told me lay a holy man, who neuer eate or drinke, and yet that he liueth. And they told me (supposing that I had beleued them) that he healeth many diseases, and giueth the blind their sight, with many other miracles, but I was hard of beliefe because I saw him worke no miracle whilst I was there.

After this they brought me into their cellers, and made me taste of diuers kinds of drinks, both wine and beere, mead and quassie, of sundry colours and kinds. Such abundance of drinke as they haue in their cellers, I doe suppose few princes haue more, or so much at once.

Their barrels or vessels are of an vmeasurable bignes & size: some of them are 3. yards long and more, and 2. yards & more broad in their heads: they containe 6. or 7. runnes a piece: they haue none in their cellers of their owne making that are lesse then a tunne. They haue 9. or 10. great vantes which are full of those barrels which are seldome remooued: for they haue trunks which come downe through the roofof the vantes in sundry places, through which they potuze drinke downe, hauing the calke right vnder it to receiue the same, for it should be a great trouble to bring it all downe the stappes.

The hospitalitie of their monasteries.

They giue bread, meat and drinke vnto all men that come to them, not onely while they are at their abbey, but also when they depart, to serue them by the way.

There are a great number of such monasteries in the Realm, and the Emperors maiestie rideth oftentimes from one to another of them, and lieth at them 3. or 4. daies together.

The

The same monkes are as great merchants as any in the land of Russia, and doe occupy buying and selling as much as any other men, and haue boats which passe too and fro in the riuers with merchandize from place to place where any of their countrey do traffike.

They eate no flesh during their liues as it is reported: but vpon Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday it is lawfull for them to eate egges, butter, cheese and milke, and at all times to eate fish, and after this sort they lead their liues.

They weare all blacke garments, and so doe none other in all the lande, but at that abbey onely.

They haue no preachers no not one in all the land to instruct the people, so that there are many, & the most part of the poore in the countrey, who if one aske them how many gods there be, they will say a great many, meaning that euery image which they haue is a god: for all the countrey and the Emperours maiesty himselfe wil blesse and bowe, and knocke their heads befoze their images, in so much that they will cry earnestly vnto their images to helpe them to the things which they need. All men are bound by their law to haue those images in their houses, and ouer euery gate in all their towne and cities are images set vp, vnto which the people bow and bend, and knocke their heads against the ground befoze them: as often as they come by any church or crosse they do in like maner. And when they come to any house, they blesse themselves 3. or 4. times befoze they will salute any man in the house.

Want of preachers cause of great ignorance and idolatry.

They reckon and hold it for great sinne to touch or handle any of their images within the circle of the boord where the painting is, but they keep them very daintily, and rich men deck them ouer and about with gold, siluer and stones, and hang them ouer and about with cloth of gold.

The priests are married as other men are, and weare all their garments as other men doe, except their nightcaps, which is cloth of some sad colour, being round; & reacheth vnto the eares: their crownes are shauen, but the rest of their haire they let grow, as long as nature will permit, so that it hangeth beneath their eares vpon their shoulders: their beards they neuer shau: if his wife happen to die, it is not lawfull for him to mary againe during his life.

They minister the Communion with bread and wine after our order, but he breaketh the bread and putteth it into the cup vnto the wine, and commonly some are partakers with them: and they take the bread out againe with a spoon together with part of the wine, and so take it themselves, and giue it to others that receiue with them after the same maner.

Their ceremonies are all as they say, according to the Greeke Church vsed at this present day, and they allow no other religion but the Greeks, and their owne: and will not permit any nation but the Greeks to be buried in their sacred burials, or churchyards.

All their churches are full of images, vnto the which the people when they assemble, doe bowe and knocke their heads, as I haue befoze said, that some will haue knobbes vpon their foreheads with knocking, as great as egges.

All their seruice is in the Russe tongue, and they and the common people haue no other prayers but this, Ghospodi Iesus Christos esine voze ponuloi nashe. That is to say, O Lord Iesus Christ, sonne of God haue mercy vpon vs: and this is their prayer, so that the most part of the vnlearned know neither Pater noster, nor the Beliefe, nor Ten commandements, nor scarcely vnderstand the one halfe of their seruice which is read in their Churches.

All their seruice is in their mother tongue.

Of their Baptisme.

When any child is borne, it is not baptized vntil the next Sunday, and if it chanceth that it be not baptized then, it must tary vntil the second Sunday after the birth, and it is lawfull for them to take as many Godfathers and Godmothers as they will, the more the better.

When they go to the Church, the midwife goeth for most, carrying the childe, & the Godfathers and Godmothers follow into the midst of the Church, where there is a small table ready set, and on it an earthen pot full of warme water, about the which the Godfathers and Godmothers, with the childe, settle themselves: then the cleerke giueth vnto euery of them a small wate candle burning, then commeth the priest, and beginneth to say certaine words, which the Godfathers and Godmothers must and were word for word, among which one is, that the childe shal for sake the deuill, and as that name is pronounced, they must all spit at the word as often as it is repeated. Then he blesseth the water which is in the pot, and doth breathe ouer it: then he taketh all the candles which the gossips haue, and holding them all in one hand letteth part of them droy into the water, and then giueth euery one his candle againe, and when the water is sanctified, he taketh the childe and holdeth it in a small tubbe, and one of the Godfathers taketh the pot with warme water, and pouereth it all vpon the childs head.

After

After this he hath many more ceremonies, as anoynting eares and eyes with spittle, and making certaine crosses with oyle upon the backe, head, and brest of the childe: then taking the childe in his armes, carrieth it to the images of S. Nicholas, and our Labie, &c. and speaketh vnto the images, desiring them to take charge of the childe, that he may liue, and beleeue as a Christian man or woman ought to doe, with many other words. Then comming backe from the images, he taketh a paire of sheares and clipperth the yong and tender haire of the childes head, in three or foure places, and then deliuereth the childe, wherunto euery of the Godfathers & Godmothers lay a hand: then the priest chargerth them, that the childe be brought vp in the faith & feare of God or Christ, and that it be instructed to clinege and bow to the images, and so they make an end: then one of the Godfathers must hang a crosse about the necke of the childe, which he must alwayes weare, for that Russe which hath not a crosse about his necke they esteeme as no Christian man, and thereupon they say that we are no Christians, because we do not weare crosses as they do.

Of their Matrimonie.

Their matrimonie is nothing solemnized, but rather in most points abhominable, and as nere as I can learne, in this wise following.

First, when there is loue betweene the parties, the man sendeth vnto the woman a small chest or boxe, wherein is a whip, needles, threed, silke, linnen cloth, sheares, and such necessaries as shee shall occupie when she is a wife, and perhaps sendeth therewithall raisins, figs or some such things, giuing her to vnderstand, that if she doe offend, she must be beaten with the whip, & by the needles, threed, cloth, &c. that she should apply her selfe diligently to sowe, and do such things as shee could best doe, and by the raisins or fruites he meaneth if she doe well, no good thing shall be withdrawn from her, nor be too deare for her: and she sendeth vnto him a shirt, handkerchers, and some such things of her owne making. And now to the effect.

When they are agreed, and the day of marriage appointed, when they shall goe towards the Church, the bride will in no wise consent to go out of the house, but resisteth and striueth with the that would haue her out, and faineth her selfe to weepe, yet in the end, two women get her out, and lead her towards the church, her face being couered close, because of her dissimulation, that it should not be openly perceiued: for she maketh a great noise, as though she were sobbing and weeping, vntill she come at the Church, and then her face is vncouered. The man commeth after among other of his friends, and they carry with them to the church a great pot with wine or mead: then the priest couereth them together much after our order, one promising to loue and serue the other during their liues together, &c. which being done, they begin to drinke, and first the woman drinke to the man, and when he hath drunke he letteth the cuppe fall to the ground, halting immediately to cread vpon it, and so doth she, and whether of them cread first vpon it must haue the victorie and be master at all times after, which commonly happeneth to the man, for he is readie to set his foot on it, because he letteth it fall himselfe, then they goe home againe, the womans face being vncouered. The boyes in the streetes crie out and make a noyse in the meane time, with very dishonnest wordes.

When they come home, the wife is set at the vpper end of the table, and the husband next vnto her: they fall then to drinking till they bee all drunke, they perchance haue a minstrell or two, and two naked men, which led her from the Church daunce naked a long time befoze all the companye. When they are wearie of drinking, the bride and the bridegrome get them to bed, for it is in the euening alwayes when any of them are married: and when they are going to bedde, the bridegrome putterth certain money both golde and siluer, if he haue it, into one of his bootes, and then sitteth down in the chamber, crossing his legges, and then the bride must plucke off one of his bootes, which she will, and if she happen on the boote wherein the money is, she hath not onely the money for her labor, but is also at such choyse, as she need not euer from that day forth to pul off his bootes, but if she misse the boote wherein the money is, she doth not onely loose the money, but is also bound from that day forwards to pull off his bootes continually.

Then they continue in drinking and making good cheere thre daies following, being accompanied with certaine of their friends, and during the same thre daies he is called a Duke, & shee a dutches, although they be very pooze persons, and this is as much as I haue learned of their matrimony: but one common rule is amongst them, if the woman be not beaten with the whip once a weeke, she will not be good, and therefore they looke for it orderly, & the women say, that if their husbands did not beate them, they should not loue them.

They vse to marry there very yong, their sonnes at 16. and 18. yeeres olde, and the daughters at 12. or 13. yeeres or yonger: they vse to keepe their wiues very closely, I meane those that be

of any reputation, so that a man shall not see one of them but at a chance, when she goeth to church at Christmas or at Easter, or els going to visite some of her friends.

The most part of the women vse to ride a stride in saddles with stirrops, as men do, and some of them on sleds, which in summer is not commendable.

The husband is bound to finde the wise colours to paint her withall, for they vse ordinarily to paynt themselves: it is such a common practise among them, that it is counted for no shame: they greafe their faces with such colours, that a man may discern them hanging on their faces almost a flight shooote off: I cannot so well liken them as to a millers wife, for they looke as though they were beaten about the face with a bagge of meale, but their eye browes they colour as blacke as icat.

The women of Russia paint their faces.

The best properitie that the women haue, is that they can sowe well, and imboder with silke and golde excellently.

Of their buriall.

When any man or woman dieth, they stretch him out, and put a new paire of shooes on his feete, because he hath a great iourney to goe: then doe they winde him in a sheet, as we doe, but they forget not to put a testimonie in his right hand, which the priest giueth him, to testifie vnto S. Nicholas that he died a Christian man or woman. And they put the coarfe alwayes in a coffin of wood, although the partie be very pooze: and when they goe towards the Church, the friends and kinsmen of the partie departed carrie in their hands small ware candles, and they weepe and howle, and make much lamentation.

They that be hanged or beheaded, or such like, haue no testimonie with them: how they are receiued into heauen, it is a wonder, without their pasport.

There are a great number of pooze people among them which die daily for lacke of sustenance, which is a pitifull case to beholde: for there hath bene buried in a small time, within these two yeeres, aboue 80. persons young and old, which haue died onely for lacke of sustenance: for if they had had straw and water enough, they would make shift to liue: for a great many are forced in the winter to dye straw and stampe it, and to make bread thereof, or at the least they eate it in stead of bread. In the summer they make good shift with grasse, herbes and rootes: barks of trees are good meat with them at all times. There is no people in the world, as I suppose, that liue so miserably as do the pouerty in those parts: and the most part of them that haue sufficient for themselves, and also to relieue others that need, are so vnmerciful that they care not how many they see die of famine or hunger in the streets.

Bread made of straw.

The vnmercifullnesse of the Russes toward the pooze.

It is a countrey full of diseases, diuers, and euill, and the best remedie is for anie of them, as they holde opinion, to goe often vnto the hote houses, as in a maner euery man hath one of his owne, which hee heateth commonly twice euery weeke, and all the houholde sweate, and wash themselves therein.

Stooues of baths vsuall with the Spas-coures.

The names of certaine sortes of drinckes vsed in

Russia, and commonly drunke in the Emperours Court.

The first and principall meade is made of the iuice or liccour taken from a berrie called in Russia, Malieno, which is of a marueilous sweete taste, and of a carmolant colour, which berry I haue seene in Paris.

Kept by Thomas Bully.

The second meade is called Vlnoua, because it is made of a berry so called, and is like a black gooseberrie: but it is like in colour and taste to the red wine of France.

The third meade is called Amarodina or Smorodina, short, of a small berry much like to the small resin, and groweth in great plentie in Russia.

The fourth meade is called Chereunikyna, which is made of the wilde blacke cherry.

The fift meade is made of hony and water, with other mirtures.

There is also a delicate drinke drawn from the root of the birch tree, called in the Russe tongue Berozeuites, which drinke the noble men and others vse in Aprill, May, and June, which are the three moneths of the spring time: for after those moneths, the sappe of the tree dryeth, and then they cannot haue it.

The voyage of Master *Anthony Jenkinson*, made from the citie
of *Mosco* in *Russia*, to the citie of *Boghar* in *Bactria*, in the yeere
1558: written by himselfe to the Merchants of London of the
Moscouie companie.



On the 23. day of April, in the yeere 1558. (having obtained the Emperour of Russia his letters, directed vnto sundry kings and princes, by whose dominions I should passe) I departed from Mosco by water, hauing with mee two of your seruants, namely, Richard Iohnson, & Robert Iohnson, and a Tartar Tolmach, with diuers parcels of wares, as by the inuentory appeareth: and the 28. day we came to a towne called Collom, distant from the Mosco 20. leagues, & passing one league beyond the saide Collom, we came vnto a riuer called Occa, into the which the riuer Mosco falleth, and looeth his name: and passing downe the saide riuer Occa 8. leagues, we came vnto a castile called Terreuettsko, which we left vpon our right hand, and proceeding forward, the second day of May, we came vnto another castile called Peroslaue, distant 8. leagues, leauing it also on our right hand. The third day we came vnto the place where olde Rezan was situate, being now most of it ruined and ouergrown, and distant from the saide Peroslaue, 6. leagues: the 4. day we passed by a castile called Terrecouia, from Rezan 12. leagues, & the 6. day we came to another castile called Cassim, vnder the gouernment of a Tartar prince named Vezar Zegoline, sometime Emperour of the worthy citie of Cazan, and now subiect vnto the Emperour of Russia. But leauing Cassim on our left hand, the 8. day we came vnto a faire towne called Morom, from Cassim 20. leagues, where we took the sonne, and found the latitude 56. degrees: and proceeding forward the 11. day, we came vnto another faire towne & castile called Nyse Nouogrod, situated at the falling of the foresaid riuer Occa into the worthy riuer of Volga, distant from the saide Morom 25. leagues, in the latitude of 56. degrees 18. minutes. From Rezan to this Nyse Nouogrod, on both sides the saide riuer of Occa, is raised the greatest store of ware and hony in all the land of Russia. We tarried at the foresaid Nyse Nouogrod vntil the 19. day, for the comming of a captain which was sent by the Emperour to rule at Astracan, who being arriued, and hauing the number of 500. great boates vnder his conduct, some laden with victuals, souldiers, and munition: and other some with merchandise, departed altogether the saide 19. day from the saide Nyse Nouogrod, and the 22. we came vnto a castile called Vasiligorod, distant 25. leagues, which we left vpon our right hand. This towne or castile had his name of this Emperours father, who was called Vasilius, and gorod in the Russe tongue is as much to say as a castile, so that Vasiligorod is to say, Vasilius castile: and it was the furthest place that the saide Emperour conquered from the Tartars. But this present Emperour his sonne, called Iuan Vasiluich, hath had great good successe in his warres, both against the Christians and also the Dahometists and Gentiles, but especially against the Tartars, enlarging his Empire euen to the Caspian sea, hauing conquered the famous riuer of Volga, with all the countreis thereabout adiacent. Thus proceeding on our iourney the 25. day of May aforesaide, we came to another castile called Sabowshare, which we left on our right hand, distant from Vasiligorod 16. leagues. The countrey heereabout is called Mordouits, and the habitans did professe the law of the Gentiles: but now being conquered by this Emperour of Russia, most of them are christened, but lie in the woods and wildernesse, without towne or habitation.

The 27. day we passed by another castile called Swyasko, distant from Sabowshare aforesaide 25. leagues: we left it on our right hand, and the 29. came vnto an Island one league from the citie of Cazan, from which falleth downe a riuer called Cazanka reca, & entreteth into the foresaide Volga. Cazan is a faire towne after the Russe or Tartar fashion, with a strong castile, situated vpon a high hill, and was walled round about with timber & earth, but now the Emperour of Russia hath giuen order to plucke downe the old walles, and to builde them againe of free stone. It hath bene a citie of great wealth and riches, and being in the hands of the Tartars it was a kingdome of it selfe, and did more bere the Russes in their warres, then any other nation: but 9. yeres past, this Emperour of Russia conquered it, and tooke the king captiue, who being but young is now baptised, and brought by in his court with two other princes, which were also kings of the saide Cazan, and being each of the in time of their raignes in danger of their subiects through ciuill discord, came and rendred themselves at seueral times vnto the saide Emperour, so that at this present there are thre princes in the court of Russia, which had bene Emperours of the saide Cazan, whom the Emperour vseth with great honour.

We remained at Cazan till the 13. day of June, and then departed from thence: and the same day

day passed by an Island called the Island of merchants, because it was wont to be a place where all merchants, as well Russes and Cazanites, as Nagayans and Crimmes, and diuers other nations did resort to keepe mart for buying and selling, but nowe it is forsaken, and standeth without any such resort thither, or at Cazan, or at any place about it, from Mosco vnto Mare Caspium.

The Island of
merchants.

Thus proceeding forward the 14. day, we passed by a goodly riuer called Cama, which we left on our left hand. This riuer falleth out of the countrey of Permia into the riuer of Volga, and is from Cazan 15. leagues: and the countrey lying betwixt the said Cazan and the said riuer Cama on the left hand of Volga is called Vachen, and the inhabitants be Gentiles, and liue in the wilderness without house or habitation: and the countrey on the other side of Volga ouer against the said riuer Cama is called the land of Cheremizes, halfe Gentiles, halfe Tartars, and all the land on the left hand of the said Volga from the said riuer vnto Astracan, and so following the North and North-east side of the Caspian sea, to a land of the Tartars called Turkemen, is called the countrey of Mangat or Nagay, whose inhabitants are of the law of Mahomet, and were all destroyed in the yeere 1558, at my being at Astracan, through ciuill warres among them, accompanied with famine, pestilence, and such plagues, in such sort that in the said yeere there were consumed of the people, in one sort and another, about one hundred thousand: the like plague was neuer seen in those parts, so that the said countrey of Nagay being a countrey of great pasture, remaineth now vntireplenished to the great contentation of the Russes, who haue had cruel warres a long time together.

The riuer of
Cama.

Nagay Tartars

The Nagayans when they flourished, liued in this maner: they were diuided into diuers companies called Hords, and euery Hord had a ruler, whom they obeyed as their king, and was called a Hurle, Towne or house they had none, but liued in the open fields, euery Hurle or King hauing his Hords or people about him, with their wiues, childzen and cattell, who hauing consumed the pasture in one place, remooued vnto another: and when they remooue they haue houles like tents set vpon wagons or carts, which are drawn from place to place with camels, & therein their wiues, childzen, and all their riches, which is very litle, is caried about, and euery man hath at the least foure or fise wiues besides concubines. Use of money they haue none, but doe barter their cattell for apparell and other necessaries. They delight in no arte nor science, except the warres, wherein they are expert, but for the most part they be pasturing people, and haue great store of cattel, which is all their riches. They eate much flesh, and especially the horse, and they drinke mares milke, where with they be oftentimes drunke: they are lechituous & inclined to theft and murther. Coyne they knowe not, neither doe eate any bread, mocking the Christians for the same, and disabling our strengths, saying we liue by eating the top of a weede, and drinke a drinke made of the same, allowing their great deuouring of flesh, and drinking of milke to be the increase of their strength. But now to proceed forward to my iourney.

Horda.

All the countrey vpon our right hand the riuer Volga, from ouer against the riuer Cama vnto the towne of Astracan, is the land of Crimme, whose inhabitants be also of the lawe of Mahomet, and liue for the most part according to the fashions of the Nagayes, hauing continual wars with the Emperour of Russia, and are valiant in the fildes, hauing countenance, and support from the great Turke.

The Crimme
Tartars.

The 16. day of Iune we passed by certaine fishermens houles called Petowse twenty leagues from the riuer Cama, where is great fishing for sturgeon, so continuing our way vntill the 22. day, and passing by another great riuer called Samar, which falleth out of the aforesaid countrey, and runneth through Nagay, and entrench into the saide riuer of Volga. The 28. day wee came vnto a great hill, where was in times past a castle made by the Crimmes, but now it is ruined, being the iust midway betwene the said Cazan and Astrachan, which is 200. leagues or thereabout, in the latitude of 51. degrees 47. minutes. Upon all this shore groweth abundance of Licoris, whose root runneth within the ground like a vine.

The riuer of
Samar.

Licoris in
great plenty.

Thus going forward the first day of Iuly we came to a place called Perouolog, so named because in times past the Tartars caried their boates from Volga vnto the riuer Tanais, other wise called Don, by land, when they would robbe such as passed downe the said Volga to Astracan, and also such as passed downe by the riuer Tanais, to Asou, Caffa, or any other towne situated vpon Mare Euxinum, into which sea Tanais falleth, who hath his springs in the countrey of Rezan, out of a plaine ground. It is at this streight of Perouolog from the one riuer to the other two leagues by land, and is a dangerous place for theeues and robbers, but now it is not so euill as it hath bene, by reason of the Emperour of Russia his conquests.

Departing from Perouolog, hauing the wilderness on both sides, wee saue a great heard of Nagayans, pasturing, as is abouesaid, by estimation about a thousand Camels drawing of carges

with houses vpon them like tents, of a strange fashion, seeming to bee a farre off a towne: that word was belonging to a great Hurle called Smille, the greatest prince in all Nagay, who hath slaine and vniuen away all the rest, not sparing his owne brethren and children, and hauing peace with this Emperour of Russia he hath what he needeth, and ruleth alone: so that now the Russes liue in peace with the Nagayans, who were wont to haue moztall warres together.

The 14. day of Iuly passing by an old castle, which was Old Astracan, and leauing it vpon our right hand, we arriued at New Astracan, which this Emperour of Russia conquered sixe yeeres past, in the yeere 1552. It is from the Mosco vnto Astracan sixe hundred leagues, or there about. The towne of Astracan is situated in an Island vpon a hill side, hauing a castle within the same, walled about with earth and timber, neither faire nor strong: The towne is also walled about with earth: the buildings and houses (except it be the captains lodging, and certaine other gentlemens) most base and simple. The Island is most destitute and barren of wood and pasture, and the ground will beare no corne: the aire is there most infected, by reason (as I suppose) of much fish, and specially Sturgeon, by which onely the inhabitants liue, hauing great scarlitie of flesh and by tad. They hang by their fish in their streets and houses to dry for their prouision, which causeth such abundance of flies to increase there, as the like was neuer seene in any land, to their great plague. And at my being at the sayd Astracan, there was a great famine and plague among the people, and specially among the Tartars called Nagayans, who the same time came thither in great numbers to render themselves to the Russes their enemies, & to seeke succour at their hands, their cuntry being destroyed, as I said before: but they were but ill entertained or relieved, for there died a great number of them for hunger, which lay all the Island through in heapes dead, and like to be as yet vburied, very pitifull to behold: many of them were also sold by the Russes, and the rest were banished from the Island. At that time it had bene an easie thing to haue conuerted that wicked Nation to the Christian faith, if the Russes themselves had bene good Christians: but how should they shew compassion vnto other Nations, when they are not mercifull vnto their owne? At my being there I could haue bought many goodly Tartars children, if I would haue had a thousand, of their owne fathers and mothers, to say, a boy or a wench for a loafe of bread woorth sixe pence in England, but we had more need of victuals at that time then of any such merchandise. This Astracan is the furthest hold that this Emperour of Russia hath conquered of the Tartars towards the Caspian sea, which he keepeth very strong, sending thither euery yeere prouision of men, and victuals, and timber to build the castle.

There is a certaine trade of merchandise there vsed, but as yet so small and beggerly, that it is not woorth the making mention, and yet there come merchants thither from diuers places. The chiefest commodities that the Russes bring thither are redde hides, redde sheeps skines, wooden vessels, bydles, and saddles, knives, and other trifles, with corne, bacon, and other victuals. The Tartars bring thither diuers kindes of wares made of cotten wooll, with diuers kindes of wrought silkes: and they that come out of Persia, namely from Shamaacki doe bring soewing silke, which is the courtest that they vse in Russeland. Cralko, diuers kindes of pike silkes for girdles,hirts of male, bowes, swords, and such like things: and some yeeres corne, and walnuts, but all such things in such small quantitie, the merchants being so beggerly and poore that bring the same, that it is not woorth the writing, neither is there any hope of trade in all those parts woorth the following.

This foresaid Island of Astracan is in length twelue leagues, and in bredth three & sixtie East and West in the latitude of fortye seuen degrees, nine minutes: we taried there vntil the sixt day of August, and hauing bought and prouided a boate in company with certaine Tartars and Persians, we laded our goods and imbarcked our selues, and the same day departed I, with the said two Johnsons hauing the whole charge of the Navigation downe the sayd riuer Volga, being very crooked, and full of flats toward the mouth thereof. We entered into the Caspian sea the tenth day of August at the Easterly side of the sayd riuer, being twentie leagues from Astracan aforesaid, in the latitude of fortye six degrees, twentie seuen minutes.

Volga hath seuentie mouthes or falls into the sea: and we hauing a large wind, kept the North east shore, and the eleuenth day we sailed seuen leagues East northeast, and came vnto an Island hauing an high hill therein, called Accurgar, a good marke in the sea. From thence East tenne leagues, we fell with another Island called Bawhiata, much higher then the other. Within these two Islands to the Northwards, is a great Baie called the Blew sea. From thence we sailed East and by North ten leagues, and hauing a contrary wind, we came to an anker in a sadome water, and so rid vntill the fiftenth day, hauing a great storme at Southeast, being a most contrary wind, which we rid out. Then the wind came to the North, and we weped, and set our course Southeast, and that day sailed eight leagues.

Thus

Astracan.

Store of Sturgeons.

The length of the Island of Astracan.

They enter into the Caspian sea.

The blew sea.

This proceeding forwards, the 17. day wee lost sight of land, and the same day sailed thirte leagues, and the 18. day twentie leagues winding East, and fell with a land called Baughleata, being 74. leagues from the mouth of the said Volga, in the latitude of 46. degrees 54. minutes, the coast lying nearest East and by South, and West and by North. At the point of this land lieth buried a holy Prophet, as the Tartars call him, of their law, where great deuotion is vsed of all such Mahometists as doe passe that way.

Baughleata being 74. leagues from Volga.

The nineteenth day the winde being West, and we winding East southeast, we sailed tenne leagues, and passed by a great riuer called Iaic, which hath his spring in the lande of Siberia, niue vnto the foresaid riuer Cama, and runneth through the lande of Nagay, falling into this Mare Caspium. And by this riuer one dayes iourney is a Towne called Serachick, subiect to the foresaid Tartar prince called Murse Smille, which is nowe in friendship with the Emperour of Russia. Here is no trade of merchandize vsed, for that the people haue no vse of money, and are all men of warre, and pasturers of cattel, and giuen much to theft and murder. Thus being at an anker against this riuer Iaic, and all our men being on land, sauing I, who lay sore sicke, and siue Tartars, whereof one was reputed a holy man, because he came from Mecca, there came vnto vs a boate with thirte men well armed and appointed, who boorded vs, and began to enter into our barke, and our holy Tartar called Azy, perceiving that, asked them what they would haue, and with all made a prayer: with that these rowers staid, declaring that they were Gentlemen, banished from their countrey, and out of liuing, & came to see if there were any Russes or other Christians (which they call Caphars) in our barke: To whom this Azi most stoutly answered, that there were none, auowing the same by great othes of their lawe, (which lightly they will not breake) whom the rowers beleueed, and vpon his words departed. And so through the fidelitie of that Tartar, I with all my company and goods were saued, and our men being come on boord, and the wind faire, we departed from that place, and winding East and Southeast, that day being the 20. of August sailed 16. leagues.

Iaic riuer.

Serachick.

The 21. day we passed ouer a Bay of 6. leagues broad, and fell with a Cape of land, hauing two Islands at the Southeast part thereof, being a good marke in the sea: & doubling that Cape the land trended Northeast, and maketh another Bay, into which falleth the great riuer Yem, springing out of the land of Colmack.

The Countrey of Colmack.

The 22. 23. and 24. dayes, we were at an anker.

The 25. the winde came faire, and we sailed that day 20. leagues, and passed by an Island of lowe land, and there about are many flats and sands: and to the Northward of this Island there goeth in a great Bay, but we set off from this Island, and winded South to come into deepe water, being much troubled with Shoals & flats, and ran that course 10. leagues, then East Southeast 20. leagues, and fell with the maine land, being full of copped hills, and passing along the coast 20. leagues, the further we sailed, the higher was the land.

The 27. day we crossed ouer a Bay, the South shore being the higher land, and fell with a high point of land: & being ouerthwart the Cape, there rose such a storme at the East, that we thought verily we should haue perished: this storme continued 3. dayes. From this Cape we passed to the port called Manguslaue. The place where we should haue arrived at the Southermost part of the Caspian sea, is 12. leagues within a Bay: but we being sore tormented and tossed with this foresaid storme, were driuen vnto another land on the other side the Bay, ouerthwart the sayd Manguslaue being very lowe land, and a place as well for the ill commoditie of the haue, as of those brute field people, where neuer barke nor boate had before arrived, not liked of vs.

The port of Manguslaue.

But yet here we sent certaine of our men to land to talke with the gouernour and people, as well for our good vsage at their handes, as also for prouision of camels to carry our goods from the sayd sea side to a place called Sellyzure, being from the place of our landing siue and twentie dayes iourney. Our messengers returned with comfortable wordes and faire promises of all things.

Wherefore the 3. day of September 1558. we discharged our barke, and I with my company were gently entertained of the Prince & of his people. But before our departure from thence, we found them to be very bad and brutish people, for they cealed not daily to molest vs, either by fighting, stealing or begging, raising the price of horse and camels, & victuals, double that it was wont there to be, and forced vs to buy the water that we did drinke: which caused vs to hasten away, and to conclude with them as well for the hire of camels, as for the price of such as we bought, with other prouision, according to their owne demaund: So that for euery camels lading, being but 400. waight of ours, we agreed to giue thre hides of Russia, and foure wooden dishes, and to the Prince or gouernour of the sayd people, one niue, and two scuenchs: namely, niue severall things, and twise scuen scue all things: for money they vse none.

They goe on land.

And thus being ready, the fourteenth of September we departed from that place, being a Caravan of a thousand camels. And having trauailed five dayes iourney, we came to another Princes Dominion, and upon the way there came unto vs certaine Tartars on horseback, being well armed, and seruants vnto the saide Prince called Timor Solran, gouernour of the said countrey of Manguslaue, where wee meant to haue arriued and discharged our barke, if the great storm alsoe sayd had not disappointed. These alsoe said Tartars stayd our Caravan in the name of their Prince, and opened our wares, and tooke such things as they thought best for their saide prince without money, but for such things as they tooke from me, which was a ninth (after much dissension) I ridde vnto the same Prince, and presented my selfe befoze him, requesting his fauour, and passport to trauaile through his countrey, and not to be robbed nor spoiled of his people: which request he graunted me, and intertained me very gently, commaunding me to be well furnished with flesh and mares milke: for bread they vse none, nor other drinke except water: but money he had none to giue mee for such things as he tooke of mee, which might be of value in Russe money, fifteene rubbles, but he gaue me his letter, and a horse woorth seuen rubbles. And so I departed from him being glad that I was gone: for he was reported to be a very tyrant, and if I had not gone vnto him, I vnderstoode his commaundement was, that I should haue bene robbed and destroyed.

This Solran liued in the fieldes without Castle or towne, and late, at my being with him, in a litle rounde house made of reedes couered without with felt, and within with Carpets. There was with him the great Metropolitane of that wilde Countrey, esteemed of the people, as the Bishop of Rome is in most parts of Europe, with diuers other of his chiefe men. The Solran with this Metropolitane demanded of me many questions, as wel touching our kingdoms, lawes, and Religion, as also the cause of my coming into those parts, with my further pretence. To whom I answered concerning all things, as vnto me seemed best, which they tooke in good part. So hauiug leaue I departed and ouertooke our Caravan, and proceeded on our iourney, and trauailed 20. dayes in the wilderness from the sea side without seeing towne or habitation, carrying provision of victuals with vs for the same time, and were driuen by necessity to eat one of my camels and a horse for our part, as other did the like: and during the said 20. daies we found no water, but such as we drey out of old deepe welles, being very brackish and salt, and yet sometimes passed two or thre dayes without the same. And the 5. day of October ensuing, we came vnto a gulfe of the Caspian sea againe, where we found the water very fresh and sweete: at this gulfe the customers of the king of Turkeinan met vs, who took custome of euery 25. one, and 7. ninthes for the saide king and his brethren, which being receiued they departed, and we remained there a day after to refresh our selues.

Note that in times past there did fall into this gulfe the great riuer Oxus, which hath his springs in the mountains of Paraponisus in India, & now cometh not so far, but falleth into another riuer called Ardock, which runneth toward the North, & consumeth himselfe in the ground passing vnder ground about 500. miles, and then issueth out againe and falleth into the lake of Kirghay.

We hauing refreshed our selues at the foresaide gulfe, departed thence the 4. day of October, and the seuenth day arriued at a castle called Sellizure, where the king called Azim Can, remained with 3. other of his brethren, and the 9. day I was commaunded to come befoze his presence, to whom I deliuered the Emperors letters of Russia: and I also gaue him a present of a ninth, who entertained me very well, and caused me to eat in his presence as his brethren did, feasting me with flesh of a wilde horse, and mares milke without bread. And the next day he sent for me againe, and asked of me diuers questions, as wel touching the affaires of the Emperour of Russia, as of our countrey and lawes, to which I answered as I thought good: so that at my departure he gaue me his letters of safe conduct.

This Castle of Sellizure is situated vpon an high hill, where the King called the Can liueth, whose palace is built of earth very basely, and not strong: the people are but poore, and haue litle trade of marchandise among them. The South part of this Castle is lowe lande, but very fruitful, where grow many good fruites, among which there is one called a Dynie, of a great bignesse and full of moysture, which the people doe eat after meate in steade of drinke. Also there growes another fruit called a Carbusse of the bignesse of a great cucumber, yellow and sweete as sugar: also a certaine cozne called Legur, whose stalke is much like a sugar cane, and as high, and the graine like rice, which groweth at the topp of the cane like a cluster of grapes; the water that serueth all that countrey is drawn by ditches out of the riuer Oxus, vnto the great destruction of the said riuer, for which cause it falleth not into the Caspian sea as it hath done in times past, and in these time all that land is like to be destroyed, and to become a wilderness for want of water, when the riuer of Oxus shall faile.

The countrey
of Manguslaue,

20. dayes tra-
uaile in the
wildernesse,
with scarcitie
of water.

Another gulfe
of the Caspian
sea.

Will. de Rubric
describeth
this riuer of
Ardok, cap. 4.

Sellizure, or
Shayzure.

Letters of safe
conduct.

The 14. day of the moneth we departed from this Castle of Sellizure, and the 16. of the same we arrived at a citie called Vrgence, where we paid custome as wel for our own heads, as for our camels and hozles. And having there sojourned one moneth, attending the time of our further tra-
Vrgence.

This citie or towne of Vrgence standeth in a plaine ground, with walles of the earth, by estimation 4. miles about it. The buildings within it are also of earth, but ruined and out of good order: it hath one long street that is covered above, which is the place of their market. It hath bene wonne and lost 4. times within 7. yeeres by civill warres, by meanes whereof there are but few merchants in it, and they very pooze, and in all that towne I could not sell above 4. kerseis. The chiefest commodities there sold are such wares as come from Boghar, and out of Persia, but in most final quantity not worth the toizing. All the land from the Caspian sea to this Citie of Vrgence is called the land of Turkeman, & is subiect to the said Azim Can, and his brethren which be five in number, and one of them hath the name of the chiefe king called Can, but he is little expected sauing in his owne Dominion, and where he dwelleth: for every one will be King of his owne portion, and one brother seeketh alwayes to destroy another, having no natural love among them, by reason that they are begotten of diuers women, and commonly they are the children of slaves, either Christians or Gentiles, which the father doeth keepe as concubines, and every Can or Sultan hath at the least 4. or 5. wives, besides yong maidens and boyes, living most viciously: and when there are warres betwixt these brethren, (as they are seldome without) he that is overcome if he be not slaine, flieth to the field with such companie of men as will followe him, and there lieth in the wilderness resorting to watering places, and so robbeth and spoileth as many Caravans of Merchants and others as they be able to overcome, continuing in this sort his wretched life, until such time as he may get power and aide to invade some of his brethren againe. From the Caspian sea unto the Castle of Sellizure aforesaid, and all the Countreys about the said Sea, the people live without towne or habitation in the wilde fields, removing from one place to another in great companies with their cattel, whereof they have great store, as camels, hozles, and sheepe both tame and wilde. Their sheepe are of great stature with great buttocks, weighing 60. or 80. pound in weight. There are many wild hozles which the Tartars doe many times kill with their hawkes, and that in this order.

The countrey
of Turkeman.

The hawkes are lured to leafe upon the beasts neckes or heads, which with chasing of themselves and soze bearing of the hawkes are tired: then the hunter following his game doeth slay the hozle with his arrow or sword. In all this lande there groweth no grasse, but a certaine bushes or heath, whereon the cattell feeding become very fat.

The Tartars never ride without their bow, arrows, and sword, although it be on hawking, or at any other pleasure, and they are good archers both on hozlebacke, and on foote also. These people have not the use of golde, silver, or any other coyne, but when they lacke apparell or other necessaries, they batter their cattell for the same. Bread they have none, for they neither till nor sow: they be great devourers of flesh, which they cut in small pieces, & eat it by handfulls most greedily, & especially the hozles flesh. Their chiefest drink is mares milke soured, as I have said before of the Nagayans, & they wilbe drunk with the same. They have no rivers nor places of water in this countrey, until you come to the foresaid gulf, distant from the place of our landing 20. dayes journey, except it be in wells, the water whereof is saltish, & yet distant the one from the other two daies journey and more. They eat their meate upon the ground, sitting with their legs double under them, and so also when they pray. Art or science they have none, but live most idly, sitting round in great companies in the fields, devising, and talking most vainely.

The 26. day of November, we departed from the towne of Vrgence, and having travelled by the river Oxus, 100. mile, we passed over another great river called Ardock, where we paid a certaine petty custome. This river Ardock is great, and very swift, falling out of the foresaid Oxus, and passing about 1000. mile to the Northward, it then consumeth it selfe in the ground, and passing under the same about 500. mile, issueth out againe, and falleth into the lake of Kuay, as I have before declared.

The river of
Ardock falleth
into the lake
of Kuay.

The 7. of December following, we arrived at a Castle called Kair, subiect to a Solkan called Saramet Solkan, who meant to have robbed all the Christians in the Caravan, had it not bene for feare of his brother the king of Vrgence, as we were informed by one of his chiefest counsellors,

The castle of
Kair.

who willed vs to make him a present, which he tooke, and deliuered: besides we paid at the said castle for custome, of euery camel one red hibe of Russia, besides many gifts to his officers.

Thus proceeding in our iourney, the tenth day at night being at rest, and our watch set, there came vnto vs foure hozlemen, which we tooke as spies, from whom wee tooke their weapons and bound them, and hauing well examined them, they confessed that they had seene the tract of many hozlemen, and no footing of camels, & gaue vs to vnderstand, that there were rousers and theeues abroade: for there trauaile few people that are true and peaccable in that Countrey, but in companie of Carauan, where there be many camels: and hozsefecting now without camels were to be doubted. Whereupon we consulted & determined amongst our selues, and sent a poste to the said Solkan of Kayre, who immediatly came himselfe with 300. men, and mette these foure suspected men which we sent vnto him, and examined them so streightly, and they earned them in such sort, that they confessed, there was a banished Prince with 40. men 3. daies iourney for ward, who lay in wait to destroy vs, if he could, and that they themselves were of his companie.

The Solkan therefore vnderstanding, that the theeues were not many, appointed vs 80. men well armed with a Captaine to goe with vs, and conduct vs in our way. And the Solkan himselfe returned backe againe, taking the foure theeues with him. These souldiers trauailed with vs two dayes, consuming much of our victuals. And the 3. day in the morning very early they set out before our Carauan, and hauing ranged the wildernes for the space of foure houres, they mette vs, coming towards vs as fast as their hozle could runne, and declared that they had founde the tract of hozles not farre from vs, perceiuing well that we should meete with enemies, and therefore willed vs to appoint our selues for them, and asked vs what wee would giue them to conduct vs further, or els they would returne. To whom we offered as we thought good, but they refused our offer, and would haue more, and so we not agreeing they departed from vs, and went back to their Solkan, who (as wee coniectured) was priuie to the conspiracie. But they being gone, certaine Tartars of our companie called holy men, (because they had bene at Mecha) caused the whole Carauan to stay, and would make their prayers, and deuine howe wee should prosper in our iourney and whether we should meet with any ill company or no? To which, our whole Carauan did agree. And they tooke certaine sheepe and killed them, and tooke the blade bones of the same, and first sodde them, and then burnt them, and tooke of the blood of the said sheepe, and mingled it with the powder of the saide bones, and wrote certaine Characters with the saide blood, vnto many other ceremonies and wordes, and by the same deuined and found, that wee should meete with enemies and theeues (to our great trouble) but should ouercome them, to which forcerie. I and my companie gaue no credit, but we found it true: for within 3. houres after that the souldiers departed from vs, which was the 15. day of December, in the morning, we escried farre off diuers hozlemen which made towards vs, and we (perceiuing them to be rousers) gathered our selues together, being 40. of vs well appointed, and able to fight, and we made our prayers together euery one after his laber, professing to liue and die one with another, and so prepared our selues. When the theeues were nigh vnto vs, we perceiued them to be in number 37. men well armed, and appointed with bowes, arrowes and swords, and the captaine a prince banished from his Countrey. They willed vs to yeelde our selues, or els to be slaine, but wee desired them, wherewith they shotte at vs all at once, and wee at them very hotly, and so continued our fight from morning vntil two houres within night, diuers men, hozles and camels being wounded and slaine on both partes: and had it not bene for 4. handgunnes which I and my companie had and vled, we had bene ouercome and destroyed: for the theeues were better armed, and were also better archers then we; But after wee had slaine diuers of their men and hozles with our gunnes, they durst not approach to nigh, which caused them to come to a truce with vs vntill the next morning, which we accepted, and encamped our selues vpon a hill, and made the fashion of a Castle, walling it about with packes of wares, and laide our hozles and camels within the same to saue them from the shotte of arrowes: and the theeues also incamped within an arrowe shotte of vs, but they were betwixt vs and the water, which was to our great discomfort, because neither we nor our camels had drinke in 2. dayes before.

Thus keeping good watch, when halfe the night was spent, the Prince of the theeues sent a messenger halfe way vnto vs, requiring to talke with our Captaine, in their tongue, the Carauan Basha, who answered the messenger. I will not depart from my companie to goe into the halfe way to talke with thee: but if that thy Prince with all his companie will sweare by our Lawe to keepe the truce, then will I send a man to talke with thee, or els not. Which the Prince vnderstanding as well himselfe as his companie, swore so loud that we might all heare. And then we sent one of our companie (reputed a holy man) to talke with the same messenger. The message was pronounced aloude in this order, Our Prince demandeth of the Carauan Basha, and

Disinflation by
toycette.

Handguns be-
ry profitable.

and of all you that be Bullarmans, (that is to say circumcised) not desiring your bloods, that you deliuer into his hands as many Caphars, that is, unbelieuers (meaning vs the Christians) as are among you with their goods, and in so doing, hee will suffer you to depart with your goods in quietnesse, and on the contrary, you shall be handled with no lesse cruelty then the Caphars, if ye ouercome you, as he doubteth not. To the which our Carauan Bascha answered, that he had no Christians in his company, noz other strangers, but two Turkes which were of their Law, and although hee had, hee would rather die then deliuer them, and that we were not afraide of his threatenings, and that should he know when day appeared. And so passing in talke, the theuees (contrary to their othe) carried our holy man away to their Prince, crying with a lowde voyce in token of victorie, Ollo, ollo. Therewith we were much discourtozed, fearing that that holy man would betray vs: but he being cruelly handled and much examined, would not to death confesse any thing which was to vs prejudiciall, neither touching vs, noz yet what men they had slaine and wounded of ours the day before. When the night was spent, in the morning we prepared our selues to battel againe: which the theuees perceiuing, required to fall to agreement & asked much of vs: And to be grieue, the most part of our companie being loth to go to battel againe, and hauing little to loose, & safeduct to passe, we were compelled to agree, and to giue the theuees 20 muths (that is to say) 20 times 9 scurall things, and a camell to cary away the same, which being receiued, the theuees departed into the wilderness to their old habitation, and we went on our way forward. And that night came to the riuer Oxus, where we refreshed our selues, hauing bene 30 dayes without water and drinke, and carried there all the next day, making mery with our slaine horses and camels, and then departed from that place, & for feare of meeting with the said theuees againe of such like, we left the high way which went along the said riuer, and passed through a wilderness of sand, and trauelled 4 dayes in the same before we came to water: and then came to a well, the water being very backish, and we then as before were in neede of water, and of other victuals, being forced to kill our horses and camels to eate.

Bullarmans,
Caphar.The riuer of
Oxus.A wilderness
of sande.

In this wilderness also we had almost fallen into the hands of theuees: for one night being at rest, there came certaine scoutes, and caried away certaine of our men which lay a litle separated from the Carauan, wherewith there was a great shoute and crie, and we immediatly laded our camels, and departed being about midnight and very darke, and droue soze till we came to the riuer Oxus againe, and then we feared nothing being walled with the said riuer: & whether it was for that we had gotten the water, or for that the same theuees were far from vs when the scoutes discovered vs, we knowe not, but we escaped that danger.

So upon the 23 day of December we arrived at the citie of Boghar in the lande of Bactria. This Boghar is situate in the lowest part of all the land, walled about with a high wall of earth, with diuers gates into the same: it is diuided into 3 partitions, whereof two parts are the kings, and the 3 part is for Marchants and markets, and euery science hath their dwelling and market by themselves. The Citie is very great, and the houses for the most part of earth, but there are also many houses, temples and monuments of stone sumptuously builded, and gilt, and specially bathhouses so artificially built, that the like thereof is not in the world: the maner whereof is too long to rehearse. There is a litle riuer running through the middell of the said Citie, but the water there of is most unhollsome, soze it breedeth sometimes in men that drinke thereof, and especially in them that be not there borne, a woyme of an ell long, which lyeth commonly in the legges betwixt the flesh and the skinne, and is plucked out about the ancle with great art and cunning, the Surgeons being much practised therein, and if they breake in plucking out, the partie dieth, and euery day he commeth out about an inch, which is rolled by, and so worketh till she be all out. And yet it is there forbidden to drinke any other thing then water, & marts milke, and whosoeuer is found to breake that law is whipped and beaten most cruelly through the open markets, and there are officers appointed for the same, who haue authoritie to goe into any mans house, to search if he haue either Aquaviea, wine, or brage, and finding the same, doe breake the vessels, spoile the drinke, and punish the masters of the house most cruelly, yea, and many times if they perceiue but by the breath of a man that he hath drunke, without further examination he shall not escape their hands.

Boghar a citie
of Bactria.A strange
woyme in
mens leggs.

There is a Metropolitane in this Boghar, who causeth this law to bee so straightly kept: and he is more obeyed then the king, and will depose the king, and place another at his will and pleasure, as he did by this king that reigned at our being there, and his predecessor, by the means of the sayd Metropolitane: for he betrayed him, and in the night slew him in his chamber, who was a Prince that loued all Christians well.

This Countrey of Boghar was sometime subiect to the Persians, & do now speake the Persian tongue, but yet now it is a kingdom of it selfe, and hath most cruel warres continually with the

the sayd Persians about their religion, although they be all Mahomerists. The occasion of their wars is, for that the Persians will not cut the haire of their upper lips, as the Bogharians and all the other Tartars doe, which they account great sinne, and call them Caphars, that is, unbelievers, as they doe the Christians.

The king of Boghar hath no great power or riches, his reuenues are but small, and he is most maintained by the Citie: for he taketh the tenth parte of all things that are there solde, as well by the craftsmen as by the marchants, to the great impouersishment of the people, whom he keepeth in great subiection, and when he lacketh money, he sendeth his officers to the thoppes of the sayd Marchants to take their wares to pay his debts, and will haue credite of force, as the like he did to pay me certaine money that he owed me for 19 pieces of Kersley. Their money is siluer and copper, for gold there is none currant: they haue but one piece of siluer, & that is worth 12 pence English, and the copper moncy are called Pooles, and 120 of them goeth the value of the said 12 pence, and is more common payment then the siluer, which the king causeth to rise and fall to his most advantage euery other moneth, and sometimes twise a moneth, not caring to oppresse his people, for that he lokech not to reigne about 2 or 3 yeres befoze he be either slaine or diuena-way, to the great destruction of the countrey and merchants.

The 26 day of the moneth I was commanded to come befoze the said king, to whom I presented the Emperour of Russia his letters, who intetained vs most gently, and caused vs to eate in his presence, and diuers times he sent for me, and deuild with me familiarly in his secret chamber, as well of the power of the Emperour, and the great Turke, as also of our countreies, lawes, and religion, and caused vs to shoote in handguns befoze him, and did himselfe practise the vse thereof. But after all this great intertainment befoze my departure he shewed himselfe a very Tartar: for he went to the wars owing me money, and saw me not payd befoze his departure. And although indeede he gaue order for the same, yet was I verie ill satisfied, and forced to rebate part, and to take wares as payment for the rest contrary to my expectation: but of a begger better payment I could not haue, and glad I was so to be paid and dispatched.

But yet I must needs praise & commend this barbarous king, who immediately after my arrival at Boghar, hauing vnderstoode our trouble with the theeuers, sent 100 men well armed, and gaue them great charge not to returne befoze they had either slaine or taken the sayd theeuers. Who according to their commission ranged the wildernes in such sort, that they met with the said company of theeuers, and slew part, and part fledde, and foure they tooke and brought vnto the king, and two of them were sore wounded in our skirmish with our gunnes: And after the king had sent for me to come to see them, he caused them all 4 to be hanged at his palace gate, because they were Gentlemen, to the example of others. And of such goods as were gotten againe, I had part reposed me, and his good iustice I found at his hands.

There is verie great resort of Marchants to this Citie of Boghar, which traualle in great Carauans from the countreies thereabout adioining, as India, Persia, Balgh, Russia, with diuers others, and in times past from Cathay, when there was passage: but these Marchants are so beggerly and poore, and bring so little quantitie of wares, lying two or 3 yeres to sell the same, that there is no hope of any good trade there to be had worth by the following.

The chiefe commodities that are brought thither out of these foresayd Countreys, are these following.

The Indians doe bring fine whites, which the Tartars do all toll about their heads, & all other kinds of whites, which serue for apparell made of cotton wooll and craska, but golde, siluer, precious stones, and spices they bring none. I enquired and perceiued that all such trade passeth to the Ocean sea, and the baines where all such things are gotten are in the subiection of the Portugals. The Indians carie from Boghar againe wrought silkes, red hides, slaues, and horses, with such like, but of Kersleys and other cloth, they make little account. I offered to barter with Marchants of those Countreies, which came from the furthest parts of India, euen from the countrey of Bengala, & the riuer Ganges, to giue them Kersleys for their commodities, but they would not barter for such commoditie as cloth,

The Persians doe bring thither Craska, wollen cloth, linnen cloth, diuers kinds of wrought pike silkes, Argomacks, with such like, and doe carie from thence redde hides with other Russe wares, and slaues, which are of diuers countreies, but cloth they will buy none, for that they bring thither themselves, and is brought vnto them as I haue inquired from Aleppo in Syria, and the parts of Turkie. The Russes doe carie vnto Boghar, redde hides, sheepskinnes, wollen cloth of diuers sorts, wooden vessels, bridles, saddles, with such like, and doe carie away from thence diuers kinds of wares made of cotton wooll, diuers kinds of silkes, Crasca, with other things, but there is but smal utterance. From the Countreies of Cathay are brought thither in time of peace,

The copie of
Boghar.

Marchandise
of India.

Marchandise
of Persia.

Marchandise
of Russia.

and when the way is open, musk, rubarbe, satten, damaske, with diuers other things. At my being at Boghar, there came Carauans out of all these foze said Countries, except from Cathay: and the cause why there came none from thence was the great warres that had dured 3 yeres befoze my comming thither, and yet dured betwixt 2 great Countries & cities of Tartars, that are directly in the way betwixt the said Boghar and the said Cathay, and certaine barbarous fielde people, as well Gentiles a Mahometists bordering to the said Cities. The cities are called Taskent and Caskar, and the people that warre against Taskent are called Cassaks of the law of Mahomet: and they which warre with the sayd countrey of Caskar are called Kings, Gentiles & idolaters. These 2 barbarous nations are of great foze liuing in the fielde without house or towne, & haue almost subdued the foze said cities, & so stopped by the way, that it is impossible for any Carauan to passe vnspoiled: so that 3 yeres befoze our being there, no Carauan had gone, or vled trade betwixt the countries of Cathay and Boghar, and when the way is cleare, it is 9 moneths iourney.

Archandlie
of Cathay.

Taskent & Cas-
car.

To speake of the said countrey of Cathay, and of such newes as I haue heard thereof, I haue thought it best to reserve it to our meeting. I hauing made my solace at Boghar in the Winter time, and hauing learned by much inquisition, the trade thereof, as also of all the other countries thereto adioyning, and the time of the yeere being come, for all Carauans to depart, and also the king being gone to the warres, and newes come that he was fled, and I aduertised by the Metropolitan himselfe, that I should depart, because the towne was like to bee besieged: I thought it good and meete, to take my iourney some way, and determined to haue gone from thence into Persia, and to haue seene the trade of that countrey, although I had enformed my selfe sufficiently thereof, as well at Afracan, as at Boghar: and perceiued well the trades not to be much vnlike the trades of Tartaria: but when I should haue taken my iourney that way, it was let by diuers occasions: the one was, the great wars that did newly begin betwixt the Sophie, and the kings of Tartaria, whereby the waies were destroyed: and there was a Carauan destroyed with rousers & thieues, which came out of India and Persia, by safe conduct: and about ten daies iourney from Boghar, they were robbed, and a great part slaine. Also the Metropolitan of Boghar, who is greater then the king, tooke the Emperors letters of Russia from me, without which I should haue bene taken slaue in euery place: also all such wares as I had receiued in barter for cloth, and as I tooke perforce of the king, & other his Nobles, in payment of money due vnto me, were not vendible in Persia: for which causes, and diuers others, I was constrained to come backe againe to Mare Caspium, the same way I went: so that the eight of March 1559, we departed out of the said Citie of Boghar, being a Carauan of 600 Camels: and if we had not departed when we did, I and my company had bene in danger to haue lost life and goods. For ten daies after our departure, the king of Samarcand came with an armie, & besieged the said Citie of Boghar, the king being absent, and gone to the wars against another prince, his kinsman, as the like chance hath in those Countries once in two or thre yeres. For it is maruell, if a King reigne there aboute thre or foure yeres, to the great destruction of the Countrey, and marchants.

He returneth
the eight of
March 1559.

The 25 of March, we came to the foze sayd towne of Vrgence, and escaped the danger of 400 rousers, which lay in waite for vs backe againe, being the most of them of kindred to that company of thieues, which we met with going forth, as we perceiued by foure spies, which were taken. There were in my company, and committed to my charge, two ambassadozs, the one from the king of Boghar, the other from the king of Balke, and were sent vnto the Emperoz of Russia. And after hauing taried at Vrgence, and the Castle of Sellysure, eight daies for the assembling, and making ready of our Carauan, the second of Aprill we departed from thence, hauing foure moe Ambassadors in our companie, sent from the king of Vrgence, and other Soltans, his brethren, vnto the Emperoz of Russia, with answer of such letters as I brought them: and the same Ambassadors were also committed vnto my charge by the sayde Kings and princes: to whom I promised most faithfully, and swore by our law, that they should be well vled in Rusland, and suffered to depart from thence againe in safetie, according as the Emperoz had written also in his letters: for they somewhat doubted, because there had none gone out of Tartaria into Russia, of long time befoze.

Vrgence.

The king of
Balke, or Balgh.

The 23 of Aprill, we arrived at the Mare Caspium againe, where we found our barke which we came in, but neither anker, cable, cocke, nor saile: neuerthelesse we brought hempe with vs, and spunne a cable our selues, with the rest of our tackling, and made vs a saile of cloth of cotton wooll, and rigged our barke as well as we could, but boate or anker we had none. In the meane time being deuising to make an anker of wood of a cart wheele, there arrived a barke, which came from Afracan, with Tartars and Russes, which had 2 ankers, with whom I agreed for the one: and thus being in a readines, we set saile and departed, I, and the two Johnsons being Master and Mariners our selues, hauing in our barke the said sixe ambassadozs, and 25 Russes, which had bene

bene slaues a long time in Tartaria, nor euer had befoze my coming, libertie, or meanes to get home, and these slaues serued to rowe when neede was. Thus sailing sometimes along the coast, and sometimes out of sight of lande, the 13. day of May, hauing a contrary winde, wee came to an anker, being thre leagues from the shoare, & there rose a soze storme, which continued 44. houres, and our cable being of our owne spinning, brake, and lost our anker, and being off a lee shoare, and hauing no boate to helpe vs, we hoysed our saile, and bare roomer with the said shoare, looking for present death: but as God provided for vs, we ranne into a creeke full of oze, and so saued our selues with our barke, & liued in great discomfort for a time. For although we should haue escaped with our liues the danger of the sea, yet if our barke had perished, we knew we should haue bene, either destroyed, or taken slaues by the people of that Countrey, who liue wildly in the field, like beastes, without house or habitation. Thus when the storme was leas'd, we went out of the creeke againe: and hauing set the land with our Compasse, and taken certaine markes of the same, during the time of the tempest, whilst we ridde at our anker, we went directly to the place where we ridde, with our barke againe, and found our anker which we lost: whereat the Tartars much maruelled, how we did it. While we were in the creeke, we made an anker of wood of cart wheelles, which we had in our barke, which we threw away, when wee had found our yron anker againe. Within two dayes after, there arose another great storme, at the North east, and we lay a trie, being driuen far into the sea, and had much ado to keepe our barke from sinking, the billow was so great: but at the last, hauing faire weather, we tooke the Sunne, and knowing howe the land lay from vs, we sel with the Riuer Yaik, according to our desire, wherof the Tartars were very glad, fearing that wee should haue bene driuen to the coast of Persia, whose people were vnto them great enemies.

Note, that during the time of our Navigation, wee set by the redde crosse of S. George in our flagges, for honour of the Chyistians, which I suppose was neuer seene in the Caspian sea befoze. We passed in this voyage diuers fortunes: not withstanding the 28. of May we arriued in safetic at Astracan, and there remained till the tenth of June following, as well to prepare vs small boates, to goe by against the streame of Volga, with our goods, as also for the companie of the Ambassadors of Tartarie, committed vnto me, to bee brought to the presence of the Emperour of Russia.

This Caspian sea (to say some thing of it) is in length about two hundred leagues, and in breadth 150. without any issue to other seas: to the East part whereof, ioyneth the great desert countrey of the Tartars, called Turkemen: to the West, the countreyes of the Chyrcaffes, the mountaines of Caucasus, and the Mare Euxinum, which is from the said Caspian Sea a hundred leagues. To the North is the riuer Volga, and the land of Nagay, and to the South part ioyneth the countreyes of Media and Persia. This sea is fresh water in many places, and in other places as salt as our great Ocean. It hath many goodly Riuers falling into it, and it auoideth nor it selfe except it be vnder ground. The notable Riuers that fall into it, are first the great Riuer of Volga, called in the Tartar tongue Edell, which springeth out of a lake in a marish or plaine ground, not farre from the Citie of Nouogrode in Russia, and it is from the spring to the Sea, aboue two thousand English miles. It hath diuers other goodly Riuers falling into it, as out of Siberia, Yaik, and Yem: Also out of the mountaines of Caucasus, the Riuers of Cyrus and Arash, and diuers others.

As touching the trade of Shamaky in Media and Tebris, with other townes in Persia, I haue enquired, and do well vnderstand, that it is euen like to the trades of Tartaria, that is little vnterance, and small profite: and I haue bene aduertised that the chiefe trade of Persia is into Syria, and so transported into the Leuant sea. The fewe shippes vpon the Caspian Seas, the want of Hart and port Townes, the pouertie of the people, and the ice, maketh that trade naught.

At Astracan there were merchants of Shamaky, with whom I offered to barter, and to giue them kerlics for their wares, but they would not, saying, they had them as good cheape in their countrey, as I offered them, which was sixe rubbles for a kerlic, that I asked: and while I was at Boghar, there were brought thither out of Persia, Cloth, and diuers commodities of our countreyes, which were sold as good cheape, as I might sell ours.

The tenth day of June, we departed from Astracan towards the Mosco, hauing an hundred gunners in our company at the Emperours charges, for the safe conduct of the Tartar Ambassadors and me. And the eight and twentieth day of July following, wee arriued at the citie of Cazan, hauing bene vpon the way from Astracan thither, sixe weekes and moze, without any refreshing of victuals: for in all that way there is no habitation.

The thuenth of August following, we departed from Cazan, and transported our goods by water, as farre as the citie of Morum, and then by land: so that the second of September, we arriued

The English
Flag in the
Caspian sea.

A notable de-
scription of the
Caspian sea.

riued at the citie of Mosco, and the fourth day I came befoze the Emperours Maiestie, killed his hand, and presented him a white Cowes taile of Cathay, and a Drumme of Tartaria, which he well accepted. Also I brought befoze him all the Ambassadors that were committed to my charge, with all the Russe slaues: and that day I dined in his Maiesties presence, and at dinner, his Grace sent me meate by a Duke, & asked me diuers questions touching the lands and countreis where I had bene. And thus I remained at the Mosco about your affaires, until the 17. day of February that your wares were sent downe: and then hauing licence of the Emperours Maiestie to depart, the 21. day I came to your house at Vologhda, and there remained until the breaking vp of the yere: and then hauing seene all your goods laden into your boates, I departed with the same, and arrived wishall in safetie at Colmogro the 9. of May 1560. And here I cease for this time, intreating you to beare with this my large discourse, which by reason of the varietie of matter, I could make no shorter, and I beseech God to prosper all your attempts.

His arrival at Mosco the 2. of September.

The latitudes of certaine principall places in Russia, and other Regions.

	Deg.	Min.
Mosco in	55	10
Nouogrod the great	58	26
Nouogrod the lesse	56	33
Colmogro	64	10
Vologhda	59	11
Cazan	53	33
Oweke	51	40
Astracan	47	9
At the entrance into the Caspian sea.	46	72
Mangu slave beyond the Caspian sea.	45	00
Vrgence in Tartary 20. dayes iourney frō the Caspian sea.	42	18
Boghar a citie in Tartary 20. dayes iourney frō Vrgence.	39	10

Certaine notes gathered by Richard Iohnson (which was at Boghar with M. Anthony Ienkinson) of the reports of Russes and other strangers, of the wayes of Russia to Cathaya, and of diuers and strange people.

The first note giuen by one named Sarnichoke a Tartarian subiect to the Prince of Boghar, which are also Tartars bordering vpon Kizilbash or Persia, declaring the way from Astracan, being the furthest part of Russia, to Cathaya as foloweth.



From Astracan to Serachick by land, traauiling by Ieasure as Merchants vse with wares, is 10. dayes iourney.

From Serachick to a towne named * Vrgenshe, 15. dayes.

From Vrgenshe to Boghar, 15. dayes.

From Boghar to Cascar, 30. dayes.

From Cascar to Cathaya, 30. dayes iourney.

* 21. Vrgenshe

By the same partie a note of another way more sure to traueile, as he reporteth.

From Astracan to Turkemen by the Caspian sea, 10. dayes with barkes.

From Turkemen by lande specially with Camels, bearing the weight of 15. poodes for their common burthens, is 10. dayes to Vrgenshe.

From Vrgenshe to Boghar, 15. dayes.

Note. At this Citie of Boghar is the marke or meeting place betweene the Turkes and nations of those parts and the Cathayans.

Also the toll there is the 40. part to be payed of Merchandizes or goods.

From

From thence to Cascar is one moneths iourney, and from Cascar (being the frontier of the great Can, hauing many towncs and fortes by the way) is also a moneths trauel for merchants by land to Cachay.

Further, as he hath heard (not hauing bene in those parts himselfe) ships may saile from the dominions of Cathaia vnto India. But of other waies, or how the seas lie by any coast hee knoweth not.

The instruction of another Tartarian merchant dwelling in the citie of Boghar, as he hath learned by other his countrey men which haue bene there.

First from Astracan by sea to Serachick is 15 daies: affirming also that a man may trauell the other way before written by Turkemen.

From Serachick to Vrgence is 15 daies.

From Vrgence to Boghar also 15 daies.

Note. These last 30 daies iourney is without habitation of houses: therefore traouellers lodge in their owne tents, caryng with them to eate, their severall provisions: and for drinck there bee many wells of faire water of equall baiting places not farre distant dayly to be had.

From Boghar to Taskent easie traouelling with goods, is 14 daies by land.

From Taskent to Occient 7 daies.

From Occient to Cascar 20 daies. This Cascar is the head towne or citie of another prince, lying betwene Boghar and Cathaia, called Rethircan.

From Cascar to Sowchick 30 daies iourney, which Sowchick is the first border of Cathay.

From Sowchick to Camchick 5 daies iourney, and from Camchick to Cathay is 2 moneths iourney, all the way being inhabited, temperate, & well replenished with innumerable fruits, & the chiefe citie in that whole land is called Cambalu, which is yet 10 daies iourney from Cathay.

Beyond this land of Cathay, which they praise to be ciuill & vnspokeably rich, is the countrey named in the Tartarian tongue Cara-calmack inhabited with blacke people: but in Cathay, the most part therof stretching to the sunne rising, are people white and of faire complexion. Their religion also, as the Tartars report, is christian, or after the maner of Christians, and their language peculiar, differing from the Tartarian tongue.

There are no great and furious Beares in traouelling through the waies aforesaid, but wolues white and blacke. And because that woods are not of such quantitie there, as in these parts of Russia, but in maner rather scant then plentiful, as is reported, the Beares breed not that way, but some other beasts (as namely one in Russe called Barse) are in those coasts. This Barse appeareth by a skinne of one seene here to sell, to be here to great as a big lion spotted very faire, and therefore we here take it to be a Leopard or Tiger.

Angrim.

Note that 20 daies iourney from Cathay is a countrey named Angrim, where liueth the beast that beareth the best Huske, & the principall therof is cut out of the knee of the male. The people are tawny, & for that the men are not bearded nor differ in complexion from women, they haue certaine tokens of iron, that is to say: the men weare the sunne round like a bolle vpon their shoulders, and women on their priuie parts. Their feeding is raw flesh in the same land, and in another called * Titay: the Duke there is called Can. They worship the fire, and it is 34 daies iourney from great Cathay, and in the way lyeth the beautifull people, eating with knives of golde, and are called Comorom, and the land of small people is neerer the Mosko then Cathay.

Mandeville
speakes here
of.

El Kitap.

Small people.

The instructions of one of Permia, who reporteth he had bene at Cathay the way before written, and also another way neere the sea coast, as foloweth, which note was sent out of Russia from *Giles Holmes.*

First from the prouince of Dwina is knowen the way to Pechora, and from Pechora traoueling with Olenes or hartes, is sixe daies iourney by land, and in the Sommer as much by water to the riuer of Ob.

The Ob is a riuer full of flats, the mouth of it is 70. Russe miles ouer. And from thence three daies iourney on the right hand is a place called Chorno-lesce, to say in English, blacke woods, and from thence neere hand is a people called Pechey-cony, wearing their haire by his description after the Irish fashion.

From Pechey-cony to Ioult Calmachey three daies iourney, & from thence to Chorno. Calchay three daies tending to the Southeast.

These two people are of the Tartarian faith, and tributaries to the great Can.

Here

Pechora bene
sixe daies iour-
ney by land or
water from
Ob.

Here follow certaine countreys of the Samoeds which dwell vpon the riuer Ob, and vpon the sea coasts beyond the same, taken out of the Russe tongue word by word, and traauiled by a Russe borne in Colmogro, whose name was *Pheodor Tontugin*, who by report, was slaine in his second voyage in one of the said countreys.

Vpon the East part beyond the countrey of Vgori, the riuer Ob is the most Westernmost part thereof. Upon the sea coast dwell Samoeds, and their countrey is called *Molgomsey*, whose meate is flesh of Olenes, or Harts, and Fish, and doe eate one another sometimes among themselves. And if any Marchants come vnto them, then they kill one of their chitozen for their sakes to feast them with all. And if a Marchant chance to die with them, they burie him not, but eate him, and so doe they eate them of their owne countrey likewise. They be euill of sight, and haue small noses, but they be swift and shoote very well, and they traauile on Harts and on dogges, and their apparrell is Sables and Harts skinnes. They haue no Marchandise but Sables onely.

Travelling out dogs & harts.

Item, on the same coast or quarter beyond those people, and by the sea side also doeth dwell another kinde of Samoeds in like maner, hauing another language. One moneth in the yeere they lye in the sea, and doe not come or dwell on the dry land for that moneth.

Item beyond these people, on the sea coast, there is another kinde of Samoeds, their meate is flesh and fish, and their merchandise are Sables, white and blacke Foxes (which the Rusles call *Pelts*) and Harts skinnes, and Fawnes skinnes.

The relation of *Chaggi Memet* a Persian Marchant, to *Baptista Ramusius*, and other notable citizens of *Venice*, touching the way from *Tauris* the chiefe citie of *Persia*, to *Campion* a citie of *Cathay* ouer land: in which voyage he himselfe had passed before with the Carauans.

From Tauris to Soltania.	6	} dayes iourney.	From Aclu to Cuchi.	20	} dayes iourney.
From Soltania to Casbin.	4		From Cuchi to Chialis.	10	
From Casbin to Veremi.	6		From Chialis to Tufson.	10	
From Veremi to Eri.	15		From Tufson to Camul.	13	
From Eri to Boghara.	20		From Camul to Succuir.	15	
From Boghara to Samarchand.	5		From Succuir to Gauta.	5	
From Samarchand to Calcar.	25		From Gauta to Campion.	6	
From Calcar to Aclu.	20				

Which *Campion* is a citie of the Empire of *Cathay* in the province of *Tangut*, from whence the greatest quantitie of *Rubarbe* cometh.

A letter of *Sigismund* king of *Polonia*, written in the 39. yeere of his reigne to *Elizabeth* the Queenes most excellent Maiestie of *England*, &c. 1559

Sigismundus Augustus by the grace of God king of *Polonia*, great Duke of *Lituania*, *Russia*, *Prussia*, *Mossouia*, and *Samogetia*, &c. Lord and heire &c. to the most Noble Princesse *Lacie Elizabeth* by the same gract of God Queene of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, &c. our deare sister and kinsfellowman, greeting and increase of all felicitie. Whereas your Maiestie writeth to vs that you haue receiued two of our letters, wee haue looked that you should haue answered to them both. First to the one, in which we intreated moze at large in forbidding the voyage to *Narue*, which if it had bene done, we had bene unburdened of so often writing of one matter: and might haue answered your Maiestie much better to the purpose. Now we thus answere to your Maiestie to those matters of the which you writte to vs the 3 of *October* from *Windfore*. First, forasmuch as your Maiestie at the request of our letters hath discharged the arrest of Marchants goods, and of the names of the men of *Danske* our subiects, which was set vpon them by the commandement of your Maiestie: and also haue restozed the olde and ancient libertie of traffique, we acknowledge great pleasure done vnto vs in the same: and also thinke it to bee done according to common agreement made in times past. Neither were we euer at any time of any other opinion touching your Maiestie, but that wee should obtaine right and reason at your hands. Forasmuch as we likewise shall at all times be ready to grant to your Maiestie, making any request for your subiects, so farre as shall stand with iustice, yet neither will we peeld any thing to your Maiestie in contention of loue, beneuolence, and mutuall office, but that we iudge

The trade to Narue forbidden by the King of Poland.

The ancient conuents of trafficke betwixt England & Prussia.

The olde libertie
of trafficke.

The meanes
of increafe of
the power of
the Mosco-
wite.

every good turne of yours to be recompensed by vs to the uttermost: and that shall we proove as occasion shall serue. Therefore we shall commaund the arrests, if any be made by our subiects (as it is vnknown to vs) of merchants goods and English names to be discharged: and shall conferre the olde libertie of trafficke, and all other things which shall seeme to apperteyne to neighbourhood betweene vs and your Maiesty: so that none of the subiects of your Maiesty hereafter presume to vse the navigation to the Narue forbidden by vs, and full of danger not onely to our parts, but also to the open destruction of all Christians and liberall nations. The which as we haue written afoze, so now we write againe to your Maiesty that we know and feele of a surety, the Moscouite, enemy to all liberty vnder the heauens, dayly to grow mightier by the increafe of such things as be brought to the Narue, while not onely wares but also weapens heeretofore vnknown to him, and artificers & artes be brought vnto him: by meane whereof he maketh himselfe strong to vanquish all others. Which things, as long as this voyage to Narue is vsed, can not be stopped. And we perfectly know your Maiesty can not be ignorant how great the cruelty is of the said enemy, of what force he is, what tyranny he vseth on his subiects, and in what seruile sort they be vnder him. We seemed hitherto to vanquish him onely in this, that he was rude of artes, and ignorant of policie. If so be that this navigation to the Narue continue, what shall be vnknown to him? Therefore we that know best, and border vpon him, do admonish other Christian princes in time, that they do not betray their dignity, liberty and life of them and their subiects to a most barbarous and cruell enemy, as we can no lesse do by the duty of a Christian prince. For now we do foresee, except other princes take this admonition, the Moscouite puffed vp in pride with those things that be brought to the Narue, and made more perfect in warlike affaires with engines of warre and shippes, will make assault this way on Christendome, to slay or make bound all that shall withstand him: which God defend. With which our admonition diuers princes already content themselves, and abstaine from the Narue. The others that will not abstaine from the said voyage shall be impeached by our nauie, and incurre the danger of losse of life, liberty, wife and childzen. Now therefore if the subiects of your Maiesty will forbear this voyage to Narue, there shall be nothing denied to them of vs. Let your Maiesty well weigh and consider the reasons & occasions of our stopping of ships going to the Narue. In which stopping, our subiects of Danske be in no fault, as we haue already written to your Maiesty, neither vse we their counsell in the same. In any other matter, if there be any fault in them against your Maiesty or your subiects, we will gladly do iustice vpon them, that your Maiesty may well vnderstand that we be carefull of you and your subiects. Neither thinke we it meet to take Hamburg, or any other place to iudge the matter: for we haue our counsell & iudgement seat at Rie, where your Maiesty & your subiects, or any other, shall haue iustice administered vnto them, with whom we haue had ancient league and amity. And thus much we haue thought good to let your Maiesty vnderstand. Fare ye well. Dated the sixt of December the 39 of our reigne.

Sigismundus Augustus Rcx.

The Queenes Maiesties Letters to the Emperour of *Russia*, requesting licence, and safe conduct for *M. Anthony Fenkinson* to passe thorow his kingdome of *Russia*, into *Persia*, to the *Great Sophie*. 1561.



LIZABETHA Dei gratia, Angliæ, &c. Regina, serenissimo & potentissimo principi, D. Ioanni Basiluich, Imperatori totius Russiæ, Magno Duci, &c. Salutem, & omnium rerum prosperarum felicissimum incrementum. Potentissime Princeps, res est nobis ad memorandum longè gratissima, illa vestra Maiestatis erga nos & nostros amicitia. Quæ tempore felicissimæ memoriæ Regis Edwardi sexti, fratris nostri charissimi, Dei benignitate incepta, deinceps verò vestra non solum singulari humanitate alta atque foras, sed incredibili etiam bonitate aucta atque cumulata, nunc autem omnibus benevolentia vestra officijs sic firmata est atque constabilita, vt iam minimè dubitemus, quin ea ad laudem Dei, ad gloriam vtriusque nostrum, ad publicam nostrorum vtrouique regnorum immensam commoditatem, ad priuatam singulorum vtrinque subditorum optatam spem, certamque felicitatem multis sit deinceps seculis duratura. Et quanquam hæc vestra bonitas, plenissimè sese effudit in omnes nostros subditos, qui sese in vllas imperij vestri partes vnquam receperunt, (pro qua ingentes nostras, vt par est, gratias vestra Maiestati habemus, vestrisque vicissim in omni opportunitate loco libentissimè feremus) tamen abundantia benignitatis vestra, in accipiendo, tamque humaniter tractando nostri fidelem & perdilectum famulum Antonium Ienkinson, qui has perfectas literas, seorsum nobis gratissima existit. Nam præterquam quòd nul-

lis non locis vestri Imperij & magna libertate, & summa humanitate vestra serenitatis non permisso solum, sed iussu etiam frueretur, vestra bonitas tamen non in hac domestica benignè faciendi ratione conquieuit, sed perlibenter & vltro eundem nostrum hunc per dilectum famulum, varijs exteris principibus, quoquouersus ipse iter suum instituerat, literis suis, suo magnò Imperiali sigillo consignatis commendauit. Quod beneficium illi vbiuis gentium, & viam sine vilo periculo, propter publicam vestram fidem, & aduentum cum magno fauore, propter vestram commendationem, optatè quidem & scèliciter communiuit. Itaq; quemadmodum gemina hæc vestra beneuolentia, cum illa generalis exhibita in vestro regno negotiantibus subditis nostris vniuersis, tum ista seorsini præstita huic Antonio Jenkinson, perfideli nostro famulo, nobis in mente non solum ad gratam perpetuamque memoriã, verum etiam ad mutua, vel opportunam compensationem, firmissimè defixa est: ita, petimus a vestra Maiestate vt vtramque beneuolentiã vestra rationem & communem nostris vniuersis, & priuatam huic nostro dilecto famulo, vtrisque deinceps dignetur tueri, atq; conseruare. Neque nos quidem diffidimus, quin quomodo fauorem vestra Maiestas antea sua sponte Antonio Jenkinson, tum quidem priuato ostendit, eundem nunc nostro rogatù eidem Antonio in nostrum iam famulatum cooptato benignè velit denuò declarare. Et propterea petimus à vestra Maiestate, vt dignetur iterum concedere eidem nostro famulo, literas suas conmeatus, publicæ fidei, ac saluconductus, quarum tenore, authoritate, atque præsidio, sit illi, familiaribus suis, & seruis, tutum, liberumque, cum mercibus, sarcinis, equis, & bonis suis vniuersis, inuehendis euehendisque, per vestra regna, domicilia, atque prouincias, proficisci, ire, transire, redire, abire, & istic morari, quamdiu placuerit, & inde recedere quandocunq; illi aut suis libitum fuerit. Et sicut non dubitamus, quin vestra Maiestas hæc omnia humanitatis grata officia, pro immensa bonitate suæ naturæ benignè & largiter huic famulo nostro sit concessura, ita valde optamus, adeoque petimus, vt vestra Maiestas eodem nostrum famulum, vnà cum omnibus suis familiaribus, ac bonis, exteris alijs principibus literis suis dignetur commendare, præsertim verò atque seorsim Magno Sophi, Persarum Imperatori, in cuius etiam imperia & ditiones idem noster famulus gratia potissimè experiundi peregrina commercia, proficisci vnà cum suis constituit.

Confidimus igitur hæc omnia nostra postulara pro famuli spe, pro nostra expectatione, pro vestra bonitate, pro nostrorum vtrinque subditorum commoditate, fausta illi, grata nobis, accepta etiam vestra Maiestati, & nostris vtròbique perquam vtilia euasura. Deus vestra Maiestatis, &c. Datum in celeberrima nostra Ciuitate Londini, anno mundi 5523. Domini ac Dei nostri Iesu Christi 1561, regnorum verò nostrorum tertio.

The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. to the right excellent, and right mightie Prince, Lord Iohn Basilwich, Emprour of all Russia, &c. greeting, and most happy increase in all prosperitie. Right mightie Prince, the amitie of your Maiestie towards vs and our subiects is very pleasant to vs to be remembred, which being begun by the goodnesse of God in the reigne of our most deare brother of happie memorie, King Edward the sixt, and afterwards, through your not onely singular humanitie, fed, and nourished, but also through your incredible goodnesse increased, and augmented, is now firmèd and established, with all manner of tokens of your beneuolence, that now we doubt not, but that from hencefoorth, during many ages, the same shall endure to the praise of God, to both our glories, to the publike great commoditie of our Realmes on either part, and to the priuate desired hope, and certeine felicitie of all our subiects. And although that this your goodnesse hath bene abundantly èxtremèd to all our subiects, that haue at any time repaired into any part of your Empire, for the which wee giue (as reason is) your Maiestie right heartie thanks, and will againe shew the like vnto yours, right willingly, whensoever opportunitie shall require: yet the abundance of your benignitie both in receiving, and also in enterctaining our faithfull and beloued seruant, Anthonie Jenkinson, the bringer of these our letters, is vnto vs for him priuately very thankfull. For besides this, that in all places of your Empire, he not onely by your Maiesties sufferance, but also by your commandement, enioyed much libertie, and great friendship, your goodnesse not ceasing in this your domesticall disposition of clemencie, did right willingly, and of your owne abundant grace, commend the same our welbeloued seruant, by your letters sealed with your Imperiall seale, to sundrie forren Princes, vnto whom he was minded to iourney: which your magnificence did purchase vnto him happily, according to his desire, both passage without all perill, through your notable credit, and also atchieuing of his iourney through your commendation. Therefore like as these your duplicated beneuolences, both that one generally exhibited to all our subiects frequen-

ring that your Realme, and also this the other extended apart to this our right faithful seruant Anthonie Ienkinson, is right assuredly fastened in our remembrance, not onely for a perpetuall and gratefull memoriazl, but also for a mutuall and meet compensation: so we desire of your Maiestie, to vouchsafe from hencefoorth to conserue and continue the geminate disposition of your beneuolences, both generally to all our subiects, and also priuately to this our beloued seruant. And we doubt not, but that at our request, you will againe graciously shew vnto the same Anthonie, now admitted into our seruice, the like fauor as heretofore your Maiestie of your meere motion did exhibite vnto him, being then a priuate person. And therefore we desire your Maiestie effectsoones to grant to the same our seruant, your letters of licence, pasport, & safe conduct, through the tenour, authority, and helpe whereof, he, his seruants, together with their merchandises, baggages, horses, and goods whatsoeuer, that shall be brought in, or carried out, by or thozow all your empire, kingdome, dominions, and prouinces, may surely and freely iourney, go, passe, repasse, depart, and there tary so long as it shall please him: and from thence returne whensoever it shall seeme good to him or his: and as we doubt not, but that your Maiestie in the goodnesse of your nature will graciously and abundantly grant all these good offices of humanity, so we do heartily desire that your Maiestie wil likewise vouchsafe to commend the same our seruant, together with all his goods, by your letters to other forren Princes, and specially to the great Sophy, and Emperour of Persia, into whose empire and iurisdictiones the same our seruant purposeth with his for to iourney, chiefly for triall of forren merchandises.

We therefore doe trust that all these our demands shall tend, and haue effect, according to the hope of our seruant, and to our expectation, for your wealth, for the commodity of both our subiects, lucky to him, thankfull to vs, acceptable to your Maiestie, and very profitable to our subiects on either part. God grant vnto your Maiestie long and happy felicity in earth, and euertlasting in heauen. Dated in our famous city of London the 25 day of the moneth of April, in the yeere of the creation of the world 5523, and of our Lord God Iesus Christ 1561, and of our reigne the thirde.

The Queenes Maiesties Letters to the Great Sophy of Persia, sent by M. Anthonie Ienkinson. 1561.



LIZABETHA Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, &c. Potentissimo & inuictissimo Principi, Magno Sophi Perfarum, Medorum, Parthorum, Hircanorum, Carmanorum, Margianorum, populorum cis & vltra Tygrin fluium, & omnium intra Mare Caspium, & Persicum sinum nationum atque Gentium Imperatori salutem, & rerum prosperarum felicissimum incrementum. Summi Dei benignitate factum est, vt quas gentes, non solum inmensa terrarum spacia, & insuperabiles marium vastitates, sed & ipsæ etiam cœlorum cardines longissime disiunxerunt, ipsæ tamen literarum bono & mentis certa cogitata, & humanitatis grata officia, & intelligentiæ mutæ multa commoda facile inter se & opportunè possint communicare. Itaque cum perdilectus, & fidelis noster famulus Anthonie Ienkinson, qui has literas nostras perfert, cum bona venia, fauore, & gratia nostra hoc Angliæ nostræ regnum excedere, & in Persiam vsque, vestrasque alias ditiones Dei benignitate penetrare constituerit, hoc illius institutum perlaudabile quidem grato nostro fauore prosequi, & promouere studuimus: id quod eo nos libentius facimus, quoniam hoc eius propositum ex honesto studio commercij constituendi potissimum cum vestris subditis, alijsque peregrinis hominibus, ad vestra regna confluentibus, omninò exortum sit. Propterea nobis & scribendum ad vestram Maiestatem, ab eaque petendum esse duximus, vt nostro rogatu dignetur concedere huic famulo nostro Antonio Ienkinson literas publicæ fidei, & salui conductus, quarum autoritate atque præsidio, licitum, liberumque sit illi, vnâ cum suis familiaribus, seruis, sarcinis, mercibus & bonis vniuersis, per vestra regna, domicilia, ditiones, atque prouincias liberè, & sine impedimento proficisci, ire, transire, redire, abire, & istic morari, quamdiu placuerit, & inde recedere, quando cunque illi vel suis lubitum fuerit. Si hæc sancta hospitalitatis iura & dulcia communis humanitatis officia, inter nos, nostra regna, nostrosque subditos libenter constitui, sincerè coli, & constantè conseruari queant, speramus nos, Deum Optimum Maximum effecturum, vt ab hijs paruis initijs, grandiora rerum momenta, vobis ad magna ornamenta atque decus, nostris ad summa commoda atque vsus, aliquando sint oritura: siquidem, vt non terra, non mare, non cœlum, ad nos longissime seperandos, quàm diuina ratio communis humanitatis, & mutæ beneuolentiæ ad nos firmissimè coniungendos plus virium habuisse videatur. Deus salutem omnem, & felicem in

terris, & perpetuam in cœlis, vestræ concedat Maiestati. Datum in Anglia, in celebri nostra vrbe Londino, 25 die mensis Aprilis, anno mundi, 5523, Domini ac Dei nostri Iesu Christi, 1561, regnorum verò nostrorum tertio.

The same in English.

ELizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, &c. To the right mightie, and right victorious Prince, the great Sophie, Emperour of the Persians, Medes, Parthians, Hircans, Carmanians; Margians, of the people on this side, and beyond the riuer of Tygris, and of all men, and nations, betweene the Caspian sea, and the gulfe of Persia, greeting, and most happie increase in all prosperitie. By the goodnesse of the Almighty God it is ordeined, that those people, which not onely the huge distance of the lands, and the inuincible widenesse of the seas, but also the very quarters of the heauens do most farre separate, and set asunder, may neuertheless through good commendation by writing, both ease, and also communicate betweene them, not onely the conceiued thoughts, or deliberations, and gratefull offices of humanitie, but also many commodities of mutuall intelligence. Therefore whereas our faithfull, and right welbeloued seruant Anthonie Ienkinson, bearer of these our letters, is determined with our licence, fauour, and grace, to passe out of this our Realme, and by Gods sufferance to trauell euen into Persia, and other your iurisdictions: we minde truely with our good fauour, to set forward, and aduance that his right laudable purpose: and that the more willingly, for that this his enterprize is onely grounded vpon any honest intent, to establish trade of merchandise with your subiects, and with other strangers traffiking in your realmes. Wherefore we haue thought good, both to write to your Maiestie, and also to desire the same, to vouchsafe at our request, to grant to our sayd seruant, Anthonie Ienkinson, good passports, and safe conducts, by meanes, and authoritie whereof, it may be free and lawfull for him, together with his familiar s, seruants, cariages, merchandise, and goods whatsoeuer, throzow your Realmes, Dominions, Iurisdictions, and Prouinces, freely, and without impeachment, to iourney, go, passe, repasse, and tary so long as he shall please, and from thence to returne whensoever he or they shall thinke good. If these holy duties of enterainment, and sweet offices of naturall humanitie may be willingly concluded, sincerely embraced, and firmly obserued betweene vs, and our Realmes, and subiects, then we do hope that the Almighty God will bring it to passe, that of these small beginnings, greater moments of things shall here after spring, both to our furniture and honours, and also to the great commodities, and ble of our peoples: so it will be knowne that neither the earth, the seas, nor the heauens, haue so much force to separate vs, as the godly disposition of naturall humanity, and mutuall beneuolence haue to ioyne vs strongly together. God grant vnto your Maiestie long and happy felicity in earth, and perpetuall in heauen. Dated in England, in our famous citie of London, the 25 day of the moneth of April, in the yere of the creation of the world, 5523, and of our Lord and God Iesus Christ, 1561, and of our reigne the third.

This letter was also written in Hebrew, and Italian.

A remembrance giuen by vs the Gouvernours, Consuls, and Assistants of the company of Merchants trading into *Russia*, the eight day of May 1561, to our rustie friend *Anthonie Ienkinson*, at his departure towards *Russia*, and fo to *Persia*, in this our eight iourney.

If you shall vnderstand that we haue laden in our good ship, called the Swallow, one Chest, the keyes whereof we doe here deliuer you, and also a bill; wherein are written particularly the contents in the sayd Chest, and what euery thing did cost: and because, as you know, the sayd Chest is of charge, we desire you to haue a speciall regard vnto it, and when God shall send you vnto Mosco, our mindes and will is, that you, with the aduise of our Agents there, doe appoint some such presents for the Emperour and his sonne, either wine, closh of golde, scarlet, or plate, as to your good discretion shall be thought meet, and when you haue deliuered vnto him the Queenes Maiesties Letters, and our sayd present in the name of the Company, we thinke it good that you make your humble sute vnto his Highnesse in our name, to get his licence or safe conduct for you and all other our seruants or Agents at all times hereafter with such wares and merchandise as you at this time, or they hereafter at all other times shall thinke good to passe out of his dominions towards Tarraria, Persia, or other places, and also to returne vnto Mosco with such wares and merchandises as you shall bring or send from any land or countrey that is not in his dominions, and if it be thought good by you and our Agents there

to make composition with the emperour or his officers for some certaine custome or tole vpon such goods as we shall passe that way, to the intent we might be the better sauoyed, we refer it to your discretiō, forseeing that the opening of this matter be not prejudiciall vnto our former priuileges.

And for the sale of our cloth of gold, plate, pearles, saphyres, and other iewels, we put our trust and confidence in you principally to sell them for ready money, rime to good debtors, or in barter for good wares, so that you make our other Agents priuy how and for what price you sell any of the premises, and also deliuer such summes of money, billes or wares, as you shall receiue, vnto our said Agents: thinking good further, that if you perceiue that the plate or other iewels, or any part thereof will not be sold for profit before your departure from the Mosco, that then you cause them to be safe packed, and set order they may be sent hit her againe in our shippes the next yeere, except you perceiue that there may be some profit in carrying some part of them into Persia, which we would not to be of any great value.

We haue also laden in the sayd Swallow and the other two shippes 80 fardles, containing 400 kerkies, as by the inuoyce doth appeare, which fardles be packed, & appointed to be caried into Persia: neuertheless, if you chance to finde good sales for them in the Mosco, we thinke it were good to sell part of them there, and to cary the lesse quantity with you, because we be vncertaine what vent or sale you shall finde in Persia or other places where you shall come.

If you obtaine the Emperours licence to passe out of his dominions, and to returne, as aforesaid, & that you perceiue you may safely do the same, our minde is, that at such time as you thinke best and most conuenient for that purpose, you do appoint to many, and such of our hired seruants or apprentises as you thinke necessary & meet for our affaires, and may best be spared, to goe with you in your said voyage, whereof we would one to be such as you might make priuy of all your doings for diuers considerations and causes that may happen: which seruants and apprentises, we will and command, by this our remembrance, to be obedient vnto you as vnto vs, not onely to goe with you, and to doe such things as you command them in your presence, but also to goe vnto such countreys or places as you shall appoint them vnto, either with wares or without wares, & there to remaine and continue so long as you shall thinke good, and if they or any of them will refuse to do such things as you do appoint them, as aforesaid, or that any of them (be he hired seruant or apprentise) do misuse himselfe by any maner of disobedience or disorder, and will not by gentle and faire meanes be reformed, we will that you send him backe to the Mosco, with straight order that he may be sent from thence hit her, & let vs haue knowledge of his euill behauior, to the intent that if he be a hired seruant we may pay him his wages according to his seruice, and if he be an apprentise we may vse him according to his deserts.

We will also that you take with you such kerkies, scarlet, and other clothes, or any other such wares of ours, as you shall thinke good, and so in the name of God to take your iourney towards Persia, either by the way of Astracan and Mare Caspium, or otherwise, as you shall see cause: and when God sendeth you into Persia, our minde is, that you repaire vnto the great Sophy with the Queenes Maiesties letters, if he be not too farre from the Caspian sea for you to trauell, and that you make him such a present as you shall thinke meet, and if you passe by any other kings, princes, or gouernours, before or after you come to the presence of the Sophy, like wise to make them some present, as you see cause, according to their estate and dignitie, and withall to procure letters of priuilege or safeconduct of the sayd Sophy or other princes in as large and ample maner as you can, for the sure establishing of further trade in merchandise by vs hereafter to be made, frequented and continued in those parts, not onely that we may freely sell in all places within his dominions such wares as we cary thither, but also buy and bring away any maner of wares or merchandise whatsoeuer it be, that is for our purpose and commoditie within his dominions, with free passage also for vs at all times, to passe as often as we will with our goods and merchandise into any part of India or other countreys thereunto adioynning, and in like maner to returne thozow his dominions into Russia or elsewhere.

And for the sale of our kerkies or other wares that you shall haue with you, as our trust is that you will doe for our most profit and commoditie: euen so we referre all vnto your good discretiō, as well in the sale of our sayd goods, as to make our returne in such things as you shall finde there, and thinke best for our profit. But if passage cannot be had into Persia by Astracan, or otherwise, the next Summer, which shalbe in the yeere 1562, then our minde is, that you procure to sell our kerkies, & other such wares as are appointed for Persia, in the Mosco, or other the Emperours dominions, if you may sell them for any reasonable price, and then to employ your selfe with such other of your seruants, as you shall thinke meet for the search of the passage by Noua Zembla, or els you to returne for England as you thinke good. Prouided alwayes, that if you do perceiue or vnderstand, that passage is like to be had into Persia the Summer following, which shalbe

shalbe in the yere 1563, and that you can not sell our kettles in the Emperours dominions, as aforesayd, at a reasonable price: then we will rather they may be kept till the said Summer in the yere 1563, and then you to proceed forwards vpon your iourney towards Persia as aforesayd. If passage into Persia cannot be obtained the next yere, neither good hope of passage in the yere 1563, neither yet in the meane time good sale of our kettles in the Emperours dominions, then we thinke good for you to see if you can practise to cary your said wares by safe conduct thorow Polonia, or any other wayes vnto Constantinople, or els where you thinke better sale may be had, then in Russia.

Thus haue we giuen you to vnderstand our meanings in this intended aduventure: but forasmuch as we do consider and know, that if we should prescribe vnto you any certeine way, or direct order what you should doe, we might so worke cleane contrary to our purpose and intent: therefore knowing your approued wisdom with youre experyence, and also your carefull and diligent minde in the atchieuing and byinging to good successe (by the helpe of almighty God) all things that you take in hand, we doe commit our whole affaires concerning the said aduventure wholly vnto your good discretion, praying God so to prosper you, as may be first for his glory, secondly for the honour and commoditie of this realme, and next for our profit, with the increase of your good name for euer.

And yet further desiring, and also most earnestly requiring you, as you tender the state of our company, that you will haue a speciall regard vnto the order of our houses & our seruants, aswell at Colmogro and Vologda, as at Mosco, and to see and consider if any misorder be amongst our seruants or apprentices, wherby you thinke we might hereafter be put to hinderance or losse of any part of our goods or priuilege there, that you doe not onely see the same reformed, but also to certifie vs thercof by your letter at large, as our trust is in you.

And for the better knowledge to be had in the prices and goodnes of such things as we do partly suppose you shall finde in the partes of Russia, we doe herewith deliuer you a quantitie of certeine byugges, wherby you may perceiue how to know the best, and also there are noted the prices of such wares and byugges as be heere most vendible: also we deliuer you herewith one pound and one ounce weight in brass, to the end, that you may therby, & with the bill of prices of wares, know what things be worth here. As for the knowledge of silks, we need not to giue you any instructions thereof, other then you know.

And if you vnderstand that any commoditie in Russia be profitable for vs to haue with you into Persia or other places, our minde is that our Agents shall either prouide it for you, or deliuer you money to make prouision your selfe. And because the Russes say that in traueling Eastwardes from Colmogro thirty or forty dayes iourney, there is the maine sea to be found, we thinke that Richard Iohnson might employ his time that way by land, and to be at Mosco time enough to goe with you into Persia: for if it be true that he may trauell to the sea that way, and that he may know how many miles it is towards the East from Colmogro, it will be a great helpe for vs to finde out the straight and passage that way, if any be there to be had.

William Gerard. }
Thomas Lodge. } *Gouernors,* } William Merike.
Blase Sanders.

Waightes and byugges deliuered to M. Fenkinson,

The maine sea within thirtie dayes Eastward of Colmogro.

A compendious and briefe declaration of the iourney of M. Anth.

Ienkinson, from the famous citie of London into the land of Persia, passing in this same iourney thorow Russia, Mosconia, and Mare Caspium, aliàs Hircanum, sent and employed therein by the right worshipfull Societie of the Merchants Aduenturers, for discouerie of Lands, Islands, &c. Being begun the foureteenth day of May, Anno 1561, and in the third yere of the reigne of the Queenes Maiestie that now is: this present declaration being directed and written to the foresayd Societie.

1561

First imbarcking my selfe in a good shippe of yours, named the Swallow, at Grauesend, hauing a faire and good winde, our anker then weyed, and committing all to the protection of our God, hauing in our sailing diuersitie of windes, & therby forced to direct and obserue sundry courses (not here rehearsed, because you haue bene thercof heretofore amply informed) on the fourteenth day of July, the yere aforesayd I arriued in the bay of S. Nicholas in Russia: and the five and twentieth day of the same moneth, after conference then had with your Agents there, concerning your worships affaires, I departed from thence, passing thorow the countrey of Vago, and on the eight day of August then following, I came to Vologda, which is distant from Colmogro, seuen hundred miles, where I remained foure dayes, attending the arriuall of one of your boats, wherewith

The Queenes
letters to the
Emperour of
Russia.

wherein was laden a chest of ietwels with the present, by your woꝝships appointed to the Empe-
roꝝs Palace: which being arrived, and the chest receiu'd, I there with departed toward the city
of Mosco, and came thither the twentieth day of the same moneth, where I immediately caused my
comming to be signified vnto the Secretary of the Imperiall Palace, with the Queenes High-
nesses letters addrested vnto the same his Maiestie, who informed the Emperour thereof. But his
Highnesses hauing great affaires, and being at that present ready to be married vnto a Ladie of
Chircasi, of the Mahometicall law, commanded that no stranger, Ambassadour, noꝝ other, should
come befoze him for a time, with further streight charge, that during the space of three dayes that
the same solemne feast was celebrating, the gates of the citie should be shut, and that no person,
stranger oꝝ natiue (certeine of his household reserued) should come out of their said houses during
the said triumph, the cause thereof vnto this day not being knowne.

The first of September following, the Emperour made a great feast, whereunto were called
all Ambassadours and strangers being of reputation, and hauing affaires: amongst whom I was
one, but being willed by the Secretary first to come, and to shew him the Queenes Maiesties let-
ters, I refused to doe, saying I would deliuer the same vnto the Emperours owne hands, and
not otherwise: which heard the Secretarie answered, that vntlesse he might first peruse the sayd
letters, I should not come into the Emperours presence, so that I was not at the feast. Neuerthe-
lesse, I was aduertised by a noble man that I was inquired for by the Emperours Maiestie, al-
though the cause of my absence was to his Maiestie vnknewen. The next day following, I cau-
sed a supplication to be made, and presented it to his Highnesses owne hands, and thereby declared
the cause of my comming, signified by the Queenes Maiesties letters, and the answer of his sayd
Secretary, most humbly beseeching his Grace that he would receiue and accept the same her
Highnesses letters, with such honour and friendship, as his letters sent by Osep Napea were re-
ceiued by the hands of our late Soueraigne Lady Queene Mary, oꝝ els that it would please his
Highness to dismisstome, saying that I would not deliuer the said letters but vnto his owne hands,
for that it is so vsed in our countrey. Thus the matter being pondred, and the effect of my sup-
plication well digested, I was forthwith commaunded to come with the said letters befoze his
Maiestie, and so deliuered the same into his owne hands (with such presents as by you were ap-
pointed) according to my request, which were gratefully accepted, & the same day I dined in his
Graces presence, with great entertainment. Shortly after, I desired to know whether I should
be licenced to passe thozow his Highnesses dominions into the land of Persia, according to the
Queenes Maiesties request: hereunto it was answered, that I should not passe thither; for that
his Maiestie meant to send an armie of men that way into the land of Chircasi, whereby my iour-
ney should be both dangerous & troublesome, and that if I should perish therein, it would be much
to his Graces dishonour, but he doubted other matters, although they were not exprest. Thus
hauing receiued his answer, neither to my expectation, noꝝ yet contentation, and there remaining
a good part of the yere, hauing in that time solde the most part of your kertes and other wares ap-
pointed for Persia, when the time of the yere required to returne for England, I desired pasport,
and post horses for money, which was granted: but hauing receiued my pasport, ready to depart,
there came vnto our house there Osep Napea, who perswaded me that I should not depart that
day, saying that the Emperour was not truly informed, imputing great fault to the frowardnesse
of the Secretary, who was not my friend: befoze whom comming againe the next day, and finding
the same Secretary and Osep Napea together, after many allegations and obiections of things,
and percciuing that I would depart, I was willed to remaine vntill the Emperours Maiestie
were spoken with againe touching my passage: where with I was content, & within three dayes
after sending for me, he declared that the Emperours pleasure was, that I should not onely passe
thozow his dominions into Persia, but also haue his Graces letters of commendations to foꝝren
princes, with certaine his affaires committed to my charge, too long here to rehearse: whereup-
on I appointed my selfe for the voyage, & the 15 day of March, the yere aforesaid, I dined againe
in his Maiesties presence in company of an Ambassadour of Persia and others, and receiuing a cup
of drinke at his Maiesties hands, I tooke my leaue of his Highnesses, who did not onely giue me
letters, as aforesayd, but also committed matter of importance and charge vnto me, to be done
when I should arrive in those countreys whither I intended to go, and hauing all things in readi-
nesse for the same voyage, I departed from the city of Mosco the 27 day of April 1562, downe by
the great riuer of Volga, in company of the said Ambassadour of Persia, with whom I had great
friendship and conference all the way downe the same riuer vnto Astracan, where we arrived all
in health the 10 day of June.

Request to
passe into Per-
sia thozow
Moscouie.

Osep Napea
Ambassadour
from the Em-
perour of Russia
to M. Mary.

In ambassa-
doy of Persia.

Astracan.

And as touching the situations of the cities, towne, castles and countreys, as well of Mahome-
tans as also of Gentils adioyning to the same, whereby I passed from Mosco vnto Astracan, I
omit

omit in this byeviat to rehearse, for that I heretofore have declared the same most amply unto you in my voyage to Boghar. Thus being arrived at Astracan, as is aforesayd, I repaired unto the captaine there, unto whom I was commended from the Emperours Maiesty, with great charge that he not only should ayd and succore me with all things needfull during my abode there, but also to safeconduct me with 50 gunners well appointed in two stroogs of brigantines into the Caspian sea, until I had passed certaine dangerous places which pirats & rouveres do accustom to haunt, and having prepared my barke for the sea, the Ambassadoz of Persia being before departed in a barke of his owne the 15 day of July, the yeere aforesayd, I and my company tooke our voyage from the sayd Astracan, and the next day at a West sunne, passed the mouth of the said riuier being twenty miles distant, lying next Southeast. The 18 at a Southwest sunne, we passed by three Islands being distant nine miles from the said mouth of Volga, and Southsouth west from thence, sailing Southsouthwest the next day, at a West & by North sun we fel with the land called Challica Ostriva, being foure round Islands together, distant from the said three Islands forty miles. From thence sailing the said course the next day, we had sight of a land called Tuke, in the countrey of Tumen, where pirats and rouveres do vse: for feare of whom we haled off into the sea due East forty miles, and fell vpon shallowes out of the sight of land, and there were like to haue perished, escaping most hardly: then the 22 day we had sight of a goodly Island called Charalet, distant from the said Challica Ostriva an hundred miles, the winde being contrary, and a stiff gale, we were not able to seize it: but were forced to come to an anker to the leeward of the same five miles off in thzee or foure fathom water, being distant from the maine land to the Westward of vs, which was called Skascayloz Connyk a countrey of Bahometans, about miles, and so riding at two ankers a head, hauing no other ppozition, we lost one of them, the stroome and sea being growen very foze, and thereby our barke was so full of leaks, that with continuall pumping we had much adoe to keepe her about water, although we thzee much of our goods overboard, with losse of our boat, and our selues thereby in great danger like to haue perished either in the sea or els vpon the lee shoze, where we should haue fallen into the hands of those wicked infidels, who attended our shipwacke: and surely it was very unlike that we should haue escaped both the extremities, but onely by the power and mercy of God, for the stroome continued seuen dayes, to wit, vntill the thirtiet day of the same moneth: and then the winde comming by at the West with faire weather, our anker weyed, and our saile displayed, lying South, the next day haling to the shoze with a West sunne, we were nie a land called by the inhabitants Shyruansha, and there we came againe to an anker, haling the winde contrary, being distant from the said Charalet 150 miles, and there we continued vntill the third day of August, then hauing a faire winde, winding Southsoutheast, and sailing thzee score miles, the next day at a Southeast sunne we arrived at a city called Derbent in the king of Hircans dominion, where comming to land, and saluting the captaine there with a present, he made to me and my company a dinner, and there taking fresh water I departed.

of Jenkinsons voyage to Boghar.

He passeth the Caspian sea.

The countrey of Tumen.

The Island of Charalet.

The land of Shyruansha.

Derbent.

A mighty wall. Or Tiphis.

Fortie one degrees. Shabran.

Alean Murcy the gouernour.

This city of Derbent is an ancient towne hauing an olde castle therein, being situated vpon an hill called Castow, builded all of free stone much after our building, the walles very high and thicke, and was first erected by king Alexander the great, when he warred against the Persians and Medians, and then hee made a wall of a wonderfull bright and thickenesse, extending from the same city to the Georgians, yea vnto the principall city thereof named Tewfisk, which wall though it be now rased, or other wise decayed, yet the foundation remaineth, & the wall was made to the intent that the inhabitants of that countrey then newly conquered by the said Alexander should not lightly flee, nor his enemies easily invade. This city of Derbent being now vnder the power of the Sophy of Persia, bordereth vpon the sea, adioyning to the foresaid land of Shalkall, in the latitude of 41 degrees. From thence sailing Southeast and Southsoutheast about 80 miles, the sixt day of August, the yeere aforesaid, we arrived at our landing place called Shabran, where my barke discharged: the goods lay on shoze, and there being in my tent keeping great watch for feare of rouveres, wherof there is great plenty, being fielde people, the gouernour of the said countrey named Alean Murcy, comming vnto me, entertained me very gently, vnto whom giuing a present, he appointed for my safegard forty armed men to watch & ward me, vntill he might haue newes from the king of Shruan. The 12 day of the same moneth newes did come from the king, with order that I should repaire vnto him with all speed: and for expedition, aswell camels to the number of fite and forty to cary my goods, as also horses for me and my company were in readinesse, so that the goods laden, and taking my iourney from thence the said twelvt day, on the 18 of the same moneth I came to a city called Shamaky, in the said countrey of Hircan, otherwise called Shiruan, and there the king hath a faire place, where my lodging being appointed, the goods were discharged: the next day being the 19 day, I was sent for to come to the king, named

Obdolywan,

King Obdowcan.

The maner & attire of King Obdowcan.

The Queenes letters to the Sophy.

Casbin.

Multitude of concubines.

The description of Hircania.

Obdowcan, who kept his court at that time in the high mountaines in tents, distant from the sayd Shamaki twentie miles, to avoyd the iniury of the heat: and the 20 day I came befoze his presence, who gently interteined me, and hauing killed his hands, he bad me to dinner, and commanded me to sit downe not farre from him. This king did sit in a very rich paultion, wrought with silke & golde, placed very pleasantly, vpon a hill side, of sixe eene fathom long, and sixe fathom broad, hauing befoze him a goodly fontaine of faire water: whereof he & his nobility did drinke, he being a prince of a meane stature, and of a fierce countenance, richly appparelled with long garments of silke, and cloth of golde, imbrodzed with pearles and stone: vpon his head was a colipane with a sharpe end standing vpwarts halfe a yard long, of rich cloth of golde, wrapped about with a picke of India silke of twentie yards long, wrought with golde, and on the left side of his colipane stood a plume of feathers, set in a trunke of golde richly inameled, and set with pzeious stones: his earerings had pendants of golde a handfull long, with two great rubies of great value, set in the ends thereof: all the ground within his paultion was couered with rich carpets, & vnder himselfe was spred a square carpet wrought with siluer & golde, and therupon was layd two sutable cushions. Thus the king with his nobility sitting in his paultion with his legs a crosse, and perceiuing that it was painfull for me so to sit, his highnesse caused a stoole to be brought in, & did will me to sit thereupon, after my fashion. Dinner time then appproching, diuers clothes were spred vpon the ground, and sundry dishes serued, and set in a ranke with diuers kinde of meats, to the number of 140 dishes, as I numbred them, which being taken away with the table clothes, and others spred, a banket of fruits of sundry kinde, with other banketting meates, to the number of 150 dishes, were brought in: so that two seruices occupied 290 dishes, and at the end of the sayd dinner & banket, the king said vnto me, Quo the quelde, that is to say, Welcome: and called for a cup of water to be drawn at a fontaine, and tasting thereof, did deliuer me the rest, demanding how I did like the same, and whether there were so good in our countrey or not: vnto whom I answered in such sort, that he was therewith contented: then he ppropounded vnto me sundry questions, both touching religion, and also the state of our countreys, and further questioned whether the Emperoz of Almaine, the Emperoz of Rulsia, or the great Turke, were of most power, with many other things too long here to rehearse, to whom I answered as I thought most meet. Then he demanded whether I intended to goe any further, and the cause of my comming: vnto that I answered, that I was sent with letters from the Queenes most excellent Maiesty of England vnto the great Sophy, to intreat friendship and free passage, and for his safe conduct to be granted vnto English merchants to trade into his Segniozies, with the like also to be granted to his subiects, when they should come into our countreys, to the honour and wealth of both realmes, and commodity of both their subiects, with diuers other words, which I omit to rehearse. This sayd king much allowing this declaration sayd, that he would not onely giue me passage, but also men to safeconduct me vnto the sayd Sophy, lying from the foze sayd citie of Shamaki thirtie dayes iourney, by into the land of Persia, at a castle called Casbin: so departing from the king at that time, within thre dayes after, being the foure and twentieth day of August the yere afozesaid, he sent for me againe: vnto whom I repaired in the morning, and the king not being risen out of his bed (for his maner is, that watching in the night, and then banketting with his women, being an hundred and forty in number, he sleeperh most in the day) did giue one commandement that I should ride on hawking with many Gentlemen of his Court, and that they should shew me so much game and pastime as might be: which was done, and many cranes killed. We returned from hawking about thre of the clocke at the afternoone: the king then risen, and ready to dinner, I was inuited therunto, and appproching nigh to the entring in of his tent, and being in his sight, two gentlemen incountered me with two garments of that countrey fashion, side, downe to the ground, the one of silke, and the other of silke and golde, sent vnto me from the king, and after that they caused me to put off my byper garment, being a gowne of blacke velvet furred with Sables, they put the sayd two garments vpon my backe, and so conducted me vnto the king, befoze whom doing reuerence, and kissing his hand, he commanded me to sit not farre from him, and so I dined in his presence, he at that time being very merry, and demanding of me many questions, and amongst other, how I like the maner of their hawking. Dinner so ended, I required his highnesse safeconduct for to depart towards the Sophy, who dismissing me with great fauour, and appointing his Ambassadour (which returned out of Rulsia) and others, to safeconduct me, he gaue me at my departure a faire horse with all furniture, and custome free from thence with all my goods. So I returned to Shamaki againe, where I remained untill the sixt of October, to provide camels, horses, and other necessaries for my sayd intended iourney.

But now befoze I proceed further, I purpose to wryte something of this countrey of Hircan, now called Shiruan, with the townes and commodities of the same. This countrey of Hircan

in times past was of great renowne, having many cities, townes, and castles in it: and the kings thereof in time of antiquity were of great power, able to make wars with the Sophies of Persia: but now it is not onely otherwise (for that the cities, townes, and castles be decayed) but also the king is subject to the sayd Sophie (although they haue their proper king) and be at the commandement of the sayd Sophie, who conquered them not many yeeres passed, for their diuersity in religion, and caused not onely all the nobility & gentlemen of that countrey to be put to death, but also ouer and besides, rased the walles of the cities, townes, and castles of the said realme, to the intent that there should be no rebellion, and for their great terror, caused a turret of free stone and slints to be erected in the sayd city called Shamaki, and in a ranke of slints of the sayd turret, did set the heads of the sayd nobility and gentlemen, then executed. This city is distant from the sea side, with camels, seuen dayes iourney, but now the same being much decayed, & chiefly inhabited with Armenians, another city called Arrash, bordering vpon the Georgians, is the chiefest and most opulent in the trade of merchandise, & thereabouts is nourished the most abundant growth of raw silke, and thither the Turks, Spizians, and other strangers do resort and trafficke. There be also diuers good and necessary commodities to be prouided & had in this sayd realme: viz. galles rough and smooth, cotton wooll, allome, and raw silke of the naturall growth of that countrey: besides, nece all kinde of spices and byugges, and some other commodities, which are by caught thither from out of East India, but in the lesse quantity, for that they be not assured to haue vent or vterance of the same: but the chiefest commodities be these raw silks of all sorts, whereof there is great plenty. Not farre from the sayd city of Shamaki, there was an olde castle called Gullistone, now beaten downe by this Sophie, which was esteemed to be one of the strongest castles in the world, and was besieged by Alexander the great, long time before he could win it. And not farre from the sayd castle was a sumptuous building, wherein was buried a kings daughter, named Armeleck Channa, who slew herselfe with a knife, for that her father would haue forced her (she professing chastity) to haue married with a king of Tarrarie: vpon which occasion the maidens of that countrey do resort thither once euery yere to lament her death.

Danger by their Religion.

Barbarous crueltye

The citie of Arrash of Erax.

The commodities of this countrey.

The strong castle of Gullistone defaced.

Also in the sayd countrey there is an high hill called Quiquis, vpon the toppe whereof (as it is commonly reported) did dwell a great Giant, named Arneoste, hauing vpon his head two great hornes, and eares, and eyes like a Horse, and a taile like a Cow. It is further sayd, that this monster kept a passage thereby, vntill there came an holy man, termed Hauoir Hamshie, a kinseman to one of the Sophies, who mounted the sayd hill, and combating with the sayd Giant, did binde not onely him in chaines, but also his woman called Lamisache, with his sonne named Afier: for which victory they of that countrey haue this holy man in great reputation, and the hill at this day (as it is byricted) saoureth so ill, that no person may come nigh vnto it: but whether it be true or not, I referre it to further knowledge.

Now to returne to the discourse of the proceeding in my voyage towards the great Sophie. The 6 of October in the yeere aforesayd, I with my company departed from Shamachi aforesaid, and hauing iourneyed threelooke miles, came to a towne called Yauare, wherein the king hath a faire house, with orchards and gardens well replenished with fruits of all sorts. By this towne passeth a great ruer called Cor, which springeth in the mountaines of the Georgians, & passing thow the countrey of Hircania aforesayd, fallerh into the Caspian or Hircan sea, at a place betwene two ancient townes called Shabran and Bachu, situate within the realme of Hircane, and from thence issueth further, passing thow a fruitfull countrey, inhabited with pasturing people, which dwell in the Summer season vpon mountaines, and in Winter they remooue into the valleyes without resorting to townes or any other habitation: and when they remouue, they doe iourney in carrauans or troops of people and cattell, carrying all their wiuies, children and baggage vpon bullocks. Now passing this wilde people ten dayes iourney, comming into no towne or house, the sixteenth day of October we arriued at a citie called Ardouill, where we were lodged in an hospitall builded with faire stone, and erected by this Sophies father named Ismael, onely for the succour and lodging of strangers and other traouellers, wherein all men haue victuals and feeding for man and horse, for thre dayes and no longer. This foresayd late prince Ismael lieth buried in a faire Meskie, with a sumptuous sepulchre in the same, which he caused to be made in his life time. This towne Ardouill is in the latitude of eight and thirtie degrees, an ancient citie in the prouince of Aderragan, wherein the Princes of Persia are commonly buried: and there Alexander the great did keepe his Court when he inuaded the Persians. Foure dayes iourney to the Westward is the citie Tebris in olde time called Tauris, the greatest citie in Persia, but not of such trade of merchandise as it hath bene, or as others be at this time, by meane of the great inuasion of the Turke, who hath conquered from the Sophie almost to the sayd citie of Tauris, which the sayd Turke once lacked, and thereby caused the Sophie to forsake the

The towne of Yauare.

The city of Ardouill.

The city Tebris of Tauris.

the same, and to keepe his court ten dayes journey from thence, at the sayd citie of Casbin.

The 21 day we departed from Ordowil aforesayd, traueiling for the most part ouer mountaines all in the night season, and resting in the day, being destitute of wood, and therefore were forced to vse for seuell the dung of horses & camels, which we bought deare of the pasturing people. Thus passing ten dayes journey the yere aforesayd, the second day of Nouember we arriued at the aforesayd citie of Casbin, where the sayd Sophie keepech his court, and were appointed to a lodging not farre from the kings pallace, and within two dayes after the Sophie commanded a prince called Shalli Murzey, sonne to Obdowcan king of Shiruan aforesayd, to send for me to his house, who asked me in the name of the said Sophie how I did, and whether I were in health, and after did welcome me, and invited me to dinner, whereat I had great entertainment, and so from thence I returned to my lodging. The next day after I sent my interpreter vnto the Sophies Seerctarie, declaring that I had letters directed from our most gracious Souereigne Ladie the Queenes most excellent Maiestie of the Realme of England, vnto the sayd Sophy, and that the cause of my comming was expessed in the same letters, desiring that at conuenient time I might come into his Maiesties presence, who aduertising the Sophy thereof, shortly after answered me that there were great affaires in hand: which being finished, I should come before his presence, willing me in the meane time to make ready my present if I had any to deliuer.

Jenkinsons
arrivall at the
Sophies
court. 2. No-
vember,
1562.

The Turkes
Ambassadour
to the Sophy.

At this time, the great Turkes Ambassadour arriued foure dayes before my comming, who was sent thither to conclude a perpetuall peace betwixt the same great Turke and the Sophie, and brought with him a present in golde, and faire hoxles with rich furnitures, and other gifts, esteemed to be woorth forty thousand pound. And therupon a peace was concluded with topfull feasts, triumphs and solemnities, corroborated with strong othes, by their law of Alkaron, for either to obserue the same, and to liue alwayes after as swozne byechen, ayding the one the other against all princes that should warre against them, or either of them. And upon this conclusion the Sophy caused the great Turkes sonne named Baizer Soltan, a balliant Prince (who being fled from his father vnto the Sophie, had remained in his Court the space of foure yeeres) to be put to death. In which time the sayd Turkes sonne had caused moztall warres betwixt the sayd Princes, and much preuailed therein: the Turke demanded therefore hys sonne to be sent vnto him, & the Sophie refused thereunto to consent. But now being slaine according to the Turks will, the Sophie sent him his head for a present, not a litle desired, and acceptable to the vnatu- rall father. Discourring at my first arrivall with the king of Shiruan of sundry matters, and being intertainied as hath bene before declared, the sayd king named Obdowcan, demanding whether that we of England had friendship with the Turks or not: I answered, that we neuer had friendship with them, and that therefore they would not suffer vs to passe thorow their countrey into the Sophy his dominions, and that there is a nation named the Venetians, not farre distant from vs, which are in gre at league with the sayd Turks, who trade into his dominions with our commodities, chiefly to barter the same for raw silks, which (as we vnderstand) come from thence: and that if it would please the sayd Sophy and other Princes of that countrey, to suffer our merchants to trade into those dominions, and to giue vs passpozt and safe conduct for the same, as the sayd Turke hath granted to the sayd Venetians, I doubted not but that it should grow to such a trade to the profit of them as neuer before had bene the like, and that they should be both furnished with our commodities, and also haue veterance of theirs, although there neuer came Turke into their land, perswading with many other wordes for a trade to be had. This king vnderstanding the matter liked it marueilously, saying, that he would write vnto the Sophie concerning the same: as he did in very deed, assuring me that the Sophie would graunt my request, and that at my retuene vnto him he would giue me letters of safe conduct, and priuiledges. The Turkes Ambassadour was not then come into the land, neither any peace hoped to be concluded, but great preparation was made for warre, which was like much to haue furthered my purpose, but it chanced otherwile. For the Turkes Ambassadour being arriued, and the peace concluded, the Turkish merchants there at that time present, declared to the same Ambassadour, that my comming thither (naming me by the name of Franke) would in great part destroy their trade, and that it should be good for him to perswade the Sophie not to fauour me, as his Highnesse meant to obserue the league and friendship with the great Turke his master, which request of the Turkish merchants the same Ambassadour earnestly preferred, and being afterwards dismissed with great honour, he departed out of the Realme with the Turks sonnes head as aforesayd, and other presents.

The Turkes
merchants
with stand
Jenkinson.

Shaw Thomas
the Sophies
name.

The 20 day of Nouember aforesayd, I was sent for to come before the sayd Sophy, otherwise called Shaw Thomas, and about thzee of the clocke at afternoone I came to the Court, and in lighting from my hoxle at the Court gate, before my feet touched the ground, a paire of the Sophies

Sophies owne shoes termed in the Persian tongue Basmackes, such as hee himselfe weareth when he ariseth in the night to pray (as his maner is) were put vpon my feet, for without the same shoes I might not be suffered to tread vpon his holy ground, being a Christian, and called amongst them Gower, that is, vnbeleuer, and vnclane: esteeming all to be infidels and Pagans which do not beleue as they do, in their false fittie prophets, Mahomet and Murtezalli. At the sayd Court gate the things that I brought to present his Maiestie with, were deuoted by sundry parcels to sundry seruitors of the Court, to carry before me, for none of my company or seruants might be suffered to enter into the Court with me, my interpryter onely excepted. Thus comming before his Maiestie with such reuerence as I thought meete to be vsed, I deliuered the Queenes Maiesties letters with my present, which hee accepting, demaunded of mee of what countrey of Franks I was, and what affaires I had there to doe: vnto whom I answered that I was of the famous Citie of London within the noble Realme of England, and that I was sent thither from the most excellent and gracious soueraigne Lady Elizabeth Queene of the saide Realme for to treat of friendship, and free passage of our Merchants and people, to repaire and traffique within his dominions, for to bying in our commodities, and to carry away theirs to the honour of both princes, the mutuall commoditie of both Realmes, and wealth of the Subiects, with other wordes here omitted. He then demaunded me in what language the letters were written, I answered, in the Latine, Italian and Hebrew: well said he, we haue none within our Realme that vnderstand those conguers. Whereupon I answered that such a famous and worthy prince (as hee was) wanted not people of all nations within his large dominions to interpryter the same. Then he questioned with me of the state of our Countreys, and of the power of the Emperour of Almaine, king Philip, and the great Turke, and which of them was of most power: whom I answered to his contentation, not displaying the great Turke, their late concluded friendship considered. When he reasoned with mee much of Religion, demaunding whether I were a Gower, that is to say, an vnbeleuer, or a Muselman, that is, of Mahomers lawe. vnto whom I answered, that I was neither vnbeleuer nor Mahometan, but a Christian. What is that, said he vnto the king of the Georgians sonne, who being a Christian was fled vnto the said Sophie, and he answered that a Christian was he that beleuech in Iesus Christus, affirming him to be the Sonne of God, and the greatest Prophet. Doest thou beleue so, said the Sophie vnto me: Yeat that I do, said I: Oh thou vnbeleuer, said he, we haue no neede to haue friendship with the vnbeleuers, and so willed me to depart. I being glad therof did reuerence and went my way, being accompanied with many of his gentlemen and others, and after me followed a man with a Balanet of sand, sifting all the way that I had gone within the said pallace, euen from the said Sophies sight vnto the court gate.

The Queenes letters deliuered.

The Sophies questions.

Thus I repaired againe vnto my lodging, and the said night Shally Murzey sonne to the king of Hircan aforesaid, who sauoured me very much for that I was commended vnto him from his father, willed mee not to doubt of any thing, putting mee in hope that I should haue good successe with the Sophie, and good incertainment.

The curtesie of Shally Murzey.

Thus I continued for a time, dayly resorting vnto me diuers gentlemen sent by the Sophie to conferre with me, especially touching the affaires of the Emperour of Russia, and to know by what way I intended to returne into my countrey, either by the way that I came, or by the way of Ormus, and so with the Portingals ships. vnto whom I answered, that I durst not returne by the way of Ormus, the Portingals and wee not being friends, fully perceiving their meaniug: for I was aduertised that the saide Sophie meant to haue warres with the Portingals, and would haue charged mee that I had bene come for a spie to passe through his dominions vnto the saide Portingals, thinking them and vs to be all one people, and calling all by the name of Franks, but by the prouidence of God this was preuented.

Warres intended against the Portingals.

After this the said Sophie conferred with his nobilitie and counsell concerning me, who perswaded that he should not entertaine me wel, neither dismisle me with letters or gifts, considering that I was a Franke, and of that nation that was enemy to the great Turke his brother, perswading that if he did otherwise, and that the newes thereof should come to the knowledge of the Turke, it should be a meane to breake their new league and friendship lately concluded: dissuading further because he had no neede, neither that it was requisite for him to haue friendship with vnbeleuers, whose Countreys lay sacre from him, and that it was best for him to send me with my letters vnto the said great Turke for a present, which he was fully determined to haue done at some meet time, meaning to send his Ambassadour vnto the said great Turke very shortly after.

But the king of Hircanes sonne aforesaid, vnderstanding this deliberation, sent a man in post vnto his father, for to declare and impart the purpose vnto him, who as a gracious prince, considering that I had passed through his dominions, and that I had iourneyed for a good intent, did write to the Sophie al that which he vnderstood of his said determination, & that it should not stand with

The king of Hircans second letters in M. Ienkinsones behalfe.

his Maiesties honour to doe nice any harme or displeasure, but rather to giue mee good entertainment, seeing I was come into his land of my free will, and not by constraint, and that if hee vsed mee euil, there would few strangers reioyce into his countrey, which would bee greatly vnto his hinderance, with many other perswasions: which after that the saide Sophie had well and thoroughly pondered and digested (much esteeming the same king of Hircane, being one of the valiantest princes vnder him and his nigh kinseman) changed his determined purpose, and the twentieth of March 1562, he sent to me a rich garment of cloch of golbe, and so dismissed me without any harme.

Conference
with Indian
Sperehants.

During the time that I sojourned at the sayde City of Casbin, diuers merchants out of India came thither vnto mee, with whom I conferred for a trade of spices: whereunto they answered that they would bring of all sorts so much as we would haue, if they were sure of vent, whereof I did promise to assure them, so that I doubt not but that great abundance thereof may from time to time be there prouided and had.

M. Jenkinson
returne.

The same twentieth day of March I returned from the saide Citie of Casbin where I remained all the Winter, hauing sent away all my Camels befoze, and the thirtieth day I came to the saide Citie of Ardouil, and the sixteenth of April vnto Zauat afozesayd, where king Obdolowcan was at that present, who immediately sent for me, and demanding of me many questions, declared that if it had not bene for him, I had bene utterly cast away, and sent to the great Turke for a present by the Sophie, though the euill perswasion of his wicked counsell, that the Zetics and holy men were the chiefe and principal procurers and moouers thereof: but the Sophie himselfe ment mee much good at the first, and thought to haue giuen me good entertainment, and so had done, had not the peace and league fortun'd to haue bene concluded betweene them and the great Turke. Neuerthelesse, sayd he, the Sophie hath written vnto me to entertaine you well, and you are welcome into my Countrey, and so he intreated mee very gently, in whose Court I remained seuen dayes, and obteined of him letters of safe conductes and priuiledges in your names to bee free from paying custome, which I deliuered vnto your seruants Thomas Alcocke and George Wrenne, at their departure towards Persia for your affaires: and his highnesse did giue mee two garments of silke, and so dismissed me with great fauour, sending with me his Ambassadour againe vnto the Emperour of Russia, and committed the chiefe secret of his affaires vnto me, to declare the same vnto the Emperours Maiestie at my returne: and thus departing the tenth day of April, I came to the City of Shamachi, and there remainning certaine dayes for prouision of Camels downe to the Sea side, I sent from thence befoze men to repaire my Barke, and to make her in a readinesse. And during my abode in Shamachi, there came vnto me an Armenian sent from the king of Georgia, who declared the lamentable estate of the same king, that being enclosed betwixt those two cruell tyrants and mightie princes, the said great Turke and the Sophie, hee had continuall warres with them, requiring for the loue of Christ and as I was a Christian, that I would send him comfort by the said Armenian, and aduise how he might send his Ambassadour to the sayd Emperour of Russia, and whether I thought that he would support him or no: and with many other wordes required me to declare his necessitie vnto the same Emperour at my returne: adding further that the said king would haue written vnto me his minde, but that hee doubted the safe passage of his messenger. Vnto whom I did likewise answer by word of mouth, not onely perswading him to sende his Ambassadour to Russia, not doubting but that hee should finde him most honourable and inclined to helpe him, but also I directed him his way how the sayde king might send by the Countrey of Chircassi, through the fauour of Teneruk king of the sayd Countrey, whose daughter the said king had lately married. And thus dismissing the saide Armenian, within two dayes after I sent Edward Cleark your seruant vnto the Citie of Arrash, where the most Roye of Silkes is to be had, giuing him Commission to haue passed further into the saide Countrey of Georgia, and there to haue repaired vnto the sayde king. And after my commendations premised, and my minde declared to haue pursued for safeconduct of the same Prince for our Merchants to trade into his dominions, and that obtained to haue returned againe with speede. The same your seruant iourneying to the sayd Citie of Arrash, and there finding certaine Merchants Armenians, which promised to goe to the sayd City of Georgia, comming to the borders thereof, was perceiued by a Captaine there, that he was a Christian, and thereupon demanded whether he went, and understanding that he could not passe further without great suspicion, answered that he came thither to buy Silkes, and shewed the king of Hircanes letters which hee had with him, and so returned backe againe, and the fifteenth of April came to Shamachi: from whence I departed the sixteene of the same moneth, and the one and twentie thereof comming to the Sea side, and finding my barke in a readinesse, I caused your goods to be laden, and there attended a faire winde.

Priviledges
obtain'd of
Obdolowcan,
which are
hereafter an-
swered.

An Armenian
sent to M. Jen-
kinson from the
king of Georgia.

Teneruk king
of Chircassi.

But befoze I proceede any further to speake of my returne, I intend with your fauours somewhat to treat of the countrey of Persia, of the great Sophie, and of his countrey, lawes and religion.

This land of Persia is great and ample, deuided into many kingdomes and prouinces, as Gilan, Corasan, Shiruan, and many others hauing diuers Cities, towne and castles in the same. Every prouince hath his generall King or Sulcan, all in obedience to the great Sophie. The names of the chiefest Cities be these: Teueris, Casbin, Keshan, Yesse, Meskie, Heirin, Ardouill, Shamachi, Arrash with many others. The countrey for the most part toward the sea side is plaine and full of pasture, but into the land, high, full of mountaines, and sharpe. To the South it bordereth vpon Arabia and the East Ocean. To the North vpon the Caspian sea and the lands of Tartaria. To the East vpon the prouinces of India, and to the West vpon the confines of Chaldea, Syria, and other the Turkes lands. All within these dominions be of the Sophies, named Shaw Thomas, sonne to Ismael Sophie. This Sophie that now raigneth is nothing valiant, although his power be great, and his people martiall: and through his pusillanimitie the Turke hath much intaded his countreys, euen nigh vnto the Citie of Teueris, wherein hee was wont to keepe his chiefe court. And now hauing forsaken the same, is chiefly resident at Casbin aforesaide, and alwayes as the said Turke pursueth him, he not being able to withstand the Turke in the fielde, trusting rather to the mountaines for his safegard, then to his fortes and castles, hath caused the same to be raised within his dominions, and his ordinance to be molten, to the intent that his enemies pursuing him, they should not strengehen themselves with the same.

The description
of Persia.

The chiefe
Cities of Persia.

This prince is of the age of fiftie yeeres, and of a reasonable stature, hauing five children. His eldest sonne he keepeth captiue in prison, for that he feareth him for his valianesse and acruitie: he professeth a kinde of holynesse, and saith that hee is descended of the blood of Mahomet and Murtezalli: and although these Persians be Mahometans, as the Turkes and Tartars be, yet honour they this false fained Murtezalli, saying that hee was the chiefest disciple that Mahomet had, cursing and chiding dayly thzee other disciples that Mahomet had called Oucar, Vيران, and Abebeck, and these thzee did slay the saide Murtezalli, for which cause and other differences of holy men and lawes, they haue had and haue with the Turkes and Tartars moztall warres. To increat of their religion at large, being moze or lesse Mahomets lawe and the Alkaron, I shall not need at this present. These persons are comely and of good complexion, proude and of good courage, esteeming themselves to be best of all nations, both for their religion and holynesse, which is most erroneous, and also for all other their fashions. They be martial, delighting in faire hoxles and good harnesse, soone angrie, craftie and hard people. Thus much I haue thought good to treat of this nation, and nowe I returne to discourse the proceeding of the rest of my voyage.

The difference
of Religion.

By barke being ready at the Caspian sea as aforesaide, hauing a faire winde, and committing our selues vnto God the 30. day of May 1563. we arrived at Astracan, hauing passed no lesse dangers vpon the Sea in our returne, then we sustained in our going forth, and remaining at the said Astracan, vntill the tenth day of June, one hundred gunners being there admitted vnto mee for my safegard by the riuier Volga, the fiftenth of July I arrived at the Citie of Casan, where the Captaine entertained me well, and so dismissing mee, I was conducted from place to place vnto the Citie of Mosco, where I arrived the twentieth day of August 1563. in safetie, thanks be to God, with all such goods, merchandizes, and iewels, as I had prouided as well for the Emperours stocke and accompt, as also of yours, all which goods I was commaunded to bring into the Emperours treasure befoze it was opened, which I did, and deliuered those parcels of wares which were for his Maiesties accompt, videlicet, precious stones, and wrought silkes of sundry colours and fortes, much to his highnesse contentation, and the residue belonging to you, viz. Crasko, and rawe silkes, with other merchandizes, (as by accompt appeareth) were brought vnto your house, whereof part there remained, and the rest was laden in your shippes lately returned.

The 30. of
May 1563.

Shortly after my coming to the Mosco, I came befoze the Emperours Maiestie, and presented vnto him the apparell giuen vnto me by the Sophie, whose highnesse conferred with mee touching the princes affaires which he had committed to my charge: and my proceedings therein it pleased him so to accept, that they were much to his contentation, saying vnto mee, I haue perceived your good seruice, for the which I doe thanke you, and will recompence you for the same, wishing that I would trauell againe in such his other affaires, wherein hee was minded to employ mee: to whom I answered, that it was to my heartie reioycing that my seruice was so acceptable vnto his highnesse, acknowledging all that I had done to be but of duetie, humbly beseeching his grace to continue his goodnesse vnto your worships, and euen at that instant I humbly requere

new priuileges obtained hereafter following.

Let his Maiestie to vouchsafe to graunt vnto you a newe priuiledge moze ample then the first, which immediatly was graunted, and so I departed. And afterwards hauing penned a brieve notice howe I meant to haue the same priuiledges made, I repaired dayly to the Secretary for the perfecting of the same, and obtained it vnder his Maiesties broad seale, which at my departure from thence, I deliuered vnto the custody of Thomas Glouer your Agent there. The copy whereof, and also of the other priuiledges graunted and giuen by the king of Hircan, I haue already deliuered vnto you. Soicurning all that winter at Mosco, and in the meane time hauing bargained with the Emperours Maiestie, I sent away your seruant Edward Clarke hither ouerland with aduise, and also made preparation for sending againe into Persia in meete time of the yeere. And committing the charge thereof vnto your seruants Thomas Alcocke, George Wrenne, and Richard Cheinie, the 28. of June last, I departed in poste from the said Mosco, and coming to Colmogro and so downe to the Sea side, I found your ships laden and ready to depart, where I embarked my selfe in your good ship called the Swallow, the 9. of July, one thousand five hundred sixtie foure, and hauing passed the Seas with great and extreme dangers of losse of shippe, goods and life, the 28. day of September last (God be praised) we arriued here at London in safetie.

28. Septemb.
1564.

Thus knowing that the couragious and valiant souldier, which aduentureth both fame, member and life, to serue faithfully his soueraigne, esteemeth not the perils and dangers passed (the victorie once obtained) neither for his guerdon desireth any thing moze, then that his seruice bee well taken of him for whom he enterprised it: So I perceiuing your fauourable beneuolence to me extended in accepting my trauels in good part to your contentations, do thinke my selfe therewith in great part recompensed: beseeching Almighty God so to prosper your aduentures, from time to time hereafter to be made for reaping the fruits of my trauels (at your great charges, and to my no small dangers) that ye may plentifully gather in and enioy the same, to the illustrating of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, the honour and commoditie of this her highnesse Realme, and to the ample benefit and abundant enriching of you and your succession, & posteritie for euer.

A copie of the priuiledges giuen by *Obdowcan King of Hircania*, to the company of English merchants Aduenturers for *Russia, Persia, and Mare Caspium*, with all the lands and countreys adioyning to the same, obtained by *M. Antonie Ienkinson* at his being there about the affaires of the said company, April 14. Anno 1563.

WHE *Obdowcan* by the mightie power of God maker of heauen and of earth, appointed and now reigning king of *Shiruan* and *Hircan*, of our meere uotion and great goodnes, at the earnest sute and request of our faouered and welbeloued *Antonie Ienkinson* Ambassadour, haue giuen and graunted vnto the right worshipfull *Sir William Garrer*, *Sir William Chester*, *Sir Thomas Lodge*, *M. Richard Mallarie*, and *M. Richard Chamberlaine*, with all their company of merchants Aduenturers of the Citie of London in England, free libertie, safe conduct, and licence to come or sende their factorys in trade of merchandize into our countreys, and to buy and sell with our merchants and others, eithor for ready money or barter, and to tary and abide in our countrey, so long as they will, and to goe away when they list, without impediment, let, or hinderance, eithor of body or goods.

And further our commaundement and pleasure is, that the said English merchants with their company, shall pay no maner of custome for wares, which they or their factorys shall buy or sel within our dominions. And if at any time our customers or other officers, or any of them, doe disturbe, misuse, force or constraîne the said English merchants or any of them, or their factorys, to pay any maner of custome or duetie for any wares they bying in or carry out of our dominions contrary to this our commaundement, and the same be knowen vnto vs, then we will that the saide customers and officers shall loose & be put out of their said offices, with our further displeasure, and the saide English merchants to haue restored all such money & wares as our customers haue taken of them for our said custome. And whensoever the saide English merchants or their factorys shall bying any maner of wares meete for our treasure, then our treasurer shall take the said wares into our treasure, and shall giue vnto the said English merchants, eithor ready money or raw silkes, to the value of their saide wares. And wheresoever this our letter of priuiledges shall bee seene and read within our dominion, we straightly wil and command that it take effect, and be obeyed in all points.

Dated at our place of *Iauar*, the day and yere aboue written, and sealed with our princely seale, and signed by our Secretarie in the 12. yeere of our raigne.

The second voiage into Persia made by Tho. Alcock, who was slaine there, and by George Wrenne, & Ric. Cheinie seruants to the worshipfull compaigne of Moscoue merchants in Anno 1563. written by the said Richard Cheinie.

In may please your worshipps to vnderstand, that in the yere 1563. I was appointed by M. Antho. Jenkinson, and M. Thomas Glouer your Agent in Russia, to goe for Persia in your worshipps affaires, one Thomas Alcock hauing the charge of the voyage committed to him, and I one of your worshipps seruants being ioyned with him in your busines, hauing with vs, as they said 1500. rubbles. And if it shall please you I cannot tell certainly what summe of money we had then of the Emperours: for I receiued none, nor disbursed any of it in wares for the voyage. Also, God I take to record, I could not tell what stocke your worshipps had there, for the bookes were kept so priuily that a man could neuer see them. The 10. of May anno 1563. we departed from a towne called Yeraflaue vpon our voyage toward Persia. The 24. of July we arrived at Astracan: and the second of August wee departed from Astracan, and the 4. of the same moneth we came to the Caspian sea, and the 11. day of the said moneth we arrived at our port in Media: and the 21. of the said August wee arrived at Shammaki, whereas the king Obdolocan lay in the field. We were wel entertained of heathen people, for the thirde day after our arriuall at Shammaki wee were called before the king: we gaue him a present, and he entertained vs very well.

A rubble to a marke Eng-lish.

At our comming to the Court wee were commaunded to come before the king, who sat in his tent vpon the ground with his legs a crosse, and all his dukes round about his tent, the ground being couered with carpets: wee were commaunded to sit downe, the King appointing euery man his place to sit. And the king commaunded the Emperour of Russlands Merchants to rise vp, and to giue vs the vpper hande. The 20. of October Thomas Alcock departed from Shammaki towards Casbin, leauing mee at Shammaki to recouer such debts as the dukes of Shammaki ought for wares which they tooke of him at his going to Casbin. In the time I lay there I could recouer but little. And at Thomas Alcocks comming from Casbin, who arrived at a towne called Leuuaeta, whereas the king Obdolocan lay, a day and a halfe iourney from the towne whereas I lay, I hearing of his arriuing there, departed from Shammaki, finding him there in safetie with all such goods as he had with him. During his abode there for seuen dayes he made suite to the king for such money as the dukes ought him. But the king was displeas'd for that the Emperour of Russlands merchant had slaine a Boserman at his going to Casbin. Thomas Alcocke seeing the king would shewe vs no fauour, and also hearing from Shammaki, that the Russes sent their goods to the sea side, for that they feared that the king of Persia should haue knowledge of the death of the Boserman, willed mee to depart to Shammaki with all such goods as he had brought with him from Casbin, I leauing him at the Court.

Casbin.

Leuuaeta.

A Boserman is a Renegado.

The thirde day after mine arriuall at Shammaki, I had newes that Thomas Alcocke was slaine comming on his way towards me. Then the king Obdolocan vnderstanding of his death, demanded whether he had euer a brother. Some said I was, some saide I was not his brother. When this fell out, your worshipps had no other seruant there but mee among those heathen people. Who hauing such a summe of goods lying vnder my handes, and seeing howe the Russes sent their goods with as much hast as they might to the sea side, and hauing but fouze men to sende our wares to the sea side, I vsed such diligenece, that within two dayes after Thomas Alcocke was slaine, I sent in company with the Russes goods, all your worshipps goods with a Bariner, William August, and a Swethen, for that they might the safer arriue at the seaside, being safely layd in. All which goods after wards arriued in Russeland in good condition, Master Glouer hauing the receipt of all things which I sent then out of those parties into Russeland. Concerning my selfe, I remained after I had sent the goods into Russeland sixe weekes in Shammaki, for the recovery of such debts as were owing, and at last with much trouble recovered to the summe of fiftene hundred rubbles or there about, which M. Glouer receiued of me at my comming to Mosco, and all such goods as I brought with me out of Kefelbath, as by a note of my hand that hee hath shall appeare. Also he hauing the receipt of all such goods as I sent into Russeland by these two aboue named, he then had that voyage in venter of his owne better then an hundred rubbles, one Richard Iohnson twentie rubles, one Thomas Petre fiftie rubles, one Euan Chernifin a Tartar seuentie rubles. All these had their returne: M. Glouer allowed himselfe God knoweth howe, I then being in Persia in your worshipps affaires.

Thomas Alcocke slaine in the way betwene Leuuaeta and Shammaki.

Kefelbath, or Kefelbath.

And whereas he saith, the Emperour had but for his part a double, as farre as I can see, knowing what the wares cost in those partes, hee had treble. If they gaue him so much wares, all charges turned to your worshipps, as well of the Emperours as of their owne returnes, I haue

sowen the seede, and other men haue gathered the haruett: I haue trauailed both by lande and by water full many a time with a sorrowfull heart, aswell for the safegarde of their goods as yours, how to frame all things to the best, and they haue reaped the fruites of my trauaile. But euer my prayer was to God, to deliuer mee out of those miseries which I suffered for your seruice among those heathen people. Therefore knowing my duetic which I haue done, as a true seruant ought to do, I beseech your worships (although I haue but small recompence for my seruice,) yet let me haue no wrong, and God will prosper you the better.

Gillan in Persia.

Also, to informe your worships of your Persian voyage what I iudge: it is a voyage to bee followed. The king of Gillan, whereas yet you haue had no traffique, liueth al by marchandise: and it is neere Casbin, and not past six weekes trauaile from Ormus, whither all the spices be brought: and here, (I meane at Gillan) a trade may be established: But your worships must send such men as are no riotous liuers, nor drunkards. For if such men goe, it wil be to your dishonour and great hinderance, as appeared by experience the yeere 1565. when as Richard Iohnson went to Persia, whose iourney had bene better stayed then set forward. For whereas before wce had the name among those heathen people to be such marchants as they thought none like in all respects, his vicious liuing there hath made vs to be compted worse then the Russes.

Again, if such men trauaile in your affaires in such a voyage, you shall neuer know what gaine is to be gotten. For how can such men imploy themselves to seeke the trade, that are inclined to such vices? or howe can God prosper them in your affaires? But when a trade is established by wise and discreet men, then wil it be for your worships to traffique there, and not before: for a voyage or market made euil at the first, is the occasion that your worships shall neuer vnderstand what gaine is to be gotten thereby hereafter.

1565.

The thirde voyage into Persia, begun in the yeere 1565. by Richard Iohnson, Alexander Kitchin, and Arthur Edwards.

A letter of Arthur Edwards to M. Thomas Nicols, Secretarie to the worshipfull company trading into Russia and other the North parts, concerning the preparation of their voyage into Persia.



After Nicols, my bounden duetic remembred, with desire of God for the preservation of you and yours: you shall vnderstand that the second of March I was sent by M. Thomas Glouer (your Agent) vnto Ierasslaue, appointed to receiue such goods as should come from Vologhda, as also such kinde of wares as should be bought and sent from Mosco by your Agent, and M. Edward Clarke, thought mee for your voyage of Persia. And further, I was to provide for biscuit, beere, and beefe, and other victuals, and things otherwayes needful according to aduise. Thus I remained here vntil the comming of your Agent, which was the 12. of May, who taried here three dayes, to see vs set forward on our voyage, and then he departed towards Colmogro, hauing appointed (as chiefe for your voyage of Persia) Richard Iohnson. For my part I am willing, as also haue bene & shalbe content to submit my selfe vnder him, whom the Agent shall appoint, although he were such a one as you should thinke in some respects vnmeet. Thirtie two packes of carleis are all of that kinde of cloth that we shall haue with vs. The other 18. packes that should haue gone, were sold in Mosco. What other goods are shipped for our voyage, you shall vnderstand by your Agents letters. Whereas Edward Clarke (being an honest man) was appointed Agent for Persia, as one for those parts moze fit then any I do know here, God hath taken him vnto his mercie, who departed this present life the 16. of March last past. I wished of God for my part he had liued: for my desire was in his company to haue trauailed into Persia. Your barke or craer made here for the riuer of Volga and the Caspian sea is very litle, of the burthen of 30. tunnes at the most. It is handsomly made after the English fashion: but I thinke it too litle for your goods and prouision of victuals. If the worshipfull company would send hither a Shipwright, being skilfull to make one of the burden of 60. tunnes or moze, drawing but sixe foote water at the most when it is laden, I thinke it should be profitable. For if your owne goods would not lade the same, here be Marchants that would be glad and faine to giue great freight to lade their goods with vs, wherby your charges would be much lessened: And so it may happen, the wages of your men hired here may be saued, and your seruants and goods in farre greater assurance: for their boates here are dangerous to saile with and to passe the Caspian sea. There be Carpenters here that will doe well ynough hauing one to instruct them, Your wares bought here, and orders taken for those that goe for your voyage of Persia are yet vnknown vnto me: whercoze I cannot (as I would at this present) write to you thereof. Yet, (as you do know) it was

Ierasslaue & Iohnson vpon the riuer of Volga.

Richard Iohnson chiefe of the thirde voyage into Persia.

20 barke of 30. tunnes made at Ierasslaue 1564. to passe the Caspian seas.

it was the Governours mind I should be acquainted with greater affaires then these. Howbeit I doubt not but I shall be informed of them that are appointed, and all things shall be bought when they shall see time and haue moze latitude. Thus in hast (as appeareth) I commit you and yours into the hands of almighty God; who preserve you in perfect health with increase of worship. From Ierusalem the 15. of May 1565.

By yours to command here or elsewhere during life. *Arthur Edwards.*

Another letter of the said. *M. Arthur Edwards*, written the 26. of April 1566. in *Shamaki* in *Media*, to the right worshipful *Sir Thomas Lodge* Knight and Alderman: and in his absence to *M. Thomas Nicols*, Secretarie to the right worshipfull companie trading into *Russia*, *Persia*, and other the North and East partes, touching the successe of *Richard Iohnson* in the third voiage into *Persia*.

1566

Worshipfull Sir, my bounden duetie remembred, with heartie prayer vnto God for the preservation of you and yours in perfect health with increase of worship. It may please you that my last letter I sent you was from *Astracan* the 26 of July 1565. From whence *Richard Iohnson*, my selfe, and *Alexander Kirchin*, departed as the 30 of the same. And by meanes of contrary windes, it was the 23 of August befoze we came to our desired port named *Nazauoe*. There, after we had gotten your goods on land, with much labour and strength of men, as also windelless deuted and made, we hales your barke ouer a barre of beach or pebble stones into a small Riuer, sending your shyps apparell with other things to an house hired in a village thereby. And as soone as we might get camels, being the fife of September we departed thence, and came to this towne of *Shamaki* the 11. of the same: and the 17. day folowing, we presented vnto *Abdollocan* the king of this countrey, one timber of *Sables*, one tunne or nest of siluer cups parill gilt, three *Hoxles* teeth, 4. *Arshines* of *Karlet*, 3. pieces of *karlets*, with 40. red fores.

They departed from *Astracan* the 30. of July 1565.

September. Presents to the king *Abdollocan*.

We receiued our presents with giuing vs thanks for our good wils, demanding if *M. Ienkinson* were in good health, and whether he would returne into these parts againe. We willed vs also himselfe to sit downe befoze him the distance of a quois cast from his tent, where he late with diuers of his counsaile and nobilitie, sending vs from his table such meate as was befoze him: And after certaine talke had with vs, he sayd, if he might perceiue or know any maner of person to doe vs any wrong, he would punish them in example of others, where by we should liue in quietnesse, and haue no cause to complaine, giuing vs a litle house for the time, vntill a better might be provided in such place as we should thinke most meete, neuer willing vs to rise or depart, vntill such time as we of our selues thought it conuenient. At the taking of our leaue, he willed vs to put our whole minds and requests in writing, that he might further vnderstand our desires. But while we were about to doe so, God tooke this good king our friend out of this present life the 2. of October past. The want of him hath bene the cause that as yet wee cannot receiue certaine debts. Howbeit, we doubt not but we shall recouer all such summes of mouey as are owing vs for this voyage. As for *Thomas Alcocks* debts they are past hope of recouerie, which had not bene lost if the king had liued. We trust in the place of him, God will send as friendly a king towards vs: who by report (and as we be credibly informed,) shall bee his sonne named the *Mursay*: who since the death of his father, at our being with him, promised to shew vs moze friendship then euer we found: God grant the same.

A house giuen our men in *Shamaki* by the king.

The death of *Abdollocan* the 2. of October 1565.

Mursay the new king of *Media*.

Great troubles haue chanced in these parts. Of those which were of the old kings counsell or bare any rule about him in these quarters, some are in prison, some are pinched by the purse, and other sent for vnto the *Shaugh*. These troubles haue partly bene the let that wares were not sold as they might, to moze profite. Your Agent *Richard Iohnson* bought foure hoxles, minding to haue sent to *Casbin* *Alexander Kitchin*, whom God tooke to his mercy the 23. of October last: and befoze him departed *Richard Davis* one of your *Mariners*, whose soules I trust the Lord hath receiued to his mercy. We are now destitute of others to supply their roumes. Foure *Mariners* were few enough to saile your barke, whereof at this present we haue but one, whose name is *William Smith*, an honest yong man, and one that doeth good seruice here. For want and lacke of *Mariners* that should know their labours, we all were like to be cast away in a storme. For all the broad side of our barke lay in the water, and we had much adoe to recouer it, but God of his mercy deliuered vs. *Mariners* here may doe you good seruice all the winter otherwayes: and merchants here will be gladder to ship their goods in vs giuing good freight. One merchant at this present is content to pay 20. rubbles for twentie camels lading freight to *Astracan*. Such barkes as must passe these seas, may not paye about fife foote of water, because that in many pla-

The death of *Alexander Kitchin* the 23. of October 1565.

The *Caspian* sea here should in diuers places.

ces are very shallow waters. Wee mind hereafter to make the Russian boats more strong, and they shall serue our turnes very well.

And whereas some in times past tooke great paines, trauell and care, and could not haue their desire in the getting of the Shaughs letters of priuiledge: Now, I trust (with Gods helpe) they may be obtained: which being had, will be beneficiall to the company, and great quietnes to those that shall remaine here, although heretofore things haue chanced ill, as the like in other countries hath bene. But I doubt not, this priuiledge once gotten and obtained, we shall liue in quietnesse and rest, and shall shortly grow into a great trade for likes both raw and wrought, with all kind of spices and drugs, and other commodities here, as to *M. Anthonie Jenkinson* is well knowne, who (I doubt not) hath long agoe througely aduertised the Companie thereof.

The truest of the slaughter of *Thomas Alcock* your seruant, is not certainly knowne. Some thinke it was by the meanes of a noble man, with whom your sayd seruant was earnest in demanding of your debts: vpon whose words he was so offended, that he procured his death. But other doe thinke verily, that in rising from the Court without compaite, false knaues lay in waite, thinking he had much about him, and so slew him. I doubt not though this misfortune hath chanced, that things shall come well to passe, and that we shall be better beloued when we shall be more knowne.

One of our merchants are glad of our being here, and seeke to grow in acquaintance with vs, being glad to further vs in that they may, & haue spoken in our fauours to the chiefe of this Countrey: one being a noble man, with whom your Agent and I are entred into friendship, who is at this time in great fauour with the Shaugh. He hath here and in other places of these parts set a good way in things since the kings death: he is well knowne to *M. Jenkinson*, his name is *Cozamomet*. Also another Duke named *Ameddin-beck* is our great friend: And his sister is the Shaughes wife. These two haue promised your Agent by their lawe, not onely to procure to get the Shaughes priuiledge, but also that I shall haue the debts paid me of those that went from hence to *Casbin*, if we would send one with them. In consideration whereof, I was vpon short warning (for want of a better) appointed by your Agent *M. Richard Iohnson*, all excuses laied apart, presently to put my selfe in readinesse, and to depart in company with these noblemen: with charge, when God should send me to *Casbin*, to vse my discretion with their aduise, for the recovering of your debts and priuiledge. I shall haue with mee one interpreter and two bought seruants: one of which partly understandeth this tongue, and may be put in trust whatsoeuer should become of me. I haue receiued 6. tunnes in ready money, 200. shaghs is a tunne, reckoning euery shaghs for sixe pence Russe. I haue further receiued two cinibers of Sables, one to be sold, the other to bee giuen to *Thomas the Shaugh*: and haue order further to giue as I shall see good to those that shall further my suite, and as occasion seruet. And so farre as I am commanded to go, I shall willingly do my best, putting my trust in God that he will send me well to speed in this iourney.

For all kind of wares bought or sold, you shall througely be aduertised by your Agent *Richard Iohnson*, whose reckonings or accounts at no hands I might see or be priue vnto. Your karleis were good and well sorted, they are and will be sold from 150. shaghs, to 160. the piece. Two hundred pieces were sold vnder, that needed not: one 100. pieces at 146. and 147. the piece but more would haue bene giuen, if circumspection had bene vsed. They were sold to those noble men aforesayd, when as yet it was not knowne that I should haue gone with them. They may stand vs much in stead, as they haue promised vs their good wils in that they may doe. Here is at this time bought for England, 11. packes of rawe silke, 25. and 26. batmans being in euery packe: The batman being 7. pound, which may be 6. pound and a halfe of English waight, being bought here from 66. to 70. shaghs the batman. It is fine and good, litle course at this time was to be had. And where course silke might be had being at *Grosin*, we could not send thither: for that time was neglected at the first. When wee shall haue siders here to remaine in *Sommer*, we may buy it at the first hand of the countrey people that bring it to sell hither, and to other places, I would to God the Companie could find the meanes to haue a vent to make sales for the one halfe that we may buy here. The Companie may haue for 30. or 40. thousand pounds yearly. And as appeareth by your Agents wordes being at *Varas*, he and others sawe there so great abundance, that by report of diuers, you may bestow (if it were not for the Turkes) for a two hundred thousand pounds: besides silke of all colours dyed in graine, bound vp in pound waights, I thinke 15. of our ounces to their pound waight, and here sold for 23. shaghs, at 6. d. the shaghs, may be 11. s. 6. pence.

From *Astracan* in 7. or 8. dayes, wee may saile with our barke to a place named *Gilan*: the which place in time to come, (I thinke) shall serue our purpose best to goe vnto. *Alom* is there

The murder-
ring of *Tho-
mas Alcock*.

Cozamomet
a noble man
that fauoured
our nation.

The value of a
tunen.

What a bat-
man is.

Varas a great
mart for silke.

Gilan 7. dayes
sailing from
Astracan.
Alom.

good cheape, being brought from thence hither to Shamaki, and sold here for two bills their batman, which may be 5. pence in our money: and so I haue bought to be sent home 223. batmans for example. And at Gilan there is rawe silke enough for the companies stocke. I beleue, if any great store of wares be sent from you, that must be the place: & from thence a man may trauell in 4. dayes to Casbin, and there make quicke and better sales, at which place your commodities are to be sold. For there be the chiefe and best merchants, and diuers other cities round about, to wit, Teueris, Ardouil, and Caishan, being the heart of the countrey, where there is more ciuilitie and merchants are better vled. Concerning this point I haue inquired of diuers merchants both Russes and others that haue bene in those parts, and found them all agreeing in one tale, and perceiue the same to be true, and that all kind of wares come from thence into these parts, And from Casbin to Ormusis about 30. daies trauielling with camels. I haue written the prizes of wares in my letter to the gouernour both for spices and some drugs which I do know.

Gilan 4. dayes
Iourney from
Casbin.

From Casbin
to Ormusis a
moneths tra-
uel with ca-
mels.

Also you shall vnderstand here is plentie of yew for bowstaues. I caused thre horse loades to be bought vs for to know the truethe; but they were cut out of season this moneth of April, the sap being in them. Thre moneths I neuer left speaking to the Countrey men to bring some. Your Agent will send some home for example.

This day being the 26. of Aprill I departed towards Casbin: God giue me a good houre and well to speed, with a mery heart in returning againe, as my hope is I shall. I haue written my mind to M. Glouer your Agent, what Russian wares I thinke best to be bought for this Countrey, and to send some one hither that hath the Russe tongue, for we haue need. And the companie shall do well hereafter in taking of seruants to be sent hither, to see that they be such as haue discretion, and be something byoken in the world, and scene in the trade of merchandise, and one (if they can get some such) as can speake the Portingall tongue, may do them as good seruiue, as those that shall be here two yeeres before him: for then we may buy a slaue that can speake this language and the Portingal tongue also, which shall then interprete vnto vs in all your secret doings, not making the Russes priuy: for they are soj that we doe trade into these partes, for we are better beloued then they are: because they are giuen to be drunkards, they are much hated of these people. It is to be wished that none should serue your woꝝships in these partes that be giuen to that kind of vice: And that your chiefe Agent and Factor should be able to rule and gouerne himselfe, that no dishonestie should be imputed to him and vs. By his euill blage he paid here 24. rubbles, being in this Countrey 4. tumens for a boy, that he was charged to haue conueied away from a Tesicke one of this countrey men, who willed him to sweare that he knew not where the boy was become, and he should not pay it. If he were honest he might do your woꝝships good seruiue because of his Russian tongue.

The secret do-
ings of the
Spolcouie
company.

Your London reds are not to be sent hither, for they will not giue about 18. shaughes their arshine. Here be reds of more orient colour, being Venice die. The people are giuen much to weare cloth: the common people specially weare karfeis, and the merchants of more wealth weare broad cloth. You shall doe well to send fine or sixe broad clothes, some blackes, pukes, or other sad colours, that may be affoorded at 20. shaughes the arshine, and not aboute. It is here reported that King Philip hath giuen the Turkes a great ouerthrow at Malta, and taken 70. or 80. of his chiefe captains.

Orient reds of
Venice die.

Thus wishing I had more time to write, I pray you to beare with this my scribled letter, and after you haue red it, that M. Nicols may haue a sight thereof.

By your seruant to command,
Arthur Edwards.

Commodities to be caried out of England into Persia, with their prizes there.

- 1 **K** Arfeis are sold there for 180. Shaughes: so that a karsey is sold there in Persia for foure pound ten shillings: for euery shaugh is sixe pence English, and euery Dist is two pence halfe peny English, and in Russe money three pence.
- 2 Tinne is sold in Persia for 14. and 18. Shaughes the batman, The batman containing as I haue mentioned before.
- 3 Brazill is at 10. and 12. shaughes the batman.
- 4 Red cloth fine, at 25. and 30. shaughes the yard.
- 5 Copper at 20. and 25. shaughes the batman.

A shaugh is
6. d. English.

Commodities

Commodities to be brought out of Persia for England.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>1 Raw silke at 60. Shaughes þ batman.</p> <p>2 Pepper at 32. Shaughes þ batman.</p> <p>3 Ginger at 18. & 20. Shaughes þ batman.</p> <p>4 Nutmegs at 30. Shaughes the batman.</p> <p>5 Brimstone at 4. Shaughes the great batman. The great batman is 12. li. English.</p> | <p>6 Allom at 2. bits and a halfe the batman and lesse.</p> <p>7 Rice at halfe a bit the batman.</p> <p>8 Gals at halfe a bit the batman.</p> <p>9 Cloues at 40. Shaughes the batman.</p> <p>10 Pew for bow staues, at</p> |
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A letter of M. *Arthur Edwards*, written the 8. of August 1566. from the towne of *Shamaki* in *Media*, to the right worshipfull the Governours, Consuls, Assitants, and generalitie of the companie of *Russia*, &c. Shewing his accesse vnto the Emperour of *Persia*, his conference with him, his obtaining of a priuledge, with diuers other good obseruations.

Right worshipfull Sirs, my bounden dutie remembred, with most humble commendations and like request to God for the preservation of your good healths, with the rest of the companie, &c. It may please you to understand, that the last letter which I sent you from hence was of the 26. of April of this present yere by *Richard Iohnson* at my departure towards *Casbin*: to which cite I came the 25. of May following, not slackting any day, houre, nor moment, to procure and make friends for the speedie bringing me before the presence of the Shaugh, being the 29. day of the same moneth brought before him, with whole maiestie I was in talke (as I thinke) two houres. He willed me to come neerer him, demanding what were my requests: and hauing heard them, he promised me his gracious letters. Afterwards he called me twice againe to come neerer him, and talked with me of our *Queenes* maiestie and Countrey, and what commodities we had, and what other commodities we desired: and then of other countries adioyning to vs and their commodities, as also of king *Philip*, what overthrow he gaue the *Turks* at the siege of *Malta*. And how long we had traved into *Russeland* and *Moscovia*, and in what space we might saile out of *England* into *Russeland*, & how many weekes trauell it is from *Colmogro* to *Astracan*: and then came to discourse of *Russeland*, and what townes the Emperour had wonne, declaring vnto me himselfe most of our commodities. In the end he willed that your worshipps should send him of all sorts of clothes, but of one especially which maidens do make (as he sayd:) He named it *Karengi*, I thinke it is *Westerne* dozens died into scarlets. Time will not permit mee to write at large the conference which I had with his maiesty. It was strange to his people (knowing our religion) to see me so long in talke with him, willing his *Secretarie* before mee to write what he was desirous of: to wit, of *London* clothes, three or foure of all sorts for example, being well shoyne and dyed. Closets in graine and fine reds be most woyme, but other good colours will away, when they shall see them. I wore a garment of *London* russet, being much esteemed. You shall doe well to send such sorts as be liuely to the sight, and some blacks for womens garments, with some *Oryenge* colours and tawneys. Here is much broad cloth woyme. They talke much of *London* clothes, and they that know the wearing, are desirous of them before the cloth of the womens making, for they find it nothing durable. If or when it cometh to weare on the theed, it renteth like paper. Here is much *Venice* cloth woyme, being cemplished a yard and a halfe broad, and sold here from 24. to 30. Shaughes their arshine, being longer by two inches then the *Russe* arshine is. I wish also that you send some good chamlets & veluets died in graine, with purple colours & fine reds: because these are most woyme. Also some blacks with other colours: some cloth of gold, tulle & botky, some veluets wrought with gold, with sattins and damaskes, most purple, and reds of all sorts. You may not forget to send some *Westerne* karkels, to wit, dozens, which be thicked well, and close shut in the weauing, being died into fine reds, and some scarlets: for I thinke there is no such cloth for their caps.

Your worshipps shall understand, that after my first departure from the presence of the Prince, I neglected no time in daily attendance on them, who had my priuledge in writing, that I might haue it in readinesse at such time as I should againe bee called before the presence of the Shaugh, which was the 29. of June last. I was in apparell that he gaue vnto me, with other garments to mine interpreter, and one of your seruants, and then I receiued your letters of priuledge, according to my desire, sealed and armed with the Shaughs owne hand. Pleased bee God who hath wrought with me, and for me, in all my doings.

The 29. of June is one of their chiefe festiuall daies, so that all his nobilitie was there present,

with

His arrival at
Casbin the 25.
of May.

Conference &
demands of
the Shaugh.

All sorts of
clothes to be sent,
specially *West-*
terne dozens
died into scar-
let.

London clothes
much talked of
in *Persia*,
such *Venice*
cloth woyme in
Persia.

The second ad-
mission to the
Shaugh's pre-
sence, the 29. of
June 1566. at
which time he
receiued the
priuledge.

with two Ambassadors in companie with his maiestie, who sayd vnto me that if my letters were not to my mind, in time to come they should be mended, Whereupon I made my reuerence, and gaue his highnesse most humble and heartie thanks, saying, that with as much speed as might bee, our Queenes Maiestie should vnderstand of his goodnesse towards her Merchants, which I thought would write their letters of request vnto his Highnesse, in such forme & order as by them should be thought meete and requisite for their good assurance in the trade of merchandizes: who replied with these wordes; when wee shall see their reasonable requests, we will shew them our farther good will, and so I departed.

The Shaugh promise to increase the tribute.

Since the receiuing of the Shaughs letters, I haue eaten in company of good Dukes and others, who befoze would not come neere me. And euery day some would come to my Shop, and eate and drinke with me out of mine owne dish. Likewise in riding from Casbin hither, on the way when I late downe to dinner, they would come and eate with mee vnbidden, when I wished them further off: for I spared them that, which gladly I would haue eaten my selfe. I doubt not but we shall liue here from hencefoorth in quietnes: for now in all places where I come, I am friendly bled with the best.

I was asked by the Shaugh if you were able to bring him yearly one hundred thousand pieces of karkies, and clothes. And I answered him, saying, your worshipps were able to furnish his countrey with two hundred thousand. Whereat his Highnesse reioyced: for the Turkes Ambassadors the last yere, as diuers haue told me, did put the Shaugh in despair, saying, that the Turke would not permit any cloth to be brought into his countrey.

There is a citie in Syria named Aleppo, wherein continually are many Venetians dwelling, besides other that come yearly and there buy wools, gals, tallow, saffron, skins, cotton wooll, and other wares, and great store of spices. Also the Armenians yearly receiue at the Venetians hands, karkies in barter for rawe silks, giuing sometimes 60. pieces of karkies for 70. batmans of silke of this countrey, and 40. pieces for Grosin silke. And karkies sold commonly for ready money in Aleppo, at 11. and 12. buckets the piece, (the bucket being here worth 12. shillings) may cost the first peny 132. and 144. Shaughs a karkie. By report it is one moneths trauel from this towne of Shamaky to Aleppo, and from thence to Tripolis, six dayes iourney: and from Tripolis to Venice by water, a moneth or five weekes sailing. As I learne, from hence to Venice may easily be trauelled in lesse then three moneths. Therefore I wish your worshipps to procure some trustie and assured friend there, to whom from hence letters may be sent. For I can haue them here to put in suerties to deliuer my letters, and to bring answer. If I had any other here with me, I would nothing haue doubted to haue brought you the Shaughs letters that way.

Aleppo a citie of great trade.

Armenians barter with the Venetians

The distance from Shamaky to Aleppo.

The Armenians and other are desirous to barter with vs, giuing silke for karkies, and also will serue vs of all kind of spices, we giuing them sufficient warning to fetch it in the Indies; and will deliuer it vs in Shamaky at these prizes.

Armenians and other, desirous to barter silke and spices for karkies.

Pepper this towne batman for 18. Shaughs, euery Shaugh is six pence.

Peaces large for 40. Shaughs, and 45. the batman.

Cloues for 40. Shaughs the batman.

Nutmegs for 16. and 18. Shaughs the batman.

Sinamon for 40. Shaughs the batman. I doubt not but there will be profite and good done in spices, with drugs and other like in time.

From Casbin to Ormus is six weeks trauel, and from hence to Casbin is 16. dayes with camels laden: but if one trauell with a good Mule vnladen, it may be gone in seuen or eight dayes. And I thinke to Ormus and other places, may be trauelled in like order and proportion, with camel vnladen. But here in all places as men trauel, they must carie their owne provision on horses, which they are to buy, and thus they trauell but a footepace.

The Shaugh himselfe is desirous to bargain with you, who will giue money, silke, and other wares as we will, and take our wares as we may affoord them, willing me himselfe to bring such wares as we might gaine by him. The Armenians by report, and as I perceiue, bring from Aleppo yearly, foure, five, and six thousand pieces of karkies and clothes, besides those which other men bring. If your Worshipps might procure and find vent or sales for rawe silke, and silke diew in graine, besides other silkes wrought and made here, by which, profite may be made: then you might send a great substance of wares hither. But I feare you shall be hindered by the Venetians if they may: for I know it will grieue them that you doe trade into these partes: for in short time it shall cleane alter their trade, and hinder the sales of their clothes in Aleppo and other places adioyning. You shall vnderstand that 60. batmans of silke is a Mules lading: and as it is reported, one village of the Armenians yearly carrieth 400. and 500. Mules lading of silke to Aleppo, and bringeth thence 800. or a thousand Mules laden with karkies & Venice clothes. And 18.

The Shaugh desirous to bargain for our commodities.

2000. pieces of
karkies to be
sent into Pers
na.

pieces of karkies are a Hules lading. But I wish you not to send about 2000. pieces of karkies, although I have bene willed to write for more. If I might have had any understanding what your Wozships had writen for in your letters sent this yeere, I should in this my letter have bene better able to have answered you. They which be now in Astracan, might have written some thing vnto me hither, if it had pleased them, or else haue sent me such letters of mine, as I hope some of my friends haue written to me: for here are arrived eight weekes past, two boates with wares and Ruffes, by whom they might haue written, had it bene but 3. or 4. lines. They promised the Ruffes to write, but promise was not kept. I would be soyy that any boat should depart out of these partes, and not write vnto them, waping how all things stand. I heare they haue bought a boat, which cost 40. roubles, and shipped certaine wares to come hither. God send them in saferie. I do tarie their comming, or els I had thought to haue come to Astracan in those boates which departed hence lately.

He departed
from Casbin
the 15. of July.

The fiftenth of July last, I departed from Casbin, and came to this towne the 29. of y same. And the fourth of August I found means to arrest the falsest knaue in this countrey, to wit, the Customer for 22. tumens, and 100. shaughs, (200. shaughs is a tumen.) I haue caused him to put in suerties for his fourth comming at all times, what ende I shall haue with him, God knoweth, the debt will be recouered, but not yet, for he must pay the Shaugh 1000. roubles. These partes as yet are in no way for lacke of a Gouernour or head to rule, which I thinke shall bee the Mursley. Within 5. or 6. dayes we shall know, for it is time, because men are in feare to trauell for being robbed. If there were a prince plac'd, I should soone get in your debts, for they dare not disobey the Shaughs letters or priuiledge: wherein he hath not onely written that our debts shall be paid, but also that we shall be taken heed to, so as we need not to doubt (God willing) in time to come, to be here as well vsed as we are in Russeland. The bills of debts that Rich. Johnson left with me, had neither the parties name nor summe of mony in two of them, and in other bills but his owne name. If I had not vsed discretion in causing to be written in our priuiledge, that such debtes as are owing, should be paid any of vs in the absence of the other, some men would not haue paid one penie, but onely to Richard Johnson, who hath written but his owne name onely in the bills.

Rich. John-
sons great
negligence.

I receiued in Casbin of Forackan in part of 29. tumens, 300. shaughs in money: the rest he will deliuer me here in silke, and this is all that I haue receiued to this day. And as for Hawrambecks twelve tumens, I make account, that if I could ride to speake with him, I should be paid in mony and wares. Touching Ackons money, by meanes of Duke Ameddinbeck, who first owed the debt, because they meant not to pay a penie, he did rather seeke to hinder my sute then to further mee, but I found out a present remedie: for God sent me friends that were alwayes about the Shaugh, and daily put on his apparell, who opened all my sute, and brought mee to the presence of the Shaugh before that Cozomomet sawe the Shaughs eyes. But Cozomomet in the end was my friend: for he was sent for, and declared vnto the Shaugh what good merchants we were, vsing trueth in all our doings, and how we were in great fauour with the Emperour of Russia, and what good commodities we might bring into his Countrey, with other talke. And daily he was sent for to the Shaugh about the affaires in those partes, for no man was able to aduise the Shaugh of the state and affaires of those Countreys so much as hee was. He owed your Wozships tenen tumens and 48. shaughs, which was not all this time to be gotten at his hands: for hee was at great charges in riding to Casbin, and giuing great gifts since his comming, which he twice declared vnto me. I feeling his grieve became Physician to ease his paine, and forgau him his debt aboue sayd, in recompence of ten pieces of karkies, that were promised him by Richard Johnson and me, to giue him at the comming of our goods, in consideration that he should with speed doe what lay in him, to dispatch me away: for I perceiue hee procured other that did helpe me in my sute to delay me of, till time he had his purpose. I neuer was in quiet, till I had the Princes priuiledge, and had got mee out of Casbin: for victuals, and all other things are very deare there, because they are brought thither from farre off. As for all other small debts (which may be about 7. tumens) when our Merchants are come hither, we shall seeke to get them in as we may. I wish your Wozships to send some bullion to bee coynd here, it will please the prince there, and be profitable to you. Silke is better cheape by two or three shaughs the batman, then it was the last yeere. You shall vnderstand that I haue written two letters of all my proceedings, which I sent from Casbin long since: to wit, the 24. and 29. of June last, by one of your seruants to Gilan, there to take ship and to goe to Astracan, and to deliuer the same vnto your Factors, which might haue bene to their quietnes and mine, long agoe. But I am right sorie to heare since my comming hither, that he hath plaid the loitering merchant in Gilan, not going in those boats that went first, but taried for the last boats. But I will teach him, to the example of other, how he shall make haste hereafter in such affaires. The karkies which you sent last,
being

Cozomomet
was Arthur
Edwards friend
to the Shaugh.

Victuals and
all things deare
at Casbin.

being bought of *H. Quarles*, were good and full lengths and well sorted. The *Princes Ambassador* of *Gilan* was in *Casbin*, at my being there. I hope in God, if I remaine here, and may goe to *Gilan*, to obtaine for your *wozships* the like privilege at the kings hand there also. For I have something minded the matter, being put in such comfort, that I doubt not the getting thereof with small charges, which I had done at this time if I had had other here with me to put in trust: for from *Casbin* to *Gilan* is but 5. dayes riding, which Countrey may be profitable to your *wozships*. There is in that Province good store of silke, better cheape, & better in goodnesse then this countrey silke is. Also great store of *Alom*, bring there sold this townes batman, for one biff and a halfe. I haue made reckoning, al charges bozne from hence to *Colmogro*, & from thence freight into *England* at three pounds the tunne, al charges accounted, will not stand you in above 18. and 20. shillings the hundreth. You haue peerly by report two or three hundreth tunnes lading. Other commodities there for *England* I heare not of. As for gals here to bee bought, there is no profit to be done by them. They be brought from *Aleppo*, and sold here not vnder 3. or 4. shaughs their batman, being six pounds *English* waight. Graine that you die scarlet withall is worth the batman ready mony, 200. shaughs, reckoning the shaugh for 6. pence *Russe*, it may be 6. rubbles their batman. Your *wozships* may lend some portion of mony, if you may buy, as I thinke you may, for 12. and 13. a pound the berries, so you shall gaine both in the price and waight. If one *Englishman* more had bene here with me, to whom I might haue deliuered our bills of debts and other things, whatsoeuer should haue chanced of me, I would then haue become seruant to mine *Interpreter*, and so haue gone to *Ormus* and *Aleppo*, which both ioyned to the borders of this countrey, being the chiefe *Harb* townes, whereunto from all places merchants resort. And thus would I haue spent 4. or 5. months in traouelling for further knowledge of things for to haue certified your *wozships* of. I hope in God to vse things in such order, that peerly you shall haue returne of your goods from hence, as you haue forth of *Russeland*, and in those ships. For if we may, as I doubt not with diligence, provide to make sales in time, and with speed receiue silke at the *Shaughs* hand, and other mens, that it may be sent from hence to be in *Astracan* at the beginning of *Aprill*, from whence it may be sent to *Colmogro* in three moneths and lesse, and there to be ready with the rest of your goods by the end of *June* for your ships to receiue, that will be time inough. This I doubt not to bring to passe within a yeere or two, when we are thoroughly seled in these parts, and better known. Moreover you shall vnderstand, that at my last being in the presence of the *Shaugh*, it was sayd to mee that *H. Anthonie Jenkinson* did proffer to take all the rawe silke in those parties, deliuering cloth and other commodities for the same. I assure you there is in those parts to be had three or foure thousand hozes lading, euery hozse load being 50. or 60. batmans, beside silke of *Grosin*. Great abundance of silke at times is sent out of these parts, to wit, 4. or 5. hundred hozse lodes at a time by the *Turkes*, who bring great store of siluer to be coined, to wit, *Dollars* at ten shaughs the piece. The *Hungarie Duck* is at 12. shaughs. And having money in readines at the time of the yeere, they buy silke the better cheape, when the countrey men bring it first to be sold. If your *wozships* may bargain with the *Venecians* to take silke at your hands, or otherwise deale with them, I doe not mistrust but to haue at the *Shaughs* hand six batmans of silke for two pieces and a halfe of *karlies*. Your good aduise herein, and in other matters, I trust you will write with convenient speed. *Haster Anthonie Jenkinson* hath deserued great commendation at all your *wozships* hands: for the good report of his well and wise doings in these parts, was oftentimes a comfort to me to heare thereof, and some good helpe to me in my proceedings. To this day I neuer heard from any of our merchants. God graunt me in health to see your *wozships*, for I haue had a carefull trauell, with many a sorrowfull day and vnquiet sleepes. Neither had I the company of one *English* person, to whom sometimes I might haue eased my pensive heart, as God well knoweth, who hath deliuered me from mine enemies. Thus almighty God graunt you in health and wealth long to liue.

Your humble seruant at commandement

during life, Arthur Edwards.

Another letter of *Arthur Edwards* written in *Astracan* the 16. of *June*, 1567. at his returne in his first voiage out of *Persia*, to the right worshipfull *Companie* trading into *Russia*, *Persia*, and other the North and Northeast partes.

It may please your *wozships* that herein I haue written not onely certaine articles of your privilege, but also the *Gouernours* names, with the *Consuls*, *Assistants* and generalitie. Also such commodities as the *Prince* or *Emperour* of the Countrey hath written in one of his letters directed to your *wozships* to be sent him, with other notes which I thought good to be remem-

Wh

bred,

The Ambassador of Province of Gilan.

Gilan but five dayes riding from Casbin.

Gals.

Graine.

Ormus. Aleppo.

H. Anthonie Jenkinson offer to the Persian.

H. Anthonie Jenkinson com mended.

The Shaughs letters to the Golcoup companie.

byed, as may appeare hereafter following. Your priuiledge is wrytten, graunted, and giuen in the names of these sixe persons following: to wit, sir William Garrard, sir William Chester, gouernours, sir Thomas Lodge, master Anthony Ienkinson, master Thomas Nicols and Arthur Edwards.

1 First, it is granted that you shall pay no maner of customes or tols, any kinde of wayes, now, nor in time comming, vnto his heires after him. And that all English merchants, such as you shall appoint now and here after, shall and may passe and repasse into all places of his dominions and other countries adioining in the trade of merchandize, to buy and sell all maner of commodities, with all maner of persons.

2 Item, that in all places where any of our merchants shall haue their resort, or abiding, his chiefe Gouernours, Rulers and Iustices shall take heed vnto vs, being our aide & defence against all euil persons, punishing those that shall do vs any wrong.

3. Item, that for all such debtes as shall be owing by any maner of person, iustice shall be done on the partie, and we paid at the day.

4 Item, that no maner of persons of what soeuer estate or degree they be of, shall be so hardie as to take any kind of wares, or any gifts, without any leaue and good will.

5 Item, if by chance medley any of our merchants or seruants, as God forbid, should kill any of his subiects, that no part of your goods shall be touched or medled withall, neither any partie but the offendour, and true iustice to bee ministred, and being any of vs, not to suffer without the Princes knowledge and abuisse.

6 Item, that all such debtes as are now owing, or here after shall be, are to be paid vnto any of vs, in the absence of the other, be the partie dead or aliuie.

7 Item, that no person returne any kind of wares backe againe, being ouce bought or sold.

8 Item, that when God shall send your goods to spoze, presently his people shall helpe vs on land with them.

These articles before wrytten, I trust in God wil content your minds, vntill your farther letters be hitherto wrytten vnto the Prince, who I am assured will graunt your farther reasonable requests, which his maiestie hath promised. For I moued the question, declaring vnto him that I thought your Schozships would wryte your letters of requests, to craue his farther good will, as should be thought meet for your better assurance in the trade of merchandize: you will hardly beleue what long and gracious talke he had with mee, which I assure you continued two houres, which was strange vnto the people & other merchant strangers. For betwixt euery question that his maiestie moued, when I had answered him, hee would talke with his Nobles and other his seruants, hauing some knowledge of our Westerne parts & commodities, and then againe would demand other questions. He caused his Secretarie to wryte the articles before named, in all of his foure letters giuen me (whereof two as I required, are in the Turkish tongue to be sent you.) On the backe side of one, hee hath wrytten what wares his Maiestie would haue you to send him. He held me one houre within night before I departed from him.

These be the names of the wares or commodities which on the backe side of one of his letters the Shaugh hath wrytten to you to be sent him.

First, some cloth of Gold, with cloth of Tulle, and cloth of Bocky, as Aelucts wrought with gold.

Item, good beluets, to wit, crimosins, purples, reds, greenes and blackes. These colours his maiestie requireth, for they are most woyme. And though there be some of these wares made in his citie of Cassan, yet nothing like in goodnes, to those that you may procure for him. Small profite I thinke will be in these wares: yet for diuers considerations, as also to satisfie the Princes mind, I wish you to send some, and those that be speciall good.

Item, good damasks and sattins of all sortes, with an hundred pieces of good chamlets, which are woorth here 80. shaughs the peece, at sixe pence the shaugh, and those silkes to be of those colours aboute wrytten, to wit, crimosins, purples, reds, greenes, blackes, with some light watchet colours.

Item, thzee or foure complete harnesses that wil abide the shot of a handgun with 10. or 12. targets of Steele, being good.

Item, ten or twelue good shirts of male being very good or else none, that may abide the shot of an arrow, and two buffe ierkins.

Item, ten or twelue pieces of Westerne karlies, being thicked well and close shut in the weauiug, and dued into scarlets and fine reds. I thinke there wil be no such cloth for noblemens caps.

The

<p>To Souisca Monasterie. To Candelox To Oust Colla To Zhemaker To Poganna Volocki To Chib: Nauolocke To Kegor</p>	<p>To Wardhouse in all 800,verfts Northwest and Southeast.</p>	<p>To Velcom To Soyaua To Coula To Nendega To Lampas To Sloboda</p>	<p>} Al is 230, verfts</p>
<p>The way from Colmogro to Mizemske Sloboda, where the Sameds keep their Mart.</p>		<p>The way to Vromo from Mezemske Sloboda, where the Losh hides are gotten.</p>	
<p>To Vt Pinnego To Palango To Leuona</p>		<p>To Lampas To Pogorel To Zapolle To Vromo</p>	<p>} Al is 115, verfts Northeast and Southwest.</p>

The way and distances from Saint Nicholas, so the Caspian Sea.

If you goe straight from Saint Nicholas to the Caspian Sea, you must goe to Vologhda by water, as by the easiest passage, and that is accomplished, passing day and night, in foure teene dayes and foureteene nightes, in boates cut out of a tree: (the boates are called Stroogs) 1100, verfts it is.

By horse and sleds in 8, dayes you may passe it in Winter. In Summer the way is dangerous by meanes of marishes and bogs, and not safely then to be passed. Then from Vologhda to Yeraslaue, 180, verfts ouer land. This Yeraslaue standeth vpon the riuer of Volga, 180, verfts I say distant from Vologhda.

To the Caspian sea are 2700, verfts from Yeraslaue.

So from S. Nicholas to the Caspian sea, are } 3800, 80, verfts.

The iourney from S. Nicholas to Yeraslaue is accomplished in foureteene dayes by water, and two dayes by land. } 16, dayes.

From thence to Astracan men trauell by water in 30, dayes and 30, nightes.

So between S. Nicholas and the Caspian sea, are } 46, dayes iourney.

There passe downe Volga euery Summer, 500, boats great & smal, from all the vpper partes of the riuer, whereof some be of 500, tunne. They go for Minerall salt and for Sturgeon.

The salt lieth in rocks (and is whitish red, and in fine sand) as it were 30, miles from Astracan toward the Caspian sea. They dig it themselves and pay nothing for it, but to the prince a penny a poob, viz. 40, pound waight.

The Sturgeon which they call Ocetera is taken fiftie miles on this side Astracan. Along the riuer the space of 20, miles, they make their booties in plaine grounds, & fish for the space of thre moneths, viz. from the end of May till the end of August, and hauing salt they vse to salt them.

The riuer is there 5, or 6, miles broad, but with some Islands.

The riuer below Yeraslaue, where it is most narrow, is a mile broad from side to side.

The riuer runneth vpon red clay, all woods of birch and oke on the riuer sides, saue about the townes of the fishing places.

Dwina from S. Nicholas to Vtiug runneth all on chaske and sand: the fish are sweete & fat. The Mene a fish with a great head a foot long breedeth about Vologda, and is fat and delicate.

Between Vobsko and Nouogrod, the space of an 180, miles, groweth flaxe: the whole soile in length is so imployed, and as much in breadth: this is vpon a flat soil.

The hempe groweth about Smolensko vpon the Polish border, 300, miles in compasse: much of the soile is so imployed.

Of this hempe they bring in Winter to Vologda and Colmogro, and we set in worke in making of cables about 100, men.

The Russians do spin and hatchell it, and the English carre it in threed and lay the cable. And one cable of those is woorth two of Danzick, because the Danzickers put in old cable and rotten stiffe, which in fowle weather is found of no strength.

Sosnoua, a tree that cureth the wolke with the shavings of the wood, groweth in these parts, and of the barks they make ropes as big as a mans arme for their boats.

The Samoeds lacking linnen make handkerchiefs and towels of the very wood of this tree. The

Fishing for
 Sturgeon for
 3, moneths.

The English
 men in making
 of cables,
 set on worke a
 100, men in
 Russia.
 Sosnoua tree,
 excellent for
 the cure of the
 wolke.

The wood of this tree is as heauie as hollie, and the shauings tough.

Rose Island in S. Nicholas Baie is full of Roses damaske and red, of biolets and wild Rose-marie: This Island is neere 7. or 8. miles about, and good pasture, and hath the name of the roses.

The description of Rose Island.

The snow here about the middle of May is cleared, hauing bin two moneths in melting, then the ground is made dry within 14. dayes after, and then the grasse is knee high within a moneth. The after September the frost cometh in, the snow is a yard deepe vpon plaine ground. The Island hath Firre and Birch, and a faire fresh spring neere the house built there by the English.

The way discovered by water by vs Thomas Southam & Iohn Sparke, from the towne of Colmogro, by the Westerne bottome of the Baie of S. Nicholas, vnto the citie of Nouogrod in Russia, containing many particulars of the way, and distance of miles, as hereafter foloweth. Anno 1566.



We departed from Colmogro about 10. of the clocke afore noone in a Lodua or Barke, which we hired to bring vs along the coast to a place called Soroka, & in the sayd barke we hired 6. mariners, and a boy to conduct vs to the place before heard of.

The Lodua or barke was of the burden of 25. tunnes or therabout, where-with we baled downe the riuer of Dwina, the winde being then calme, vnto a monasterie called S. Michael where we were constrained to anker because of a contrary wind which there met vs.

From Colmogro to this monasterie are 50. versts or miles of Russia, at which place we taried till the 21. day in the morning, and then hauing the wind somewhat faire, we set saile and departed thence.

A vessel is but 3. quarters of an english mile.

21 We departed from the monasterie of S. Michael, hauing the wind somewhat faire, and arrived at Rose Island, ouer and against the monasterie of S. Nicholas, the 22. day at 2. of the clocke in the morning, which is 35. miles distant from the monasterie of S. Michael. By reason of contrary wind and tide we were constrained to tary there all that day.

23 We departed from the monasterie of S. Nicholas at 7. of the clocke in the evening, & came to an anker at the Beacons, & continued there vntill halfe an houre past 10. of the clocke, and then set from thence, the wind being South: our course was West vntill 5. of the clock in the morning, when as we came to an anker against Newnox towne, where we continued vntill the 25. day.

All this towne Newnox Richard Chancellor in his first voyage, with his companie ashboard were rescued;

The sayd towne of Newnox is from the monasterie of S. Nicholas 35. miles.

25 We departed fro Newnox hauen at one of the clocke in the after noone, the wind at South and Southeast, and our course North west and by West.

The point of Tolstick which is the headland before the entrance of Newnox hauen, and the headland of Seufemski lie next Southeast and by South, North west and by North. We came to an anker there this day at 4. of the clock in y^e afternoone, being from Newnox hauen 15. miles, where we continued in harbour till the 27. day of the moneth, by reason of contrary winds.

27 We departed from Seufemski in the morning at 5. of the clocke, the wind next at East and by North, and our course North west and by West.

The said land of Seufemski & the headland going into Owna riuer lieth East and by South, west and by North, and between them is 25. miles.

This day at Sunne set we came to an Island called Sogisney passing betwixt it & the maine, with the wind at South and by East, our course was West and by South, being 85. miles from Owna riuer.

Being past the said Island 10. miles, the wind came contrary, whereupon we returned to the Island of Sogisney, where we remained vntill the 29. day.

29 The 29. day we departed from Sogisney afore sayd, at 5. of the clocke in the afternoone, the wind at East north east, & our course was South west & by west, passing by an Island called Anger, being 30. miles from Sogisney, and keeping on our course, we came by the headland of an Island called Abdon, being from the Island of Anger 15. miles, where we found many rocks: and if the great prouidence of God had not preserved vs, we had there perished, being fallen amongst them in the night time, and our pilot none of the perfected, which was contrary to his profession as we found it.

But who soeuer will trauell that way must either keepe hard aboord the shore, for that there is a chanell which goeth along the coast within the rocks, or els giue the headland a birth of 6. miles at the least, and to goe a lea boord all: for there are ledges of rocks that lie fise miles from the headland.

We gaue the headland a birth of 3. miles, notwithstanding there lay two rockes two miles to

le a boord of vs, so that we were inclosed with them, and late upon the highest of them: but it pleased God to make it calme, and giue vs the day also, or els we had miscaried.

30 We departed from the headland of the Island of Abdon, at 4. of the clocke in the morning, directing our course West, and at 10. of the clocke before noone, we arrived at a monasterie named Solofky, which is 15. miles from Abdon.

At this monasterie we continued untill the 31. day of this moneth. We had here deliuered vs by the chiefe monkes of the monasterie, their letter and house seale, and a seruant of theirs to conduct vs safely through the dangerous riuer of Owiga.

The people of all those parts are wild, and speake another kind of language, & are for the most part all tenants to the monasterie. The effect of the letter was, that they should be ready to helpe and assist vs in all dangerous places, and carie our boats and goods ouer land in places needfull, as in need they did, as hereafter shall appeare.

Note, that at our being at the monasterie, there was no Abbot for the place as then chosen: for 15. dayes before our arrival there, the Abbot was sent for by the Emperour, and made Metropolitane of the realme, as he now is. The number of monkes belonging to the monasterie are at the least 200.

31 We departed from the monasterie of Solofky, as is aforesayde, to a faire stone house of theirs, which is 5. miles from the monasterie, lying from it South and by West.

Mugra.

1 We departed from the Stone house at 3. of the clocke in the morning: our course was West for 60. versts, and then passing betwixt diuers and sundry rocks, with many small Islands round about vs for the space of 20. miles, keeping most commonly the same course still, we then shaped a new course, and yet sundry times shifting, but we alwayes kept the South west, and nearest of all South south west, vntil we came within two miles of the entrance of the riuer Owiga, where we were to beare in, West and by North.

The riuer
Owiga.

From the riuer Owiga, to the Islands and rocks before mentioned, are 20. miles.

We arrived about 4. of the clocke in the after noone within the riuer of Owiga, at a place named Soroka, at which place we forooke our barke or Lodja, & continued there in making provision for small boates to carie vs by the riuer vntill the 3. day of the same.

3 We departed from Soroka at two of the clocke in the afternoone, with 3. boates and 12. men to rowe, and set the foresaid boates by the riuer of Owiga, which we hired.

The fall of a
riuer.

We went this day 7. miles to a place called Ostroue, where we lay all night, but in the way 4. miles from Soroka, at a place where the water falleth from the rocks, as if it came steepe downe from a mountain, we were constrained to take out our goods and wares out of the said boates, and caused them to be caried a mile ouer land, and afterwards also had our boates in like sort caried or drawn ouer land by force of men which there dwelled, being tenants to the monasterie aforesaid.

And when our boates were come to the place where our wares were laid, we lanchd our boates and laded our wares againe, and went to the place before named, where we continued and remained that night.

We departed from Ostroue in the morning before Sunne rising, rowing and setting by the riuer 5. miles, where we came to a place whereas we were againe constrained to take out our wares, and to carie them and our boates three miles ouer land, so that with rowing, drawing and setting, we went this day 7. miles more to a place called Sloboday, where we lay all night.

5 We departed from Sloboday in the morning at Sunne rising, and at sixe of the clocke in the afternoone, we came to a village called Paranda, which is from Sloboday 30. miles, where we remained all that night.

6 We departed from Paranda at 6. of the clocke in the morning, and all that day what with setting and drawing our boates, we went but 11. miles, for we twice unladed our wares, & drew our boats ouer land, in one place a mile & an halfe, in another place as it were the eight part of a mile, and so we came to a place called Voyets, where we taried all that night.

7 We departed from Voyets at 4. of the clocke in the morning, & so came to an Ozer a lake, called after the name of the riuer, & vnto a place called Quequenich, we rowed all this day, and came thither by one of the clock in the afternoone, which is 25. miles from Voyets, and there we remained all night to hire men and boates to carie vs forward on our iourney.

Here departed backe from vs the seruant which we had at the Monasterie, being sent by the monkes to go thus far with vs. And after that he had hired the boates and taken the mens names that should conduct vs, & giuen them charge to deliuer vs with all things in safetie, at a place being a litle towne called Pouensa, then hee departed from vs without taking any reward for his paines, for so he was charged and commanded by the monkes.

8 We departed from Quequenich at sunne rising, & all that day rowed upon the lake amongst many

many Islands. The inhabitants doe there report that there are as many Islands in their lake, as there are dayes in the yeere. In the evening we came to a village named Tellekina, which is 60. miles from Quequenich.

A lake very full of Islands.

9 We departed from Tellekina in the morning at 5. of the clocke, and so entering into a riuer, we went that day 13. miles. In one place we caried our boates and goods ouer land 3. miles. At evening we came to a place called Oreiche sa maelay, where we lay all night.

10 We departed thence at 5. of the clocke in the morning, and so rowing, came to a place where the riuer ended, being 20. miles distant from the place where wee lay all night, at which place wee forsooke our boates and unladed our wares, and sent a man to the towne of Pouensa, which was seuen mile off, for horses to cary vs and our wares to the said place. The horses came, and we laded our goods, and at sixe of the clocke in the afternoone wee arrived at the towne of Pouensa, with all things in safetie.

This towne of Pouensa standeth within one mile of the famous lake of Ozera of Onega, which is 320. miles long, and in some places 70. miles ouer. But where it is narrowest it is 25. miles ouer, being fed with many goodly riuers which fall into it. Hard aboord the shoze within 6. miles, you shall haue 40. and 45. fathoms of depth.

The famous lake of Onega.

Here it is to be noted that from this place of Pouensa unto the village of Soroka downe those dangerous riuers which wee came through, at no time of the yeere can or may any man cary or transport any goods that come from Nouogrod, or the Narue, and such other places: for in the Sommer it is impossible to cary downe any wares by reason of the great falls of water that doe descend from the rocks. Likewise in the Winter by reason of the great force and fall of waters which make so terrible railes; that in those places it neuer freezeth, but all such wares as come from Nouogrod to Pouensa, are transported by land to a place called Some in the Winter, which Some standeth on the sea side, as doth Soroka. The ready way from Pouensa by land to this place of Some, with the distance of miles I will shew here after.

12 We departed from Pouensa at 9. of the clocke in the morning, with 2. small boats which we hired to cary vs to a place called Toluo upon the lake of Onega, being 50. miles from Pouensa, where we arrived the 13. day in the morning, where wee bought a boate that caried vs and all our wares from thence to the Citie of Nouogrod.

14 We departed from Toluo at 3. of the clocke in the afternoone, and at the evening arrived at a certaine Island named Salafalma, upon the said lake 7. miles from Toluo, and by reason of contrary windes we there taried untill the 16. day of this month.

16 We departed from Salafalma, at 8. of the clocke in the morning, and came to an Island the 17. day in the morning, named Vorronia, where wee continued by reason of contrary windes, untill the 21. day of the said month, and it is 60. miles from Salafalma.

21 We departed from Vorronia Island two houres before day, and arrived at S. Clements Monasterie at 2. of the clocke in the after noone, being from Vorronia 48. miles.

S. Clements Monasterie.

22 We departed from S. Clements Monasterie at the break of the day, hauing a faire wind all along the lake: we sailed without striking of saile until two houres within night, and then entered into a riuer called Swire, at a Monasterie called Vosnessino Christo, five miles from the entrance of the riuer, where we taried all night. It is from S. Clements Monasterie 160. miles: the stream of that riuer went with vs.

23 We departed from Vosnessino Christo before Sunne rising, and valed downe the riuer sometime sailing, and sometime rowing, so that this day wee went 90. miles and lay at night at a place called Vassian.

24 We departed from Vassian at the break of the day, and came to a place called Selucax, where we lay all night, and is 10. miles from Vassian.

S. Sermaz.

25 We departed from Selucaxe at 4. of the clocke in the morning, and entered upon the Lake of Ladiskaie, the wnde being calme all that day sailing 3. houres, and then it was with vs, so that we sailed and rowed that day 10. miles, along upon the said lake, and entered into the riuer of Volhuski, which riuer hath his beginning 20. miles aboue Nouogrod, and runneth through the midst of the Citie, and so falleth into this lake, which is farre longer then the lake of Onega, but it is not so broad. This lake falleth into the sea that commeth from the Sound: where any vessel or boat, hauing a good pilot, may goe through the Sound into England.

The riuer of Volhuski. The lake of Ladiskaie.

As soone as we were entered into the riuer, we came to a Monasterie called S. Nicholas Medued, where we lay all that night.

26 We departed from S. Nicholas Medued, at five of the clocke in the morning, rowing and drawing our boates all day, and came at night to another Monasterie called Gosnopol, which is 30. miles from S. Nicholas Medued, where we lay all that night.

The Monasterie of Gosnopol.

27 We departed from Gofnopoli at 6. of the clocke in the morning, and at evening came to a place called Moillaue, where we lay all night, being 46. miles from the Monasterie of Gofnopoli.

28 We departed from Moillaue, and the saide day at night came to a place called Gruffina, 35. miles from Moillaue where we lodged.

29 We departed from Gruffina in the morning, and the same day at evening came to a place called Petroe Suetoe, where we lay all night, being 40. miles from Gruffina.

The Citie of
Nouogrod.

30 We departed from Petroe Suetoe in the morning, and at two of the clock in the afternoone we arrived at the Citie of Nouogrod, being twentie miles from Petroe Suetoe. Here we found William Rowlie Agent to the company, who was there stayed with all his company, and was not licenced to depart thence for the Mosco, by reason that the plague was then in the Citie of Nouogrod. Unto him we deliuered all the wares that wee brought from Colmogro, for by the way we sold not a peny worth, the people of the countrey euery where be so miserable.

The right way to bring and transport wares from Nouogrod to Rose Island into S. Nicholas bay, where our Ships yeerely lade, with the distance of miles from place to place, is as followeth:

20 Miles from Nouogrod to Petroe Suetoe.

40 Miles from thence to Gruffina.

35 Miles from thence to Moillaue.

46 Miles from thence to the Monasterie Gofnopoli.

15 Miles from thence to Ladega towne.

15 Miles from thence to Selunaz ouer the lake of Ladega, albeit there be many villages all along the lake.

180 Miles from Ladega towne by the riuer of Swire, vnto the Monasterie of Vosnessino Christo, albeit there are many villages vpon the riuer: for within euery five or six miles you shall haue villages or small townes.

160 Miles from Vosnessino Christo to S. Clements Monastery, albeit there be many villages all along the lake of Onega.

48 Miles from thence to Voronia.

67 Miles from thence to Toluo towne: and there are diuers villages al along the lake where the carriers may lie, and haue meate for man and hoyle.

50 Miles from thence to Pouensa, where Onega lake endeth.

The way from Pouensa to Some towne is this:

30 Miles from Pouensa to Mastelina. } } 20 Miles from thence to Varnich.

10 Miles from thence to Tellekina. } } 10 Miles from thence to Ostrouo.

30 Miles from thence to Toluich. } } 15 Miles from thence to Lapina.

35 Miles from thence to Carraich. } } 20 Miles from thence to Some it selfe.

Note, that from the Citie of Nouogrod vnto the towne of Some is 936. miles, and from the towne of Some vnto the Monasterie of S. Nicholas or Rose Island, ouer and against where our Ships do ride, is iust as many miles as is Soroka village from S. Nicholas, as the Russes doe account it, as also we do iudge it, namely 325. miles. So that from Nouogrod to S. Nicholas road, is by our account 1261. miles or versts.

Travel by
Sleds.

Furthermoze it is to be noted that all such wares as shall be bought at Nouogrod, and sent to Some towne, must be sent by sled way in the Winter: for if any ware should be sent from Nouogrod by water in the spring of the yeere after the yce is gone, then must the said wares remaine at Pouensa towne al that Summer, by reason that in the Summer there is no way to goe from Pouensa vnto Some towne.

At Pouensa there are many warehouses to be hired, so that if there were as much goods as ten ships could cary away, you might haue warehouses to put it in: but if there should remaine much ware all the Summer, to be caried in the Winter to Some towne, then hoyses are not easly to be gotten at that place to cary it thither: so that your wares once bought at Nouogrod, you must haue carriers there to cary it to the towne of Some by Sleds, whereof you may there haue 2000. if you will, by the report of the Russes.

2000. Sleds
belonging to
one towne.

For from Nouogrod yerely there go many Sleds in the Winter to fetch salt from Some, with carriers and empty Sleds there to buy it, and to bring it to Nouogrod to sell it in the market or other wise.

From Nouogrod vnto Some towne you may haue a pood of wares caried for eight pence or nine pence: but in any wise your wares must be sent from Nouogrod by the first of January, so that

that the wares may bee at Some by Candelmas, or soone after: for if your wares should tary by the way vntill the 15. of february when the Sunne is of some power, then is it dangerous: for the heate of the Summe in the day causeth the deepe lakes of Ladega, and specially of Onega to cleaue: and if there should come then a sudden thaw, as oftentimes in that time of the yeere doeth, then doe these lakes open and breake, whereby many men are lost, and both men and horse drowned, although other riuers do remaine frozen a long time after.

so good cause
for reasonable
travell.

In the towne of Some also there are many watehouses, whereof we cannot be destitute for the reposing of our wares, as also as many barkes as you wil to transport your wares from thence to S. Nicholas road, and that for thre pence a poods carpage: so that from the Citie of Nouogrod vnto S. Nicholas road you may haue wares caried for two altines. The pood commeth vnto 23. altines the tunne.

Provided alwayes, that you buy your wares there your selfe, and send it thence: for there is no hope that the natives will bying their wares from Nouogrod to Some, in hope to sell vnto vs, considering the great trade that they haue at the Narue, which is within 180. miles off them,

Nouogrod
within 180
miles of the
Narue.

Written by *Thomas Southam* a seruant
to the company.

An Act for the corporation of Merchants aduenturers for the discovering of new trades, made in the eight yeere of Queene Elizabeth.

Anno 1566.



Whereas diuers very good Subiects of this Realme of England in the latter ende of the reigne of the late right high and mightie prince our Soueraigne Lord king Edward the sixt, at the gracious incouragement, and right good liking of the said king, and by his Maiesties liberall example, did at their aduenture, and to their exceeding great charges, for the glory of God, the honoz and increale of the reuenues of the Crowne, and the common vtilitie of the whole Realme of England, set forth thre ships for the discovery by Sea, of Isles, lands, territories, dominions, and Seigniozies vnknownen, and by the Subiects of the sayd late king not commonly by seas frequented: and after that Almighty God had called to his mercie the said king, who died befoze the finishing and sealing of his most ample and gracious letters of priuiledges promised to the said Subiects, as wel in consideration of the said enterpryse, as for diuers other respects it pleased our late souereigne Q. Mary, at the humble suites of the same Subiects, to graunt by her letters Patents vnder the great Seale of England, bearing date at Westminster the 26. day of february, in the second yeere of her raigne, for the considerations mentioned in the said letters Patents, to the saide Subiects being specially named in the saide letters Patents, and to their successors, that they by the name of Merchants aduenturers of England, for the discouerie of lands, territories, Isles, dominions, and Seigniozies vnknownen, and not befoze their late aduenture or enterpryse, by seas or Nauigations comonly frequented, should be from thenceforth one body, and perpetual felowship and communalitie of themselves, both in deed and in name, and that the same felowship and communalitie from thenceforth should and might haue one or two gouernours, foure Consuls, and 24. assistants, of the said felowship and communalitie of Merchants aduenturers, and that they by the name of the Gouernour, Consuls, assistants, felowship, and communalitie of Merchants aduenturers, for the discouery of lands, territories, Isles, dominions, and Seigniozies vnknownen, by the seas and Nauigations, and not befoze their said late aduenture or enterpryse, by seas frequented, should or might be able in the lawe to implead and to bee impleaded, to answer and to be answered, to defend and to be defended, befoze whatsoeuer Iudge or Justice tempoꝝal or spiritual, or other persons whatsoeuer, in whatsoeuer court or courts, and in all actions, real, personal, and mixt, and in euery of them, and in all plaints of Nouel deseison, and also in all plaints, suites, quarrels, affaires, businesse, and demaunds whatsoeuer they be, touching and concerning the said felowship and communalitie, and the affaires and businesse of the same, only in as ample maner and forme, as any other coppozation of this Realme might doe, giuing also, and granting vnto them by the said letters Patents, diuers authorities, powers, iurisdiccions, prebeminences, franchises, liberties and priuiledges, as by the same letters Patents moze at large will appeare. And among other things mentioned in the said letters Patents, whereas one of the thre ships, by the said felowship befoze that time set forth for the voyage of discouery aforesaid, named the Edward Bonauenture, had arriued within the Empire and dominion of the high and mightie Prince Lord John Vasiluich, Emperour of all Russia, Volodimersky, great duke of Musky, &c. who receiued the Captaine and Merchants of the saide shippe very graciously, granting vnto them

them freely to traffique with his subiects in all kinde of merchandizes, with diuers other gracious priuiledges and liberties: therefore the said late Queene by the same letters Patents, for her heires and successors, did graunt that all the maine landes, Isles, ports, hauens, creeks and riuers of the said mighty Emperour of all Russia, and great duke of Moisco, &c. and all and singular other landes, dominions, territories, Isles, ports, hauens, creeks, riuers, armes of the seas, of al and euery other Emperour, king, prince, ruler, or gouerner whatsoeuer he or they be, before the said late aduventure or enterprize not knowne, or by the aforesaid merchants and subiects of the said king and Queene, by the seas not commonly frequented, nor any part or parcell thereof, and lying Northwards, North-eastwards, or North-westwards, as in the said letters patents is mentioned, should not be visited, frequented nor haunted by any the subiects of the said late Queene, other then of the said company and fellowship, and their successors, without expresse licence, agreement, & consent of the Gouerner, Consuls, and Assistants of the said fellowship, and communitie, or the more part of them, in maner & forme, as is expresse in the saide letters patents, vpon paine of forfeiture and losse aswell of the ship and ships, with the appurtenances, as also of the goods, merchandizes, and things whatsoeuer they be, of those the subiects of the said late Queene not being of the saide fellowship and communitie, which should attempt or presume to saile to any of those places, which then were, or after should happen to be found and traffiqued vnto, the one halfe of the same forfeiture to be to the vse of the said late Queene, her heires & successors, and the other halfe to be to the vse of the said fellowship & communitie, as by the same letters patents more plainly will appeare.

Since the making of which letters patents, the said fellowship haue, to their exceeding great costes, losses and expences, not onely by their trading into the said dominions of the saide mightie prince of Russia, &c. found out conuenient way to saile into the saide dominions: but also passing thow the same, and ouer the Caspian sea, haue discovered very commodious trades into Armenia, Media, Hyrcania, Persia, and other dominions in Asia minor, hoping by Gods grace to discover also the countrey of Cathaia, and other regions very conuenient to be traded into by merchants of this realme, for the great benefite and commodities of the same.

And forasmuch as diuers subiects of this realme, vnderstanding the premises, and perceiuing that now after the charge and tranel aforesaid, diuers wares and merchandizes are brought by the saide fellowship into this Realme, out of the dominions already discovered, which bee within this realme of good estimation, minding for their peculiar gain, vtterly to decap the trade of the saide fellowship, haue contrary to the tenor of the same letters patents, in great disorder traded into the dominions of the said mightie prince of Russia, &c. to the great detriment of this common wealth: And for that the name by which the saide fellowship is incorporated by the letters patents aforesaid, is long, & consisteth of very many words: Therefore be it enacted by the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, the Lords spiritual and tempozal, & the commons in this present parliament assembled, and by authoritie of the same, that the said fellowship, company, societie & copozation made or created by the said letters patents, shal at al time & times from henceforth be incorporated, named and called onely by the name of the fellowship of English merchants, for discovery of new trades, and by the same name for euer shall and may continue a perpetuall body incorporated in deede and name, and onely by the same name from henceforth, shall implead, and be impleaded, answer and be answered, defend and be defended, sue and bee sued, in whatsoeuer courts and places, and shall and may by the same name bee enabled to purchase, haue, holde, possesse, receiue, and enioy whatsoeuer manors, landes, tenements, rents, reuerstions, seruiccs, & hereditaments not exceeding a hundred marks yeerely, not being holden of the Queenes maiestie, her heires, or successors by knights seruice in Capite, and all goods, merchandizes, chattels, and other things whatsoeuer, and shall and may by the same name make and do all things as any other copozation may do, and also shall haue and enioy all and singular the liberties, priuiledges, iurisdiccions, franchises, preheminences, powers, authorities, and things, and may doe and erreure all other matters and things in the saide letters patents mentioned, or in any wise contained. And that no part nor parcell of the maine landes, Isles, ports, hauens, roades, creekes, riuers, armes of the seas of any Emperour, king, prince, ruler or gouernor whatsoeuer he or they be, before the said first enterprize made by the merchants of the saide copozation, not knowne by the merchants and subiects of this Realme, or by them not commonly by seas frequented, and lying from the City of London Northwards, North-westwards, or North-eastwards, nor any part or parcell of the maine landes, dominions, isles, ports, roades, hauens, creeks, armes of the Seas, that now be subiect to the said high and mightie prince Lord John Vasiluich, his heires or successors, or to the Emperour, chiefe gouernour or ruler of the said countrey of Russia for the time being, his heires or successors, nor the countrees of Armenia maior or minor, Media, Hyrcania, Persia, or the Caspian sea, nor any part of them shall be sailed or traffiqued vnto, visited, frequented, or haunted by any person being or that shalbe a subiect or denizen

This is meant
by Alderman
Bond the elder.

English mer-
chants for dis-
covery of new
trades.

nizen of this realme, by themselves, their factor or factors, or any other to their vse or commoditie, by any wayes or meanes, directly or indirectly, other then by the order, agreement, consent, or ratification of the gouernour, Consuls and assistants of the saide fellowship and communitie, or the moze part of them, and their successors for the time being: vpon paine that euery person and persons offending in this behalfe, shall forfeit and loose, Ipe facto, euery such ship and ships, with the appurtenances, and all such goods, Merchandizes, and things whatsoeuer, as by any such person or persons shall be by any wayes or meanes, directly or indirectly, provided, caried, conducted, brought or exchanged, in, at, to, through or from any of the places prohibited, as is aforesaide, contrary to the true intent of this Statute: the one moiety of all which forfeitures to bee to our said Soueraigne Lady the Queenes Maiestie, her heires and successors, and the other moiety thereof to the sayde fellowship of English Merchants for discouery of newe trades, and their successors, to be seized and taken wheresoeuer they may be found, by any person or persons, to the vse of our said Soueraigne Lady, her heires and successors, and of the said fellowship of English merchants for discouery of newe trades, and of their successors, or the same or the value thereof to bee demanded or sued for by the Queenes highnesse, her heires and successors, or by the saide fellowship of English Merchants for discouery of newe trades, or their successors, or their attorney or attorneis, or by any person or persons being of the same fellowship of English Merchants for discouery of newe trades, or their successors in any court of Record, or in any other Court or courtes within this Realme, or els where, by Action of debt, action of detinue, bill, plaint, information, or otherwise: in which suite no essoine, protection, wager of lawe, or inhibition shall be allowed, for, or on the behalfe of the partie or parties defendant.

Provided alwayes, that whereas diuers Subiects of this Realme being not of the fellowship aforesaid, haue heretofore made aduentures to and from some of the places prohibited by the said letters patents, that the said subiects, their heires, executors, administrators and assignes, or any of them shall not be impeached, impleaded, troubled, sued, nor molested for the same in their goods or persons in any manner of wise, either by our saide Soueraigne Lady, her heires or successors, or the said fellowship, or their successors.

Provided also, that it shall be lawfull for any subiect of this Realme, hauing presently any shipping, goods, wares, or ready money, remaining at or in any place, of or within the dominion of the said mighty prince of Russia, or in any other of the places prohibited to be visited or traffiqued vnto by this statute or the said letters Patents, to fetch, bring, and conuey the same, or cause the same to be brought or conueyed from thence by sea or otherwise, before the feast of S. Iohn Baptist, which shall be in the yeere of our Lord God 1568, any thing conteined in this statute, or in the said letters Patents to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided also, that it shall be lawfull for any of the subiects of this Realme, to saile to the port, towne, territozie, or castle of Warehouse, or to any of the coastes, townes, hauens, creekes, riuers, Islands, and land of Norway for trade of fishing, or any other trade there used by the subiects of this Realme, any thing in this statute to the contrary notwithstanding.

And for the better maintenance of the Hauie and Mariners of this Realme, be it provided and enacted, that it shall not be lawfull to the saide fellowship and company, nor to any of them to cary and transport, or cause to be caried and transported any commodie of this Realme to their newe trade, but onely in English ships, and to be sailed for the most part with English Mariners, nor also to bring into this Realme nor into Flanders from their saide newe trade, any merchandizes, or other commodities but in English ships, and sailed for the most part by the English Mariners, on paine to forfeit for euery such offence two hundred pounds, whereof the one moiety shall be to the Queenes Maiestie, her heires and successors, the other moiety to the head officers of any port towne, hauing any hauen or harborough decayed, by what name soeuer they bee incorporated, to the reparation of such harborough, that will sue for the same in any Court of Record, by action, bill, plaint or information, wherein no essoine, protection, or wager of lawe for the defendant shall be admitted or allowed.

Provided also, and be it enacted, that no manner of person or persons shall from hence forth carie or transport, or cause to be caried or transported out of this Realme of England, any manner of clothes or karlies into any of the partes where the said fellowship and societie is prouided to trade by this Act, before the same clothes and karlies shall be all dyessed, and for the most part died within this Realme, vpon paine of forfeiture for euery such cloth and karlie, otherwise caried and transported, five pounds: the one halfe thereof to the Queenes Maiestie, her heires and successors, the other halfe to the Master and Wardens of the Clothworkers in the Citie of London for the time being, by what name soeuer they be incorporated that wil sue for the same.

Provided also that whensoeuer the said societie or company shall willingly withstand, and discontinue

continue wholly by the space of thre yeeres in time of peace, the discharging of their merchandizes at the roade of S. Nicholas bay in Russia, and doe not discharge their laid merchandizes at some other port or roade lying on that North coast of Russia, or other terricorte nowe subiect to the saide mightie prince of Russia, &c. hitherto by the subiects of this realme not commonly frequented, that then during the time of any such discontinuance and withdrawing, as is aforesaid, it shalbe lawfull to all the subiects of this realme to trade to the Narue onely in English bottoms, any thing in this Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided also, that every of the Queenes Maiesties Subiects inhabiting within the Citie of Yorke, the townes of Newcastle vpon Tine, Hull and of Boston, hauing continually traded the course of merchandize by the space of ten yeeres, and which befoze the 25. of December that shalbe in Anno D. 1567. shal contribute, ioyne, and put in stocke, to, with, and amongst the said company, such summe & summes of money, as any of the said company, which hath throughtly continued and contributed to the saide newe trade, from the yeere 1552. hath done, and befoze the saide 25. of December 1567. shall do for the furniture of one ordinary, full and iustre portion, or share, and do in all things behaue himselfe as others of the said societie be bound to doe, and hereafter shall bee bound to do by the priuiledges, ordinaunces and statutes of the saide company, shall from the same 25. day of December 1567. be, and be accompted free, and as one of the said societie and company, and subiect to the priuiledges, ordinaunces and statutes of the saide company, reasonably made and to be made, any thing in this present Act to the contrary notwithstanding.

A very briefe remembrance of a voyage made by *M. Anthony Ienkinson*, from *London* to *Moscouia*, sent from the Queenes Maiestie to the Emperour, in the yeere 1566.

The fourth day of May in the yere aforesaid, I embarked my selfe at Grauesend in the good ship called the Harry of London, and hauing had a prosperous voyage arrived at the bay of S. Nicholas in Russia the 10. day of July following, and immediately I sent in post to the Emperour to aduertise of my coming, and traueiling then thowze the countrey, I with my company came to the Mosco where the Emperour kept his court, the 23. of August, and shortly with gaue the Secretarie to vnderstand of my arrival, who aduertised the Emperours Maiestie of it, and the first day of September, being a solemne feast among the Russes, I came befoze the Emperours Maiestie, sitting in his seate of honour, and hauing kissed his hand, and done the Queenes Maiesties commendations, and deliuered her Graces letters and present, he bad me to dinner, which I accepted, and had much honour done vnto me both then and all the time of my abode in Russia.

The Priuiledges graunted by the Emperour of *Russia* to the English merchants of that company: obtained the 22. of September, Anno 1567. by *M. Anthony Ienkinson*.

One onely strengthener of all things, and God without beginning, which was befoze the world, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, our onely God in Trinitie, and maker of all things, whom we worship in all things, and in all places, the doer and fulfiller of all things, which is the perfect knowledge giuer of the true God, our Lozde Iesus Christ, with the comforter the holy Spirit, and thou which art the strengthener of our faith, keepe vs together, & giue vs health to preserve our kingdome, thou giuer of all good fruites, and helper of all Chyristian beleeuers.

We great lord by the grace of God, and great duke Iohn Vasiluich of all Russia, Volodimer, Mosco, Nouogrod, Cazan, Astracan, Plesco, Simolensko, Tweria, Yougorie, Vadika, Bulgar, Sybier and others, Emperour and great duke of Nouogrod of the lower land, of Chernygo, Rezan, Polotski, Rostoue, Yereslaue, Bealozera, Oudoria, Obdoria, Condensa, and lord of many other lands, and of all the North parts, commander and lord of Liffe-land.

Whereas our sister Queene Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, hath written to vs her letters, that wee would graunt her merchants, William Gerrard, William Chester, Rowland Heyward, Lawrence Hulsie, Iohn Marth, Anthony Ienkinson, William Rowly, and their company of England, to come in ships into this kingdome, and these merchants, William Gerrard and his company haue required of vs that we would graunt and licence them to come into our countrey of Dwina, with all kind of wares at wil, to our city of Mosco, and to all our castles in our kingdomes, we for our sisters sake Elizabeth, by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, haue licenced her merchants, William Gerrard and his

his company to passe in ships to our kingdome of Colmogro, and to the land of Dwina, and to all other our inheritances in the North parts, with all kinde of wares to our city of Mosco, and to all castles and townes in our kingdome. And sir William Garrard & his company desired of us, that we would grant them licence to passe to our inheritance of Cazan and Astracan, and into our inheritance of Nouogrod the great, and to our inheritance of Lissland to Narue and Dorpe, and to other our castles and townes of Lissland, with all kinde of wares, and the trade to be without custome, which request we haue granted to sir William Garrard and his company, and haue giuen them licence to passe to our inheritance of Cazan and Astracan, and Nouogrod the great, and into our inheritance of Lissland, Narue and Dorpe, and other places of our inheritance in Lissland with all kinde of wares, to buy, barter and sell at will, without custome: and what wares sceter they bring out of England, or out of any other countrey, needfull or necessary, that they shall bring all those wares needfull or necessary to our treasury, & those wares there to be opened, and then to take out of the same, such wares as shall be needfull for our treasury, and the rest being deliuered againe, to sell and barter at their pleasure, and to sell none of the fine wares before they be seene by our chancellers, except soying clothes, and other wares not meet for our treasury: and when our chancellor will send our treasure out of our treasury with them, they shall take it with them, and so sell and barter it for wares meet for our treasury, and bring it to our treasury, and they to take no other mens wares to barter or sell with them, nor yet our people to buy or sell for them their wares: and if those English merchants do desire to passe out of our kingdome of Astracan to Boghar, Shamaky, Chaday, or into any other countreys, or els to go into their owne countrey, then they to take their treasure with them, and to barter and sell it for wares necessary for our treasury, and to bring it and deliuer it to our chancellor, and when they come backe againe to our inheritance of Cazan and Astracan, or to any other of our castles and townes, that then our captain of Cazan and Astracan, and all other our people of charge shall not holde them, but with speed let them passe without taking custome of them or their wares, and without opening or looking upon them in any wise: and when they haue not our treasure with them, that then likewise no custome shall be taken of them nor their wares to be seene of any man.

And likewise we haue granted them to buy and sell in all our kingdomes and castles, with all kinde of wares: and we haue also licenced them, that when those English merchants do desire to buy & sell with our merchants wholly together, that they shall haue liberty so to do wholly together: and they that do desire to sell their owne wares by retaile in their owne house, that then they sell it in their owne house by retaile to our people & other strangers, as they can agree: and weights and arshinds to be kept in their house with our seale, and they themselves to barter and sell their owne wares: and no Russe merchant in Mosco, or any other place in our kingdome to sell for them any wares, nor to buy or barter any wares for them, nor couler any stranger's goods. And whereas those merchants of England, sir William Garrard and his company do desire to sell their wares at Colmogro, Dwina, Vologda, Yeraslane, Costrum, and in Nouogrod the lower, Cazan, Astracan, great Nouogrod, Plesko, Narue, Dorpe, and in other our townes & castles, they shall haue their will to sell it: and of their wares of England and Russeland no custome shall be taken, neither they nor their wares shall be stayed in any place: and when they depart out of Mosco, to aduertise our chancelor thereof, and not to giue any note or inuention of any kinde of their wares they carry away: and when the English merchants, sir William Garrard and his company do come vpon the sea, and by misfortune haue their ships cast away vpon those coasts of the North parts, then we will their goods to be sought out with rrueth, and to be deliuered to sir William Garrard and his company, which as then shall be found in our countrey: and if that sir William Garrard's company be not in the Mosco nor in our countrey, then we will and command that those goods of theirs shall be layd vp in a place of safegard vntill such time as the said sir William Garrard or his company come to demand the same: and then at their comming we will that it shall be deliuered. And whereas heretofore we haue giuen sir William Garrard and his company in this our kingdome of Mosco the new castle by the church of S. Maxim behinde the market, they shall there still holde their house as heretofore we haue giuen them, paying no custome for the same: and we also do licence them to keepe one Russe porter or two, or els of their owne countrey, and those porters shall dwell with them, and not sell for them, nor barter, nor buy for them: And also I haue granted them to buy a house at Vologda and at Colmogro, or in any other place where they can chuse for themselves any good harbour, and there they to set by those houses in those places at their owne charges: and in Vologda or the other houses to keepe two or thre porters of their owne, or els two or thre Russes, and their wares to be layd vp in those houses, and to sell their owne wares at will: and the porters without them to sell none of their wares, neither yet to buy any for them. And our officers of Colmogro and Dwina, and of other our castles & townes

shall not looke ouer their wares, nor take any custome thereof: neither shall those English merchants sir William Garrard and his company be iudged by any of them. And when the English merchants shall send from our kingdome their owne people into their owne countrey by land or ouer other kingdomes whatsoeuer they be, they may without ware send their owne people at their pleasure. And when any matter of law doth fall out in their trade of merchandise, then they shall be iudged by our chancellers, and law shall be done with equitie betwixt our people and them: and when they cannot be iudged by law, they then shall be tried by lots, and whose lot is first taken out, he shall haue the right. And if it happen any of those merchants to haue any matter of law in any other part of our dominions for trade of merchants, then our captaines, iudges, and chiefe officers shall heare the matter, and aduise iustice with equitie and truethe, and where law can take no place, to be tried by lots, and his lot that is first taken out to haue the right, and for their matters of law no custome to be payed.

Trial by lots.

The riner of
Ob traffiable.

Furthermoze, we for our sisters sake Elizabeth haue granted, that none beside sir William Garrard and his company, out of what kingdome soeuer it be, England or other, shall come in trade of merchandise nor otherwise to Colmogro, nor to the riuer Ob, nor within Wardhouse, nor to Petzora, nor Cola, nor Mezen, nor to the abbey of Petchingo, nor to the Island of Shallawy, nor to any mouth of the riuer of Dwina, nor to any part of the North countrey of our coast. And if any merchant, out of what countrey soeuer it be, doe come with ship or shippes, busses, or any other kinde of vessel to any of our harbours, within all our North parts, we will that then the people and goods, ship or shippes, shall be confiscate, and forfeited to vs the Emperour and great Duke.

Giuen in our kingdome and house of Mosco, the yeere from the beginning of the world 7076, in the moneth of September, and in the 34 yeere of our reigne, and in our conquest of Cazan 16, and in our conquest of Astracan 15.

Perused and allowed by vs: {
 Antonie Jenkinson.
 William Rowly.
 Thomas Hawtry.
 Thomas Sowtham.
 Rafe Rutter, translatour hereof out
 of the Russe tongue.

A letter of M. Henrie Lane to M. Richard Hakluyt, concerning the first ambassage to our most gracious Queene Elizabeth from the Russian Emperour anno 1567, and other notable matters incident to those places and times.



Whishfull sir, because I finde you haue the successe and proceedings of Osep Napea the first ambassadour of the Russian Emperour to the Maiesties of King Philip and Queene Marie, at what time and at his returne I was remaining in Russia, & do not finde that the perfect knowledge of the first ambassage from thence to this our Souereigne Ladie Queene Elizabeth is come to your hands, betweene whose Highnesse and the ambassadours I was interpreter, I thinke good to expresse it. In August Anno 1567 arriued at London with their retinue two especiall authorised messengers, named Stephen Twerdico, and Theodore Pogorella, with letters and presents to her Maiesty, at that time being at Orelands, where diuers of the chiefe merchants of the Russian company did associate them, and I there doing my due tie and office of interpreter, her Maiesty gaue them audience. First they reheated the long stile and Maiesty of their Master, with his most friendly and hearty commendations to her Highnesse, and then they testified the singular great ioy and pleasure that he conceived to heare of her most princely estate, dignitie and health: and lastly, they deliuered their letters and presents. The presents sent unto her Maiesty were Sables, both in paires for rippets, and two timbars, to wit, two times fortie, with Luserns and other rich furrres. For at that time that princely ancient ornament of furrres was yet in vse. And great pittie but that it might be renewed, especiall in Court, and among Magistrates, not onely for the restoring of an olde worshipfull Art and Companie, but also because they be for our climate wholesome, delicate, graue and comely: expressing dignitie, comforting age, and of longer continuance, and better with small cost to be preserued, then these new silks, shaggges, and ragges, wherein a great part of the wealth of the land is hastily consumed.

The vse of
furrres whole-
some, delicate,
graue and
comely.

These ambassadours were appointed lodging and entertainment by the Hostorie company at their house then in Seething Lane, and were sundrie times after permitted to be in presence. And

And in May 1568 tooke their leaue at Greenwich, where they vnderstood and had the Queenes Maiesties minde, letters and reward. At the latter part of her talke, her Highnesse considering that our trade to Saint Nicholas since the beginning had bene offensiue to diuers princes, states, and merchants Eastward, vsed these speeches or the like: Who is or shall be more touched by detractours, with flying tales and vnttrue reports, then Princes and Rulers, to the breach of loue and vnitie? your Master and I in things that passe by word and writing, I doubt not will keepe and performe promises. If he heare the contrary of me, let him suspend his iudgement, and not be light of credit, and so will I. These words they termed her Maiesties golden speech: and kneeling downe, kissed her hand, and departed.

The trade to S. Nicholas is offensive to diuers princes & states Eastward.

The letters that these two messengers brought, were deliuered to me by my Lord Treasurer, being then Secretarie, to be translated, the copies whereof I had, but now cannot finde. The copie of the Queenes Maiesties letter I send inclosed herewith vnto your worship. I also haue sent you a copy of a letter written from the king of Polonia to the Queenes Maiestic, with other letters from some of our nation and factours, declaring the displeasure for our trafficke to the Russes from anno 1558 to the yere 1566, especially by the way of the Narue: in which yere of 1566, hauing generall procurement and commission from the Company, I was in the Low countrye at Antwerpe and Amsterdame, and sometimes in company with Polacks, Danes, and Fletterings: and by reason I had bene a lodger in Russia, I could the better reply and proue, that their owne nations and the Italians were most guiltie of the accusations written by the king of Poland.

This king Sigismundus (whose ambassadours very sumptuous I haue seene at Mosco) was reported to be too milde in suffering the Polackites. Before our trafficke they ouerranne his great dukedome of Lituania, and tooke Smolensco, carrying the people captiues to Mosco. And in the yere 1563, as appeareth by Thomas Alcocks letter, they suffered the Russe like wise in that Duchy to take a principall city called Polorzko, with the lord and people thereof. Likewise the said Sigismundus and the king of Sweden did not looke to the protection of Liuania, but lost all, except Rie and Reuel, and the Russe made the Narue his port to trafficke, not onely to vs, but to Lubec and others, generall. And still from those parts the Polackites were furnished out of Durchland by enterlopers with all arts and artificers, and had few or none by vs. The Italians also furnished them with engines of warre, and taught them warrelike stratagemes, and the arte of fortification. In the dayes of Sigismund, the Russe would tant the Polacks, that they loued their ease at home with their wiues, and to drinke, and were not at commandement of their king. This Sigismund had to wife the daughter of Ferdinando, Charles the sixtes brother, and he died without issue. Since which time their late elected king Stephanus Barore kept the Russe in better order, and recovered Polorzko againe in the yere 1579. Thus with my heartie farewell I take my leaue of your worship.

Smolensco was lost by the Russe.

Polorzko taken.

Polorzko recovered by Stephanus Barore.

Your assured friend *Henrie Lane.*

A Letter of the most excellent Maiestic of Queene *Elizabeth*, sent by *Stephen Twerdico* and *Pheodata Pogorella*, messengers of the Emperour of *Russia*, vnto their Master the ninth of May 1568.

1568

Imperatori Moscouitarum, &c.



LIZABETHA &c. Literas vestrae Maiestatis superiori anno 1567, decimo die mensis Aprilis datas, vestri mercatores Stephanus Twerdico, & Pheodata Pogorella, qui has nostras perferunt, nobis tradidere. Quos vestros mercatores in omni suo apud nos & nostros obeundo negotio, ita tractari, & libenti voluntate, & expresso nostro mandato curauimus, vt non solum vestrae Maiestatis pro illis postulationi, sed eorundem etiam hominum expectationi plenè satisfactum esse confidamus. Id quod eo fecimus studiosius, quod plane perspectum, probè que cognitum habeamus, nostros omnes, qui bona cum gratia nostra, nostrarumque litterarum commendatione, istuc, sub vestro imperio negotiari veniunt, pari, cum vestrae Maiestatis fauore, tum vestrorum subditorum humanitate, vbiuis acceptos esse. Quae nostra vtroque, & mutuae inter nos amicitiae, & gratiae inter nostros benevolentiae officia, vt crebra & perpetua existant, nos admodum postulamus. Quem animi nostri sensum suscipi hi vestri, & opportunius suo sermone coram declarabunt: Quibus non dubitamus, quin vestra Maiestas amplam fidem sit tributura. Deus &c. Grenouici nono die Maij 1567.

The Ambassage of the right worshipfull Master Thomas Randolfe, Esquire, to the Emperour of *Russia*, in the yeere 1568, briefly written by himselfe.

In this voyage went Thomas Bannister, & Geoffrey Ducker, for their voyage into Persia.



The 22 day of June, in the yere of our Lord 1568, I went aboard the Harry, lying in the road at Harwich with my company, being to the number of forty persons or thereabout: of which the one halfe were gentlemen, desirous to see the world.

Within one dayes sailing, we were out of the sight of land, and following our course directly North, till we came to the North Cape, we sailed for the space of twelue dayes with a prosperous winde, without tempest or outrage of sea: having compassed the North Cape we directed our course flat Southeast, having upon our right hand Norway, Wardhouse, Lapland, all out of sight till we came to Cape Gallant: and so sailing betweene two bayes, the two and thirtieth day after our departure from Harwich, we cast ancre at Saint Nicholas road. In all the time of our voyage, moze then the great number of Whales ingendering together, which we might plainly beholde, and the Sperma Ceta, which we might see swimming vpon the sea, there was no great thing to be woondered at. Somt times we had calmes, wherein our Hariners fished, and tooke good store of diuers sorts. At S. Nicholas we landed the 23 of July, where there standeth an abbey of Monks (to the number of twentie) built all of wood: the apparell of the Monks is superstitious, in blacke hoods, as ours haue bene. Their Church is faire, but full of painted images, tapers, and candles. Their owne houses are low, and small rooms. They lie apart, they eat together, and are much giuen to drunkennesse, vnlearned, write they can, preach they doe neuer, ceremonies in their Church, and long in their prayers.

The abbe of S. Nicholas of 20 Monks,

At my first arriuall I was presented from their Prior with two great rie loaves, fish both salt and fresh of diuers sorts, both sea fish and fresh water, one sheepe aliue, blacke, with a white face, to be the more gratefull vnto me, and so with many solcme woords inuiting me to see their house, they tooke their leaue.

The English house at S. Nicholas.

Towne or habitation at S. Nicholas there is none moze then about foure houses neere the abbey, and another built by the English Company for their owne vse.

This part of the countrey is most part wood, sauing here and there pasture & arable ground, many riuers and diuers Islands vnhabited, as the most part of the countrey is, for the coldnesse in Winter.

The riuier of Dwina.

S. Nicholas standeth Northeast: the elevation of the pole 64 degrees. The riuier that runneth there into the sea is called Dwina, very large, but shallow. This riuier taketh his beginning about 700 miles within the countrey, & vpon this riuier standeth Colmogro, and many praty villages, well situated for pasture, arable land, wood, and water. The riuier pleasant betweene his hills of either side inwardly inhabited, and in a maner a wildernesse of his firme trees, and other wood.

Colmogro.

At Colmogro being 100 verst, which we account for thre quarters of a mile euery verst, we taried thre weeks, not being suffered to depart before the Emperour had word of our coming, who sent to meet vs a gentle man of his house, to conuey vs, and to see vs furnished of victuals, and all things needfull, vpon his owne charge.

The allowance of meat and drinke was for euery day two rubbles, besides the charge of boats by water, and foure scoze post horses by land, with about 100 carts to carry my wines, and other cartage.

Colmogro is a great towne builded all of wood, not walled, but scattered house from house. The people are rude in maners, and in apparell homely, sauing vpon their festiuall, and marriage dayes.

The people of this towne finding commodity by the English mens traffike with them are much at their commandement, giuen much to drunkennesse, and all other kinde of abominable vices.

In this towne the English men haue lands of their owne, giuen them by the Emperour, and faire houses, with offices for their commodity, very many.

Of other townes vntill I come to Vologda, I write not, because they are much like to this, and the inhabitants not differing from them.

I was five whole weeks vpon the riuier of Dwina till I came to Vologda, being drawn with men against the streame, for other passage there is none.

Vologda standeth vpon the riuier of Vologda, which commeth into Dwina. The towne is great and long, built all of wood, as all their townes are.

In this towne the Emperour hath built a castle inuironed with a wall of stone, and bycke, the walles

An English house with lands at Colmogro.

walles faire and hie, round about. Here (as in all other their towne) are many Churches, some built of bricke, the rest of wood, many Honsks and Runnes in ic: a towne also of great traffike, and many rich merchants there dwelling.

From hence we passed by land towards Mosco in posse, being 500 versts great, which are equall with our miles. In their towne we waited or lay, being post towne.

The countrey is very faire, plaine & pleasant, well inhabited, cozne, pasture, meadowes enough, riuers, and woods, faice and goodly.

The description of the island of Moscouie.

At Yeraslaue we passed the riuier of Volga, more then a mile ouer. This riuier taketh his beginning at Beal Ozera, & descendeth into Mare Caspium, paytable thowow of very great vessels with flat botomes, which farre passe any that our countrey vseth.

To saile by this riuier into Mare Caspium the English company caused a barke to be built of 27 tunns, which there was neuer seene befoze: This barke built, and ready rigged to the sea with her whele furniture cost not the company aboue one hundzeth marks there.

To Mosco we came about the end of September, receiued by no man, not so much as our owne countrey men suffered to meet vs, which byed suspicion in me of some other course intended, then we had hitherto found.

This arrivall at Mosco.

We were brought to a house built of purpose by the Emperour for Ambassadors, faire and large, after the fashion of that countrey.

A special house at Mosco, built for Ambassadors.

Two gentlemen were appointed to attend vpon me, the one to see vs furnished of victuals, and that we lacked nothing of the Emperours allowance: the other to see that we should not goe out of the house, nor suffer any man to come vnto vs, in which they left nothing vndone that belonged to their charge. But specially he that looked to our persons so straightly handled vs, that we had no small cause to doubt that some euill had bene intended vnto vs. No supplication, sute, or request could take place for our liberty, nor yet to come to his presence.

Hauiing passed ouer 17 weeks in this sort, the Emperour sendeth word that we should be ready against Tuesday the 20 of Februarie, at eight a clocke in the morning.

The houre being come that I should goe to the Court, the two gentlemen Pristaues (as they call them) came vnto me appparelled more princely then befoze I had euer seene them. They presse vs to depart, and mounted vpon their owne hozses, and the Ambassadors vpon such a one as he had borrowed, his men marching on foot, to their great grieve.

Two Pristaues.

The Ambassadors (being my selfe) was conueyed into an office where one of the chancellors doeth vse to sit, being there accompanied with the two foresayd gentlemen: I taried two long houres befoze I was sent for to the Emperour. In the end message being brought that the Emperour was set, I was conueyed by my gentlemen by a paire of staires thowow a large roome, where face by my estimation 300 persons, all in rich attire, taken out of the Emperours wardrobe for that day, vpon thzee rankes of benches, set round about the place, rather to present a maiestie, then that they were either of quality or honor.

At the first entry into the chamber I with my cap gaue them the reuerence, such as I iudged their stately sitting, graue countenances, and sumptuous apparell required, and seeing that it was not answered againe of any of them I couered my head, and so passing to a chamber where the Emperour was, there receiued me at the dooze from my two gentlemen or gouernours, two of the Emperours counsellors, and shewed me to the Emperour, and brought me to the middle of the chamber, where I was willed to stand still, and to say that which I had to say. I by my Interpreter opened my message as I receiued it from the Queene my Mistresse, from whom I came, at whose name the Emperour stood vp, and demanded diuers questions of her health and state: whereunto answere being made, he gaue me his hand in token of my welcome, and caused me to sit downe, and further asked me diuers questions.

This admission to the Emperours presence.

This done, I deliuered her Maiesties present, which was a notable great Cup of silver curiously wrought, with verses grauen in it, expressing the histories workmanly set out in the same.

The Queens present.

All being sayd and done (as appeared) to his contentment, he licenced me and my whole company to depart, who were all in his presence, and were saluted by him with a nod of his head, and sayd vnto me: I dine not this day openly for great affaires I haue, but I will send thee my dinner, and giue leaue to thee and thine to go at liberty, and augment our allowance to thee, in token of our loue and fauor, to our sister the Queene of England.

The Emperours speech to the Ambassadors.

I with reuerence tooke my leaue, being conueyed by two other of greater calling then those that brought me to the Emperours sight, who deliuered me to the two first gentlemen, who conducted me to the office where I first was, where came vnto me one called the Long duke, with whom I conferred a while, and so returned to my lodging.

Within one houre after in comes to my lodging a duke richly appparelled, accompanied with

littie persons, ecy of them caryng a littier dith with meat, and covered with silver. The duke first deliuered twenty loaves of bread of the Emperors owne eating, hauing tasted the same, and deliuered euery dith into my hands, and tasted of euery kinde of drinke that he brought.

This being done, the duke and his company sate downe with me, and tooke part of the Emperors meat, and filled themselves well of all sorts, and went not away from me unrewarded.

Within few nights after the Emperour had will to speake secretly with me, and sent for me in the night by the Long duke: The place was farre off, and the night colde, and I hauing changed my apparell into such as the Russes do weare, found great incommoditie thereby.

Hauing talked with him about thre houres, towards the morning I was dismissed, and so came home to my lodging, where I remained about six weeks after, before I heard againe from the Emperour, who went the next day to Slouoda, the house of his solace. After the end of which six weeks, which was about the beginning of April, the Emperour returned from Slouoda aforesayd, and sent for me againe to make repaire vnto him. And being come, I dealt effectually with him in the behalfe of our English merchants, and found him so graciously inclined towards them, that I obtained at his hands my whole demands for large priuileges in generall, together with all the rest my particular requests. And then he commended to my conduct into England, a noble man of his, called Andrew Sauin, as his Ambassadour, for the better confirmation of his priuileges granted, and other negotiations with her Maiesty. And thus being dispatched with full contentment, the sayd Ambassadour and my selfe departed, and imbarked at S. Nicholas about the end of July, and arriued safely at London in the moneth of September following.

20 second conference with the Emperour.

Andrew Sauin Ambassadour to the Queene.

A copie of the priuiledges granted by the right high and mightie Prince, the Emperour of *Russia*, &c. vnto the right worshipfull fellowship of English merchants, for the discouerie of new trades: and higher sent by *Thomas Randolfe* esquire, her Maieties Ambassadour to the sayd Emperour, and by *Andrew Sauin* his Ambassadour in the yere of our Lord God 1569.



One God euerlasting, and without and before the beginning, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, the blessed Trinitie, our onely God, maker, and preferer of all things, and replenisser of all things euery where, who by thy goodnesse doest cause all men to loue the giuer of wisdom our onely Mediatour, and leader of vs all vnto blessed knowledge by the onely Sonne his word, our Lord Iesus Christ, holy and euerlasting Spirit, and now in these our dayes teachest vs to keepe Chyistianitie, and sufferest vs to enjoy our kingdome to the happy commodity of our land, and wealth of our people, in despight of our enemies, and to our fame with our friends.

We Iohn Vasiluwich by the grace of God, great lord, Emperour, and great duke of all *Russia*, Volodemer, Moscovia, Nouogrod, Emperour of *Cazan*, Tuersky, Vgorsky, Permisky, Vadsy, Bulgaria, and many others, lord and great duke of the Low countreys of Nouogrod, Chérnigosky, Refansky, Polotsky, Rastow, Yeraslaue, Bealofera, Owdorsky, Condinsky, and all Siberland, great commander of all the North parts, lord of *Leifland*, and many other Northward, Southward and Westward.

Whereas our siter Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of *England*, *France* and *Ireland*, defender of the faith, hath written vnto vs her letters for her merchants, who hath made sute that we should grant our goodnesse to the merchants which are of one Company, and giue them free leaue to come to traffike in our kingdome to *Colmogro*, and to the countrey of *Dwina*, and to our great citie of *Moscovia*, and to all the cities in our dominions, and thozow our countrey to *Boghar*, to *Persia*, *Casbin*, and *Charday*, and to all other countreys.

We Iohn Vasiluwich Emperour and great duke of all *Russia* (for our siter Elizabethes sake, Queene of *England*) haue giuen and granted to the English merchants, the *Gouernours*, *Consuls*, *Assistants* & fellowship, sir *Wil. Garrard* Knight, *Rowland Harward* Alderman, *Ioh. Thaworth* Esquire, *Iohn Riwers* Alderman, *Henry Beecher* Alderman, *Consuls*: Sir *Wil. Chester* Knight, *Edward Iackman* Alderman, *Lionel Ducker* Alderman, *Edward Gilbert*, *Laurence Hufe*, *Francis Walsingham*, *Clement Throgmorrton*, *Iohn Quarles*, *Nicholas Wheeler*, *Thomas Banister*, *Iohn Harrison*, *Francis Burnham*, *Anthony Gamage*, *Iohn Somers*, *Richard Wilkinson*, *Ioh. Sparke*, *Richard Barne*, *Robert Woolman*, *Thomas Browne*, *Thomas Smith*, *Thomas Allen*, *Thomas More*, *William Bully*, *Richard Yong*, *Thomas Arkinson*, *Assistants*: *Iohn Merth* Esquire, *Geofrey Ducker*, *Francis Robinson*, *Mathew Field*, & all the rest of their company and fellowship, and to their succours and deputies, to come with ships and other vessels into

into our Countrey, at Colmogorod, & Dwina, and to all the North parts now being ours, or that hereafter shall at any time be in our possession, by sea, river or land, even to our great Citie of Mosco, in all the townes of our Countrey, to Cazan and Astracan, to Nouogorod the great, to Plesko & Leifland, Vriagorod, to Narue, and all other townes of Leifland. 2 And to passe through our land to Boghar, Persia, Casbin, Charday, and other Countreyes: And where soever they come there to be and abide freely, and to barter and bargain freely all wares of sale, without custome of all people, and Marchants strangers what soever.

And if so be they bring any fine wares out of Englande, or any other Countrey from Boghar, Persia, Casbin, or from any other place, & those their wares that come by the way of Narue, or any other part into our Dominion, to bring the same wares into our treasure, and our Treasurers to view the same wares, and to take into our Treasure of the same such as shall be needfull for vs. And all such wares as we shall not need, our Chancellour to redeliuer the same: And after the view of our Chancellours, to barter it freely to whom they will, not selling any of their wares needfull for vs, before our Chancellour haue seene the same. And all other grosse and heavy wares that shall be needfull to our use, not being brought to Mosco, to declare & tell our Chancellour of the same wares: And to giue a note thereof by name, and how much they leaue there, not brought to Mosco: and then if we neede not the said wares, the English Marchants, their seruants & Factors, to conuey their wares the neerest way to Vking the great, and so to Colmogorod, or else where at their pleasure, there to barter and sell the same. But those wares that shall be needfull for our Treasure, they shall not hide from vs in any case.

And when our Chancellours shall send our aduventure, with the said Marchants or their Factors, they to take our aduentures with them, and to sell, & to barter for such wares as shall be meete for our Treasure, and to returne it into our Treasure.

And when we shall sende any aduventure into England then our Chancellour to giue them a peeres warning, that their ships may be provided thereafter, that by taking in of our wares, they leaue not their owne behind them.

And to take our aduventure peereley when they goe into Persia,

Neither shall the English marchants receiue or colour any of our peoples goods, nor barter nor sell it in any wise: likewise our people not to barter for the sayd English marchants or occupy for them.

3 And when they shall come into our Empire of Casan and Astracan, and other places of our Dominions, then our Captaines of Casan and Astracan, and our authorized people, quietly to let them passe, not taking any toll or custome of their wares, nor once to make search thereof.

And when we shall send no aduventure with them, yet to suffer them freely to passe, not viewing their wares, nor taking any kinde of custome. And what soever English marchant will bargain with our Marchants or Factors wares for wares to barter the same at their pleasure.

And what soever their Marchant or Factor will sell their wares at their house at Mosco, which house I granted them at S. Maxims at the Mosco, they to sel the wares to our people, either strangers as they may best utter it, keeping within their house, arshines, measures, and waights vnder scales.

4 We haue granted them the saide house at S. Maxims in the halfe free, and without standing rent, as heretofore we did graunt it the said English Marchants, sir Wil. Garrard, and the Company, maintayning in the said house one housekeeper a Russe, and two Russe seruants, or some of their owne countrey men, and none other Russes besides the aforesayde. And the said housekeepers that shall liue at their house with the English marchants, neither to buy nor sel any wares for them, but that the said marchants themselues or their factors, shall buy, sell, and barter their owne wares: And our Moscouie marchants not to take the said Englishmens wares to sell them in our townes, nor to buy any wares for them, neither the English marchant to colour any Russes wares at any towne.

5 And what soever English marchant will sell his wares at Colmogorod, Dwyna, Vologda, Yerallaue, Castran, Nouogorod the lower, Casan, Astracan, Nouogorod the great, Vopsko, the Narue, Vriagorod, or at any other townes, they to sel their wares there at their pleasure: And of all wares aswell of other countreis as of Russia, no officer or other to take any custome, neither in any place to stay them in any wise, neither take any kinde of toll of them for their wares what soever.

6 And what soever marchant shall bargain or buy any wares of English marchants: The said Russe not to returne those wares vpon the marchants hands againe, but to giue ready money for the said wares, otherwise they to craue the Justice to giue right, and to execute the lawe vpon the same with all expedition. And when the English marchants or factors shall trauaile from Moscouie

coue after the dispatch of their wares and businesse, then to shew themselves vnto our Chancelours, whatsoeuer wares of theirs shall goe from Mosco, they not to shew the same wares to any our officers, nor pay no custome nor toll in any place.

7 If it so happen the English marchants haue any wracke, and the shippes be brought to any port of our Dominions, we to command the said goods to be enquired and sought out, and to be giuen to the English merchants, being here abiding at that time in our Countrey, the factors, seruants, or deputies, of the Company aforesayd, to whom we haue granted this our gracious letter.

And if there happen none of the English merchants, factors, seruants, or deputies to be in our Countreis at such time, then we wil all the said goods to be sought out and bestowed in some conuenient place, and when any of the Company aforesayd, bringing these our letters, shall come for their goods, we to command their goods to be restozed vnto them.

8 Likewise we haue granted leaue to the English merchants, their Governours, Consuls, and assistants, namely, sir William Garrard knight, Rowland Hayward, and to the Companie, to builde houses at Vologda, Colmogro, and the seaside, at Luangorod, at Cherell, and in all other places of our Dominions, as shall be needefull for their trade. And they to keepe at the said house one housekeeper, a Russe, and two or thre men to keepe their wares at the said houses, making sale thereof to whom they will, they, their Factors or deputies: the said housekeeper not to buy or sell for them.

9 Also we haue giuen and granted to the English Merchants, their house which they haue by our goodnesse at S. Maximes in the Zenopski, and other their houses in the towne of Zenopski, made for the better assurance of their goods, and all such as they shall set vp hereafter shall be of the Opressini, and will make them knowen to all them of Opressini.

10 And whereas by our goodnesse we haue granted them a Ropehouse at Vologda, being farre from the English Merchants house, now we haue giuen them to build a house for that vse by the said English house, and haue giuen and granted them (of our goodnesse) ground, one hundredth and fourescore sadowe long, and fiftie sadowes in breadth, according to their owne request.

11 Also, we haue of our goodnesse giuen and granted to the English Merchants, leaue to buy them a house at Wichida, and there to search out mines of yron. And where they shall happily find it, there to set vp houses for the making of the same yron: and to make the same, of our goodnesse haue granted them woods, fise or sixe miles compasse about the sayd houses, to the making of the sayd yron, and not to excede these bounds and limits: And where they shall cut the sayde wood, not to set vp any village or farme there, bringing the artificers for making of their yron, out of their owne Countrey, and to learne our people that arte, and so freely occupying the said yron in these our Dominions, transporting also of the same home into Englands, allowing for euery pound one dingo, or halfe penie.

12 And if any of the said yron shall be needfull for our workes, then we to take of the said yron to our worke, vpon agreement of price, paying money out of our Treasurie for the same: And when the said English Merchants or Factors shall send their owne people out of our Realme into their Countrey, ouer land through any Countrey whatsoever, freely to send the same with our wordes.

13 Also, we of our goodnesse haue granted, that if any man misuse the said English, the Factors or seruants, or the saide English Merchants, their Factors or seruants abuse any other at Moscouie, or any other out townes whatsoever within our Dominions in trade of Marchandise or otherwise, then they to haue vpyright iustice in all such matters of our counsaile the Opressini without all let or delay: But if our Justice may not agree the parties, then lots to be made, and to whose lotte it shall fall, to him the right to be giuen, and that only our counsaile at Moscouie, and none of our Captaines, or authozied people, or officers in any other our townes, giue iudgement vpon the said English Merchants for any thing.

14 Also, if any stranger shall haue matter of controuersie with any English Merchant, Factor or seruant, abiding within these our Realmes, or contrariwise any English Merchant, Factor or seruant, against any other stranger, in all those causes our Counsaile of the Opressini, to giue them Justice, and to make an agreement & end betweene the parties, without all delay: And none to deale therein, saue our Counsaile of the Opressini. 15 And if any man haue action against any English Merchant being absent, that then in his absence it shall be lawful for any other Englishman at his assignation to answer his cause.

16 If any Englishman happen to be wounded or beaten to death, or any Russe or stranger slaine or beaten, 17 Or any stolen goods to be found in the said English houses, then our Counsellors to cause the guiltie persons to be sought out, and to doe right and Justice in the cause, and the partie that is guiltie, if he deserue punishment, to be corrected accordingly after his offence: That the said English Merchants, factors and seruant, sustaine thereby no hinderance or damage.

18 And whatsoeuer English Merchant, Factor, seruant, or deputie, shall be guilty of any fault, deseruing our displeasure, then our Counsellors to cause the guiltie partie to goe vnder suerties, and their goods to be sealed and kept, vntill our pleasure be further knowen, and our Counsaile to examine their offence, and so to report it vnto vs, that we may command what shall be done therein, and none other to be arrested or haue their goods sealed, which are not guiltie of that offence, nor to stay or apprehend them in any of our Dominions for the same.

19 If any English Merchant, Factor, or seruant shall offend, it shall be lawfull for their Agent to doe iustice vpon the said partie, or to send him home into England at his pleasure.

20 If any English Merchant, Factor, or seruant, haue lent or hereafter shall leuue money to any of our people, or credite them with wares, and so depart into any forreigne Countrey, or die before the debt be due to be payde, then our people and Merchants to paye the sayde debt, to whom soeuer shall be appointed to the sayd roome or charge, and the saide English Merchant, factor, or seruant, to bring his bill of debt to our Counsell, to shewe them what is due, and what money is owing them for any wares: and thus to doe truly, not adding any whit to the debt, and our Counsell to command the debt to be discharged vnto the English Merchant, factor, or seruant, without delay.

21 And whatsoeuer English Merchant shall be arrested for debt, then our Counsell to command the partie vnder arrest to be deliuered to the Agent: and if he haue no suertie, to binde the Agent with him, for the better force of the bond.

And if any Englishman be indebted, we will the Creditor not to call him in prison, or to deliuer him to the Sergeant, lest the officer lose him, but to take ware in pawne of the debt.

22 Also of our goodnes, we haue granted the English Merchants to send our Commission to all our Townes, Captaines, and authorized men, to defende and garde the said Merchants from all threues, robbers, and euill disposed persons,

23 If in comming or going to and fro our dominions, the Merchants, the factors, or seruants be spoyled on the sea, our Counsell shall send our letters, and will them to be sought out, and where they shall finde the goods, cause it to be restored againe, and the offender to be punished, according to our commandement.

24 Also of our goodnes, we haue granted the saide Merchants to take by Wokers, Packers, Wagers, and such like labourers, as shall be needefull for them, paying for their hiee as the labourers and they shall agree.

25 We like wise of our goodnes, haue licensed the English Merchants in our Townes of Moscow, Nouogorod the great, and Plesko, that the Coiners of the said Townes shall melt Dollers, and coine money for them, without custome, allowing for coales, and other necessaries, with the workmanship,

26 Also of our goodnes, we haue granted to the sayd English Merchants, to take poste horse at needfull times, leauing with our officers a note how many they take, and not else, in no case hindring or dimintishing our treasure.

27 Also for our sister Queene Elizabeths sake, we of our goodnes haue granted to the merchants within written, this our letter, and to their successors, that no Englishman, nor any other stranger, come without the Queenes leaue to Colmogorode, the riter of Vob, Vasiagy, Pechora, Cola, Mezena, Pechingo, Zeleuetskyes Island, the riter of Shame, nor to no other hauen of Dwina, nor to any part of the northside of Dwina, by hetherward of Warehouse, to any hauen, with shippe, Buss, or any other vessel, nor to occupie in any kind of waies, but only the said English companie, and their successors, to whom we of our goodnes haue granted this privilege.

28 Also that no English Merchant, without the Queenes leaue, shall come with any wares, to the Narue, or Vriogorod.

29 And whatsoeuer English Merchant, stranger, or other, of whatsoeuer Countrey he be, shall come with any shippe, Buss, or any other vessel, to any of the said hauens, of the north side, to any part of Dwina, by North the Narue, or Vriogorod, without the Queenes leaue or knowledge, not being of the companie aboute written, we to apprehende and take the same vessel from those strangers and Merchants, the one halfe to vs the Emperour, and great Duke, and the other halfe to the companie of English Merchants.

30 Also of our goodnes we haue granted the said companie of English merchants, that no English merchants or strangers shall passe through our dominions, to Boghar, Persia, Casbin, Charday, or other Countreys, saue onely the companie of English merchants, and our owne messengers.

31 Also whatsoeuer Englishman, comming out of England or any other Countrey, into our dominions, without the Queenes leaue, and knowledge, not being of the sayd companie, written within

within those our letters, mind, and purpose, to abide in our realme, contrary to the Queenes will and pleasure, or any way abuse himselfe, the Agent shall freely send him home, to the Queene his Soueraigne: which if the Agent of himselfe be unable to do, let him pray for ayd of the captaines and officers of our towne there being, and so send him to prison, and will the sayd captaines not to hinder the sayd Agent from sending home such euill persons into England.

32 And if any man within our countrey runne away to any other towne or place, the English merchants and factours, to haue free libertie to apprehend him, and take their goods from him againe.

33 And as for our privilege giuen to Thomas Glouer, Ralfe Rutter, Christopher Bennet, Iohn Chappell, and their adherents, we haue commanded the same privileges to be taken from them.

34 As to we of our goodnesse haue granted the sayd company of English merchants, their successors, seruants and deputies, that doe or shall remaine at Mosco, or else where within our dominions freely to keepe their owne law: and in any wise none of ours to force them to our law or faith against their will.

Moreover, besides and with the company of English merchants, we permit all strangers, to trade to our towne of Narue, Iuanogorod, & other our townes of Liefland, as they haue done beforetime. Given from the beginning of the world 7077, in the moneth of June 20, Indiction 12, the yere of our lordship and reign 35, and of our Empire of Rusland 23, Cazan 17, Astracan 15.

Other speciall grants by his Maiesties priuate letters at the sute of M. *Randolfe* Ambassadour.

Releasement out of prison of Fitzherbert, that was accused for writing of letters against the Emperour.

Liberty giuen to Thomas Greene that was accused and troubled upon suspicion of his dealing with the Ambassadour, and licence giuen to him to trafficke as he was accustomed.

Andrew Atherton and his sureties released at the Narue and his seruant at the Mosco, that were in trouble for sending the merchants letters into England.

A letter granted to Thomas Southam to the Councell, for iustice against them that stole the pearles.

His Maiesties fauor promised to the Artificers, and liuings to be appointed them as they can best deserue.

A letter to the merchants that went into Persia, to passe freely without impeachment in his dominions, as also letters of fauour to the great Shaugh of Persia.

A grant vnto the company that at what time soeuer they send to the discovery of Cataya, they shall be licenced to repaire vnto this countrey, and haue such conducts and guides, mariners, vessels, men and victuals as they shall stand in need of.

It is also promised by Knez Alfanas, and Peter Gregoriwich in the Emperours name, that if Bener Butler or any English man complaine, deface, hinder in way of trafficke or other wise go about to discredit the worshopfull company, and their doings, that therein they shall not be heard, and the doers to be punished, as in such cases they shall be iudged to haue deserued.

Certaine persons granted to be sent home into England that serued the company, and were practisers against them in that countrey.

A Commission giuen by vs *Thomas Randolfe* Ambassadour for the Queenes Maiestie in *Russia*, and *Thomas Bannisser*, &c. vnto *Iames Bassendine*, *Iames Woodcocke* and *Richard Browne*, the which *Bassendine*, *Woodcocke*, and *Browne* we appoint ioyntly together, and aiders, the one of them to the other, in a voyage of disco- uery to be made (by the grace of God) by them, for searching of the sea, and border of the coast, from the riuer *Pechora*, to the Eastwards, as hereafter followeth Anno 1588. The first of August.



Nprimis, when your barke with all furniture is ready, you shall at the beginning of the yere (as soone as you possibly may) make your repaire to the Easterne part of the riuer *Pechora*, where is an Island called *Dolgoieue*, and from thence you shall passe to the Eastwards alongst by the Sea coast of *Hugoric*, or the maine land of *Pechora*, and sailing alongst by the same coast, you shall passe within seuen leagues of the Island *Vaigats*, which is in the straight, almost halfe way from the coast of *Hugoric*, vnto the coast of *Noua*

Noua Zembla, which Island Vaigats and Noua Zembla you shall finde noted in your plat, therefore you shall not need to discover it: but proceed on alongst the coast of Hugory, towards the riuer Obba.

There is a Bay betweene the sayd Vaigats, and the riuer Obba, that doth bite to the Southwards, into the land of Hugory, in which Bay are two small riuers, the one called Cara Reca, the other Naramsy, as in the paper of notes which are giuen to you herewith may appeare: in the which Bay you shall not need to spend any time for searching of it, but to direct your course to the riuer Ob (if other wise you be not constrained to keepe alongst the shoze) and when you come to the riuer Ob you shall not enter into it, but passe ouer vnto the Easterne part of the mouth of the sayd riuer.

Cara Reca.

Naramsi Reca.

And when you are at the Easterne part of the mouth of Obba Reca, you shall from thence passe to the Eastwards, alongst by the border of the sayd coast, describing the same in such perfect order as you can best do it. You shall not leaue the sayd coast or border of the land, but passe alongst by it, at least in sight of the same, until you haue sailed by it so farre to the Eastwards, and the time of the yeere so farre spent, that you doe thinke it time for you to returne with your barke to Winter, which trauell may well be 300 or 400 leagues to the Eastwards of the Ob, if the Sea doe reach so farre as our hope is it doth: but and if you finde not the said coast and sea to trend so farre to the Eastwards, yet you shall not leaue the coast at any time, but proceed alongst by it, as it doth lie, leauing no part of it vnsearched, or serue, unless it be some bay, or riuer, that you doe certainly know by the report of the people, that you shall finde in those borders, or els some certeine tokens whereby you of your selues may iudge it to be so. For our hope is that the said border of land and sea doth in those space after you passe the Ob, incline East, and so to the Southwards. And therefore we would haue no part of the land of your starreboord side, as you proceed in your discovery, to be left vndiscovered.

But and if the said border of land do not incline so to the Eastwards as we presuppse it, but that it doe proue to incline and trend to the Northwards, and so ioyne with Noua Zembla, making the sea from Vaigats to the Eastwards but a bay: yet we will that you do keepe alongst by the said coast, and so bying vs certaine report of that forme and maner of the same bay.

And if it doe so proue to be a bay, and that you haue passed round about the same, and so by the trending of the land come backe vnto that part of Noua Zembla that is against Vaigats, where as you may from that see the said Island Vaigats, if the time of the yeere will permit you, you shall from thence passe alongst by the said border and coast of Noua Zembla to the Westwards, and so to search whether that part of Noua Zembla doe ioyne with the land that sir Hugh Willoughbie discovered in anno 53, and is in 72 degrees, and from that part of Noua Zembla 120 leagues to the Westwards, as your plat doeth shew it vnto you: and if you doe finde that land to ioyne with Noua Zembla, when you come to it, you shall proceed further along the same coast, if the time of the yeere will permit it, and that you doe thinke there will be sufficient time for you to returne backe with your barke to Winter either at Pechora or in Russia, at your discretion: for we refer the same to your good iudgements, trusting that you will lose no time, that may further your knowledge in this voyage.

Note you, it was the 20 of August, 56 yet the Serchthrift began to returne backe from her discovery, to Winter in Russia, and then she came from the Island Vaigats, being forcibly driven from thence with an Easterly winde and yce, and so she came into the riuer Dwina, and arrived at Colmogro the 11 of September, 56. If the yce had not bene so much that yeere as it was in the Streights, on both sides of the Island Vaigats, they in the said pinnesse would that yeere haue discovered the parts that you are now sent to seeke: which thing (if it had pleased God) might haue bene done then: but God hath reserved it for some other. Which discovery, if it may be made by you, it shall not only proue profitable vnto you, but it will also purchase perpetuall fame and renoume both to you and our country. And thus not doubting of your willing desires, and forwardnesse towards the same, we pray God to blesse you with a lucky beginning, fortunate successe, and happily to end the same. Amen.

Necessarie notes to be obserued, and followed in your discovery, as hereafter followeth.

When your barke with all furniture and necessaries shall be in readinesse for you to depart to the sea (if it be that you take your barke at S. Nicholas, or any part of Dwina Reca) you shall from thence, euen as timely in the spring as the yce will permit you, sail, & make all expedition that may be, vnto the mouth of the riuer Pechora (as your
commission

commission doth leade you) and as you passe by the coast all alongst (notwithstanding the plat that sheweth you the description of the said coast, from Dwina unto Vaigars) yet you shall seeke by all the meanes that you can, to amend the same plat, vsing as many obseruations, as you possibly can do: and these notes following are to be obserued by you principally.

1 First, that you do obserue the latitude as often, and in as many places as you may possibly do it, noting diligently the place where you do so obserue the same.

2 Also that you doe diligently set with your compass, how the land doth lie from point to point, all alongst as you goe, and to vse your iudgements how farre there may be betweene ech of them.

3 Item, that you do alwayes vse to draw the proportion, and biting of the land, as well the lying out of the points, and headlands, vnto the which you shall giue some apt names (at your discretion) as also the forme of the Bayes, and to make some marke in drawing the forme, and border of the same, where the high cliffes are, and where low land is, whether sandy hills, or whatsoever: omit not to note any thing that may be sensible and apparant to you, which may serue to any purpose.

4 In passing along by any coast, that you keepe your lead going often times, and sound at the least once euery glasse, and oftener if you thinke good as occasion doth serue, and note diligently the depth with the maner of the ground, and at euery time, how farre the same sounding may be from the next shoze to it: and how the next point or headland doth beare from you. And in the sea after you set off from your port, you shall orderly at the end of euery foure glasses sound, and if you finde ground, note the depth and what ground, but if you can finde no ground, you shall also note in what depth you could finde no ground.

5 Also that you do diligently obserue the flowing, & ebbing in euery place, and how the tides do set, which way the flood doth come, and how much water it doth high in euery place, and what force the same tide hath to driue a shyp in an houre, as nere as you can iudge it.

6 Also that you doe seeke to obserue with the instrument which I deliuer you herewith, according as I taught you at Rose Island, the true platformes, and distances, in as many places as conveniently you may, for it serueth very aptly your purpose.

7 Also that you take with you paper and ynke, and keepe a continuall iournall or remembrance day by day, of all such things as shall fall out worth the knowledge, not forgetting or omitting to write it, and note it, that it may be shewed and read at your returne.

8 These orders if you shall diligently obserue, it will be easie for you to make a plat and perfect description of your discouery, and so shall your notes be sufficient to answer that which is looked for at your hands. But withall you may not forget to note as many things as you can learne and understand by the report of any people whatsoever they be, so that it appertaine any way to our desires. And thus the Lord God prosper your voyage. Amen.

Certaine letters in verse, written by Master *George Turberuile* out of *Moscovia*, which went as Secretarie thither with Master *Tho. Randolph*, her Maesties Ambassadour to the Emperour 1568, to certeine friends of his in *London*, describing the maners of the Countrey and people.

To his especiall friend Master *Edward Dancie*.

My Dancie deare, when I recount within my brest,
 My London friends, and wonted mates, and thee about the rest:
 I feele a thousand fits of deepe and deadly woe,
 To thinke that I from land to sea, from blisse to bale did go,
 I left my natiue soile, full like a retchlesse man,
 And bnaacquainted of the coast, among the Russes ran:
 A people passing rude, to vices vile inclinde,
 Folke fit to be of Bacchus traine, so quaffing is their kinde.
 Dzinke is their whole desire, the pot is all their pride,
 The sobrest head doth once a day stand needfull of a guide.
 If he to banquet bid his friends, he will not shyinke
 On them at dinner to bestow a douzen kindes of dzinke:
 Such licour as they haue, and as the countrey giues,
 But chieflly two, one called Kuas, where by the Mousike liues,
 Small ware and waterlike, but somewhat tart in taste,

Therest is Mead of bonie made, wherewith their lips they baste.
 And if he goe unto his neighbour as a guest,
 He cares for little meate, if so his drinke be of the best,
 No wonder though they vse such vile and beastly trade,
 Sith with the hatchet and the hand, their chiefest gods be made.
 Their Idoles haue their hearts, on God they neuer call,
 Unless it be (Nichola Bough) that hangs against the wall.
 The house that hath no god, or painted Saint within,
 Is not to be resorted to, that roofo is full of sinne.
 Besides their priuate gods, in open places stand
 Their crosses vnto which they crooche, and blesse themselves with hand.
 Deuoutly downe they ducke, with forehead to the ground,
 Was neuer moze deceit in ragges, and greasie garments found.
 Almost the meanest man in all the countrey rides,
 The woman eke, against our vse, her trotting hoyle bestrides.
 In sundry colours they both men and women goe,
 In buskins all, that money haue on buskins to bestoe.
 Ech woman hanging hath a ring within her eare,
 Which all of ancient vse, and some of very pride doe weare.
 Their gate is very braue, their countenance wise and ladde,
 And yet they follow fleshy lustes, their trade of liuing badde.
 It is no shame at all accounted to defile
 Another's bedde, they make no care their follies to concile,
 Is not the meanest man in all the land but hee,
 To buy her painted colours doeth allow his wife a fee.
 Wherewith she deckes her selfe, and dies her tawnie skinne,
 She pranks and paints her smoakie face, both brow, lip, cheek, & chinne.
 Yea those that honest are, if any such there bee
 Within the land, doe vse the like: a man may plainly see
 Upon some womens cheekes the painting how it lies,
 In plaister sozt, for that too thicke her face the harlot dies.
 But such as skillfull are, and cunning Dames indeede,
 By dayly practise doe it well, yea sure they doe exceede.
 They lay their colours so, as he that is full wise,
 May easily be decei'd therein, if he doe trust his eyes.
 I not a little muse, what madnesse makes them paint
 Their faces, waying how they keepe the stooue by meere constraint.
 For seldom when, vnlesse on Church or marriage day
 A man shall see the Dames abroad, that are of best aray.
 The Russe meanes to reape the profit of her pride,
 And so he meues her to be sure, she lye by no mans side.
 Thus much, friend Vancie, I did meane to wryte to thee,
 To let thee weete in Russia land, what men and women bee.
 Hereafter I perhaps of other things will wryte
 To thee, and other of my friends, which I shall see with sight:
 And other stufte besides, which true report shall tell,
 Heanc while I ende my louing lines, and bid thee now farewell.

To Spencer.

IF I should now forget, or not remember thee,
 Thou Spencer mightst it a foule rebuke, and shame impute to mee.
 For I to open shew did loue thee passing well,
 And thou weest he at parture, whome I loathbe to bid farewell.
 And as I went thy friend, so I continue still,
 No better prooffe thou canst then this desire of true good will.
 I doe remember well when needes I should away,
 And that the Post would licence vs, no longer time to stay:
 Thou wrongst me by the fist, and holding fast my hand,
 Didst craue of me to send thee newes, and how I liked the land.

It is a sandie soile, no very fruitfull vaine,
 Hoze waste and wooddie grounds there are, then closes fit for graine,
 Yet graine there growing is, which they vntimely take,
 And cut or eare the corne be ripe, they mowe it on a stacke,
 And laying theafe by theafe, their haruett so they dy,
 They make the greater haste, for feare the frost the corne destroy,
 For in the winter time, so glarie is the ground,
 As neither grasse, nor other graine, in pastures may be found,
 In coms the cattell then, the sheepe, the colt, the cowe,
 Fall by his bed the Howlike then a lodging doth allowe,
 Whom he with fodder feeds, and holds as deere as life:
 And thus they weare the winter with the Howlike and his wife,
 Seven months the Winter dures, the glace it is so great,
 As it is May befoze he turne, his ground to sowe his wheate,
 The bodie eke that die vnburied lie they then,
 Laid vp in coffins made of firre, as well the poorest men,
 As those of greater state: the cause is lightly found,
 For that in Winter time, they cannot come to breake the ground,
 And wood so plentous is, quite throughout all the land,
 As rich, and pooze, at time of death assur'd of coffins stand,
 Perhaps thou mulest much, how this may stand with reason,
 That bodie dead can vncorrupt abide so long a season,
 Take this for certaine troche, as soone as heate is gone,
 The force of colde the body binds as hard as any stone,
 Without offence at all to any living thing:
 And so they lye in perfect state, till next returne of Spring.
 Their beafts be like to ours, as farre as I can see
 For shape, and shewe, but somewhat lesse of bulke, and bone they be.
 Of warlike taste, the flesh not firme, like English beefe,
 And yet it seru's them very well, and is a good reliefe:
 Their sheepe are very small, sharpe singled, handfull long,
 Great hoze of fowle on sea and land, the moozish reedes among,
 The greatnes of the hoze doeth make the prices lesse,
 Besides in all the land they know not how good meate to drasse.
 They vse neither broach nor spit, but when the stoue they heate,
 They put their victuals in a pan, and so they bake their meate,
 No pewter to be had, no dishes but of wood,
 No vse of trenchers, cups cut out of birche are very good,
 They vse but wooden spoones, which hanging in a case
 Each Howlike at his girdle ties, and thinks it no disgrace.
 With whistles two or three, the better man the moe,
 The chiefest Russies in the land, with spoone and kniues doe goe,
 Their houses are not huge of building, but they say,
 They plant them in the loftiest ground, to shift the snow away,
 Which in the Winter time, each where full thicke doth lie:
 Which makes them haue the moze desire, to set their houses hie,
 No stone worke is in vse, their roofes of rafters bee,
 One linked in another fall, their wals are all of tree,
 Of matts both long, and large, with mosse put in betweene,
 To keepe the force of weather out, I neuer eartl haue seene
 A grosse deuise so good, and on the roofe they lay
 The burthen barke, to rid the raine, and sudden howzes away.
 In euery roome a stoue, to serue the Winter turne,
 Of wood they haue sufficient hoze, as much as they can burne,
 They haue no English glasse, of lices of a rocke
 Nighe Sluda they their windowes make, that English glasse doth mocke,
 They cut it very thinne, and sow it with a chyd
 In pretie order like to panes, to serue their present need,
 No other glasse, good faith doth giue a better light:

And sure the rocke is nothing rich, the cost is very slight,
 The chiefest place is that, where hangs the god by it,
 The owner of the house himselfe doth neuer sit,
 Unlesse his better come, to whom he yealds the seat:
 The stranger bending to the god, the ground with brow must beat,
 And in that very place which they most sacred deeme,
 The stranger lies: a token that his guest he doth esteeme.
 There he is wont to haue a beares skinne for his bed,
 And must, in stead of pillow, clay his saddle to his head.
 In Russia other shift there is not to be had,
 For where the bedding is not good, the boasters are but bad.
 I mused very much, what made them so to lie,
 Such in their countrey Downe is rife, and feathers out of crie:
 Unlesse it be because the countrey is so hard,
 They feare by nicenesse of a bed their bodies would be mard,
 I wist ther oft with vs, saue that I stood in feare
 Thou wouldest haue loathed to haue layd thy limmes vpon a beare,
 As I and Scafford did, that was my mate in bed:
 And yet (we thanke the God of heauen) we both right well haue sped,
 Loe thus I make an ende: none other newes to thee,
 But that the countrey is too colde, the people heallly bee.
 I wite not all I know, I touch but here and there,
 For if I should, my penne would pinch, and eke offend I feare.
 Who so shall read this verse, coniecture of the rest,
 And thinke by reason of our trade, that I do thinke the best,
 But if no traffique were, then could I boldly pen
 The hardnesse of the soyle, and eke the maners of the men.
 They say the Lions paw giues iudgement of the be all:
 And so may you deeme of the great, by reading of the least.

To Parker.

My Parker, paper, pen, and inke were made to write,
 And idle heads, that little do, haue leisure to indite:
 Therefore, respecting these, and thine assured loue,
 If I would wite no newes to thee, thou might'st my pen reproue.
 And sithence fortune thus hath thou'd my shippe on thoz:
 And made me seeke another Realme vnseene of me befoze:
 The maners of the men I purpose to declare,
 And other priuate points besides, which strange and geazon are.
 The Russie men are round of bodies, fully fard,
 The great est part with bellies bigge that ouerhang the wasse,
 Flat headed for the most, with faces nothing faire,
 But browne, by reason of the stoue, and closenesse of the aire:
 It is their common vse to haue oz els to sheare
 Their heads, for none in all the land long lolling locks doth weare,
 Unlesse perhaps he haue his souereigne prince displeas'd,
 For then he neuer cuts his haire, vntill he be appeas'd,
 A certaine signe to know who in displeasure be,
 For enery man that viewes his head, will say, Loe this is he,
 And during all the time he lets his locks to grow,
 Dar es no man for his life to him a face of friendship show.
 Their garments be not gay, noz handsome to the eye,
 A cap aloft their heads they haue, that standeth very hie,
 Which Colpack they do terme. They weare no ruffes at all:
 The best haue collers set with pearle, which they Rubasca call.
 Their shirts in Russie long, they worke them downe befoze,
 And on the sleeves with coloured Silks, two inches good and more,
 Aloft their shirts they weare a garment iacket wile
 Hight Onoriadka, and about his burlie wasse he tyes

His portkies, which in stead of better breeches be:
 Of linnen cloth that garment is, no cospiece is to see.
 A paire of yarnen stocks to keepe the colde away,
 Within his boots the Ruffie weares, the heeles they vnderlay
 With clouting clamps of steele, sharpe pointed at the toes,
 And ouer all a Shuba furd, and thus the Ruffie goes,
 Well butned is the Shube, according to his state,
 Some Silke, of Siluer other some: but those of poojest rate
 Do weare no Shubs at all, but grosser gownes to sight,
 That reacheth downe beneath the calfe, and that Armacha hight:
 These are the Ruffies robes. The richest vse to ride
 From place to place, his seruant runnes, and followes by his side.
 The Cassacke beares his felt, to force away the raine:
 Their bridles are not very bzaue, their saddles are but plaine.
 No bits but snaffles all, of birch their saddles be,
 Much fashioned like the Scottish seates, broad flakes to keepe the knee
 From sweating of the horse, the pannels larger farre
 And broader be then ours, they vse short stirrups for the warre:
 For when the Ruffie is pursued by cruel foe,
 He rides away, and suddenly betakes him to his boe,
 And bends me but about in saddle as he sits,
 And therewithall amidst his race his following foe he hits.
 Their bowes are very short, like Turkie bowes outright,
 Of sinowes made with birchen barke, in cunning maner dight.
 Small arrowes, cruel heads, that fell and forked bee,
 Which being shot from out those bowes, a cruel way will see.
 They seloome vse to shoo their horse, vntlesse they ride
 In post vpon the frozen fouds, then cause they shall not slide,
 He sets a slender calke, and so he rides his way.
 The horses of the countrey go good fourescore vcrsils a day,
 And all without the spurre, once prycke them and they skippe,
 But goe not forward on their way, the Ruffie hath his whyppe
 To rappe him on the ribbes, for though all bootted bee,
 Yet shall you not a paire of spurres in all the countrey see,
 The common game is chesse, almost the simplest will
 Both giue a checke and eke a mate, by practise comes their skill.
 Againe they dice as fast, the poojest rogues of all
 Will sit them downe in open field, and there to gaming fall.
 Their dice are very small, in fashion like to those
 Which we doe vse, he takes them vp, and ouer thumbe he throwes
 Not shaking them a whit, they cast suspiciouly,
 And yet I deeme them voyd of art that dicing most apply.
 At play when Siluer lacks, goes saddle, horse and all,
 And eche thing els worth Siluer walkes, although the price be small.
 Because thou louest to play friend Parker other while,
 I with thee there the weary day with dicing to beguile.
 But thou weart better farre at home, I will it well,
 And wouldst be loath among such lowes so long a time to dwell.
 Then iudge of vs thy friends, what kinde of life we had,
 That nere the frozen pole to wasse our weary dayes were glad,
 In such a sauage toile, where lawes do beare no sway,
 But all is at the king his will, to saue or els to slay.
 And that sans cause, God wot, if so his minde be such,
 But what meane I with Kings to deale: we ought no Saints to touch.
 Conceiue the rest your selfe, and deeme what liues they lead,
 Where lust is Lawe, and Subiects liue continually in dread,
 And where the best estates haue none assurance good
 Of lands, of liues, nor nothing falles vnto the next of blood.
 But all of custome doeth vnto the prince redowne,

And all the whole reuenuē comes vnto the King his crowne,
 Good faith I see thee muse at what I tell thee now,
 But true it is, no choice, but all at princes pleasure bow.
 So Tarquine ruled Rome as thou rememberst well,
 And what his fortune was at last, I know thy selfe canst tell.
 Where will in Common weale doth beare the onely sway,
 And lust is Lawe, the prince and Realme must needs in time decay.
 The strangeness of the place is such for sundy things I see,
 As if I woulde I cannot write ech priuate point to thee.
 The colde is rare, the people rude, the prince so full of pride,
 The Realme so storied with Monks and nunnas, and priests on euery side:
 The maners are so Turkie like, the men so full of guile,
 The women wanton, Temples stufte with idols that defile.
 The Seats that sacred ought to be, the customes are so quaint,
 As if I would describe the whole, I feare my pen would faint.
 In summe, I say I neuer saw a prince that so did raigne,
 No people so beset with Saines, yet all but vile and vaine.
 Wilde Irish are as ciuill as the Russies in their kinde,
 Hard choice which is the best of both, ech bloomy, rude and blinde,
 If thou bee wise, as wise thou art, and wilt be rul'd by me,
 Linc still at home, and couet not those barbarous coasts to see.
 No good befallas a man that seeks, and findes no better place,
 No ciuill customes to be learn'd, where God bestowes no grace.
 And truely ill they do deserue to be belou'd of God,
 That neither loue nor stand in awe of his assured rod:
 Which though be long, yet plagues at last the vile and beakly sort
 Of sinfull wights, that all in vice do place their chiefest sport.
 A dieu friend Parker, if thou list, to know the Russes well,
 To Sigismundus booke repaire, who all the truth can tell:
 If or he long earst in message went vnto that sauage King,
 Sent by the Pole, and true report in ech respect did bring,
 To him I recommend my selfe, to ease my penne of paine,
 And now at last do with thee well, and bid farewell againe.

The fourth voyage into Persia, made by M. Arthur Edwards Agent,

John Sparke, Laurence Chapman, Christopher Faucet, and Richard Pingle, in the yeere 1568. declared in this letter written from Casbin in Persia by the foresaide Laurence Chapman to a worshipfull merchant of the companie of Russia in London. Anno Domini 1569. April 28.



Worshipfull sir, my duetic alwayes rememberd, and your prosperous health, and good successe in all your affaires wished, to the glory of God, and your owne hearts desire, &c. May it please you to vnderstand that your Agent M. Arthur Edwards and we departed from Yeraslaue in July 1568. and the 14. of August arriued at our port called Bilbil, with your ship the Grace of God, and the goods in her in good safetie, God bee thanked for it, finding there neither the people so ready to ayd vs for the bringing of her in, & unloading of the goods, nor yet so obedient to the Shaughs priuilege, as the worshipfull company haue bene inforimed. Our goods brought vpon land, we were compelled to open & sel as they would set the price, or otherwise it would haue bene worse for vs. Being so satisfied to their contentment, we were speedily aided with camels by the prince Erasbec Sultan his appointment, to carry our goods to Shamaki, to which place we attained the first of September, finding it so thoroughly furnished with all maner of commodities by occasion of our late comming, and by such as came before vs, that no man would aske to buy any one pice of karkie of vs, and lying then the space of one whole month before your Agent Arthur Edwards would disperse vs abroade with the goods, such as came out of Russia after wardes, had brought their goods to that and other places, and spoiled those sales wee might haue made, being sent abroad in time conuenient, being no little hinderance to the worshipfull, as also great grieue vnto vs to see. To conlude, through our dayly calling vpon him, he bent himselfe for Casbin, taking with him the greatest summe of the goods, and two of the worshipfull seruants, to witte, John Sparke and my selfe, to helpe and procure the better sale for the same: and leauing at Sha-

Their arriual
at Bilbil the 14.
of August
1568.

Prince Eras-
bec.

Christopher Fau-
cet and Richard
Pingle.

MAKI Christopher Faucet and Richard Pingle with three hundred and fiftie pieces of karlies in their hands, supposed to be solde there oꝝ in Arrash befoze hee should be able to make his returne from Casbin, which, so farre soorth as I can vnderstand, hee foꝝ the greatest part vsolde. And being vpon our way, at a certaine towne called Ardouil, we chanced to barter nine pieces of karlies with those merchants foꝝ fourescore and foure batemans of cynamom, selling the karlies at one hundred and fiftie shawghs the piece.

And being at that present not farre from Teueris, called the pꝛincipall place in this countrey foꝝ vetering of cloth oꝝ karlies, by much intreatie I perswaded your Agent to send thither to pꝛouue what might be done, and receiuing from him foure and fiftie pieces of karlies, as also his commission foꝝ the sale of the same; I proceeded on that voyage my selfe, and one Tolmach in company with me, finding in that place great stoze of broad cloth and karlies brought thither, some part by the Turkes who be resident there, some by the Armenians, who fetch them at Aleppo, and some by the townefmen, v ho trauell vnto Venice and there buy them, so that no man offered me one penie moze then a hundred and fourtie shawghs foꝝ a karlie: and hauing speciall commission and charge from your Agent not to stay there aboute the space of leuen dayes after my arriuall there, but to repaire to Casbin with all speed, and furthermore, hauing regard to keepe by the pꝛice of the woꝝshipfulls commodities, according to their desire, I found meanes to barter them away foꝝ spices, such as were there to be had, neither in goodnesse noꝝ yet in pꝛice to my content: neuer thelesse, considering the colde sales which were there, as well foꝝ your karlies, as also the hot newes, that Ormuz way was shut by by occasion that the Indians do warre against them, which is true in deed: and againe the desire that the woꝝshipfull hath to haue such commodities bought, I thought it necessary to buy them, the pꝛices and weight whereof appeareth at large by my accompt sent to the woꝝshipfull, and is, as I thinke, the whole summe of spices bought at this time.

Warre against
the Portugals
at Ormuz.

The gouern-
ment of Gro-
zin his ser-
uant.

It chanced me in that place to meet with the gouernours merchant of Grozin, who was not a litle desirous to bargin with me foꝝ a hundred pieces of karlies foꝝ his master called Leuontic, and offering me so good bands foꝝ the payment of the money oꝝ silke to the merchants contentment vpon the deliueꝛy of them, as in any place within all this countrey is to be had: and offering me besides his owne letter in the behalfe of his master, that no custome should be demanded foꝝ the same, and the obtaining also at his masters hand as large a pꝛiuelge foꝝ the woꝝshipfull to trauele into all parts of his dominion, as the Shaugh had giuen them, and hearing good reꝛport made of him by the Armenians also, and that he was a Christian, I was much moze the willing to bargin with him, and sold him a hundred pieces foꝝ a hundred and threescore shawghs a piece, to be paid to the merchant in Grozin either in money oꝝ silke to his contentment, within three dayes after the deliueꝛie of the karlies there, hauing a band of him made by the Metropolitanes owne hand, foꝝ the performance of the same, which is as sure as any here is to be deuised: and vpon the same I sent my Tolmach from me backe to Shamaki, with such goods as I bought at Teueris, and to the end hee might cause the woꝝshipfulls seruants there to see this bargin accomplished. At whose arriuall there, as I do perceiue, the Captaine would not accomplish his bargin to take them, but saith, hee hath no need of them: such is the constancie of all men in this countrey, with whomsoever you shal bargin. If the ware be bought, and they doe mislike it after wards, they will buy it againe, and compel you to deliueꝛ the money foꝝ it againe, regarding the Shawghs letters, which manifesteth the contrary, as a straw in the winde: by meanes whereof, the woꝝshipfull may know whether all be true that hath bene written of this countrey people oꝝ not.

The generall
inconstancie in
the merchants
and dealers of
those parts.

I am informed by all the brokers in Teueris, that the way once open to Ormuz, from whence commeth no such stoze of spices as the woꝝshipfull doeth looke foꝝ, that here will be put a way in Teueris, some foꝝ money, and other some foꝝ barter, to the number of three hundred oꝝ foure hundred pieces of karlies, bring in coulers and goodnesse to the cramples here sent you, the rest of the karlies to make them by a thousand, and broad cloths to the summe of a hundred, be as many as will be put away yeerely in this countrey, so farre as yet I can perceiue.

The trade be-
twene the Ve-
necians and the
Armenians not
easily to be
broken.

To breake the trade betwixt the Venecians and the whole company of the Armenians it is not possible, vnlesse the woꝝshipfull will finde some meanes to receiue of them yearly to the number of 100. catters oꝝ mules lading, and deliueꝛ them foꝝ the same one third part money, the rest cloth and karlies fitted in coulers meete foꝝ this countrey: the examples, as aboue said, are sent vnto you.

At Amadia sixe dayes iourney from Teueris, grow abundance of galls, which are brought by yeerely by the Venecians, and be solde there foꝝ two bittes the Teueris bateman, which as your Agent here saith, maketh sixe pound English weight, but I doubt it wil not so be pꝛoued. Neuer thelesse it is supposed much good will be done by buying of them: which might at this present haue partly bene pꝛoued, if to be that some could do but halfe that which hath bene written.

Touching drugges, I finde many as well at Teueris, as also in Casbin, but the goodnesse no-
thing

thing like to such as be brought into England out of other places: & the price is so high that small gaine will be had in buying of them: albeit, if I had bene furnished with money, as I might have bene, if some would, I would have bought some, to the ende the goodnesse of them might have bene scene in England. At my coming to Casbin I found no manner of sales of any commodities made, but all lying there whole, and newes given out (as your Agent saith) that y^e Shaugh would buy all such commodities as he had, and giue him silke and spices for the same: but by report the Shaugh neuer took cloth into his treasurie all the dayes of his life, and will not now begin: his whole trade is in raw silke, which he selleth alwayes for money to the Armenians and Turkes, and such other as ble to buy it: thus hoping of that which is not like to be had, hee hath dynen off the rime, not tending to any other places: by means wherof the worshipfull goods lie vnfold to this day to their great hindrance, whiche I for my part am not a little sorry to see.

Babylon is from hence fiftene dayes iourney, whereas by true report be great store of Dates, and sold for a bille the batman, the commoditie fit for England, and the place so neere vnto vs might easily have bene knowen, if hee, whose deeds and sayings differ much, had bene willing to the same. Cassan also is but seuen dayes iourney from hence, & a place by report where most store of spices be at all times to be had, euer and aboute any place in this countrey: it could not be granted by him to be seen and prooued at this time: if this be losse to the worshipfull, referre it to the want of one which can do that which he speaketh in words.

Babylon is
dayes iourney
from Casbin.

To trauell in this countrey is not onely miserable and uncomfortable for lacke of townes and villages to harbour in when night cometh, and to refresh men with wholesome victuals in time of need, but also such scarcitie of water, that sometime in thre dayes iourney together, is not to be found any drop fit for man or beast to drinke, besides the great danger we stand in for robbing by these inuadels, who doe account it remission of sinnes to wash their hands in the blood of one of vs. Better it is therefore in mine opinion to continue a beggar in England during life, then to remaine a rich Merchant seuen yeeres in this Countrey, as some shall well find at their coming hither.

By commandement of the Agent also I went to Gilan, as well to see what harbor was there for your ship, as also to vnderstand what commoditie is there best sold, and for what quantitie. I found the way from hence so dangerous and troublesome, that with my pen I am not able to note it vnto you: no man traueleth from hence thither, but such poore people as need constraine th to buy Rice for their reliefe to liue vpon, and they lay not aboute twentie batmans vpon a catter, and it lieth no lower then the skirts of the saddle, and hee caryeth very hardly that cometh there with the same.

His voyage to
Gilan.

The towne of Laighon, which was the chiefe place in all that land, haue I seen, and Langro and Rosar also, which be now ouertun by the Shaugh and his power, and be so spoiled, & the people so robbed, that not one of them is able to buy one karlie. The best commoditie there to be bought, is raw silke, and is sold in the Summer time for 38. Shaughs the Laighon batman, which is litle aboute 40. li. waight, and for ready money: also there is to be had what store of Alon you will, and sold there for one bille the Tueris batman.

In these partes be many Turkie merchants resident, which giue an outward shew, as though they were glad of our coming hither, but secretly they be our mortall enemies, searching by all means to hinder our sales, because we should the sooner giue ouer our trade thither, which in proesse of time I hope will growe to better perfection. They wish vs to go to Hallape with the rest of our commodities vnfold, where they lay we shall haue good intertainment in spite of the great number of Venetians which be there resident, and the custome but two in the hundred, and our karlies to be sold presently, had we neuer so many, for twelue duckets, which maketh of this money 165. Shaughs: but by such as know the place, market and custome, it is reported to vs credibly to the contrary, and that such karlies as ours be, are not sold for aboute 8. duckets there: the custome thirtie in the hundred and more, that no place in the world is so well furnished with good cloth and karlies, and of so bzauie colour as that place is, supposing it to be craftily purposed of them, to bring vs into trouble, which God defend vs from.

The malice of
the Turkish
merchants.

The price of spices be these, at this present enhanced by reason y^e way is shut to Ormus, which when God shall send open, I purpose (God willing) to see, and at my returne to aduertise the worshipfull what benefit is there to be had in all points, so neere as I can learne: Pepper 25. Shaughs the Tueris batman: Cloues 50. Shaughs, Long pepper 25. Shaughs, Dates large 50. Shaughs Ginger 24. Shaughs, ready money all, or els looke not vpon them. And the best sort of rawe silke is sold for 60. Shaughs the Tueris batman. Thus for want of further matter to enlarge, I ende for this time, beseeching God to preserve you in continuall health.

The price of
spices.

By your obedient seruant, *Laurence Chapman.*

Notes

Notes concerning this fourth voyage into Persia, begun in the
moneth of July 1568. gathered by M. Richard Willes from the mouth of Master
Arthur Edwards, which was Agent in the same.

When he came first to the Sophies presence, at his court in Casbin, bringing his
interpreter with him, and standing farre off, the Sophie (sitting in a seat roiall
with a great number of his noble men about him) bad him come neere, and that
thrice, until he came so neere him that he might haue touched him with his had.
Then the first demand that he asked him was, from what countrey he came: he
answered, that he came from England. Then asked hee of his noble men, who
knew any such countrey: But when Edwards saw that none of them had any intelligence of that
name, he nam'd it Inghilterra, as the Italians call England. Then one of the noble mē said *Londro*,
meaning thereby *Londō*, which name is better knowen in far countries out of Chriſtendom,
then is the name of England. When Edwards heard him name *Londro* he said that that was the
name of the chiefe cite of England, as was *Teuersis* of the chiefe city of Persia. He asked him ma-
ny things more, as of the realme of England, maruelling that it should be an Island of so great
riches and power, as Edwards declar'd vnto him: of the riches & abundance of our merchandize
he further vnderstood by our traffike in Moscouia and other countreis. He demanded also many
things of the Quenes maiestie, and of the customes and lawes of the realme: saying oftentimes
in his owne language, *Bara colla*, (that is to say) Well sayd. He asked also many things of king
Philip, & of his wars against the Turke at Malta. Then he demand'd of him what was the chiefe
cause of his resort into his realme. And being certified that it was for the trade of merchandize, he
asked what kind of merchandize he could bring thither. Such (sayd hee) as the Venetian mer-
chants do, which dwelling in our country in the city of *Londro* send to Venice, & from thence in-
to Turkie by *Halepo* & *Tripoli* in Syria, from whence, as by the second and third hands, with great
charges of many customs and other things thereunto pertaining, they are at the length brought
into your countrey and cities of Persia. What merchandize are those? sayd the Sophie. Edwards
answered, that they were great abundance of fine karkies, of broad clothes of all sorts & colours,
as skarlets, violetes, and other of the finest cloth of all the world. Also that the Venetians brought
out of England not onely such clothes ready made, but further more great plenty of fine wooll to
mingle with their wools, of which they could not otherwise make fine cloth: affirming that there
went out of England yearly that waies, aboue two hundred thousand karkies, and as many broad
clothes, beside fine wooll & other merchandize, beside also the great abundance of like clothes, the
which were caried into Spaine, Barbarie, & diuers other countries. The Sophie then asked him
by what means such merchandize might be brought into Persia. Right well sir (said he) by the way
of Moscouia, with more safety and in much shorter time then the Venetians can bring them: first
from England to Venice, and from thence into Persia by the way of Turkie. And therefore if it
shall please your maiestie to grant vs free passage into all your dominions, with such priuileges as
may appertaine to the safegard of our liues, goods and merchandize, we will furnish your coun-
tries with all such merchandize and other commodities, in shorter time, and better cheape then
you may haue the same at the Turks hands. This talke and much more was between the Sophie
and Edwards for the space of two houres: all which things liked him so well, that shortly after
he granted to the sayd Arthur Edwards other priuileges for the trade of merchandize into Persia,
all written in Azure and gold letters, and deliuered vnto the lord keeper of the Sophie his great
seale. The lord keeper was named *Coche Califay*, who sayd that when the Shaugh (that is the
king or prince) did sit to seale any letters, that last priuiledge should be sealed & deliuered to *Laurence Chapman*. In this priuiledge is one principall article for seruants or merchants: That if
the Agent do perceiue that vpon their naughtie doings, they would be come Busformen, that then
the Agent where soeuer he shall find any such seruant or seruants, to take them and put them in
prison, and no person to keepe them or maintaine them. This article was granted in respect of a
custome among the Persians, being *Dahumetans*, whose maner is friendly to receiue and wel en-
tertaine, both with gifts and liuing, all such Christians, as forsaking their religion, wil become of
the religion of the Persians. Inso much that before this priuiledge was granted, there was great
occasion of naughty seruants to deceiue and rob their masters, that vnder the colour of professing
that religion, they might liue among them in such safetie, that you might haue no lawe agaynst
them, either to punish them or to recouer your goods at their hands, or elsewhere. For before the
Sophie (whom they say to be a maruelous wise and gracious prince) seemed to fauour our nati-
on, and to grant them such priuiledges, the people abused them very much, and so hated them, that
they would not touch them, but reuiled them, calling them *Cafars* and *Gawars*, which is, infidels

Londro.
Londou.

The Venetians
and traffike in
England.

or misbelieuers. But after they saw how greatly the prince fauoured them, they had them afterward in great reuerence, and would kisse their hands and vse them very friendly. For before they tooke it for no wrong to rob them, defraud them, beare false witness against them, and such merchandizes as they had bought or sold, make them take it againe, and change it as often as they listed. And if any stranger by chance had killed one of them, they would haue the life of two for one slaine, and for the debts of any stranger would take the goods of any other of the same nation, with many other such like abuses, in maner vnknownen to the prince, before the complaints of our men came vnto him for reformation of such abuses: which were the cause that no merchant strangers of contrary religion durst come into his dominions with their commodities, which might be greatly to the profit of him and his subjects.

The Articles of the second priuiledge deliuered to *Laurence Chapman*, which are to be annexed vnto the former priuiledge.

10 Item, that the merchants haue free libertie, as in their first priuiledge, to goe vnto Gilan, and all other places of his dominions, now or here after when occasion shall be giuen.

11 Item, if by misfortune any of their ships should breake, or fall vpon any part of his dominions on the sea coast, his subjects to helpe with all speed to saue the goods and to be deliuered to any of the sayd merchants that liueth: or otherwise to be kept in safetie vntil any of them come to demaund them.

12 Item, if any of the said merchants depart this life in any citie or towne, or on the high way, his gouernours there to see their goods safely kept, and to be deliuered to any other of them that shall demand them.

13 Item, the said merchants to take such camel-men as they themselues wil, being countrey people, and that no Rissell Wash do let or hinder them. And the said owners of the camels to bee bound to answer them such goods as they shall receiue at their hands, and the camel-men to stand to the losses of their camels or horses.

14 Item more, that the sayd Carriers do demaund no more of them, then their agreement was to pay them.

15 Item more, if they be at a pprice with any Carriers, & haue giuen earnest, the camel-men to see they keepe their promise.

16 Item, if any of the said merchants be in feare to trauel, to giue the one or more to go with them and see them in safetie with their goods, to the place they will goe vnto.

17 Item, in all places, to say, in all cities, townes or villages on the high way, his subjects to giue them honest rourne, and victuals for their money.

18 Item, the sayd merchants may in any place, where they shall thinke best, build or buy any house or houses to their owne vses. And no person to molest or trouble them, and to stand in any Carauan where they will, or shall thinke good.

The commodities which the merchants may haue by this trade into Persia are thought to be great, and may in time perhaps be greater then the Portugals trade into the East Indies, forasmuch as by the way of Persia into England, the returne may be made euery yeere once: whereas the Portugals make the returne from Calecut but once in two yeeres, by a long and dangerous boiage all by sea: for where as the citie and Island of Ormus, lying in the gulf of Persia, is the most famous Hart towne of all East India, whither all the merchandises of India are brought, the same may in shorter time and more safely be brought by land and riuers through Persia, euen vnto the Caspian sea, and from thence by the countreys of Russia or Moscouia by riuers, euen vnto the citie of Yeraslaue, and from thence by land 180 miles to Vologda, and from thence againe all by water euen vnto England.

The merchandises which he had out of Persia for the returne of wares are like of all sortes of colours, both raw and wrought. Also all maner of spices and drugs, pearles & precious stones, likewise carpets of diuers sortes, with diuers other rich merchandises. It was told me of them that came last from Persia, that there is more silke brought into some one city of Persia, then is of cloth brought into the city of London. Also that one village of Armenia named Gilgat doeth carie yeerely fure hundred, and sometime a thousand mules laden with silke to Halepo in Soria of Turkie, being 4 dayes iourney from Tripoli, where the Venetians haue their continuall abiding, and send from thence silks which they returne for English karsies and other clothes into all partes of Christendome.

The maner how the Christians become Busformen, and forsake
their religion.

I haue noted here before that if any Christian wil become a Busorman, that is, one that hath forsaken his faith, and be a Mahumetan of their religion, they giue him many giftes, and sometime also a lining. The maner is, that when the deuill is entred into his heart to forsake his faith, he resorteth to the Soltan or gouernour of the towne, to whom he maketh protestation of his diuelish purpose. The gouernour appointeth him a horse, and one to ride before him on another horse, bearing a sword in his hand, and the Busorman bearing an arrow in his hand, and ribeth in the citie, cursing his father and mother: and if euer after he returne to his owne religion, he is guiltye of death, as is signified by the sword bozne before him. A yong man, a seruant of one of our merchants, because he would not abide the correction of his master for his faults, was minded to forsake his faith. But (as God would) he fell suddenly sicke and died, before he gaue himselfe to the deuill. If he had become a Busorman, he had greatly troubled the merchants: for if he would then haue said that halfe their goods had bene his, they would haue giuen credite vnto him. For the auoiding of which inconuenience, it was granted in the priuileges, that no Busorman, &c. as there appeareth. In Persia in diuers places oxen and kine beate the tents and household stuffe of the poore men of the countrey, which haue neither camels nor horses.

Of the tree which beareth Bombasin cotton, or Gossampine.

In Persia is great abundance of Bombasin cotton, & very fine: this groweth on a certaine little tree or byer, not pass the height of a mans waste or little more: the tree hath a slender stalk like vnto a byer, or to a carnation gilliflowre, with very many branches, bearing on euery branch a fruit or rather a eod, growing in round forme, containing in it the cotton: and when this bud or eod commeth to the bignes of a walnut, it openeth and the weth soozeth the cotton, which groweth still in bignes untill it be like a fleece of wooll as big as a mans fist, and beginneth to be loose, and then they gather it as it were the ripe fruite. The seeds of these trees are as big as pefason, and are blacke, and somewhat flat, and not round: they sowe them in plowed ground, where they grow in the fields in great abundance in many countreies in Persia, and diuers other regions.

The writing of the Persians.

A Rthur Edwards shewed me a letter of the Sophie, written in their letters backward, subscribed with the hands both of the Sophy & his Secretarie. The Sophies subscription was onely one word (his name I suppose was Shaugh) written in golden letters vpon red paper. The whole letter was also written on the same piece of red paper, being long & narrow, about y length of a foote, and not pass three inches broad. The priuate signet of the Sophie was a round printed marke about the bignes of a roial, onely printed vpon the same paper without any ware or other seale, the letter seem so mishapen and disordered, that a man would thinke it were somewhat scribbled in maner at aduentures. Yet they say that almost euery letter with his picke or circumference signifieth a whole word. In somuch that in a piece of paper as big as a mans hand their writing doeth containe as much as doeth outs almost in a sheet of paper.

The fift voiage into Persia made by M. Thomas Banister, and master
Geofrey Ducket, Agents for the Moscouie companie, begun from England in the
yeere 1568. and continuing to the yeere 1574. following. Written by P. I. from the
mouth of M. Lionel Plumtree.

Don the 3. day of July 1568. they embarked themselves at Yeraslaue, being accompanied with Lionel Plumtree, and some 12. English men more, in a Barke called the Thomas Bonaenture of the burden of 70. tunnes, taking also along with them of Russes to the number of 40. for their vse and imployments. It fell out in the way, before they came to Astracan by 40. miles, that the Nagaian Tartars, being a kind of thienish and cruel people, made an assault vpon them with 18. boates of theirs, each of them being armed, some with swords, some with speares, and some others with bowes and arrowes, and the whole number of them they discovered to be about 300. men. They for their partes, although they could haue wished a quiet voyage and journey without blowes and violence, yet not willing to be spoiled with such Barbarians as they were, began to defend

The English
Barke assailed
nere Astracan
by the Nagaian
Tartars.

defend themselves against their assault, by means whereof a very terrible & fierce fight followed and continued hot & sharpe for two houres, wherein our men so well plaid their parts with their calivers, that they forced the Tartars to flee with the losse of 120. of them, as they were afterwards enforced by a Russe prisoner, which escaped from the Nagaians, and came to them to Astracan, at which towne they arrived the 20. of August.

In this towne of Astracan they were somewhat hindered of their iourney, and staid the space of six weekes by reason of a great army of 70000. Turkes and Tartars which came thither upon the instigation of the great Turke, hoping either to haue surpris'd it suddenly or by continuance of siege to win the same. But in the end by reason that the winter approached, as also, because they had receiued newes of a great expedition, which the Emperour of Russia was in prouiding for the defence of the said place, they were constrained to raise their siege, & to leaue the town as they found it.

Astracan besieged by 70000. Turkes and Tartars.

Upon their departure our men had opportunity to proceed on their voyage, and vsing the occasion, they left Astracan, and came to Bilbil towards the end of October: from whence they went to Shauaran, where (as they lodged in their tentes) they were greatly molested with strange troopes of sholcaues or fores, which were so busie with them that they tooke their meate and victuals out of their lodgings, and deuoured to the bare bones in one night a mighty wilde Boze that was sent vnto them for a present from the gouernour of the countrey.

Having staid here some three or foure daies in prouiding of cartages and other necessaries for their iourney, they departed thence and came to Shamaky, which is foure dayes iourney from the aforesayd Shauaran. In this towne of Shamaky their whole company spent out the Winter, and from thence in April following they tooke their iourney towards Ardouil a place of great account and much esteemed, by reason of the sepulchres of the Emperours of Persia, which for the most part lie there buried, and so is growen to bee a place of their superstitious deuotion. In this towne of Ardouil they sojourned the space of 5. or 6. moneths, finding some traffique and sales, but to no purpose, the towne being moze inhabited and frequented with gentlemen and noblemen then merchants.

The difference of religion bred great broiles in this towne whiles they remained there: for the brother sought the destruction of the brother, and the nearest kindred rose vp one against another, insomuch that one of their company Lionel Plumtree hath seene in one day sometimes 14. slaine in a garboile. And he being further desirous to see their manner of fight, or rather somewhat moze curious to behold, then mistrustful of their blowes, was like to haue borne a share in their bloodie tragedie, being twise wounded with their shot and arrowes, although not to the death.

At this towne the Shaw Thomas sent a messenger for our men to come to his presence at Casbin, to whom Thomas Banister failed not to goe, although master Ducket lay very sicke at Ardouil, and in such case that they almost despaired of his recouerie. Wee being come to the Shaugh was receiued and entertained of him with great fauour and speciall countenance, and had the most part of all his requests granted him, this onely excepted, that whereas he entreated a priuiledge or sufferance to transport and carry through his dominions certayne horses into India, the Shaugh seemed loth to yeeld thereunto, and yet did not altogether denie it, but referred it to some further time. As for the point of traffique, he could not make that motiō or request that was not so soone granted as it was preferred: and the Shaugh himselfe bought there of him many karkises, and made him as good payment as any man could wish, and oftentimes would lend his money for the wares before the wares were deliuered, that he might be the surer of this honourable intended dealing.

One thing somewhat strange I thought good in this place to remember, that whereas he purposed to send a great summe of money to Mecca in Arabia, for an offering to Mahomet their prophet, hee would not send any money or coyne of his owne, but sent to the English merchants to exchange his coyne for theirs, according to the value of it, yeelding this reason for the same, that the money of the merchants was gotten by good means, and with good consciences, and was therefore woorthie to be made for an oblation to their holy prophet, but his owne money was rather gotten by fraud, oppression and vnhonest means, and therefore was not fit to serue for so holie a vse.

After sixe moneths spent in Casbin the sayde Thomas Banister departed towards the great citie of Tauris, where being arrived, he found M. Ducket well recouered of his sicknesse, whom he had left ill at Ardouil.

At this Citie the foresayd Master Ducket made sales of the English commodities, remaining there to that purpose the space of two yeeres and a halfe. And besides other kindes of merchandises of that countrey, he bought great store of gals which grow in great abundance at a place within

within one dayes iourney of the aforesayd Tauris.

After this Thomas Banister departed from Tauris, and went to Shamaky to giue order for the transporting of those commodities which were bought for England. And having dispatched them away, he went thence to Arrash, a towne foure dayes iourney with camels from Shamaky for the buying of rawe silke. But there by reason of the unwholesomnesse of the aire, and corruption of the waters in the hote time of the yeere, he with Lawrence Chapman and some other English men unhappily died: which being knownen of M. Ducket, he immediately came from Tauris to Arrash, to take possession of the goods, for otherwise by the custome of the countrey, if there had bene no merchant or other friend of his to enter vpon that which he left, all had fallen into the Shaugh's hands, which goods notwithstanding could not bee recovered from the officers which had seized and sealed by the same, untill M. Ducket had bene in person with the Shaugh, and had procured his order for the deliuerie thereof.

The death of
Thomas Banister
and Lawrence
Chapman.

Lionel Plumtree, in the meane time that M. Ducket was at Casbin in suite for goods, vpon the perswasion of certaine Bogharians, made prouision for a iourney to Cathaia, with cariages and commodities, and hauing all things ready, departed secretly with a Carauan: but being gone towards on his way five dayes iourney, some fifty horsemen by the procurement of Humfrey Greenfell (who afterwards being at Ormus in the East Indies, was there cruelly burnt in the Inquisition by the Portugals) were sent after him in posse from Solcan Erasbec, the Shaugh's lieutenant, to fetch him backe againe, not suffering him to passe on so perillous and dangerous a iourney for feare of diuers inconueniencies that might follow.

Humfrey Green-
fell burnt at
Ormus.

After this M. Ducket returned from Casbin to Shamaky againe, and immediately made preparation for a iourney to Cassan, being about foure dayes iourney from Shamaky, and caried with him foure mules laden with mony.

In the way of his trauel he passed through Persepolis, sometime the roiall seat of the Emperors of Persia, but now altogether ruined and defaced, whereof remaine to be scene at this day two gates onely that are distant one from the other the space of 12. miles, and some few pinnacles in the mountains and conueiances for fresh water.

The foresaid Cassan is a towne that consisteth altogether of merchandise, and the best trade of all the land is there, being greatly frequented by the merchants of India.

Here our men bought great store of all manner of wrought likes, and some spices, and good store of Turkie stones.

The towne is much to be commended for the ciuil and good government that is there vsed. An idle person is not suffered to liue amongst them.

The child that is but five yeeres old is set to some labour. No ill rule, disorder or riote by gaming or otherwise, is there permitted. Playing at Dice or Cards is by the law present death.

At this Cassan they remained about the space of tenne weekes, and then came downe againe to Skamaky, and after some time spent in diuers places of the countrey for buying of rawe silke and other commodities, they came at last to Shauran againe, where their ship was in harbour, and then they shipped all their goods and embarked themselves also, setting sayle the eight day of May, in the yeere 1573, intending to fetch Astracan. By reason of the varietie of the windes and dangerous flats of the Caspian sea, they beat it by and downe some 20. dayes. And the 28. day rising at anker vpon the flats, certaine Russe Cassaks, which are outlawes or banished men, hauing intelligence of their being there, and of the great wealth that they had with them, came to them with diuers boates vnder the colour of friendship, and entred their ship, but immediately they tooke their hatchets & slew diuers of the Russes that were of the ship vpon the hatchets. Whereupon master Ducket, Lionell Plumtree, William Smith, the master, a man of singular valure, and Amos Riall being vnder the Spardecke, did so well behaue themselves, that they skowped the hatchets, and slew 14. of the Cassaks gunners, and hurt and wounded about 30. more, being of them all in number 150. at the least, armed with caliuers and other weayons fit for so villainous a purpose.

The English
ship taken by
the Cassaks.

M. Ducket notwithstanding and the rest aforesaid recelued diuers wounds from the enemy, and were so hurt, and withall so oppressed with the multitude and force of them, that they were at last constrained to make an agreement with the Cassaks by rendering the ship into their hands, hauing receiued first their othes sworne by their crucifixes, not to do any further harme to their persons.

Thus the shippe being taken, and all the English grieuouly hurt, the Cassaks immediately discharged the ship of them, putting them all into the ship boate with two or three Persian targets full of horse flesh and swines flesh, without further victuals or reliefe: they being in that case, made the best hast they could to get to Astracan: and being come to the towne, master Ducket made

made great sute to the captaine to haue men and boates set out for the rescuing and recovering of the ship if it were possible: who immediately sent out his sonne with fortie boates and five hundred men to pursue the Pirats, and by good hap came to the place where they rid at anker with the ship, but by reason of their foolishnes in striking by their drums befoze they were come neere them, the Cassaks discovering the boats, cut their gables and put out to sea, whercupon the boats not being able to folow them, returned againe to Astracan. After which, 60. boates moze were lent out to pursue them againe the second time: & that second army came to a place where they found many of those Cassaks and slew them, and found out the places where they had hid certaine parcels of their goods in the earth in the chests of the ship: all which they recouered againe for the English merchants, to the value of 5000. li. of 30. or 40. thousand pound, but all the rest the Cassaks in the ship had caried away.

In the same place they found further diuers of the Cassaks which the Englishmen had slaine, buried in the earth, and wrapt some in fortie or fifty yards of Satrin and Cassataes, and some in Turkie carpets cut & spoiled by those villanous Pirats, of whom after wards as many as could be taken by the Persians who entirely loued the English merchants, were put to most cruell torment in all places according to their desertts.

But our men being thus spoiled of their goods, and wounded in their bodies, remained about two moneths at Astracan for their better recouerie: & hauing gotten some reasonable strength, they then provided boates and went by the riuer of Volga to Cazan, with such goods as they had recouered from the Cassaks. From Cazan they went towards Yerasslaue, but in the way the ice intercepted them about the beginning of October, where suddenly in the night they were taken with a cruell and vehement frost, and there withall the waters so congeled, that their boates were crushed and cut in sunder with the ice, whereby they sustained both a further danger of life and losse of goods: but as much as they could preserue with much adoe, they comeyed ouer land in sleds to Vologda, and from thence sent much of it to Saint Nicholas to be laden in the ships for England.

See in the beginning of October.

But Geffrey Ducket, Lionel Plumtree and Amos Riall went with some parcels to the Mosko, and there sold certaine quantities of it to the Emperour, who pitying the mightie losse that they had sustained by his owne rebellious people and subiects, bought himselfe as much as hee liked, and payed present money for the same. So that Winter being spent out in Mosko, and such wares provided by them as serued for England, they departed to Saint Nicholas, and there embarked in the moneth of August: and hauing endured a very terrible passage in nine weekes and three dayes, with some hardnesse of victuals, contrary and furious windes, and other sea accidents, they arriued in London in the moneth of October, one thousand five hundred secentie and four, and so made an ende of an vnfortunate voyage: which if it had pleased God to prosper, that all things had come home as safely as they were carefully provided, and painfully laboured for, it had proued the richest voiage and most profitable returne of commoditie, that had euer bene vnder taken by English merchants, who, notwithstanding all misfortunes, lost nothing of their principall aduenture, but onely the interest and gaine that might haue risen by the vse of their stocke in the meane time.

1574

Further obseruations concerning the state of Persia, taken in the foresayd fift voyage into those partes, and written by M. Geffrey Ducket, one of the Agents employed in the same.



Hamaky is the fairest towne in all Media, and the chiefeest commoditie of that countrey is rawe silke, & the greatest plentie thereof is at a towne three dayes iourney from Shamaky called Arash: and within 3. dayes iourney of Arash is a countrey named Grosin, whose inhabitants are Christians, & are thought to be they which are other wise called Georgians: there is also much silke to be sold. The chiefe towne of that countrey is called Zegham, from whence is caried yeerely into Persia, an incredible quantitie of Wasseil nuts, all of one sort and goodnesse, and as good and thin shaled as are our Filberds. Of these are caried yeerely the quantitie of 4000. Camels laden.

Grosin of Georgia.

Of the name of the Sophy of Persia, & why he is called the Shaugh, and of other customes.

The king of Persia (whom here we call the great Sophy) is not there so called, but is called the Shaugh. It were there dangerous to call him by the name of Sophy, because that Sophy

in the Persian tongue, is a begger, & it were as much as to call him, The great begger. He lieth at a towne called Casbin, which is situate in a goodly fertile valley of 3.024 daies iourney in length. The towne is but euil builded, and for the most part all of bricke, not hardened with fire, but only dyed at the sunne, as is the most part of the building of all Persia. The king hath not come out of the compasse of his owne house in 33.0234 yeeres, whereof the cause is not knownen, but as they say, it is vpon a superstition of certaine propheties to which they are greatly addicted: he is now about 80. yeeres of age, and very lusty. And to keepe him the moze lusty, he hath 4. wiues alwayes, and about 300. concubines, and once in the yeere he hath all the faire maidens and wiues that may be found a great way about brought vnto him, whom he diligently peruseth, feeling them in all parts, taking such as he liketh, and putting away some of them which he hath kept befoze, & with them that he putteth away, he gratifieth some such as hath done him the best seruice. And if hee chance to take any mans wife, her husband is very glad thereof, and in recompense of her, oftentimes he giueth the husband one of his old stoze, whom he thankfully receiueth.

How stran-
gers are vsed.

If any stranger being a Christian shall come befoze him, he must put on a new paire of shoes made in that countrey, and from the place where he entreteth, there is digged as it were a causey all the way, vntil he come to the place where he shal talke with the king, who standeth alwayes aboue in a gallerie, when he talketh with any strangers: and when the stranger is departed, then is the causey cast downe, and the ground made euen againe.

Of the religion of the Persians.

Their religion is all one with the Turkes, sauing that they differ who was the right successor of Mahumet. The Turkes say that it was one Homer and his sonne Vsman. But the Persians say that it was one Mortus Ali, which they would prooue in this maner. They say there was a counsell called to decide the matter who should be the successor: and after they had called vpon Mahumet to reueale vnto them his will and pleasure therein, there came among them a litle Lizard, who declared that it was Mahumets pleasure that Mortus Ali should be his successor. This Mortus Ali was a valiant man and slew Homer the Turkes prophet. He had a sword that hee sought withall, with the which hee conquered all his enemies, and killed as many as he stroke. When Mortus Ali died, there came a holy prophet, who gaue them warning that shortly there would come a white Camell, vpon the which he charged them to lay the body and sword of Mortus Ali, and to suffer the Camell to cary it whither he would. The which being performed, the said white camell caried the sword & body of Mortus Ali vnto the sea side, and the camell going a good way into the sea, was with the body & sword of Mortus Ali taken vp into heauen, for whose return they haue long looked in Persia. And for this cause the king alwayes keepeth a horse ready saddled for him, and also of late kept for him one of his owne daughters to be his wife, but she died in the yere of our Lord, 1573. And they say furthermore, yf it be come not shortly, they shalke of our beliefe: much like the Jewes, looking for their Messias to come & reigne among them like a worldly king for euer, and deliuer them from the captiuitie which they are now in among the Christians, Turkes, and Gentiles.

Is goodly and
well grounded
religion.

The Shaugh or king of Persia is nothing in strength & power comparable vnto the Turke: for although he hath a great Dominion, yet is it nothing to be compared with the Turke: neither hath he any great Ordnance or gunnes, or harquebusses. Notwithstanding his eldest sonne Ismael about 25. yeeres past, fought a great battell with the Turke, and slew of his armie about an hundred thousand men: who after his returne, was by his father cast into prison, and there continued vntil this day: for his father the Shaugh had him in suspition that he would haue put him downe, and haue taken the regiment vnto himselfe.

Their opinion
of Christ.

Their opinion of Christ is, that he was an holy man and a great Prophet, but not like vnto Mahumet: saying, that Mahumet was the last prophet by whom all things were finished, & was therefore the greatest. To prooue that Christ was not Gods sonne, they say that God had neuer wife, and therefore could haue no sonne or children. They go on pilgrimage from the furthest part of Persia vnto Mecha in Arabia, and by the way they visite also the sepulchre of Christ at Ierusalem, which they now call Couch Kaly.

The most part of spices which commeth into Persia is brought from the Island of Ormus, situate in the gulf of Persia called Sinus Persicus, betweene the maine land of Persia and Arabia, &c. The Portugals touch at Ormus both in their voyage to East India and home ward againe, and from thence bring all such spices as are occupied in Persia and the regions thereabout: for of pepper they bring very small quantitie, and that at a very deare price.

The Turkes oftentimes bring pepper from Mecha in Arabia, which they sell as good cheape
as

as that which is brought from Ormus. Silkes are brought from no place, but are wrought all in their owne countrey. Ormus is within two miles of the maine land of Persia, and the Portugals fetch their fresh water there, for the which they pay tribute to the Shaugh or king of Persia.

Within Persia they haue neither gold nor siluer mines, yet haue they coined money both of gold and siluer, and also other small moneys of copper. There is brought into Persia an incredible summe of Dutch dollars, which for the most part are there imployed in raw silke.

They haue few bookes and lesse learning, and are for the most part very brutish in all kind of good sciences, sauing in some kind of silke works, and in such things as pertain to the furniture of houses, in the which they are passing good.

Their lawes are as in their religion, wicked and detestable. And if any man offend the prince, he punisheth it extremely, not onely in the person that offendeth, but also in his childzen, and in as many as are of his kin. Theft and murther are often punished, yet none otherwise then pleaseeth him that is ruler in the place where the offence is committed, and as the partie offending is able to make friends, or with money to redeeme his offence.

There is oftentimes great mutinie among the people in great Townes which of Mortus Ali his sonnes was greatest: insomuch that sometimes in the towne two or thre thousand people are together by the eares for the same, as I haue seene in the towne of Shamaky and Ardouil, and also in the great City of Teueris, where I haue seene a man coming from fighting, in a brauerie bringing in his hand foure or five mens heads, carrying them by the haire of the head: for although they haue their heads most commonly twice a weeke, yet leaue they a tuft of haire vpon their heads about 2. foote long. I haue enquired why they leaue the tuft of haire vpon their heads. They answer, that therby they may easiler be caried by into heaue when they are dead.

For their religion, they haue certaine priests who are apparelled like vnto other men. They vse euery moorning and afternoone to go by to the tops of their churches, and tell there a great tale of Mahumer and Mortus Ali: and other preaching haue they none. Their Lent is after Christmas, not in abstinence from flesh onely, but from all meats and drincks, vntill the day be off the skie, but then they eate sometimes the whole night. And although it be against their religion to drinke wine, yet at night they will take great exesse thereof and be drunken. Their Lent beginneth at the new Moone, and they do not enter into it vntill they haue seene the same: neither yet doeth their Lent end, vntill they haue seen the next new Moone, although the same (through close weather) should not be seen in long time.

They haue among them certaine holy men whom they call Seres, counted holy for that they or any of their ancestors haue bene on pilgrimage at Mecha in Arabia, for whosoever goeth thither on pilgrimage to visite the sepulchre of Mahumer, both he and all his posteritie are euer after called Seres, and counted for holy men, and haue no lesse opinion of themselves. And if a man contrary one of these, he will say that he is a Saint, and therefore ought to be beleued, and that hee cannot lie, although he lie neuer so shamefully. Thus a man may be too holy, and no pride is greater then spirituall pride of a mind puffed with his owne opinion of holinesse. These Seres do vse to shau their heads all ouer, sauing on the sides a litle aboue the temples, the which they leaue vnshauen, and vse to braid the same as women do their haire, and to weare it as long as it will grow.

Euery moorning they vse to worship God, Mahumer, and Mortus Ali, & in praying turne themselves to ward the South, because Mecha lieth that way from them. When they be in trauell on the way, many of them will (as soone as the Sunne riseth) light from their horses, turning themselves to the South, and will lay their gownnes befoze them, with their swords and beads, and so standing vp right worship to the South: and many times in their prayers kneele downe and kisse their beads, or somewhat els that lieth befoze them.

The men or women doe neuer goe to make water, but they vse to take with them a pot with a spout, and after they haue made water, they slash some water vpon their priuy parts, and thus doe the women as well as the men: and this is a matter of great religion among them, and in making of water, the men do cower downe as well as the women.

When they earnestly affirme a matter, they will sweare by God, Mahumer, or Mortus Ali, and sometimes by all at ones: as thus in their owne language, saying, Olla, Mahumer, Ali. But if he will sweare by the Shaughs head, in saying Shaugham basshe, you may then beleuee him if you will.

The Shaugh keepeth a great magnificence in his court: and although sometimes in a moneth or six weekes none of his nobilitie or counsaile can see him, yet goe they daily to the court, and tary there a certaine time vntill they haue knowen his pleasure whether hee will commaund

Their money.

Their bookes and learning.

Such was the law of the Arabians for treason.

Dissention for religion.

Their priests and preaching. Their Lent.

Their saints and holy men. Pilgrimage.

Their manner of worshipping of God and aduance.

Washing and outward cleanliness.

Their swearing.

The kings magnificence.

Pursuivants. them any thing or not. Hee is watched euery night with a thousand of his men, which are called his Curthes, who are they that hee vseth to send into the Countreys about his greatest affaires. When he sencerly any of them (if it be to the greatest of any of his nobilitie) he will obey them, although the messenger should heat any of them to death.

The kings company with his wiues and concubines.

The Shaugh occupieth himselfe alwayes two dayes in the weeke in his Bathhouse, and when he is disposed to goe thither, he taketh with him five or sixe of his concubines, moze or lesse, and one day they consume in washing, rubbing, and bathing him, and the other day in paring his nailles, and other matters. The greatest part of his life hee spendeth amongst his wiues and concubines. Hee hath now reigned about fiftie and soute yeeres, and is therefore counted a very holy man, as they euer esteeme their kings, if they haue reigned fiftie yeeres or moze: for they measure the fauour of God by a mans prosperitie, or his displeasure by a mans misfortune or aduersitie. The great Turke hath this Shaugh in great reuerence, because he hath reigned king so long time.

The succession of a kingdom.

I haue sayd before that hee hath foure wiues, and as many concubines as him listeth: and if he chance to haue any children by any of his concubines, and be minded that any of those children shall inherite after him, then when one of his wiues dieth, the concubine whom hee so fauoureth, hee maketh one of his wiues, and the childe whom he so loueth best, he ordaineth to be king after him.

Circumcision.

What I heard of the maner of their mariages, for offending of honest consciences and chaste eares, I may not commit to writing: their fasting I haue declared before. They vse circumcision vnto children of seuen yeeres of age, as do the Turkes.

Their houses and maner of eating.

Their houses (as I haue said) are for the most part made of bricke, not burned but only dried in the Sunne: In their houses they haue but litle furniture of household stuffe, except it be their carpets and some copper worke: for all their kettles & dishes wherein they eate, are of copper. They eate on the ground, sitting on carpets crosse legged as do Tailors. There is no man so simple but he sitteth on a carpet better or worse, and the whole house or roume wherein he sitteth is wholly couered with carpets. Their houses are all with flat roofes couered with earth: and in the Sommer time they lie vpon them all night.

Bondmen and bondwomen.

They haue many bond seruaunts both men and women. Bondmen and bondwomen, is one of the best kind of merchandise that any man may bring. When they buy any maydes or yong women, they vse to feele them in all partes, as with vs men doe horses: when one hath bought a yong woman, if he like her, he will keepe her for his owne vse as long as him listeth, and then selleth her to an other, who doeth the like with her. So that one woman is sometimes sold in the space of foure or five yeeres, twelue, or twentic times. If a man keepe a bondwoman for his owne vse, and if hee find her to be false to him, and giue her body to any other, he may kill her if he will.

Women bought & sold, and let to hire.

When a merchant or trauceller commeth to any towne where he intendeth to tary any time, he hireth a woman, or sometimes 2. or 3. during his abode there. And when he commeth to an other towne, he doeth the like in the same also: for there they vse to put out their women to hire, as wee do here harkney hozles.

Abundance of oyle issuing out of the ground.

There is a very great riuer which runneth through the plaine of Iauac, which falleth into the Caspian sea, by a towne called Bachu, neere vnto which towne is a strange thing to behold. For there issueth out of the ground a marueilous quantitie of oyle, which oyle they fetch from the vttermost bounds of all Persia: it serueth all the countrey to burne in their houses.

Oleum Petroleum.

This oyle is blacke, and is called Nefie: they vse to cary it throughout all the Countrey vpon kine & asses, of which you shall oftentimes meet with foure or five hundred in a company. There is also by the said towne of Bachu another kind of oyle which is white and very pprecious: and is supposed to be the same that here is called Petroleum. There is also not far from Shamaky, a thing like vnto tarre, and issueth out of the ground, whereof we haue made the ppoofe, that in our ships it serueth well in the stead of tarre.

Two sorts of kine.

In Persia are kine of two sorts: the one like vnto ours in these partes: the other are marueilous euill fauoured, with great bones and very leane, and but litle haire vpon them: their milke is walowish sweete: they are like vnto them which are spoken of in the Scripture, which in the dreame of Pharao signified the seuen deare yeeres: for a leaner or moze euill fauoured beast can no man see.

Foxes in great plenty.

In the countrey of Shiruan (sometime called Media) if you chance to lie in the fields neere vnto any village, as the twilight beginneth, you shall haue about you two or thzee hundred foxes, which make a marueilous wawling or howling: and if you looke not well to your victuals, it shall scape them hardly but they will haue part with you.

The Caspian sea doeth neither ebbe nor flowe, except sometimes by rages of wind it swelleth by very high: the water is very salt. Notwith, the quantitie of water that falleth out of the great river of Volga maketh the water fresh at the least twentie leagues into the sea. The Caspian sea is marvellous full of fish, but no kind of monstrous fish, as farre as I could understand, yet hath it sundry sortes of fishes which are not in these parts of the world.

The mutton there is good, and the sheepe great, hauing very great rumpes with much fat typon them.

Rice and mutton is their chiefe victuall.

The copy of a letter sent to the Emperour of Moscouie, by Christopher Hodsdon and William Burrough, Anno 1570.

Most mightie Emperour, &c. Whereas Sir William Garrard and his felowship the company of English merchants, this last Winter sent hither to the Narue three ships laden with merchandise, which was left here, and with it Christopher Hodsdon one of the sayd felowship, and their chiefe doer in this place, who when hee came first hither, and vntill such time as hee had dispatched those ships from hence, was in hope of goods to lade twelue or thirteene sailes of good ships, against this shipping, wherefore he wrote vnto the sayd Sir William Garrard and his companie to send hither this spring the sayd number of thirteene ships. And because that in their coming hither wee found the Freebooters on the sea, and supposing this yeere that they would be very strong, he therefore gaue the said Sir William and his Companie aduise to furnish the sayd number of ships so strongly, as they should bee able to withstand the force of the Freebooters: whereupon they haue according to his aduise sent this yeere thirteene good ships together well furnished with men and munition, and all other necessaries for the warres, of which 13. ships William Burrough one of the said felowship is captaine generall, vnto whom there was giuen in charge, that if hee met with any the Daoske Freebooters, or whatsoeuer robbers and threues that are enimies to your highnesse, he should doe his best to appprehend and take them. It so hapned that the tenth day of this moneth the sayd William with his flecte, met with sixe ships of the Freebooters neere vnto an Island called Turtee, which is about 50. versts from Narue, vnto which Freebooters he with his flecte gaue chase, and tooke of them the Admirall, wherein were left but thre men, the rest were fled to shoze in their boats amongst the woods vpon Turtee, on which ship he set fire and burnt her. He also tooke foure moze of those ships which are now here, and one ship escaped him: out of which foure ships some of the men fled in their boates and so escaped, others were slaine in fight, and some of them when they saw they could not escape, cast themselves willingly into the Sea and were drowned. So that in these sixe ships were left but 83. men.

Five ships of
Freebooters
taken.

The said Wil. Burrough when he came hither to Narue, finding here Christopher Hodsdon afozenamed, both the said Christopher and William together, in the name of Sir William Garrard and the rest of their whole companie and felowship, did present vnto your highnesse of those Freebooters taken by our ships 83. men, which we deliuered here vnto Knez Voiuoda, the 13. of this moneth. One man of those Freebooters we haue kept by vs, whose name is Haunce Snaarke a captaine. And the cause why we haue done it is this: When wee should haue deliuered him with the rest of his felowes vnto the Voiuodas officers, there were of our Englishmen moze then 50. which fell on their knees vnto vs, requesting that he might be referued in the ship, and caried back into England: and the cause why they so earnestly intreated for him, is, that some of those our Englishmen had bene taken with Freebooters, and by his meanes had their liues saued, with great fauour beides, which they found at his hands. Wherefore if it please your highnesse to permit it, we will carry him home with vs into England, wherein we request your maiesties fauour: notwithstanding what you commaund of him shall be obserued.

Wee haue also sent our seruant to your highnesse with such bestellings and wrytings as wee found in those shippes: whereby your Maiestie may see by whom, and in what order they were set out, and what they pretended, which wrytings wee haue commended vnto Knez Yorue your Maiesties Voiuoda at Plesco, by our seruant. And haue requested his furtherance for the safe deliuerie of them to your maiesties hands: which wrytings when you haue perused, we desire that they may be returned vnto vs by this our seruant, as speedily as may bee: for these ships which we now haue here will be soone dispatched from hence, for that we haue not goods to lade aboue the halfe of them. And the cause is, we haue this winter (by your maiesties order) bene kept from

traffiquing, to the companies great losse. But hoping your maiestie will hereafter haue consideration thereof, and that we may haue free libertie to traffique in all partes of your maiesties Countreies, according to the priuiledge giuen vnto vs, we pray for your maiesties health, with prosperous successe to the pleasure of God. From Nauie the 15. of Iuly, Anno 1570.

Your Maiesties most humble and obedient,
Christopher Houdson. William Berough.

A letter of *Richard Vscombe* to *M. Henrie Lane*, touching the burning of the Citie of *Mosco* by the *Crimme Tartar*: written in *Rose Island* the 5. day of August, 1571.

1571



The citie of Mosco burnt by the Crimme. Englishmen smothered at the burning of Mosco.

M. Glouer and M. Rowley preserved.

After Lane I haue me commended vnto you. The 27. of Iuly I arriued here with the *Magdalene*, and the same day and houre did the *Swallow* and *Harry* arriue here also. At our comming I found master *Proctor* here, by whom wee vnderstand very heauie newes. The *Mosco* is burnt euery sticke by the *Crimme* the 24. day of *May* last, and an innumerable number of people: and in the English house was smothered *Thomas Southam*, *Tofild*, *Wauerley*, *Greenes* wife and children, two children of *Rafe*, & more to the number of 25. persons were stifled in our *Beere seller*: and yet in the same seller was *Rafe*, his wife, *John Browne*, and *Iohn Clarke* preserved, which was wonderfull. And there went into that seller master *Glouer* and master *Rowley* also: but because the heate was so great, they came to oyth againe with much perill, so that a boy at their heeles was taken with the fire, yet they escaped blindfold into another seller, and there, as Gods will was, they were preserved. The *Emperour* fled out of the citie, and many of his people were caried away by the *Crimme Tartar*: to wit, all the yong people, the old they would not meddle with, but let them alone, and so with exceeding much spoile and infinite prisoners, they returned home againe. What with the *Crimme* on the one side, and with his crueltie on the other, he hath but few people left. Commend me to mistress *Lane* your wife, and to *M. Locke*, and to all our friends.

Yours to command, *Richard Vscombe.*

A note of the proceeding of *M. Anthonie Jenkinson*, Ambassadour from the *Queenes* most excellent Maiestie, to the *Emperour* of *Russia*, from the time of his arriual there, being the 26. of Iuly 1571. vntill his departure from thence the 23. of Iuly 1572.



The said 26. day I arriued with the two good ships called the *Swallow* and the *Harry* in safetie, at the *Baie* of *S. Nicholas* in *Russia* aforesayd, and landed at *Rose Island*, from whence immediately I sent away my interprizer *Daniel Siluester* in post towards the *Court*, being then at the *Mosco*, whereby his maiestie might as well bee aduertised of my arriual in his *Domiaions*, as also to know his highnesse pleasure for my further access. And remaining at the sayd *Island* two or three dayes, to haue conference with your *Agent* about your affaires, I did well perceiue by the wordes of the sayd *Agent* and others your seruants, that I was entred into great perill and danger of my life: for they reported to mee that they heard said at the *Mosco*, that the princes displeasure was such against me, that if euer I came into his countrey againe, I should loose my head, with other wordes of discouragement. Whereat I was not a litle dismayd, not knowing whether it were best for me to proceed forwards, or to returne home againe with the ships for the safegard of my life. But calling to mind mine innocencie and good meaning, and knowing my selfe not to haue offended his Maiestie any manner of wayes either in word or deed, or by making former promises not performed, heretofore by mine enemies falsly surmised: and being desirous to come to the triall thereof, whereby to iustifie my true dealings, and to repproue my sayd enemies as well here as there, who haue not ceased of late by vntrue reports to impute the cause of the sayd *Emperours* displeasure towards you to proceed of my dealings, and promises made to him at my last being with him (although by his letters to the *Queenes* Maiestie, and by his owne wordes to me the contrary doeth appeare) I determined with my selfe rather to put my life into his hands, & by the prouidence of God to prosecute the charge committed vnto me, then to returne home in vaine, discouraged with the wordes of such, who had rather that I had taried at home, then to be sent ouer with such credite, whereby I might sift out their euil doings, the onely cause of your losse.

Wherefore,

Wherefore, leaving the said ships the nine and twentieth day of the moneth, I departed from the sea-side, and the first of August arrived at Colmogro, where I remained attending the returne of my said messenger with order from his Maiestie.

But all the Countrey being soze visited by the hand of God with the plague, passage in euery place was shut by, that none might passe in paine of death: My messenger being eight hundred miles vpon his way, was stayed, and kept at a towne called Shasko, and might not bee suffered to goe any further, neither yet to returne backe againe, or sende vnto me: by meanes whereof in the space of foure moneths, I could neither heare nor know what was become of him, in which time my said messenger found meanes to aduertise the Governour of the Citie of Vologda, as well of his stay, as of the cause of his comming thither, who sent him word that it was not possible to passe any neerer the Prince without further order from his Maiestie, who was gone to the warres against the Swethens, and that he would aduertise his highnesse so loone as he might conueniently: And so my said messenger was forced to remaine there still without answer. During which time of his stay through the great death (as aforesaid,) I found meanes to send another messenger, with a guide by an vnknown way through wildernesse, a thousand miles about, thinking that way he should passe without let: but it prooued contrary, for likewise hee being passed a great part of his journey, fell into the handes of a watch, and escaped very hardly, that hee and his guide with their horses had not bene burnt, according to the lawe provided for such as would seeke to passe by indirect wayes, and many haue felt the smart thereof, which had not wherewith to buy out the paine: neither could that messenger returne backe vnto me.

And thus was I kept without answer or order from his Maiestie, and remained at the saide Colmogro, vntill the 18. of January following, neither hauing a Gentleman to safegard me, nor lodging appointed me, nor allowance of victuals according to the Countrey fashion for Ambassadors, which argued his grieuous displeasure towards our nation. And the people of the Countrey perceiuing the same, vsed towards mee and my company some discourtesies: but about the 28. day aforesaid, the plague ceased, and the passages being opened, there came order from his Maiestie that I should haue posse horses, and bee suffered to depart from Colmogro to goe to a Citie called Peraslau neere to the Court, his Maiestie being newly returned from the said warres. And I arrived at the said Peraslau the 3. of February, where I remained vnder the charge of a gentleman, hauing then a house appointed me, & allowance of victuals, but so strictly kept, that none of our nation or other might come or sende vnto me, nor I to them. And the 14. of March following, I was sent for to the Court, and being within three miles of the same, a posse was sent to the Gentleman which had charge of me, to returne backe againe with mee to the said Peraslau, and to remaine there vntill his Maiesties further pleasure, wherewith I was much dismayed, and maruiled what that sudden change ment, and the rather, because it was a troublesome time, and his Maiestie much disquieted through the ill successe of his affaires, (as I did vnderstand.) And the twentieth of the same, I was sent for againe to the Court, and the 23. I came before his Maiestie, who caused mee to kisse his hande, and gaue gracious audience vnto my Oracion, gratefully receiuing and accepting the Queenes Maiesties princely letters, and her present, in the presence of all his nobilitie. After I had finished my Oracion, too long here to rehearse, and deliuered her highnesse letters, and present (as aforesaid) the Emperour sitting in royall estate stood vp and said, How doth Queene Elizabeth my sister, is she in health: to whom I answered, God doth blesse her Maiestie with health, and peace, and doeth with the like vnto thee Lord, her louing brother. Then his Maiestie sitting downe againe, commaunded all his nobilitie and others to depart, and auoyde the chamber, leaving the chiefe Secretarie, and one other of the Counsell, and willing me to appoach neere vnto him with my Interpreter, said vnto me these words.

Anthony, the last time thou wast with vs heere, wee did commit vnto thee our trustie and secret Message, to be declared vnto the Queenes Maiestie herselfe thy Mistresse at thy comming home, and did expect thy comming vnto vs againe at the time wee appointed, with a full answer of the same from her highnesse. And in the meane time there came vnto vs at severall times three messengers, the one called Manly, the other George Middleton, and Edward Goodman, by the way of the Narue about the Merchants affaires: to whom wee sent our messenger to know whether thou Anthony, were returned home in safetie, and when thou shouldst returne vnto vs againe: but those messengers could tell vs nothing, and did miscall, and abuse with euil words, both our messenger and thee, wherewith wee were much offended. And vnderstanding that the said Goodman had letters about him, we caused him to be searched, with whom were found many letters, wherein was written much against our Princely estate, and that in our Empire were many vnlawfull things done, wherewith we were much grieved, & would suffer none of those rude messengers to haue access vnto vs: and shortly after wee were informed that one Thomas

Randolfe was come into our Dominions by the way of Dwina, Ambassadour from the Queene, and we sent a Gentleman to meete and conduct him to our Citie of Mosco, at which time we looked that thou shouldest haue returned vnto vs againe. And the said Thomas being arrived at our said Citie, wee sent vnto him diuers times, that hee should come and conferre with our Counsell, whereby we might vnderstand the cause of his coming, looking for answere of those our princely affaires committed vnto thee. But hee refused to come to our said Counsell: wherefore, and for that our said Citie was visited with plague, the said Thomas was the longer kept from our presence. Which being ceased, forthwith wee gaue him access and audience, but all his talke with vs was about Merchants affaires, and nothing touching ours: Wee knowe that Merchants matters are to bee heard, for that they are the stay of our Princely treasures: But first Princes affaires are to be established, and then Merchants. After this the said Thomas Randolfe was with vs at our Citie of Vologda, and wee dealt with him about our Princely affaires, whereby amitie betwixt the Queenes Maiestie and vs might bee established for euer, and matters were agreed and concluded betwixt your Ambassadour and vs, and thereupon wee sent our Ambassadour into England with him to ende the same: but our Ambassadour returned vnto vs againe, without finishing our said affaires, contrary to our expectation, and the agreement betwixt vs, and your said Ambassadour.

Thus when his Maiestie had made a long discourse, I humbly beseeched his highnesse to heare me graciously, and to giue me leaue to speake without offence, and to beleene those wordes to be true which I should speake. Which he graunted, and these were my wordes.

Most noble and famous Prince, the message which thy highnesse did sende by mee vnto the Queene her most excellent Maiestie touching thy Princely and secret affaires, immediately, and so soone as I came home, I did declare both secretly and truly vnto the Queenes Maiestie her selfe, word for word, as thou Lord diddest commaund mee. Which her highnesse did willingly heare and accept, and being mindefull thereof, and willing to answere the same, the next shipping after, her Maiestie did sende vnto thee, Lord, her highnesse Ambassadour Thomas Randolfe, whose approued wisdom and fidelitie was vnto her Maiestie well known, and therefore thought meete to bee sent to so woorthy a Prince, who had Commission not onely to treat with thy Maiestie of Merchants affaires, but also of those thy Princely and secret affaires committed vnto mee. And the cause (most gracious Prince) that I was not sent againe, was, for that I was employed in seruice vpon the Seas against the Queenes Maiesties enemies, and was not returned home at such time as Master Thomas Randolfe departed with the Shippes, to come into thy Maiesties Countrey; otherwise I had bene sent. And whereas thy Maiestie saith, that Thomas Randolfe would not treat with thy Counsell of the matters of his Legation, hee did (Lord) therein according to his Commission: which was: First to deale with thy Maiestie thy selfe, which order is commonly vsed among all Princes, when they send their Ambassadors about matters of great waight. And whereas the said Thomas is charged that hee agreed and concluded vpon matters at the same time, and promised the same should bee performed by the Queene her Maiestie: Whereupon (Lord) thou diddest send thy Ambassadour with him into England, for answere thereof: It may please thy Maiestie to vnderstand, that as the said Thomas Randolfe deeth confesse, that in deede hee had talke with thy highnesse, and counsell diuers times about princely affaires: euen so hee denieth that euer hee did agree, conclude, or make any promise in any condition or order, as is alleaged, etherwise then it should please the Queene her Maiestie to like of at his returne home, which hee did iustitie to thy highnes Ambassadour his face in England. Wherefore, most mighty Prince, it doth well appeare, that either thy Ambassadour did vntruly enforme thy Maiestie, or els thy princely minde, and the true meaning of the Queenes highnes her Ambassadour, for want of a good Interpreter, was not well vnderstood: and how thankefully the Queene her Maiestie did receiue thy highnes commendations, and letters sent by thy Maiesties Ambassadour, and how graciously shee gaue him audience sundry times, vsing him with such honour in all points for thy sake, Lord, her louing brother, as the like was neuer shewed to any Ambassadour in our Realme, and how honourably with full answere in all things, her Maiestie dismissed him, when hee had finished all thy princely affaires (as it seemed) to his owne contentation, it may well appeare by a true certificate lately sent with her highnes letter vnto thee Lord, by her messenger Robert Beak, and her Maiestie did suppose that chat thy Ambassadour would haue made report accordingly, and that by him thy highnes would haue bene satisfied in all things: otherwise shee would haue sent her Maiesties Ambassadour with him vnto thee Lord againe. But now her highnes perceiuing that thy Maiestie is not fully satisfied in thy Princely affaires, neither by Thomas Randolfe, her highnes Ambassadour, nor by thine owne Ambassadour Andrea Sauin, nor yet by her Maiesties letter sent by the said Andrea: and al-

fo vnderstanding thy great grieue and displeasure towards sir William Garret, and his company, merchants traffiking in thy Maiesties dominions, hath thought good to send mee at this present vnto thee Lord Emperour, and great duke, as wel with her highnes full mind, touching thy princely affaires, as also to know the iust cause of thy Maiesties said displeasure towards the said company of merchants: and hath commanded me to answer to all things in their behalfe, and according to their true meanings. For her highnes doth suppose thy Maiesties indignation to proceede rather vpon the euill, and vntue reports of thy late Ambassador in England, and of such wicked persons of our nation resident here in thy highnes dominions, rebels to her Maiestie, and their Councrey, then of any iust defects of the said merchants, who neuer willingly deserued thy highnesse displeasure, but rather fauour in all their doings and meanings. And since the first time of their traffiking in thy Maiesties dominions, which is now ninetecne yeres, the said merchants haue bene, and are alwayes ready and willing truly to serue thy highnesse of all things mcece for thy Treasurie, in time of peace and of warre in despice of all thy enemies: although the Princes of the East Seas were agreed to stoppe the sound, and the way to the Narue, and haue brought, and do bring from time to time such commoditie to thee, Lord, as her Maiestie doeth not suffer to be transported forth of her Realme to no other Prince of the world. And what great losses the said sir William Garret, with his company hath sustained of late yeres in this trade, as well by Shipwracke, as by false seruants it is manifestly knowen: and what seruice the said companys Ships did vnto thy Maiestie against thy enemies, two yeres past in going to the Narue, when they fought with the king of Poles shippes Freebooters, and burnt the same and slew the people, and as many as were taken aliue deliuered vnto thy Captaine at the Narue. I trust thy highnesse doth not forget. Wherefore most mighty prince, the premises considered, the Queene her most excellent Maiestie thy louing sister, doeth request thy highnes to restore the said sir William Garret with his company into thy princely fauour againe, with their priuiledges for free traffike with thy accustomed goodnes and iustice, to be ministred vnto them throughout all thy Maiesties dominions, as aforesayd: and that the same may be signified by thy Princely letters, directed to thy officers in all places, any thy highnesse commaundement or restraint to the contrary notwithstanding. And further that it will please thy Maiestie, not to giue credite to false reports, and vntue suggestions of such as are enemies, and such as neither would haue mutuall amitie to continue betwixt your Maiesties, nor yet entercourse betwixt your countries. And such rebels of our nation, as Ralfe Rutter, and others which Ipe lurking here in thy highnes dominions, seeking to some dissentions betwixt your Maiesties by false surmises, spending away their masters goods riotously, and will not come home to giue by their accomps, aduancing themselues to be merchants, and able to serue thy highnes of all things fit for thy treasurie, whereas indeed they be of no credite, nor able of themselues to do thy Maiestie any seruice at all: the Queenes highnes request is, that it would please thy Maiestie to commaund that such persons may be deliuered vnto me to be caried home, least by their remainyng here, and hauing practises and friendship with such as be not thy highnesse friends, their euill doing might be a cause hereafter to withdraw thy goodnes from sir William Garret and his company, who haue true meaning in all their doings, and are ready to serue thy highnesse at all times, vntill many other words to the aduancement of your credits, and the disgracing of your enemies, and so I ended for that time.

Then sayd his Maiestie, We haue heard you, and will consider of all things further, when wee haue read the Queene our sisters letters: to whom I answered, that I supposed his Maiestie should by those letters vnderstand her highnesse full minde to his contentation, and what wanted in writing, I had credite to accomplish in word. Wherewith his Maiestie seemed to be wel pleased, and commaunded me to sit downe. And after pausing a while, his Maiestie said these words vnto me, It is now a time which we spend in fasting, and praying, being the weeke before Easter, and for that we will shortly depart from hence, to wards our borders of Nouogrod, wee can not giue you any were, nor your dispatch here, but you shall goe from hence, and tary vs vpon the way, where wee will shortly come, and then you shall knowe our pleasure, and haue your dispatch. And so I was dismissed to my lodging, and the same day I had a dinner ready dynt sent me from his Maiestie, with great stoze of drinckes, of diuers sorts, and the next day following, being the four and twentieth of March aforesayde, the chiefe Secretary to his Maicsty, sent vnto mee a Gentleman, to signifie vnto mee, that the Emperours Maiesties pleasure was, I should immediatly depart towards a Citie, called Orwer, thre hundred miles from the aforesaid Sloboda, and there to tary his highnes comming vnto a place called Starys, thre scoze miles from the sayd Orwer.

Then I sent my Interpreter to the chiefe Secretary, requesting him to further, and shew his fauour vnto our saide merchants in their lutes, which they should haue occasion to moue in my absence:

seence: who sent me word againe, that they should be wel assured of his friendship, and furtherance in all their lutes. And forthwith post hoxes were sent me, with a Gentleman to conduct me. And so departing from the said Sloboda, I arrived at the said Orwer, the 28. of March aforesaid, where I remained til the eight of May following. Then I was sent for to come unto his Maiestie, to the said Searycs, where I arrived the tenth of the same, and the twelfth of the same I was appointed to come to the chiefe Secretary, who at our meeting said unto me these words.

Our Lord Emperoz, and great Duke, hath not onely perused the Queene her highnes letters sent by you, and thereby doeth perceiue her minde, as well touching their princely affaires, as also her earnest request in the merchants behalfe, but also hath well pondered your words. And therefore his Maiesties pleasure is, that you let me vnderstand what lutes you haue to moue in the merchants behalfe, or other wise, for that to morrowe you shall haue access againe vnto his highnes, and shall haue full answer in all things, with your dispatch away.

Then after long conference had with him of diuers matters, I gaue him in writing certaine brieue articles of requests, which I had drawn out ready, as foloweth:

1 First the Queenes Maiestie her request is, that it would please the Emperozs highnesse to let me know the iust cause of his great displeasure fallen vpon sir William Garrard, & his company, who neuer desired the same, to their knowledge.

2 Also that it would please his highnes not to giue credite vnto false and untrue reports, by such as seeke to sowe dissention, and breake friendship betwixt the Queenes highnesse, and his Maiestie.

3 Also that it would please his Maiestie to receiue the said sir William Garrard, with his company into his fauour againe, and to restore them to their former priuiledges and liberties, for free traffike in, and through, and out of al his Maiesties dominions, in as ample maner as aforesaid, according to his princely letters of priuiledge, and accustomed goodnes.

4 Also it would please his highnes to graunt, that the said company of merchants may haue iustice of all his subiects, as well for money owing vnto them, as other their griefes and iniuries, throughout al his dominions suffered since the time of his displeasure, during which time, the merchants were forced by seuerer iustice to answer to al mens demands, but theirs could not be heard.

5 Also that his Maiestie would vnderstand, that much debts are owing to the said merchants, by diuers of his Nobilitie, whereof part are in durance, and some executed, and the said merchants know not howe to be payde, and answered the same, except his highnes pittie their case, and commaund some order to be taken therein.

6 Also it would please his highnes to commaund that the saide merchants may be payde all such summe or summes of money as are owing, and due vnto them by his Maiestie, for wares, as well English, as Shamaki, taken into his highnes treasury by his officers in sundry places, the long forbearing whereof hath bene, and is great hinderance to the said company of merchants.

7 Also it would please his Maiestie to vnderstand, that at this present time there are in Persia of English merchants, Thomas Banister, and Geoffrey Ducker, with their company, & goods, ready to come into his Maiesties countrey of Astracan, and would haue come the last yeere, but that the ship, with our merchants and mariners appointed to goe for them, were stayed at Astracan by his highnes Captaine there, to the great hinderance of the said merchants. Wherefore it may now please his Maiestie to direct his princely letters vnto his Captaines and rulers, both at Astracan and Cazan, not onely to suffer our people, as well merchants as mariners, quietly and freely to passe and repasse with their shippes, barkes, or other vessels downe the riuer Volga, and ouer the Mare Caspium, to fetch the sayd English merchants, with their company and goods, out of the sayd Persia, into his Maiesties dominions, but also that it would please his highnes straightly to commaund, that when the sayd Thomas Banister, and Geoffrey Ducker, with their charge, shall arrive at the sayd Astracan, his Maiesties Captaine there, and in all other places vpon the riuer Volga, shall so ayde and assist the sayd merchants, as they may be safely conducted out of the danger of the Crimmes, and other their enemies.

8 Also it may please his highnes to vnderstand, that lately our merchants comming from Shamaki, haue bene ill vsed by his Maiesties Customers, both at Astracan and Cazan, at both which places they were forced to pay custome for their wares, although they solde no part thereof, but brought the same into his highnesse treasury at Sloboda: and the sayd Customers did not onely exact, and take much more custome then was due by his Maiesties lawes, but also for want of present money, tooke wares much exceeding their exacted custome, and doe keep the same as a pawnc. It may therefore please his highnes to direct his princely letters to the said Customers, to signifie vnto them his great goodnes againe restored vnto the said English merchants, as also to commaund them to send the said merchants their said goods so detained, vp to the Molco, they paying

paying such custome for the same, as shall be by his Maiestie appointed.

9 Also that it would please his highnesse to grant, that sir William Garrard with his companie may establish their trade for merchandise at Colmogro in Dwina, and that such wares as shall be brought out of our Countrey fit for his treasure might be looked upon, and receiued by his officers there: and that his Maiesties people traffiking with our merchants may bring downe their commodities to the saide Colmogro, by meanes whereof the saide English merchants avoyding great troubles and charges; in transporting their goods so farre, and into so many places of his dominions, may sell the same better cheape, to the benefite of his Maiesties subiects.

10 Also if it seemed good to his highnesse, that the whole trade likewise from Persia, Boghar, and all other those Countreys beyond the Mare Caspium, might be established at Astracan, the ancient Parte towne in times past, which would be both for the great honour and profite of his Maiesty, and subiects, as I am well able to pprove, if it will please his highnesse to appoint any of his counsell to talke with me therein.

11 Also forasmuch as it pleased his Maiestie, immediately after the burning of the Mosco, to command that the said English merchants should give in a note into his Treasury, for their losses sustained by the said fire, which was done by William Rowly, then chiefe Agent for sir William Garrard and his company, and the particulars in the same note consumed with the said fire did amount to the summe of 10000. roubles and above: It may please his highnesse of his accustomed goodnes and great clemencie to consider of the same, and to give the said company so much as shall seeme good unto his Maiestie, towards their said losses.

12 Also that it will please his highnesse to understand that the Queenes most excellent Maiestie, at the earnest sute and request of Andrea Savin his Maiesties Ambassadour, did not onely pardon and forgive Thomas Glouer his great and grievous offences towards her highnesse committed, onely for his Maiesties sake, but also commanded sir William Garrard with his company, to deale favourably with the said Glouer in his accomptes, to whom he was indebted greatly, and being their servant, detained their goods in his hands a long time: whereupon the said sir William Garrard with his company counted with the said Glouer, and ended all things euen to his saide contentation, and was found to be debter to the said company 4000. roubles and above, and bound himselfe both by his solemne othe, and his hand-writing, to pay the same immediately after his returne into Russia with the said Andrea Savin, unto Nicholas Proctor chiefe Agent there, for the said company of merchants. But although it is now two yeeres past, since the said agreement, and that the said Nicholas hath diuers and sundry times requested the said money of the said Thomas, yet will he not pay the same debt, but maketh delay from time to time, allcading that his Maiestie oweth him a great summe of money, without the payment whereof he cannot be able to pay the said merchants his due debt long forborne, to their great hinderance. In consideration of the premises, It may please his highnesse to give order that the said Glouer may be payd, and that he may discharge his debt to the said company of merchants, and the rather for that hee found such mercie and fauour in England, onely for his Maiesties sake.

13 Also forasmuch as Ralfe Rutter a rebell to the Queenes Maiestie, and an enemy to his Countrey, and to sir William Garrard and his company, hath of long time remained here, liuing of the spoyle and goods of the said merchants, which he wrongfully detained in his handes, riotously spending the same, during the time that he was their servant, and would not come home when he was sent for, and also for that the Queenes Maiestie doth understand, that the said Ralfe, with other his adherents, doe seeke by all false meanes to sowe dissention, and breake amitie betwixt their Maiesties, and to ouerthrowe the trade of the said merchants: Her highnesse request is, that the said Ralfe with his complices may be deliuered vnto me, to be carried home, and none other of her Maiesties subiects, not being of the societie of the said Sir William Garrard and his company, to be suffered to traffike within his highnesse dominions, but to be deliuered to their Agent to bee sent home: for that the said merchants with great charges and losses, both by shipwracke, and riotous seruants, did first finde out this trade, and haue continued the same these 19. yeeres, to their great hinderance.

14 Also whereas diuers masters and artificers of our Nation are here in his Maiesties seruice, and do finde themselves grieved that they cannot haue licence to depart home into their native Countrey at their will and pleasure: the Queenes Maiesties request is, according to her highnesse writing in that behalfe, that not onely it will please his Maiestie to permit and suffer such artificers here resident in the seruice of his highnesse, to haue free libertie to depart, and go home with me, if they request the same, but also all other the like, which shall come hereafter to serue his Maiesty, to haue free libertie to depart likewise, without any let or stay.

15 Also it may please his Maiesty to understand that during the time of my long being at Colmogro,

Colmogro, attending his highnesse pleasure for my further accesse, I with my company haue not onely bene ill vsed and intreated there, and likewise the merchants there, by one Besson Myserereuy his Maiesties chiefe officer, who hath dishonoured me, and smitten my people, and oweth the saide merchants much money, and will not pay them: but also the saide Besson hath spoken wordes of dishonour against the Queenes Maiestie. Wherefore it may please his highnesse to send downe with me to Colmogro, a Gentleman, as well chiefly to search forth his euil behauiour towards her Maiestie, as towards me her highnesse Ambassadoz, and to punish him accordingly: and also that it would please his Maiestie to sende downe his letter of iustice, by vertue whereof the saide Besson may be forced to pay all such money as he oweth to the sayd merchants, without delay.

16 Also that it would please his highnesse to vnderstand, that Sir William Garrard with his company vnderstanding of the great dearth in his Maiesties dominions, by licence of the Queenes Maiestie, (not otherwise permitted) hath sent certaine ships laden with corne into his highnesse Countrey of Dwyna, rather for the reliefe of his Maiesties subiects, then for any gaine: yet the good wil of the saide merchants lightly regarded, they were forbidden to sel the saide corne, to their great discouragement hereafter to send any more. Wherefore it may please his highnesse, to tender the good will of the saide merchants, as well in sending the saide corne, as in all other things, ready to serue his Maiestie, and to direct his letters to his officers of Dwina, to suffer the saide merchants with their company, to sell the saide corne by measure, great or small at their pleasure, without paying custome.

These articles being deliuered to the chiefe Secretary, as aforesayde, and our talke ended for that time, I departed to my lodging, accompanied with certaine Gentlemen. The next day, being the 13. of May aforesaid, I had warning early in the morning, to prepare my selfe to be at the Court, betwixt the houres of 10. and 11. of the clocke, where I should haue accesse vnto the presence of the Prince, as well to receiue answere of all things, as to bee dismissed to goe home. At which houres I was sent for to the Court, and brought into the Chamber of presence, where his Maiestie did sit apparelled most sumptuously, with a riche Crowne vpon his head, garnished with many pretious stones, his eldest sonne sitting by him, and many of his Nobilitie about him: and after my duetie done, his highnesse commanded me to appoch very nere vnto him, and sayde vnto me these wordes.

Anthony, the Queene our louing sister her letters wee haue caused to be translated, and doe well vnderstand the same, and of all things as well therein contained, as by worde of mouth by you to vs declared wee haue well considered, and doe perceiue that our secret message vnto you committed, was done truely according to our minde (although wee were aduertised to the contrary) and nowe wee are by you fully satisfied. And when we did sende our Ambassadour into England, about those our great and waightie affaires, to conclude the same with the Queene our sister, our Ambassadour coulde ende nothing for want of such assurance as was requisite in princely affaires, according to the maner of all Countreys, but was dismissed vnto vs againe, with letters of small effect, touching the same, and no Ambassadour sent with him from the Queene: which caused vs to thinke, that our princely affaires were set aside, and little regarded, wherewith wee were at that time much grieued: for the which cause, and for the euil behauiour of your merchants, resident in our dominions (who haue diuers wayes transgressed and broken our lawes, liuing wilfully in al their doings) we did lay our heauie displeasure vpon them, and did take away from them their priuiledge, commaunding that the same throughout all our dominions, should be voyd, and of none effect: and ther vpon did write to the Queene our sister, touching our griefes.

And nowe her highnesse hath sent vnto vs againe, you her Ambassadour, with her louing letters, and full minde, which we doe thankfully receiue, and are thereby fully satisfied. And for that our princely, and secret affaires were not finished to our contentation at our time appointed, according to our expectation, we doe now leaue of all those matters, and set them aside for the time, because our minde is nowe otherwise changed, but hereafter when occasion shall moue vs to the like, we will then talke of those matters againe. And for that it hath pleased the Queene our louing sister, to sende vnto vs at this present, and doeth desire to continue in friendship with vs for euer (which wee doe gratefully accept, and willingly agree to the same) wee of our goodnesse for her highnesse sake, will not onely from hence forth put away, and forget all our displeasure towards the same Sir William Garrard and his company (as though they had neuer offended vs) but also will restore them to their priuiledges, and liberties, in, and throughout all our dominions, and will signifie the same by our letters, in all Townes and Cities, where the saide merchants do traffique, and we will shewe them fauour as aforesaid, if they deserue not the

The causes of
the Emperours
displeasure.

the contrary, and if the Queene our litter had not sent thre Anthony vnto vs at this present, we should knoweth what we should haue done to the said merchants, or whether we would haue called back our indignation.

Then I humbly beseeched his Maiestie, to let me know the particular offences committed by the said merchants, and the offenders names, to the intent I might make report thereof, vnto the Queenes Maiestie, my mistres; accordingly, that the said offenders might receiue iust punishments for their deserts: but he said, I should not know them, because he had cleerely remitted all offences: and further, that it was not princely to forgive, and after to accuse the parties, whereby her Maiesties displeasure might fall vpon them at home, notwithstanding I did after vnderstand some part thereof, by other meanes.

Then his Maiestie proceeding in talke, said: As touching the articles of request, concerning the merchants affaires, which you did yesterday deliuer vnto our Secretary, we haue not onely read the same our selfe, but also haue appointed our said Secretary to declare vnto you our mind; and answer to the same. And for that we are now vpon our iourney towards our borders, and will depart from hence shortly, we will dismisse you to y^e Queene our louing sister, your mistres, with our letters, & full mind by word of mouth, touching all your requests, & will send a gentleman one of our household with you to safeconduct you to your ships: and of our goodnes will giue you victuals, boates, men, and post horses, so many as you shall neede. And therewith his Maiestie standing vp, and putting off his cappe, said vnto me these words. Doe our hearty commendations vnto our louing sister, Queene Elizabeth, vnto whom we wish long life, with happie success: and therewith his highnes extended his hand to me to kisse, and commanded his sonne, sitting by him, to send the like commendations, which he did, whose hand like wise I kissed. And then his Maiestie caused me to sit downe; and commaunded wine and drinckes of diuers sorts to be brought, whereof he gaue me to drinke with his owne hand, and so after I departed.

Then the next day, being the 14 of May aforesaid, I was sent for to come to the chief Secretary, & one other of the counsell with him, who at our meeting said vnto me these words: We are appointed by the Emperors his maiesty, to giue you answer from his Highnes, touching your requests deliuered in writing, which his Maiestie himselfe hath perused, & answered as followeth.

1 To the first request it is answered, that all his Maiesties griefes and displeasure (now put away from the merchants) did grow, because the Queenes Maiestie did not accomplish and eude with his ambassador, his lecture and waighey affaires, according to his expectation, and the promise made by Thomas Randolph, at his being here: and also of the ill behaviour of your merchants resident here in our Countrey, as his Maiestie did himselfe yesterday declare vnto you.

2 To the second, his Maiestie willeth you to vnderstand, that he hath not, nor will not hereafter be moued to breake friendship with the Queenes Maiestie, without good and iust cause.

3 To the thirde, you are answered by the Emperors Maiestie himselfe, that his great goodnes and fauour againe vnto the merchants shall be restored, and the same to be knownen by his gracious letters of priuilege now againe granted.

4 To the fourth, his maiesty hath commaunded, that your merchants here resident shall exhibit, and put in writing vnto me his Maiesties Secretarie, all their griefes, and complaints, as well for debts, as other iniuries offered them since the time of his Highnes displeasure, and they shall haue iustice truly ministred throughout all his Maiesties dominions without delay.

5 To the fifth, his maiesty doth not know of any debts due vnto the merchants, by any of his Noblemen, as is allaged: and whether it be true or no, he knoweth not: the truth whereof must be tried out, and thereupon answer to be giuen: and here after his maiesty would not haue the merchants to trust his people with too much.

6 To the sixth, it is answered, that his maiesty hath commaunded search to be made what money is owing to the merchants, for wares receiued into his treasury, as in the article: (the most of the bookes of accompt being burnt in the Mosco) and such as is due, & found meete to be paid, shall be paid forthwith to the merchants, their factors or seruants, which shall come for the same. And for payment of the rest, his maiesties further pleasure shall be signified here after.

7 To the 7 his Maiesties answer is, that letters shall be written forthwith to his captaines of Astracan, and Cazan, and other his officers, vpon the riuer Volga, to whom it appertaineth, not onely to suffer your people, both marchants, & mariners, to passe with their ships, or barkes, from Astracan, ouer the Mare caspium, to fetch Thomas Baniller, and Geofry Ducker, with their company, and goods out of Persia, but also when they shall arriue within his Maiesties dominions, to aide and assist them, and see them safely conducted by the riuer Volga, from danger of enemies.

8 To the eight, his maiesty hath commaunded letters to be written to the Customers, both of Astracan and Cazan, to make restitution to the English merchants of their goods so detained by

them for custome, & to take custome for the same, according to his Maiesties letters of priuilege.
 9 10 To the ninth and tenth articles, his Maiestie will consider of those matters, and hereafter will signifie his princely pleasure therein.

11 To the eleuenth, as touching an inuentorie giuen into the treasury, what goods the merchants had burnt in the Mosco, in their houses there, his Maiesties pleasure was to vnderstande the same, to the intent he might know the losses of all strangers at that present, but not to make restitution, for that it was Gods doing, and not the Emperours.

12 To the twelfth, concerning Thomas Glouer, his Maiestie was enformed by his Ambassador of the Queenes great mercy and clemencie towards the said Thomas, for his sake, which his Highnes receiued in good part, but what agreement or dealings was betwixt the said Sir William Garrard, & his company, & the said Glouer, or what he doth owe vnto the said merchants, his Maiestie doth not know. And as for the money which the said Thomas saith is owing vnto him by the Emperour, his Maiesties pleasure is, that so much as shall be found due, & growing vpon wares deliuered vnto the treasury, out of the time of his Maiesties displeasure, shall be paid forthwith to the said Thomas, and the rest is forfeited vnto his Maiestie, and taken for a fine, as appertaining to Rutter and Benner, accompted traitors vnto his Highnes, during the time of his displeasure.

13 To the thirteenth article, concerning Rutter to be deliuered vnto you, to be caried home, the answer was, that as his Maiestie will not detain any English man in his Countrey, that is willing to go home, according to the the Queens request: euen so will he not force any to depart, that is willing to tary with him. Yet his Highnes, to satisfie the Queenes Maiesties request, is contented at this present to send the said Ralfe Rutter home with you, and hath commanded that a letter shall be written vnto his chiefe officer at the Mosco, to send the said Rutter away with speed, that he may be with you at Vologda, by the fine of May, without faile: and touching the rest of your request in the said article, his Maiesties pleasure shall be signified in the letters of priuilege, granted to the said merchants.

14 To the fourteenth, touching artificers, his Maiestie will accomplish all the Queenes Highnes request in that behalfe, and now at this present doth licence such and so many to depart to their native countrey as are willing to goe.

15 To the 15, touching Besson Messeruey, the Emperours maiestie is much offended with him, and will send down a gentleman with you to inquire of his ill behauior, as wel for speaking of vnderstande words against the Queenes maiestie as you haue alleaged, as also against you, and the merchants for his outrages mentioned in the article, & the said Besson being found guilty, to be imprisoned & punished by seuerer iustice accordingly, and after to put in sureties to answer the Emperours high displeasure, or els to be brought vpon like a prisoner by the said gentleman to answer his offences before his Maiestie. And his highnes doth request that the Queenes highnes would doe the like vpon Middleton and Manlie her messengers sent thither two yeres past, and of all others for their ill behauiour towards his maiestie, as may appeare by letters sent by Daniel Siluester from his highnes, least by the bad demeanour of such lewd persons, the amity and friendship betwixt their maiesties might be diminished.

16 To the 16 and last article, touching the coyne brought into the Emperours dominions by the merchants, his maiestie doth greatly commend them for so wel doing, and hath commanded to giue you a letter forthwith in their behalf, directed to his officers of Diuina, to suffer the said merchants to sell their coyne, by measure great or small at their pleasure without custome.

Thus I receiued a full answer from his maiestie by his chiefe Secretarie & one other of his counsell, to the 16 articles afoze rehearsed, by me exhibited in writing touching your affaires, with his letter also sent by me to the Queenes maiestie. Which being done, I requested that the new letters of priuilege granted by his highnes vnto you might be forthwith dispatched, to the intent I might carie the same with me. Also I requested that such money due to you, which it had pleased his maiestie to command to be payd, might be deliuered to me in your behalfe.

Touching the letters of priuilege, the Secretary answered me, it is not possible you can haue them with you, for they must be first written and shewed vnto the Emperour, and then there to be written of one tenour according to your request, which cannot be done with speede, for that his maiesties pleasure is, you shall depart this night before him, who remooueth himselfe to morrow towards Nouogrod: but without faile the sayd letters shall be dispatched vpon the way, and sent after you with speede to Colmogro. And as touching the money which you require, it cannot be paid here because we haue not the bookes of accounts, for want whereof we know not what to paie: wherfoze the best is that you send one of the merchants after the Emperour to Nouogrod, & let him repaire vnto me there, and without faile I will paie all such money as shall be appointed by his maiestie to be paid after the bookes seene.

But forasmuch as there was none of your seruants with me at that present (although I had earnestly written vnto your Agent Nicholas Proctor by Richard Pingle one of your owne seruants, one moneth befoze my comming to Scaries, where I had my dispatch, that he should not faile to come himselfe, or send one of your seruants to mee hither, to follow all such suites as I should commence in your behalfe, which he neglected to doe to your great hinderance) I requested the said Secretarie that I might leaue Daniel my interpreter with him, aswell for the receipt of money, as for the speedy dispatch of the letters of priuiledge, but it would not be granted in any wise that I should leaue any of mine own companie behind me, and thereupon I did take my leaue with full dispatch, and departed to my lodging, and forthwith there came vnto me a gentleman who had charge as well to conduct me, and provide boates, men, post horses and victuals for me all the way to the sea side, being a thousand and thre hundred miles, as also to doe iustice of the sayd Bessone, as aforesaid. And he said vnto me, the Emperours pleasure is, that you shall presently depart from hence, and I am appointed to goe with you. And that night I departed from the said Scaries, being the fourteenth of May aforesaid. And passing a great part of my iourney, I arriued at the citie of Vologda the last of the sayd May, where I remained five daies as well expecting a messenger to bring vnto me the new letters of priuiledge, as the coming of Rutter, whom the Emperours maiestie himselfe commanded befoze my face should be sent vnto me without faile, and I did see the letters written to the chiefe officers at the Mosco for the same. Neuerthelesse the said Rutter did not come, neither could I heare of him after, nor know the sudden cause of his stay contrary to the princes owne word and meaning, as I suppose. But I could not help the matter being farre from the prince, neither could I tell how to haue redresse, because by absence I could not complaine. Notwithstanding I vled my endeouour, and sent a messenger Iohn Norton one of your seruants from Vologda to Nouogrod, where the court then lay, expressely with letters, as well to aduertise his maiestie that the sayd Rutter was not sent vnto me according to his highnes commandement & order, as also about the dispatch of the said letters of priuiledge and receipt of your money, with straight charge that he should in any wise returne vnto me againe befoze the departing of the ships. And the first day of June I departed from the said Vologda by water towards Colmogro, where I arriued the 21 of June aforesaid, and remained there vntill the 23 of July, looking for the said Iohn Norton to haue returned vnto me in at that time, which had respite fully enough in that space both to go to the court to dispatch his busines, and to haue returned againe vnto me, but he came not, for it was otherwise determined befoze his going, as I did after vnderstand, and can moze at large by woide of mouth declare vnto your worthships the occasion thereof.

Neuerthelesse, I am well assured befoze this time your Agent hath receiued into his hands the sayd letters of priuiledges, and shall haue dispatch with expedition in all things touching your affaires, according to his maiesties grant by me obtained, and as he hath written to the Queenes maiestie at this present, wishing that as now by my going the Emperour hath withdrawen his grieuous displeasure from you, and restored you againe into his fauour, so your Agent and others your seruants there resident may behaue, & endeouour themselves to keepe & augment the same, whose euill doings haue bene the onely occasion of his indignation now remitted.

The names of such countries as I *Anthony Ienkinson* haue trauelled vnto, from the second of October 1546, at which time I made my first voyage out of *England*, vntill the yeere of our Lord 1572, when I returned last out of *Russia*.

First, I passed into *Flanders*, and trauelled through all the base countries, and from thence through *Germanie*, passing ouer the *Alpes* I trauelled into *Italy*, and from thence made my iourney through *Piemont* into *France*, throughout all which realme I haue thoroughly iournied. I haue also trauelled through the kingdomes of *Spaine* and *Portingal*, I haue sailed through the *Leuant* seas every way, & haue bene in all the chiefe Islands within the same sea, as *Rhodes*, *Malta*, *Sicilia*, *Cyprus*, *Candie*, and diuers others.

I haue bene in many partes of *Grecia*, *Morea*, *Achaia*, and where the olde citie of *Corinth* stood.

I haue trauelled through a great part of *Turkie*, *Syria*, and diuers other countries in *Asia* minor.

I haue passed ouer the mountaines of *Libanus* to *Damaico*, and trauelled through *Samaria*, *Galile*, *Philistine* or *Palestine*, vnto *Ierusalem*, and so through all the *Holy land*.

I haue bene in diuers places of *Affrica*, as *Algiers*, *Cola*, *Bona*, *Tripolis*, the gollet within the gulfe of *Tunis*.

I haue sailed farre Northward within the Mare glaciale, where we haue had continuall day, and sight of the Sunne ten weekes together, and that nauigation was in Norway, Lapland, Samogitia, and other very strange places.

I haue trauelled thzough all the ample dominions of the Emperour of Russia and Moscouia, which extende from the North sea, and the confines of Norway and Lapland, euen to the Mare Caspium.

I haue bene in diuers countries neere about the Caspian sea, Gentiles, and Pa hoimans, as Cazan, Cremia, Rezan, Cheremisi, Mordouiti, Vachin, Nagaia, with diuers others of strange customes and religions.

I haue sailed ouer the Caspian sea, & discouered all the regions thereabout adiacent, as Chircassi, Comul, Shafcal, Shiruan, with many others.

I haue trauelled 40 daies iourney beyond the said sea, towards the Oriental India, and Cathaia, thzough diuers deserts and wildernesses, and passed through 5 kingdomes of the Tartars, and all the land of Turkeman and Zagaray, and so to the great cite of Boghar in Baetria, not without great perils and dangers sundry times.

After all this, in An. 1562, I passed againe ouer the Caspian sea another way, and landed in Armenia, at a cite called Derbent, built by Alexander the great, & from thence trauelled through Media, Parthia, Hircania, into Persia to the court of the great Sophie called Shaw Tamasso, vnto whom I deliuered letters from the Queenes maiestie, and remained in his court 8 moneths, and returning homeward, passed thzough diuers other countries. Finally I made two voyages moze afer that out of England into Russia, the one in the yeere 1566, and the other in the yeere 1571. And thus being weary and growing old, I am content to take my rest in mine owne house, chiefly comforting my selfe, in that my seruice hath bene honourably accepted and rewarded of her maiestie and the rest by whom I haue bene imployed.

A letter of *Iames Alday* to the Worshipfull *M. Michael Lock*, Agent in London for the *Moscouie* company, touching a trade to be established in *Lappia*, written 1575.

He maruellet
the company
do not referre
with him of
Lappia.



Haue in remembrance (worshipful Sir) the talke we had when I was with you, as touching the trade in Lappia: And certainly I haue something maruelled that in all this time the right wor. your societie haue not giuen order that some little conference (by you, or with some other) might haue bin had with me touching those parts, considering they know (as I thinke) that I remained there one whole yere & moze, by which meanes reason would that I should haue learned something. But the cause why they haue not desired to conferre with me (as I iudge) resteth only in one of these 4 cases, that is to say, either they thinke themselves so thzoughly certified of that trade, as moze neede not be spoken therof, or that they haue no lust moze to deale that waies, or that they hold mee so vntrusty to them that they dare not open their minds, for feare or doubt, I should beare moze affectio to others then to them, & so discouer their secrets: or els they think me of so simple vnderstanding, that I am not worthy to be spoken with in these matters. To which 4 cases I answer as followeth: First, if they think themselves so thzoughly certified as moze need not to be spoken: certainly I something maruel by whom it should be: for in y winter past there lay but 5 English persons there, vz. Christopher Colt, Roger Leche, Adam Tunstal cooper, one lad, & I: for Henry Cockledge was the whole winter at Mosco. And of these persons, as touching Colt, I thinke him (if I may without offence speake my conscience) the most simple person that was there, (as touching the vnderstanding of a marchant) although indeed he tooke vpon him very much to his owne harme & others I doubt, for he vsed himselfe not like a marchant, neither shewed diligence like a worthy seriant or factor, but lay still in a den al y whole winter, hauing wares lying vpon his hand, which he would not imploy to any vse; although sundry waies there were that he might haue put his wares in ready money with gaine, & no great aduenture, which money would haue bin moze acceptable to the poore Lappes & fishermen at the spring, then any kind of wares: but his fond head did as he that had the talent in the Gospel, & yet he had counsel to the contrary which he disdaind, so that men perceiuing his captious head, left not only to counsell him, but also some, in as much as they might, kept him from knowledge of the trade that might be in that countrey, the winter time, which is better peraduenture then most men think of. Wherefoze if Colt haue written or said any thing touching those countreies, it is doubtful whether it toucheth the effect or not, considering he lay still all the winter without trial of any matter. And for Henry Cockledge assuredly speaking so much as I do perfectly know, I must needs say, that he is a very honest pong man, & right carefull of his business.

1574.

5 English men
wintered in
Lappia.

Christopher Colt
a simple marchant.

Good trade in
winter in Lappia.

Henry Cockledge
honest,
but ignorant.

since, and in that respect worthy to be praised. But yet he being absent in the winter other then by heare say he could not learne, so that his instructions may be something doubtful. And like as of the lad nothing can be learned, so am I sure that Tunkal the Cooper hath not yet bene spoken with, so that of those parts certaine knowledg cannot as yet be learned, except by Roger Leche, of whom I confesse knowledg may be had, for indeed there is no English man living that hath like knowledg in those countries as he hath, nor that is able to do so much with the people as he may: he in the winter travailed one waies & other nere 300 miles: he of a litle made something, and learned not only the maners, conditions & customs of the people, but also he learned of all kind of commodities in those regions: how they may be bought at the most advantage, that gaine may be made of them: So that I confesse, if he hath given intelligence to the right Mo: company, then have they no neede to speake with me or any other for to learne of those countries (except it be to heare mine opinion) which in truth I will alwaies open unto them. But the effect of y^e beneficial secrets of that countrey is to be inquired of him, & in mine opinion worthy to be learned, except, as in the second case, they list no more to deale that waies. To which I answered, that if they deale not that waies, & that with speede they seeke not to prevent others y^e mean to deale there, although not English men, let them then not thinke long to haue any profitable trade in Russia: for the greater part of that benefit will be wiped from them, or 5 yeere to an end, as I will shew good reason, if I be demanded the question. Therefore if they will maintaine the Russia trade with advantage, then ought they to looke to this in time, and so may they keepe the Russia trade as it is, and likewise make a trade in Lappia more profitable then that, and therfore this is to be considered, rather then to prohibite Englishmen fro the trade of Vedagoba, for if they looke not to this, and that in time, they may be likened (if it might be without offence spoken) to two dogs that strine for the bone whyles the thirde run away with it: and yet meane I not otherwise, but in such order, as not Englishmen only, but also Hollanders, Brabanders, & others may be instly and vterly put from the trade in Lappia, and the company to keepe the whole trades to themselves without interruption of any, to their great benefit, which I wish to them from the bottome of my heart, as euer I wished wealth to mine own person: And thereby hold me excused in the thirde case I wite of. And for the fourth as touching my iudgement, as I confesse it is not very deepe, so I thanke God I am not vterly without vnderstanding (although I be poore) & therfore per aduventure holden out of reputation, yet God doth distribute his giftes as it pleaseh him: I haue seen wise men poore in my time, & foolish men rich, and some men haue more knowledge then they can vter by speech, which fault was once obiecced against me by a great learned man of this realme: but surely how weak soeuer my vterance is, my meaning is faithfull and true, and I wish in my heart to your laudable company al the gaine that may be, or els I pray the Lord God to confound me as a false dissembler. It grieueth me to see how of late they haue bin brought to great charges, beating the bush, as the old terme is, & other men taking the birds: this last yeere hauing in Lappia 2 ships, as I am partly informed, they both brought not much about 300 barrels of traine oyle, yet an I sure there was bought besides them of the Russes, Tozels, & Lappes, 1183 barrels, besides 27 barrels Cole sold to Iacob the Hollander, at two barrels for one 120 therne dozen. And yet there is a greater inconuenience springing, which if it take a litle deeper roote it will be (I feare) too hard to be pulled by, which for loue & good will (God is my witnes) I wite of, wishing as to my deare friends that they should looke to it in time, if they meane to keepe the trade of Russia or Lappia. And thus loue hath compelled me to wite this aduertisement, which I wish to be accepted in as good part, as I wish good will haue written it.

Roger Leche
Capt of Lappia

If the company do not enter into the trade of Lappia, others will prevent them.

The trade of Vedagoba.

He can say somewhat though not much.

1183 barrels of oyle bought by others, Cole sold 27 barrels to a Hollander.

The request of an honest merchant to a friend of his, to be aduised and directed in the course of killing the Whale, as followeth. An. 1575.

I pray you please me in getting me perfect information of the matter hereunder specified.

For the provision and furniture for a shippe of 200 tunnes, to catch the Whale fish in Russia, passing from England. How many men to furnish the ship.

How many fishermen skilful to catch the Whale, & how many other officers and Coopers.

How many boats, and what fashion, and how many men in each boate.

What wages of such skilfull men and other officers, as we shall neede out of Biskay.

How many harping irons, speares, cordes, ares, hatchets, knives, and other implements for the fishing, and what sort and greatnes of them.

How many kettles, the greatnesse and maner of them, and what mettall, and whether they be set on cruizers or on furnaces for boiling of the traine oyle, and others.

What quantitie of caske, and what sort of caske, and what number of hoopess and twigges, and how much thereof to be staued for the traine.

What quantitie of victuals, and what kinde of victuals for the men in all the tyme for 4 moneths time.

For the common mariners and officers to governe the ship, we shall not neede any out of Biskae, but onely men skilful in the catching of the Whale, and ordering of the oyle, and one Cooper skilfull to set by the staued caske.

Also what other matters are requisite to be knowen, and done for the said voyage to catch the Whale, not here noted nor remembred.

These requests were thus answered, which may serue as directions for all such as shall intend the same voyage, or the like for the Whale.

A proportion for the setting forth of a ship of 200 tunne, for the killing of the Whale.

There must be 55 men who departing for Wardhouse in the moneth of April, must bee furnished with 4 kintals and a halfe of bread for euery man.

250 hogsheds to put the bread in.

150 hogsheds of Cedar.

6 kintals of oyle.

8 kintals of bacon.

6 hogsheds of beefe.

10 quarters of salt.

150 pound of candles.

8 quarters of beanes and pease.

Saltfish & herring, a quantitie conuenient.

4 tunnes of wines.

Half a quarter of mustard seed, and a querne.

A grindstone.

800 empty shaken hogsheds.

350 bundles of hoopcs, and 6 quintalincs.

800 paire of heds for the hogsheds.

10 Cstachas called cores for harping irons.

10 pieces of Arpoxeras.

3 pieces of Waibens for the Juelines small.

2 tackles to turne the Whales.

A halfer of 27 fadom long to turne y^e whales

15 great Juelines.

18 small Juelines.

50 harping irons.

6 machicos to cut the Whale withall.

2 dozen of machetos to minch the Whale.

2 great hookcs to turne the Whale.

3 paire of Can hookcs.

6 hookcs for staues.

3 dozen of staues for the harping irons.

6 pullies to turne the Whale with.

10 great baskets.

10 lampes of iron to carie light.

5 kettles of 150 li. the piece, and 6 ladles.

1000 of nailcs for the pinnacles.

500 of nailcs of Carabelie for the houses, and the wharfe.

18 axes and hatchets to cleaue wood.

12 pieces of lines, and 6 dozen of hookcs.

2 beetles of Rosemarie.

4 dozen of oares for the pinnacles.

6 lanternes.

500 of Celia.

Item, gunpowder & matches for harquebushes as shalbe needfull.

Item, there must be caried from hence 5 pinnacles, five men to strike with harping irons, two cutters of Whale, 5 coopers, & a purser or two.

A note of certaine other necessarie things belonging to the

Whale fishing, receiued of master *W. Burrough.*

A sufficient number of pullies for tackle for the Whale.

A dozen of great baskets.

4 furnaces to melt the Whale in.

6 ladles of copper.

A thousand of nailcs to mend the pinnacles.

500 great nailcs of spikes to make their house

3 paire of bootcs great and strong, for them that shall cut the Whale.

8 calue skins to make aprons of barberans.

The deposition of *M. William Burrough* to certaine Interrogatories ministred vnto him concerning the Narue, Kegor, &c. to what king or prince they doe appertaine and are subiect, made the 23 of Iune, 1576.

These articles seeme to haue bene ministred vpon the quarel between Alderman Bond the elder, and the Moscouie company, for his trade to the Narue without their consent.

The first Interrogatorie.

First, whether the villages or townes vulgarly called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo and Cola, and the portes of the same townes, as well at the time of the grant of the letters of priuilege

uilege by the Emperour to our merchants, as also in the yeeres of our Lord, 1566, 1567, 1568, 1569, 1570, 1571, 1572, 1573, 1574, and 1575. respectiue were (as presently they be) of the iurisdiction, and subiect to the mightie p̄ince the Emperour of Russia: and whether the saide Emperour of Russia, by all the time aforesaide, was chiefe lord and gouernour respectiue of the saide places, and so vulgarly knowen, had, and reputed: and whether the saide towne and places, and either of them be situated towards the North and North east or North west, and betwene the North and the East point: and be the same places whereunto by force of the saide p̄uilege, it is forbidden to any other subiect to haue traffike, sauing to the Societie aforesaid.

To this Interrogatorie the deponent saith, that it is true that the villages, townes and places vulgarly called the Nareu, Kegor, Pechingo and Cola, and the portes thereof, at the time of the grant of the saide p̄uilege (as he iudgeth) were reputed respectiue to be vnder the iurisdiction, & subiect to the Emperour of Russia, and so from the time of the saide grant, vnto the yeere, 1566, and that in the yeeres of our Lord, 1566, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, and 1575. respectiue they were (as presently they be) of the iurisdiction, and subiect vnto the mightie p̄ince the Emperour of Russia, and the same Emperour of Russia, by all the time aforesaid, was chiefe gouernour respectiue of the saide places, and so vulgarly knowen, had and reputed. And that all the saide places are situated from London Northwards, betwene the East and the North, and within the grant of the letters patents, and p̄uileges of the saide companie of merchants for the discouery of new trades, and the same places whereunto by force of the saide letters patents, it is forbidden to any other subiect to haue traffike sauing to the Societie aforesaid.

The deponent
answers.

Notwithstanding the Deponent saith, that he hath heard it credibly reported by diuers, that the king of Denmarke of late yeeres, or euery yeere once, hath had one of his subiects or moze by him selfe, or with his guide a Lappian, that hath at the places Cola, Kegor, and diuers other places in Lappia, taken of the Lappies certain tribute or head pence, which the saide Lappies haue willingly giuen to winne fauour of the saide p̄ince, and to liue quietly by his subiects, the people of Finmarke which border vpon their countrey, whereof Wardhouse is the strongest hold, & bordereth neere vnto them. Hee hath also heard that in the time of peace betwene the saide Emperour of Russia, and the kings of Sweden, there was yeerely for the king of Sweden one or moze that came into Lappia vnto diuers places, in maner as the king of Denmarks seruant vseth to doe, and did demaund of them some tribute or duetie which they willingly paide: but since the late warres betwene the saide Emperour and king of Sweden, hee hath not heard of any thing that hath bene paide by them to the king of Sweden: such is the simplicitie of this people the Lappies, that they would rather giue tribute to all those that border vpon their countrey, then by denying it haue their ill willes.

But the trueth is, as this Deponent saith, that the saide mightie p̄ince the Emperour of Russia is the chiefe lord and gouernour of the saide countrey of Lappia, his lawes and orders are obserued by them, hee takes toll and custome &c. of them. They are infidels, but if any of them become Chistians it is after the Russe law. If there happen any controuersie betwene those people, such as cannot be ended amongst themselves, or by the Emperours deputies in that countrey, they repaire to the Mosko as their highest Court, and there haue it ended. Betwene the place specified Kegor, and the confines of Finmarke aforesaide in Lappia, is the monasterie Pechingo, which are monkes, and vse the Russe lawe, the chiefe or head of that abbey is alwayes appointed by the cleargie in Mosko.

Pechingo
abbey.

Also in the yeere of our Lord 1557, the saide Deponent was at the place Kegor, in the moneth of June, the 29. day being S. Peters day, at which time was a great assembly of people at a mart there, the Russes, Kerils and Lappians on the one side subiects to the saide mightie p̄ince the Emperour of Russia, and the Norwegians or Norles and people of Finmarke subiects to the king of Denmarke on the other part, they did barter and exchange fish for other commodities. The deputie for the Russe had the chief gouernment of the saide Mart, and tooke toll of those people & were subiect to his master, and the captaine of Wardhouse had then the gouernment of the people subiect to his master the king of Denmark. He saith also, that betwene the abbey Pechingo, and the abbey of S. Nicholas in Russia, vpon the border of the saide coast of Lappia, he hath bene vpon the shore at diuers places, where fresh riuers fall into the Sea, where are commonly taken fresh salmons, all which places he doth know for certaine, that they were farmed out to the subiects of the saide Emperour, and he the saide Emperour receiued yeerely the rent for them. And further he saith that it hath bene further credibly reported vnto him, that there is not any such riuer or creek of fresh water which falleth out of the saide countrey of Lappia into the sea, betwene the saide abbey Pechingo, and the bay of S. Nicholas, but they are all and euery of them farmed out, and the Emperour receiueh the rent for them.

Item,

The second
Interrogato-
rie.

Item, whether as well befoze, as also within the memorie of men, till the time of the graunt of the said letters patents any of the English merchants (sauiing the merchants of the said societie) subiects of this realme of England, haue commonly exercised or frequented businesse or trade in the said villages or townes called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo, and Cola, or in any of them, or in any ports or territories of the said Emperour of Russia.

The depos-
nents answer.

To this Interrogatorie the Deponent answereth, that the subiects of this realme befoze the graunt of the said letters patents did not commonly exercise, neither frequent or trade to any of the said places called the Narue, Kegor, Pechingo or Cola, or to any of them,

Certaine reasons to disswade the vse of a trade to the *Narue* aforesaide, by way through *Sweden*.

The merchandise of the *Narue* are grosse wares, viz. flaxe, hennep, ware, tallow and hides. The traffique at that place standeth vpon the agreement and liking of the Emperour of Russia, with the king of *Sweden*: for all these merchandises that are brought thither come from *Plescoue*, *Nouogrod*, and other parts of the Emperours dominions.

If or transporting those merchandises from *Narue* to *Stockholm*, or what other place shall bee thought conuenient in *Sweden*, it must be in vessels of those countries, which will be of smal force to resist freebooters, or any other that shall make quarell or offer violence against them.

When the goods are brought into *Sweden*, they must be discharged, and new laden into smaller vessels, to cary the same by riuer or lake a part of the way, and againe to be unladen and transported by land to *Newles*.

So as the ordinary charges for transporting of goods from *Narue* to *Newles* by way as afore said, besides the spoile by so often lading and unlading, carriage by land, and the dangers of the seas, pirats, &c. will be such as when it shall be brought to *Newles* it will be as deare to the merchants in that place as it shall be woorthy to be sold in *London*, wherefoze the trade that wayes cannot be profitable to our nation.

Moreouer, when the goods shall be in *Newles*, it may bee thought doubtfull to bring it thence quietly without disliking or forcible resistance of the king of *Denmarke*, soasmuch as he maketh quarell, and alleageth damage vnto him in his tolles of the *Sound* by our trade to *S. Nicholas*, how much more will he now doe by this way, and with how much greater aduantage may he performe it: The danger that may grow in our trade to *Russia* by way of *S. Nicholas*, though the displeasure that the Emperour may conceiue by our trade with the *Sweden* to *Narue* is also to be considered.

Note.

A remembrance of aduise giuen to the merchants, touching a voyage for *Cola* abouesaid. 1578.

Whereas you require my counsell after what order the voyage for *Cola* is to be set forth, I answer that I know no better way then hath bene heretofore used, which is after this maner. First of all we haue hired the ship by the great, giuing so much for the wearing of the tackle and the hull of the shippe, as the ship may be in bignesse: as if shee bee about the burden of an hundred tunnes, we pay fourescore pound, and so after that rate: and thereunto we doe victual the ship our selues, and doe ship all our men our selues, shipping no more men, nor giuing them more wages then we should doe if they went of a merchants voyage, for it hath bene a great helpe to our voyage hitherto, to haue our men to fish with one boate, & colling vs no more charges then it should do, if our men should lie & doe nothing sauiing the charges of salt, & of lines, which is treble paid for againe. For this last yere past our men killed with one boat betwixt 9, or 10. thousand fish, which yeelded to vs in money with the oyle that came of it, about 15, or 16. score pounds, which is a great helpe to a voyage. And besides al this, our ship did take in so much oyle and other commodities as we bestowed 100. whole clothes in. But because, as I doe suppose, it is not the vse of *London* to take ships to freight after that order befoze prescribed, neither I think that the mariners wil take such paines as our men will: Therefoze my counsell is, if you thinke good, to freight some ship of *Hulo* or *Newcastle*, for I am sure that you may haue them there better cheape to freight, then here at *London*. Besides al this, one may haue such men as wil take paines for their merchants. And furthermore when it shall please God that the ship shall returne to come to discharge at *Hull*, which will be the most for your profit for the sales of all such like commodities as comes from that place, as for fish, oyle, and *Salmon* chiefly, hee that will seeke a better market for the sales then at *Hull*, he must seeke it out of *England*, for the like is not in *England*. This is the best way that I can deuise

Hull the best
market of Eng-
land for sale of
fish.

deuise, and most for your profite, and if you will, I will also let you downe all the commodities that are necessarie for such a voyage, and which way also that the Hollanders may within two or thre yeeres be forced to leaue off the trade of Cola which may easily be done. For if my abilitie were to my will, I would vse the matter so that they should either leaue off the trade, or els carry light ships with them home againe.

A dedicatorie Epistle vnto the Queenes most excellent Maiestie,
written by Master *William Burrough* late Comptroller of her Highnesse nauie, and annexed vnto his exact and notable mappe of *Russia*, briefly containing (amongst other matters) his great trauailes, obseruations, and experiments both by sea and land, especially in those Northeasterne parts.

To the most high and renowned *Princesse ELIZABETH*, by the grace of God *Queene* of England, France and Ireland, &c.



My minde earnestly bent to the knowledge of nauigation and Hypozographie from my youth (most excellent my dread Soueraigne) hath elssoones bene moued by diligent studie to search out the chiefe points to them belonging: and not there with sufficed hath also sought by experience in diuers discoueries and other voyages and trauailes to practise the same. I was in the first voyage for discouerie of the partes of *Russia*, which began in anno 1553. (being then sirteene yeeres of age) also in the yeere 1556. in the voyage when the coastes of *Samoed* and *Noua Zembla*, with the straightes of *Vaigatz* were found out: and in the yeere 1557, when the coast of *Lappia*, and the bay of *S. Nicholas* were more perfectly discouered. Since which time, by my continuall practise in the voyages made yeerely to *S. Nicholas* in *Russia*, or to the *Narue*, and to some other countreys also by Sea: as likewise in passing from *S. Nicholas* to *Mosco*, and from *Mosco* to *Narue*, and from thence backe againe to *S. Nicholas* by land, in the yeeres 1574, and 1575. (being then Agent in those countreys for the companie of English merchants for discoueries of new trades) setting downe alwayes with great care and diligence, true obseruations & notes of all those countreys, Islands, coastes of the sea, and other things requisite to the artes of Nauigation and Hypozographie: and with like diligence gathering exact notes and descriptions of the wayes, riuers, cities, townes, &c. as I passed by land: I finde my selfe sufficiently furnished to giue report vnto your Maiesty, and to make description of those North parts of the world in forme and maner of euery leagues distance that I haue passed & seene in all those my trauels. The places herein described, which I haue not seene and cried myselfe, I haue set downe by the best authorities that I could finde, and therein may erre with the learned *Gerardus Mercator*, *Abraham Ortelius*, and the rest: but for the maine part which is from *Rochel* in France hither to *London*, and from hence Eastward to *Narue* by sea, and from thence to *Mosco* and to *S. Nicholas* by land: also from hence Northwards and North-eastwards: by Sea to *Saint Nicholas*, and to the straight of *Vaigatz* (first crauing humbly your highnesse pardon) I dare boldly affirme (and that I trust without suspect of arrogancie, since truly I may say it) I haue here set it open to the view, with such exactnesse and truely, and so placed euery thing aright in true latitude and longitude, (acomputing the longitudes from the meridian of *London*, which I place in 21. degrees) as till this time no man hath done the like: neither is any man able by learning onely, except he trauaileth, as I haue done. For as it may be truly saide of nauigation and Hypozographie, that no man can be cunning in the one which wanteth conuenient knowledge in the other: and as neither of them can be had without the helpes of *Astronomie* and *Cosmographie*, much lesse without these two groundes of all artes, *Arithmetike* and *Geometrie*: so none of the best learned in those sciences Mathematicall, without conuenient practise at the sea can make iust prooffe of the profite in them: so necessarily dependeth art and reason vpon practise and experience. Albeit there are diuers both learned and vblearned, litle or nothing experienced, which in talke of nauigation will enter deceply and speake much of and against errorrs vsed therein, when they cannot reforme them. Such also haue written therof, pretending singular great knowledge therein, and would so be accompted of, though in very deede not worthy the name of good and sufficient pilots. To whom I thinke it shall not be amisse in defence of rules builded vpon reason, and in practise allowed, thus much to say for answer. It is so, that there are rules vsed in nauigation which are not perfectly true, such as which the streight lines in sea-cardes; representing the 32. points of the compasse or windes, are not holden to be the least, but noted of such talkers for principall, to condemne the occupiers thereof for ignorant: yet hath the famous and learned *Gerardus Mercator* vsed them in his vniuersal mappe. But such as condemne them for false,

faile, and speake most against their vse cannot giue other that should serue for navigation to better purpose and effect. Experience (one of the keyes of knowledge) hath taught mee to say it. Wherein with my abilitie, together with some part of my studie, I am the rather moued (in this my plot) to make some triall vnto you maiestie: for that I perceiue that such attempts of newe discoveries (whereunto this noble Island is most aptly situated) are by your royall maintenance so willingly furthered: beseeching your highnesse so to accept of these my trauailes, as a pledge of my well willing to my countrey, and of my loyall seruice to your maiestie, whose healthfull happie life and reigne God continue which is Almightye. Amen.

Your Maiesties most humble subiect
William Burrough.

The Queenes Maiesties letters to Shaugh Thomas the great Sophi of Persia, sent by *Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Tailbois,* and *Peter Gerard* appointed Agents for the Moscouie companie, in their sixt voyage to Persia, begun in the yeere 1579.

To the most noble and inuincible Emperour of Persia, King of Shiruan, Gilan, Grosin, Corassian, and great Governour of the Indies.



¶ 1568
pag. 394.

Lizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To the most noble and inuincible Emperour of Persia, King of Shiruan, Gilan, Grosin, Corassian, and great governour euen vnto the Indies, sendeth greeting. Most noble and inuincible Prince, it is now threene yeeres since, or thereabouts, wherein (after the honourable ambassade of the noble man Anthony Ienkinson our welbeloued subiect, to your most noble and inuincible father performed) we laboured to bying to passe by Thomas Bannister and Gesseray Ducker merchants, our subiects, that throughout all the kingdomes subiect to his empire, free power might be giuen to Will. Garrard, Thomas Osley, William Chester knights, Rowland Haiward, Lionel Ducker, William Allen, Thomas Bannister, Gesseray Ducker, Lawrence Chapman Merchants, and vnto their societie, to enter into his lands and countreys at all times when they would and could, there to exercise & vse their trade of merchandise, and from thence likewise after exchange or sale made of those wares, which they should bying with them with his like good leaue and fauour, to carie from thence those things wherewith his dominions do abound & with vs be scant. Which our petition the most noble prince your father took so thankfully and in such good part, that he not onely graunted franke and commodious leaue, as was desired: but the same he would to bee vnto them most free and beneficiall, and to haue continuance for many yeeres and times. The benefite of the which his wonderfull liberality, our subiects did enioy with such humanitie & freedome as there could be no greater, till the time that by reason of wars moze and moze increasing in those partes, by the which our subiects were to make their iourney into Persia, they were debarred and shut from that voyage & traffique. The which traffique the said societie being eftsouones desirous to renew to the weale and commoditie of both our dominions they haue now sent into Persia their factozs & Agents Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Tailbois, Peter Gerrard merchants, with their associats, whom we beseech your inuincible maiesty to entertaine with that fauour wherewith your father did imbrace Tho. Bannister & Gesseray Ducker, and to enfranchise their whole societie with that freedome, that neither they through any their misdeameours towards your subiects, may thereof seeme vnto you (as we hope they will not) neither we our selues other wise enioy them, then with the perpetuall remembrance of your good affection towards vs, and with the like fauourable inclination of our part towards you. The matter it selfe & tract of time shall sufficiently proue the foresaid maner of traffike vnyppositable to neither of vs. For so hath one God the chiefe gouernoz of all things disposed of our affaires on earth, that ech one should neede other. And as for our people & subiects of the English nation, in verie deed your maiesty shall find them made and fashioned so pliant to the performance of all duties of humanity, that it can neuer repent you to haue graunted them this franke traffike, nor shame vs to haue obtained it for them at your hands. That therefore it may please your maiesty to yeeld vnto them this at our request, most earnestly we beseech you. And we (as it wel becometh a prince) if euer hereafter we may, will shew our selfe not to bee vnmindfull of so great a benefite. We wish your maiesty wel & prosperously to fare. Given at our palace of Westminster the 10. day of June, in the yere of our Lord 1579. and of our reigne the 21.

Aduertisements and reports of the 6. voyage into the parts of Persia and Media, for the companie of English merchants for the discoverie of new trades, in the yeeres 1579. 1580. and 1581. gathered out of sundrie letters writen by Christopher Burrough, seruant to the saide companie, and sent to his vncler Master William Burrough.

First it is to be understood, that the ships for the voyage to S. Nicholas in Russia, in which the factors and merchandise for the Persian voyage were transported, departed from Grauesend the 19. of June, 1579. which arrived at S. Nicholas in Russia the 22. of July, where the factors and merchants landed, and the merchandise were discharged & laden into doshnikes, that is, barks of the countrey, to be caried from thence by the riuer vnto Vologda. And the 25. day of the said Iulie, the doshnikes departed from Rose Island by S. Nicholas by the riuer Dwina, Peremene, that is to say, in poste, by continual sailing, rowing, setting with poles, or drawing of mē, which came to Colmogro the 27. day, and departed thence the 29. of Iulie by the said riuer Dwina, and came to Vkyoug (which is at the head of the riuer Dwina, and mouth of Sughano) the 9. of August, where they stayed but a small time, providing some victuals, and shifting certaine of their callacks or barkmen, & so departed thence the same day by the riuer Sughano, and came to Torma (which is counted some what more then halfe the way from Vkyoug) the 15. day, where they shifted some of their callacks, and departed thence the same day, and came to the citie Vologda the 19. of August, where they landed their goods, and staid at that place till the 30. of the same. Having provided at Vologda, Telegas, or wagons, wherupon they laded their goods, they departed thence with the same by land towards Yeraslaue the said 30. of August at eight of the clocke in the morning, and came to the East side of the riuer Volga ouer against Yeraslaue, with 25. Telegas laden with the said goods the seuenth of September at five of the clocke afternoone. Then the three stroogs or barks provided to transport the saide goods to Astracan (where they should meete the ship that should carie the same from thence into Persia) came ouer from Yeraslaue vnto the same side of the riuer Volga, and there tooke in the said goods. And hauing prepared the said barks ready with all necessary furniture they departed with them from Yeraslaue downe the riuer of Volga on the 14. day of September at nine of the clocke in the morning, and they arrived at Niznouogrod the 17. day at three of the clocke afternoone, where they shewed the Emperors letters to passe free without paying any custome, and taried there about three houres to provide necessaries, and then departing, arrived at Cazan (or neere the same towne) on the 22. of September at five of the clock afternoone, where (through contrary windes, and for providing new callacks in the places of some that there went from them) they remained till the 26. day, at what time they departed thence about two of the clocke after noone, and arrived at Tetushagorod, which is on the Crim side of Volga, and in latitude 55. degrees 22. minutes, the 28. day at ten in the forenoone, where they anchored, and remained about 3. houres, and departing thence came to Oueak, which is on the Crims side (on the Westerne side of Volga) the fift of October about five of the clocke in the morning. This place is accounted halfe the way betweene Cazan and Astracan: and heere there groweth great store of Licoris: the soile is very fruitfull: they found there apple trees, and cherrie trees. The latitude of Oueak is 51. degrees 30. minutes. At this place had bene a very faire stone castle called by the name Oueak, & adioyning to the same was a towne called by the Russes, Sodom: this towne & part of the castle (by report of the Russes) was swallowed into the earth by the iustice of God, for the wickednesse of the people that inhabited the same. There remaineth at this day to be seene a part of the ruines of the castle, and certaine tombs, wherein as it seemeth haue bin laid noble personages: for vpon a tombe stone might be perceued the forme of a horse and a man sitting on it with a bow in his hand, and arrowes girt to his side: there was a piece of a scutchion also vpon one of the stones, which had characters grauen on it, whereof some part had bene consumed with the weather, and the rest left imperfect: but by the forme of them that remained, we iudged them to be characters of Armenia: and other characters were grauen also vpon another tombe stone. Nowe they departed from Oueak the said fift of October at five of the clocke after noone, and came to Perauolok the 10. day about eleuen or twelue of the clocke that night, making no abode at that place, but passed alongst by it. This worde Perauolok in the Russe tongue doeth signifie a narrow straight or necke of land betweene two waters, and it is so called by them, because from the riuer Volga, at that place, to the riuer Don or Tanais, is counted thirty versts, or as much as a man may well trauell on foote in one day. And seuen versts beneath, vpon an Island called Tzaritsna the Emperour of Russia hath sitte gunners all the summer time to keepe watch, called by the Tartar name Carawool, Betweene this place and Astracan are fure other Carawools or watches.

Yeraslaue.

Great Store of Licoris.

Perauolok.

- 1 The first is named Kamem Carawool, and is distant from Peraulok 120, versts,
- 2 The second named Stupino Carowool, distant from the first 50, versts,
- 3 The third called Polooy Carowool, is 120, versts distant from the second.
- 4 The fourth named Keezeyur Carawool, is 50, versts distant from the third,
- 5 The fifth named Ichkebre, is 30, verst distant from the fourth, and from Ichkebre to Astracan is 30, versts.

Astracan,

The 16. of October they arrived at Astracan, with their three stroogs in safetie about nine of the clock in the morning, where they found the ship provided for the Persia voyage in good order & readinesse. The 17. day the foure pincipal factors of the company, Arthur Edwards, William Turnbull, Matthew Talbois, and Peter Garrard, were invited to dine with the chiefe diake or secretary of Astracan (Vassil Pheodorouich Shelepin) who declared then unto them the troubles that were in Media and Persia: and how the Turke with helpe of the Crims had conquered, and did possesse the greatest part of Media: also he laid befoze them that Winter was at hand, & if they should put out with their ship to the sea, they should bee constrained to take what hazards might happen them by wintiring in the parts of Media, or els where, for backe againe to that place there was no hope for them to returne: whereupon the said factors determined to stay there all Winter to learne further of the state of those countreys.

Ice at Astracan
for foure mo-
neths.

The 19. of Nouember the winde being Noztherly, there was a great frost, and much ice in the riuier: the next day being the 20. of Nouember the ice stood in the riuier, and so continued vncill Easter day.

The 22. of December departed this life John Moore the gunner of the ship.

Anno 1580.

Thursday the 7. of January betweene 8. and 9. of the clocke at night there appeared a crosse proceeding from the moone, with two galles at the South and Nozth end thereof.

The 6. of January being Twelke day (which they call Chreshenia) the Russes of Astracan brake a hole in the ice vpon the riuier Volga, & hallowed the water with great solemnity according to the maner of their countrey, at which time all the souldiers of the towne shot off their small pieces vpon the ice, and likewise to gratifie the captaine of the castel being a Duke, whose name is Pheodor Michalouich Troiocouria, who stood hard by the ship, beholding them as they were on the riuier, was shot off all the ordinaunce of our ship being 15. pieces, viz. 2. faulcons, 2. faulconets, 4. fowlers, 4. fowlers chambers, and 3. other small pieces made for the stroogs to shoote halfe-stones, and afterwards the great ordinaunce of the castle was shot off.

On the 31. of January there happened a great eclipse of the moone, which began about 12. of the clocke at night, and continued befoze she was cleare an houre and a halfe by estimation, which ended the first of February about halfe an houre past one in the morning: he was wholly darkned by the space of halfe an houre.

The 26. of February the towne of Nagay Tartars, called the Yourt, which is within 3. quarters of a mile of the castle of Astracan, by casualty was set on fire about 10. of the clock at night, & continued burning til midnight, whereby one halfe of it was burnt, and much cattell destroyed. The Nagayes that inhabite that towne, are the Emperour of Russia his vassals: It is supposed there are of them inhabiting that place of men, women, and children, the number of seuen thousand. That night the Allarum was made in the castle and towne of Astracan. The captaine thereof had all his souldiers in very good order and readinesse, being of them in number two thousand gunners and castaks, that is to say, a thousand gunners, which are accounted meere souldiers, and are not put to any other seruice then the vse of their pieces, watch, &c. as souldiers which alwaies keepe the castle, and the castaks also bring their pieces, do keepe the towne, and are commonly set to all kind of labours.

The 7. of March 1580. the Nagayes and Crims came befoze Astracan to the number of one thousand foure hundred horsemen, which incamped round about, but the neerest of them were two Russes versts and a halfe off from the castle and town: some of them lay on the Crims side of Volga, and some on the Nagay side, but none of them came vpon the Island that Astracan standeth on. It was said that two of the pince of the Crims his somes were amongst them. They sent a messenger on the eight day to the captain of Astracan, to signifie that they would come and visit him: who answered, he was ready to receiue them: and taking a great shot or bullet in his hand, willed the messenger to tel them that they should not want of that geare, so long as it would last. The ninth day newes was brought that the Crims determined to assault the towne or castle, and were making of sagots of reede, to bring with them for that purpose. The tenth day two Russes that were captiues, and two of the Tartars bondmen ranne away from the Nagayes, and came into Astracan. The same day word was brought to the Duke of two Nagayes which were seene at Gostinhouse, supposed to be spies, but were gone againe from thence befoze they were suspected.

Astracan situate
vpon an Island.

ſuſpected. This Goſtine houſe is a place a litle without the towne where the Tiſſiks (or Perſian merchants) do uſually remaine with their merchandize. The 11. day the ſaid Nagayes, and one more with them, came againe to that houſe early in the morning, where they were taken by the Ruſſes, and brought to the captaine of the caſtle, and being examined, confeſſed that their coming was onely to ſeek two of their bondmen that were runne from them: whereupon their bondmen were deliuered to them: which ſauour the ſaid captaine commonly ſheweth if they be net Ruſſies, and they were ſet at libertie. The 13. day they brake vp their camps, and marched to the North wards into the countrey of Nagay.

The 17. of April the variation of the compaſſe obſertied in Aſtracan was 13. deg. 40. min. from North to Weſt. This ſpring there came newes to Aſtracan that the queene of Perſia (the king being blind) had bene with a great army againſt the Turks that were left to poſſeſſe Media, and had giuen them a great ouerthrow: yet notwithstanding Derben, & the greateſt part of Media were ſtill poſſeſſed and kept by the Turks. The factors of the company conſulting vpon their affayres, determined to leaue at Aſtracan the one halfe of their goods with Arthur Edwards, and with the other halfe the other thre factors would proceed in the ſhip on their purpoſed voyage to the coaſt of Media, to ſee what might be done there: where, if they could not find ſafe traffike, they determined to proceed to the coaſt of Gilan, which is a prouince nere the Caſpian ſea bordering vpon Perſia: and thereupon appointed the ſaid goods to be laden aboard the ſhip, and tooke into her alſo ſome merchandize of Tiſſiks or Perſian merchants.

The variation of the compaſſe in Aſtracan was 13. deg. 40. minutes.

The 29. of April Amos Riall, and Anthonny Marſh, the companies ſeruants were ſent from Aſtracan by the ſaid factors, by the river Volga to Yerallaue, with letters of aduiſe to be ſent for England, and had order for ſtaying the goods in Ruſſia that ſhould come that yere out of England for maintaining the trade purpoſed for Perſia, vntill further triall were made what might be done in thoſe parts.

The firſt day of May in the morning, hauing the ſhippe in readineſſe to depart, the factors invited the duke Pheodor Micalouich Proioc oorrow, and the principall ſecretary Vaſili Pheodorouich Shelepin, with other of the chiefſt about the duke to a banquet aboard the ſhip, where they were interteined to their good liking, and at their departure was ſhot off all the ordinance of the ſhip, and about nine of the clocke at night the ſame day they weyed anchor, and departed with their ſhip from Aſtracan, and being but litle winde, towed her with the boat about thre verſts, & then anchored, hauing with them a pauos or lighter to helpe them at the flats. The ſecond day at foure of the clocke in y morning they weyed & plyed downe the river Volga toward the Caſpian ſea. The ſeuenth of May in the morning they paſſed by a tree that ſtandeth on the left hand of the river as they went downe, which is called Mahomet Agarch, or Mahomets tree, & about thre verſts further, that is to ſay, to the Southwards of the ſaid tree is a place called Vchoog, that is to ſay, the Ruſſe weare: (but Ochoog is the name of a weare in the Tartar tongue) where are certain cottages, and the Emperour hath lying at that place certaine gunners to gard his fiſhermen that keepe the weare. This Vchoog is counted from Aſtracan 60. verſts: they proceeded downe the ſaid river without ſtaying at the Vchoog. The ninth and tenth dayes they met with ſhoald water, and were forced to lighten their ſhip by the pauos: the 11. day they ſent backe to the Vchoog for another pauos: This day by miſchance the ſhippe was bilged on the grapnell of the pauos, where by the company had ſuſtained great loſſes, if the chiefſt part of their goods had not bene layde into the pauos: for notwithstanding their pumping with 3. pumps, heauiug out water with buckets, and all the beſt ſhifts they could make, the ſhippe was halfe full of water ere the leake could be found and ſtopt. The 12. day the pauos came to them from the Vchoog, whereby they lighted the ſhippe of all the goods. The 13. day in the morning there came to them a ſmall boat, ſent by the captaine of Aſtracan, to learne whether the ſhippe were at ſea cleere of the flats. The 15. day by great induſtry and trauell they got their ſhip cleare off the ſhoales and flats, wherewith they had bene troubled from the ninth day vntill then: they were forced to paſſe their ſhippe in thre foot water or leſſe. The 16. day they came to the Chetera Bougori, or Iſland of foure Hillslocks, which are counted forty verſts from Vchoog, and are the furtheſt land towards the ſea. The 17. day they bare off into the ſea, and being about twelue verſts from the foure hillslocks, riding in ſixe foot and a halfe water about eleuen of the clocke in the forenoone, they tooke their goods out of the pauoſes into the ſhippe, and filled their ſhippe with all things neceſſary. The 18. day in the morning about ſeuene of the clock, the pauoſes being diſcharged departed away towards Aſtracan, the winde then at Southeaſt, they rood ſtill with the ſhippe, and obſerting the eleuation of the pole at that place, found it to be 45. degrees 20. minutes. The 19. day, the wind Southeaſt, they rood ſtill. The 20. day the wind at Northweſt they ſet ſaile about one of the clocke in the morning, & ſteered thence South by Weſt, & Southſouthweſt, about 3. leagues, and then anchored in 6. foot and

Spag.

Vchoog.

Shoald water.

Flats.

Chetera Bougori.

The Caſpian ſea.

45. degrees 20. minutes. The ſuſt abſeruation in the Caſpian ſea.

Whackish wa-
ter farre with
in the sea.

43. degrees
15. minutes.

41. degrees
32. minutes.

40. degrees
54. minutes.

28 hill.

Bachu port.

a halfe water, about nine of þ clocke before noone, at which time it fell calme: the elevation of the pole at that place 45. degrees 13. minutes. The 21. having the winde at North-west, they set saile, and stered thence South by West, and South untill eleven of the clocke, and had then nine foote water: and at noone they observed the latitude, and found it to be 44. degrees 47. minutes: then had they three fathoms and a halfe water, being cleare of the flats. It is counted from the Four hillokes to the sea about fiftie versts. From the said noonetide untill foure of the clocke they sayled South by East five leagues and a halfe: then had they five fathoms and a halfe and whackish water: from that till twelue at night they sayled South by East halfe a league, East tenne leagues: then had they eleven fathome, and the water salter. From that till the 22. day three of the clocke in the morning they sayled three & fifty leagues, then had they sixteen fathome water: from thence they sayled untill noone South and by West seven leagues and a halfe, the latitude then observed 43. degrees 15. minutes, the depth then eight and twentie fathoms, and shallow ground: from that untill eight of the clocke at night, they sayled South by East five leagues and a halfe, then had they three and forty fathoms shallow ground. From thence till the 23. foure a clocke in the morning, they sailed South-west three leagues and a halfe: then could they get no ground in two and fiftie fathoms deepe. From thence untill noone they sayled South nine leagues, then the latitude observed was 42. degrees 20. minutes. From that till the 24. day at noone they sayled South by West seuenteen leagues and a halfe, then the latitude observed was 41. degrees 32. minutes. From noone till seven of the clocke at night, they sailed South-west four leagues, then had they perfect sight of high land or hills, which were almost covered with snow, and the mid of them were West from the ship, being then about twelue leagues from the nearest land: they sounded but could finde no ground in two hundred fathoms. From thence they sailed South-west untill midnight: about three leagues from thence till the 25. day four of the clocke in the morning, they sayled West three leagues, being then litle wunde, and neere the land, they took in their sayles, and lay hulling: at noone the latitude observed, was 40. degrees 54. minutes: they sounded but could get no ground in two hundred fathoms. At four of the clocke in the afternoon, the winde North-west, they set their sayles, & from thence till the 26. day at noone they sailed East south-east foure leagues. From thence they sailed till eight of the clocke at night South-west three leagues, the winde then at North. From thence they sailed untill the 27. day two of the clocke in the morning, West-south-west eight leagues, the winde blowing at North very much. From the sayd two till foure of the clocke they sailed South by West one league: then being day night, they saw the land plaine, which was not past three leagues from them, being very high ragged land. There were certaine rocks that lay farre off into the sea, about five leagues from the same land, (which are called Barmake Tash, they sayled betwene those rocks and the land, and about five of the clocke they passed by the poze Bilbil, where they should have put in but could not: and bearing longt the shoare about two of the clocke afternoone, they came to Bildih in the countrey of Media or Sheruan, against which place they ankered in 9. foot water. Presently after they were at anker, there came aboard of them a boat, wherein were seven or eight persons, two Turkes, the rest Persians, the Turkes basia's, which bade them welcome, and seemed to be glad of their arrival, who told the factours that the Turke had conquered all Media, or the countrey Sheruan, and how that the Turkes Basna remained in Derben with a garrison of Turkes, and that Shamaky was wholly spoiled, and had few or no inhabitants left in it. The factours then being desirous to come to the speech of the Basna, sent one of the Tiskies (or merchants that went over with them from Astracan, passengers) and one of the companies servants Robert Golding, with those souldiours, to the capitaine of Bachu, which place standeth hard by the sea, to certifie him of their arrival, and what commodities they had brought, and to desire friendship to haue quiet and safe traffike for the same. Bachu is from Bildih, the place where they roade, about a dayes journey, on foote easily to be trauelled, which may be sixe leagues the next way ouer land: it is a walled towne, and strongly fortified. When the sayd messenger came to the capitaine of Bachu, the said capitaine gaue him very friendly entertainment, and after he vnderstood what they were that were come in the shippe, and what they had brought, he seemed to reioyce much therat: who gaue the said Golding licence to depart backe the next day, being the eight and twentieth day: and promised that he would himselfe come to the shippe the next day following: with which and were the said Golding returned and came to the shippe the sayd eight and twentieth day about nine of the clocke at night. The nine and twentieth day in the morning the factours caused a tent to be set up at hoare near the shippe, against the coming of the sayd capitaine: who came thither about three of the clocke after noone, and brought about thirtie souldiers, that attended on him, in shirts of male, and some of them had gaumlets of silver, others of Steele, and very faire. The factours met him at their tent, and after very friendly salutations passed betwene them, they gaue him for

a present a garment of cloch of velvet, and another of scarlet, who accepted the same gratefully. After they had talked together by their interpreters, as well of the state of the voyage and cause of their coming thither, as also learned of the sayde captaine the state of that countrey, the factours in due request vnto him, that he would helpe them to the speech of the Basna, who answered that their demand was reasonable, and that he would willingly shew them therein what pleasure he could, and sayd, because the way to Derbent, where the Basna remained, was dangerous, he would send thither, and certifie him of their arrivall, and what commodities they had brought, and such commodities as they would desire to exchange or barter the same for he would procure the said Basna to provide for them: and therefore willed the factours to consule together, and certifie him what they most desired, and what quantitie they would have provided: so whilst the factours were consulting together thereupon, the captaine talked with a Tisike merchant that came ouer in the ship with them from Astracan, which Tisike, among other matters in talke, certified the captaine, that the night before, the factours & their company were determined to haue returned backe againe to Astracan, and that they were about to wey their ankers, which in deed was true, but the maister of the barke Thomas Hudson of Limehouse perswaded them that the wind was not good for them to depart, &c. Then the factours came againe to talke with the captaine, they desired to goe to the Basna, and that he would safely conduct them thither: he granted their request willingly, desiring them to goe with him to a village hard by, and there to abide with him that night, and the next day they should goe to Bachu, and from thence proceede on their iourney to Derbent. They were unwilling to go that night with him, because their provision for the way was not in readinesse, but requested that they might stay til the morning. Whereupon the captaine sayd it was reported vnto him, that they ment the night before to haue gone away: and if it should so happen, he were in great danger of loosing his brad: for which cause he requested to haue some one for a pledge: wherefore M. Garrard one of the factours offered himselfe to go, who, because he could not speake the Russe tongue, tooke with him Christopher Burrough, and a Russe interpreter: that night they rood from the seaside, to a village about ten miles off, where at supper time the captaine had much talke with M. Garrard of our countrey, demanding where about it did lie, what countreys were neare vnto it, and with whom we had traffike, for by the Russe name of our countrey he could not coniecture who we should be: but when by the situation he perceived we were Englishmen, he demanded if our prince were a mayden Queene: which when he was certified of, then (quoth he) your land is called Enghilcerra, is it not? and whereof he was very glad when he knew the certaintie. He made very much of them, placing M. Garrard neare to himselfe, and Christopher Burrough, with the Russe interpreter for the Turkie tongue hard by. There was a Gellan merchant with him at that present, of whom he seemed to make great account: him he placed next to himselfe on the other side, and his gentlemen late round about him talking together. Their sitting is vpon the heeles, or crosse legged.

Thomas Hudson
of Limehouse,
maister of the
English barke.

M. Christopher
Burrough.

Supper being brought in, he requested them to eate. After their potage (which was made of rice) was done, and like wise their boyled meat, there came in platters of rice sodden thicke, and hony mingled with all: after all which, came a sheepe roasted whole, which was brought in a tray, and set before the captaine: he called one of his seruitors, who cut it in pieces, and laying thereof vpon diuers platters, set the same before the captaine: then the captaine gaue to M. Garrard and his company one platter, and to his gentlemen another, and to them which could not well reach he call meat from the platters which were before him. Diuers questions he had with M. Garrard and Christopher Burrough at supper time, about their diet, inquiring whether they eat fish or flesh voluntarily, or by order. Their drinke in those partes is nothing but water. After supper (walking in the garden) the captaine demanded of M. Garrard, whether the vse was in England to lie in the house or in the garden, and which he had best liking of: he answered, where it pleased him, but their vse was to lie in houses: whereupon the captaine caused beds to be sent into the house for them, and caused his kinsman to attend on them in the night, if they chanced to want any thing: he himselfe with his gentlemen and souldiers lying in the garden.

In the morning very early he sent horse for the rest of the company which should goe to Derbent, sending by them that were to come thence for the shippe. In that village there was a Stoue, into which the captaine went in the morning, requesting M. Garrard to go also to the same to wash himselfe, which he did. Shortly after their coming out of the Stoue, whilst they were at breakfast, M. Turnbull, M. Tailboyes, and Thomas Hudson the M. of the shippe, came thither, and when they had all broken their fasts, they went to Bachu: but Christopher Burrough returned to the ship, for that he had hurt his leg, and could not well endure that trauell. And from Bachu they proceeded towards Derbent, as it was by the captaine promised, being accompanied on their way for their safe conduct, with a gentleman, and certaine souldiers, which had the captaine

The receiving
of the English
into Derbent.

of Bachu his letters to the Bascha of Derbent, very friendly written in their behalfe. In their journey to Derbent they forsooke the ordinarie wayes, being very dangerous, and travelled through woods till they came almost to the towne of Derbent: and then the gentlemen road before with the captaines letters to the Bascha, to certifie him of the English merchants coming, who receiving the letters, and vnderstanding the matter, was very glad of the newes, and sent forth to receiue them certaine souldiers gunners, who met them about two miles out of the towne, saluting them with great reuerence, and afterwards road before them: then againe met them other souldiours, somewhat neerer the castle, which likewise hauing done their salutations road before them, and then came forth noble men, captaines, and gentlemen, to receiue them into the castle and towne. As they entered the castle, there was a shot of twentie pieces of great ordnance, & the Bascha sent M . Turnbull a very faire horse with furniture to mount on, & seemed to be worth an hundred markes, and so they were conveyed to his presence: who after he had talked with them, sent for a coate of cloth of golde, and caused it to be put on M . Turnbuls backe, and then willed them all to depart, and take their ease, for that they were wearie of their journey, and on the morrow he would talke further with them. The next day when y factozs came againe to the presence of the Bascha, according to his appointment, they requested him that he would grant them his priuilege, whereby they might traffike safely in any part and place of his countrey, offering him, that if it pleased his Maiestie to haue any of the commodities that they had brought, and to write his mind thereof to the captaine of Bachu, it should be deliuered him accordingly. The Baschaes answer was, that he would willingly giue them his priuilege: yet for that he regarded their safetie, hauing come so farre, & knowing the state of his countrey to be treuble some, he would haue them to bring their commodity thither, & there to make sale of it, promising he would prouide such commodities as they needed, and that he would be a defence vnto them, so that they should not be iniured by any: wherupon the factozs sent Thomas Hudson backe for y ship to bring her to Derbent, and the Bascha sent a gentleman with him to the captaine of Bachu, to certifie him what was determined, which message being done, the captaine of Bachu, and the Baschaes messenger, accompanied with a doozen souldiours, went from Bachu with Thomas Hudson, & came to the ship at Bildih the 11. day of Iune. After the captaine and his men had bene aboard and scene the ship, they all departed presently, but the gentleman, messenger from y Bascha, with three other Turkes, remained aboard, and continued in the ship till she came to Derbent: the latitude of Bildih by diuers obseruations is 40. degrees 25. minutes: the variation of the compasse 10. degrees 40. minutes from North to West. After the returne of Thomas Hudson backe to Bildih, they were constrained to remaine there with the shippe through contrary windes untill the 16. day of Iune foure of the clocke in the morning, at which time they weped anker, set saile and departed thence towards Derbent, and arriued at anker against Derbent Castell and by South from the sayd castle in foure fathome and a halfe water, the 22. day of Iune at ten of the clocke in the morning: then they tooke vp their ordnance, which before they had stowed in hold for ealing the shippe in her rowling. In the afternoone the Bascha came downe to the waterside against the shippe, and hauing the said ordnance placed, and charged, it was all shotte off to gratifie him: and presently after his departure backe, he permitted the factozs to come aboard the shippe. The 29. day their goods were vnladen and carried to the Baschaes garden, where he made choyce of such things as he liked, taking for custome of euery five & twenty karlies, or whatsoeuer, one, or after the rate of foure for the hundred. The factozs after his choyce made, determined to send a part of the rest of the goods to Bachu, for the speedier making sale thereof, for which cause they obtained the Baschaes letter to the captaine of Bachu, written very fauourably in their behoofe: and the same was laden and sent in a small boat of that countrey in merchandize, to the value (very neere) of one thousand pound sterling: videlicet, one hundredth pieces of karlies, seuen broad clothes, two barrells of cochenilio, two barrells of tinne, foure barrells of shaffe. There went with the same of the companies seruants William Winckle, Robert Golding, and Richard Relfe, with two Russies, wherof one was an interpreter, besides foure barkemen. They departed from Derbent with the said barke the 19. of Iuly, and arriued at Bildih the 25. day: their passage and carriage of their goods to Bachu was chargeable, although their sales when they came thither were small: they had great friendship shewed them of the captaine of Bachu, as well for the Baschaes letter, as also for the factozs sakes, who had dealt friendly with him, as before is declared. Robert Golding desirous to vnderstand what might be done at Shamaky, which is a daies journey from Bachu, went thither, from whence returning, he was set on by the eues, and was shot into the knee with an arrow, who had very hardly escaped with his life & goods, but that by good hap he killed one of the theeues horses with his caluer, and shot a Turke through both cheeks with a dag. On the sixt day of August the factozs being aduertised at Derbent that their ship was so rotten & weake, that it was doubtfull the

would

The latitude
of Bildih 40.
deg. 25. min.
The variation
of the compas
10 deg. 40.
min.

would not carry them backe to Astracan, did therupon agree and bargin at that place with an Armenian, whose name was Iacob, for a barke called a *Bulle*, being of burden about 35. tunnes, which came that yere from Astracan, and was at that instant riding at an Island called *Zere*, about three or foure leagues beyond or to the Eastwardes of *Bildih*, which barke for their moze safety, they ment to haue with them in their returne to Astracan, and therupon wrote vnto *Wincoll* and the rest at *Bachu*, that they should receiue the same *Bulle*, and lade in her their goods at *Bildih* to be returned to *Derbent*, and to discharge their first boate, which was obserued by them accordingly. When all their goods were laden aboard the sayd *Bulle* at *Bildih*, and being ready to haue departed thence for *Derbent*, there arose a great storme with the winde out of the sea, by force whereof the cables and halsters were broken, and their bestell put a shoare, and broken to pieces against the rocks: euery of them that were in her saued their liues, and part of the goods. But there was a *Carobia* or chestte, wherein were dollers, and golde, which they had receiued for the commodities of the company, which they sold at *Bachu*, which at the taking out of the *Bulle*, fell by the barkes side into the water amongst the rocks, and so was lost. The parkes of cloth which they could not well take out of the *Bulle* were also lost, other things that were moze profitable they saued.

Zere Island.

The English suffer ship. wacke.

The 18. of August, the Factors receiued from the *Basha* 500. Batmans of raw silke, part cell of the bargaine made with him, who bade them come the next day for the rest of the bargaine.

The 19. day the Factors went to the *Basha* according to his appointment, but that day they could not speake with him, but it was desired them as from him, that they should looke and consider whether any thing were due vnto him or not, which grieved the Factors: and thereupon *H. Turnebull* answered, that their heads & all that they had were at the *Bashas* pleasure: But then it was answered there was no such matter in it: but that they should cast by their reckonings, to see how it stood betweene them. The 20. day they cast by their reckonings. The 21. they went to haue spoken with the *Basha*, but were denied audience.

The 22. day they heard newes by a *Bulle* that came from *Astracan*, that *Arthur Edwards* (whom the Factors left at *Astracan* with the mottie of the goods) was dead, who departed this life the

Arthur Edwards died at Astracan.

The 23. day the Factors receiued moze from the *Basha* 500. Batmans of silke. The 4. of September newes was brought to *Derbent*, that *Golding* comming from *Shamaky* was set on by the cues (Turkes) and had hurt one of them.

September.

The 5. *Tobias Atkins* the gunners boy died of the fluxe, who was buried the 6. day 2. miles to the Southward of the Castle of *Derbent*, where the Armenian Christians do vsually bury their dead. About the 20. of September newes came to *Derbent*, that the *Bulle* which they had bought of *Iacob* the Armenian as before, was cast away at *Bildih*, but they receiued no certaine newes in writing from any of our people.

The 26. of September was laden aboard the ship 40. bales of silke. From the 26. till the 2. of October, they tooke into the ship, bread, water, and other necessary prouision for their sea stoye: the said 2. day of October, the Factors were commanded vpon the sabbath to auoide their house, and get them with their prouision out of the towne: Whereupon they were constrained to remoue and carry their things to the sea side against the ship, and remained there all the night. The cause of this sudden auoyding them out of the towne (as afterwards they perceiued) was for that the *Basha* had receiued newes of a supplie with treasure that the Turke had sent, which was then neare at hand comming toward him.

The 3. day of October all things were brought from the shoare aboard the ship: and that day the Factors went to the *Basha* to take their leaue of him, vnto whom they recommended those the Companies seruants, &c. which they had sent to *Bachu*, making accompt to leaue them behinde in the Countrey: who caused their names to be written, and promised they should want nothing, nor be iniuried of any. After this leaue taken, the Factors went aboard purposing presently to haue set saile and departed towards *Astracan*, the winde seruing well for that purpose at South Southeast: And as they were ready to set saile, there came against the ship a man, who warned: wherupon the boate was sent a shoare to him, who was an Armenian sent from *William Wincoll*, with his writing tables, wherein the said *Wincoll* had written briefly, the mishap of the losse of the *Bulle*, and that they were comming from *Bildih* towardes *Derbent*, they, and such things as they saued with a small boate, forced to put a shoare in a place by the sea side called the Armenian village: Whereupon the Factors caused the shippe to stay, hoping that with the Southerly winde that then blew, they would come from the place they were at to the ship, but if they could not come with that winde, they ment to saile with the shippe, with the next wind that would serue them, against the place where they were, & take them in, if they could: which stay and

The Armenian village.

losse of those Southerly windes, was a cause of great troubles, that they after wardes sustained through yce, &c. entering the Volga as shalbe declared.

The 4. day the winde South Southeast, the shippe rode still: This day Christopher Burrow was sent to Hoze to Derbent to provide some necessaries for the voyage, & with him a Tisike or two, which should goe in the shippe passengers to Astracan. And being on shoare he saw there the romming in of the Turkes treasure, being accompanied with 200. souldiers, and one hundredth pioners, besides Captaines and Gentlemen: the Basha with his Captaines and souldiers very gallantly apparelled and furnished went out from Derbent about thre or foure miles, to meete the said treasure, and receiued the same with great ioy and triumph. Treasure was the chiefe thing they needed, for not long befoze the souldiers were readie to breake into the Court against the Basha for their pay: there was a great mutinie amongst them, because hee had long deferred and not payed them their due. The treasure came in seuen wagons, and with it were brought tenne pieces of brasse.

The Turke his treasure sent to Derbent.

In the parts of Media where they were, there was no commoditie to be bought of any value, but raw silke, neither was that to be had but at the Bashas hands: who shortly after their coming thither taxed the Countrey for that commoditie. His dealing with our Marchants as it was not with equitie in all points according to his bargaine, so it was not extreme ill. Of the commodities they carried hee tooke the chiefe part, for which he gaue but a small price in respect of the value it was there worth, and because he had provided such quantitie of commoditie for them, which other wise they could not haue had, the Countrey being so troublesome, and trauaile by land so dangerous, he vsed them at his pleasure.

The newes that was reported vnto them at Astracan touching the warres betweene the Turkes & Persians differed little from the truth: For the Turkes armie with aide of the Cruas, (being in number by information of two Spaniards that serued in those wars, about 200000) inuaded and conquered the Countrey of Media in Anno 1577. When the great Turke understood of the conquest, he appointed Osman Basha (the said Basha, and now Captaine of Derbent) gouernour of the whole Countrey, who settled himselfe in Shamaky the chiefe Citie of Media, and principall place of traffike, vnto whom was sent from the great Turke, in signification of the gratefull acceptation of his seruice and the great conquest, a sword of great value.

Osman Basha.

After the said Basha had brought the Countrey in order to his liking, and placed garrisons where he thought convenient, the armie was dissolved and sent backe: When the Persians understood that the Turkes armie was dissolved and returned, they gathered a power together, and with the Queene of their Countrey as chiefe, they entered the Countrey of Media, and ouerranne the same with fire and sword, destroying whatsoeuer they found, as well people, cattell, as whatsoeuer els, that might be commodious to the Turkes. And after they had so ouerrunne the Countrey, they came to Shamaky, where the said Basha Licutenant generall of the great Turke was settled, and besieged it: whereupon the Basha seeing hee could not long indure to withstande them, fled thence to Derbent where he now remaineth.

Derbent built by Alexander the great.

Derbent is a strong Castle which was built by Alexander the great, the situation whereof is such, that the Persians being without Ordnance, are not able to winne it but by famine. When the Turkes were fled from Shamaky, the Persians entered the same and spoiled it, leaving therein neither living creature nor any commoditie, and so returned backe into Persia, and settled themselves about Teueris, where there grew some question among them for the kingdome. Afterwards the Persians hauing intelligence of an armie from the Turke comming into Media, gathered themselves together in a great armie and encountering the said Turkes, set vpon them on the sudden, and vanquished them, putting them all to the sword. This overthrow of the Turkes grieved the Basha of Derbent, and made him to haue the more care for his owne safetie. Whereupon newes was brought vnto him that the Kisel Bashas, (that is to say the nobles and Gentlemen of Persia) were minded to set vpon him, and that neere vnto Bachu there lay an army readie to besiege it. Whereupon the Basha oftentimes would ride about the Castle of Derbent viewing the same, and the springs that did come to it, and where he saw any cause of reformation, it was amended.

The latitude of Derbent 41. deg 52. min.

The variation of the Compass.

The latitude of Derbent (by diuers obseruations exactly there made) is 41. deg. 52. min. The variation of the Compass at that place about 11. degrees from North to West. From Derbent to Bildih by land 46. leagues. From Derbent to Shamaky by land, 45. leagues. From Shamaky to Bachu about 10. leagues, which may be 30. miles. From Bachu to Bildih five or six leagues by land, but by water about 12. leagues. From the Castle Derbene Eastwards, they reach two stone wals to the border of the Caspian sea, which is distant one English mile. Those wals are 9. foote thicke, and 28. or 30. foote high, and the space betweene them is 160. Geometricall

tricall paces, that is 800 foot. There are yet to be perceived of the ruine of these walls, which do now extend into the sea about halfe a mile: also from the castle Westward into the land, they did perceiue the ruines of a stone wall to extend, which wal, as it is reported, did passe from thence to Pontus Euxinus, and was built by Alexander the great when the castle Derbent was made.

The 5 of October about noone the winde Northnorthe all they wayed ancre, and set saile from Derbent, being alongst the coast to the Southwards to seeke their men: but as they had saild about foure leagues the winde scanted Easterly, so that they were forced to ancre in thye fathom water.

The 6 day they wayed ancre, and bare further off into the sea, where they ancred in seuen fathom water, the ship being very leake, and so rotten abast the maine mast, that a man with his nailes might scrape thozow her side.

The 7 day about 7 of the clocke in the morning, they set saile, the winde Southwest. They considered the time of the pere was far spent, the ship weake, leake and rotten, and therefore determining not to tary any longer for Wincoll and his fellowes, but to leaue them behinde, bent themselves directly towards Atracan: and sailing Northnortheast vniill midnight about 16 leagues, the winde then came to the Northnortheast, and blew much, a very storme, which caused them to take in all their sailes, sauing the fore corse, with which they were forced to steere before the sea, South by West, and Southsouthwest. And on the 8 day about two of the clocke in the morning their great boat sinke at the ships sterne, which they were forced to cut from the ship to their great griefe and discomfoze: for in her they hoped to saue their liues if the ship should haue miscaried. About 10 of the clocke before noone they had sight of the land about 5 leagues to the South of Derbent, and bare longst the coast to the Southeastwards vnto Nezaouo, where they came at ancre in thye fathoms, and blacke oze, good ancre holbe, whereof they were glad, as also that the winde was shifted to the Northwest, and but a meane gale. Wincoll and the rest of his fellowes being in the Armenian village, which is about 18 versts to the Westwards of Nezaouo, the place whereagainst they rode at ancre, saw the ship as she passed by that place, and sent a man in the night following alongst the coast after her, who came against the ship where she rode, and with a fire brand in the top of a tree made signes, which was perceiued by them in the shippe, whereupon they hoisted out their skiffe, and sent her ashore to learne what was meant by the fire: which returned a letter from Wincoll, wherein he wrote that they were with such goods as they had at the Armenian village, and prayed that there they might with the same goods be taken into the ships. The 9 day it was litle winde, they wayed and bare a litle further off into the sea towards the said village, and ancred. The 10 day they sent their skiffe to the Armenian village to fetch those men and the goods they had, with order that if the winde serued, that they could not returne to fetch the ship, they of the ship promised to come for them, against the said village. This day it was calme.

Nezaouo.

The 11 day the winde Northwest they rode still. The 12 day the winde Southeast they wayed ancre, & bare against & nere to the Armenian village where they ancred, and then the skiffe came aboord and tolde them that our people at thozz were like to be spoiled of the Tartars, were it not that the gunners defended them: then was the skiffe sent backe againe to charge them at any hand they should haften aboord the ship whatsoeuer it cost them. Whereupon, all the company came aboord the same day sauing Richard Relfe and two Russes, but alsoone as the skiffe was returned aboord the ship, the winde blew at Southeast, and the sea was growen, so as they were forced to take in their skiffe into the ship, and rode still till the 13 day, and then being faire weather, early in the morning the skiffe was hoisted out of the ship, and sent to thozz to fetch the said Relfe and the two Russes, which were ready at the thozz side, and with them two Spaniards that were taken captiues at the Goleua in Barbary, which serued the Turke as souldiers. Those Spaniards (of Christian charity) they brought also aboord the ship to redeeme them from their captiuitie, which were brought ouer into England, and set free and at liberty here in London, in September 1581. The winde this day at Northnortheast, faire weather. The 14 day they sent the skiffe to thozz, and filled fresh water. The 15 day they rode still, being litle winde and fog. The 16 day the winde Eastsoutheast, they wayed ancre and set saile, bearing Northwards towards Atracan, and the same night they ancred in ten fathoms water, about fise miles from the thozz of the Shalkales countrey, which place is eight leagues Northnortheast from Derbent. The 17 day the winde at Northbery stormy, they rode still all that day and night. The 18 the winde all Southeast about one of the clocke afternoone, they wayed ancre, and sailed thence till foure of the clocke Northnortheast fise leagues, then they might see the land Northwest about tenn leagues from the winde Southeast: from thence they sailed til midnight Northnortheast twelue leagues. From thence till the 19 day seuen a clocke in the morning they sailed Northnortheast eight

Two Spaniards delivered by our English men.

eight leagues: the winde then Eastsoutheast, a faire gale, they sounded and had 17 fathoms, and saud, being (as the Master iudged) about the head of Sheely: from thence till 12 of the clocke at noone they sailed North 5 leagues, the winde then at East a faire gale, they sounded and had 5 fathoms. From thence till 8 of the clocke at night, they sailed North 7 leagues, the winde then at North-east with small raine, theyooke in their sailes, and ancred in 3 fathoms water and soft oze, where they rode still all night, and the 20 day and night the winde North-east, as befoze with small raine.

The 21 day the winde North-west, they likewise rode still. The 22 day about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, they wayed ancre, the winde Westnorth-west, and sailed from thence till five of the clocke at night North 4 leagues, then they ancred in 2 fathoms and a halfe soft oze, the winde at West a small breeze,

The 23 day about 7 of the clocke in the morning, they wayed ancre, and set saile, bring little winde Easterly, and sailed till 2 of the clocke after noone North-west in vith the shoze about five leagues, and then ancred in 6 foot water, hauing perfect sight of the low land (sand hills) being about 3 miles from the next land. This place of the land that they were against, they perceived to be to the Westwards of the 4 Islands (called in the Russe tongue Chetera Bougori) and they found it afterwards by due prooffe, to be about 50 versts, or 30 English miles to the South-west, or South-west by South, from the sayd Chetera Bougori.

The 24 day the winde at East, and by South, a Sea winde called Gillauar, caused them to ride still. The 25 day they thought good to send in their skiffe Robert Golding, and certaine Russes, to row him alongst Northwards by the shoze, to seeke the foure Islands, and so to passe vnto the Vchooge, and there to land the sayd Robert Golding to proceed to Astracan, to deliuer Amos Rial a letter, wherein he was required to prouide Pauoses to meet the shippe at the sayd Islands, and the skiffe with the Russes were appointed to returne from the Vchooge with victuals to the shippe, which skiffe departed from the shippe about nine of the clocke in the forenoone. The 26, 27, 28, and 29 dayes, the windes Easterly and North-east, they rode still with their ship. The 30 day the winde Southeast, they wayed, and set saile to the North-eastwards: but the ship fell so on the side to the shoze wards, that they were forced els soones to take in their saile, and ancre againe, from whence they neuer remoued her. That day they shared their bread: but in their want God sent them two couies of partridges, that came from the shoze, and sighted in and about their ships, whereby they were comforted, and one that lay sicke, of whose life was small hope, recovered his health.

A strange accident of provision for their reliefe.

Remember.

The 4 of Nouember the skiffe returned to the ship with some victuals, and certified that the foure Islands were about 60 versts from them to the North-eastwards. When Robert Golding came to Astracan, and deliuered there the Factors letters to Amos Rial, the duke, captaine of that place, was done to vnderstand of the ships arriuall, & of the state they were in, and their request for Pauoses, who was very glad to heare of their safe returne, and appointed to be sent with all speed two Pauoses and a Stroog, with gunners to gard and to defend them. With the which Stroog and Pauoses, Amos Rial went downe to the Chetera Bougori, or 4 Islands afoze sayd, where he stayed with those barks, according to the Factors appointment. The 5 day they purposed to send from the ship their skiffe with the carpenter, and 4 Russes to row him to the 4 Bougories, to request Amos Rial to come from thence with the Pauoses to the shippe with all possible speed. The skiffe with those men departed from the ship in the morning, and within one houre they met with a small boat with Russes, rowing towards the ship, which came from the Ouchooge with a wilde swine and other victuals to sell: with the same boat the skiffe returned backe to the ship after the Russes had receiued and were satisfied for the victuals they brought: the same day they returned with their boat backe toward the Ouchooge, and with them in the same boat was sent the Carpenter of the shippe to the Chetera Bougori, which were in their way, to declare vnto Amos Rial the message befoze appointed him. From the 5 vntill the 9 day the ship rode still with contrary winds Easterly. The same 9 day came to the shippe certaine Russes in a small boat, which brought with them some victuals sent by Amos Rial, and declared that he with the Pauoses and Stroog had remained at the Chetera Bougori five dayes, expecting the comming thither of the ship. The 10 day being doubtfull of the Pauoses comming, they sent Thomas Hudson Master of the ship in the skiffe (and with her went the sayd skiffe boat) towards the Chetera Bougori to the Pauoses to bring word whether they would come to the ship or not, the wind then at North-east with fogge. The 11 day the winde North-erly with fogge, the ship rode still. The 12 day Amos Rial, Christopher Faucer, and a new gunner came to the ship, and with them the Master Thomas Hudson returned; but the Stroog with the gunners remained at the Chetera Bougori; and from thence (when it began to freeze) returned to Astracan, Amos Rial declared that he sent the carpenter

carpenter backe from the Chetera Boogori in a small boat on the 10 day, and manueled that he was not come to the shippe (but in the fogge the day befoze as afterwards they learned) missed the shippe, and ouer shot her, and afterwards returning backe, he found the ship at ancre, and nothing in her but the Russes that were left to keepe her, and then he departed thence, and went to the Vchooge, and there stayed. Presently vpon the comming of the Pauoles to the ship they vsed as much speed as might be, to get the goods out of the shippe into them, and after the goods were laden in, they tooke in also of the shippes ordinance, furniture and provision, as much as they could.

The 13 day in the morning Amos Riall was sent away in a small boat towards Astracan, to prouide victuals and cariages to relieue and helpe them, who could passe no further then the foure Islands, but was there ouertaken with yce, and forced to leaue his boat, and from thence passed posse to Astracan, finding at the Vchooge the Carpenter returned from his ill iourney, very ill handled with the extremity of the colde. The same day they departed also in those lighters with the goods towards the Chetera Bougori, leauing the ship at ancre, and in her two Russes, which with thzee more that went in the Pauoles, to prouide victuals for themselves and the rest, & therewith promised to retorne backe to the ship with all speed, had offered to vnder take for twenty rubbles in money to cary the ship into some harborow, where she might safely winter, or els to keepe her where she rode all winter, which was promised to be giuen them if they did it: and the same day when with those lighters they had gotten sight of the foure Islands being about eight versts South west from them, the winde then at North east, did freeze the sea so as they could not row, guide, stirre or remoue the said lighters, but as the winde and yce did force them. And so they continued drifting with the yce, Southeast into the sea by the space of forty houres, and then being the sixteenth day the yce stood. Whiles they droue with the yce, the dangers which they incurred were great: for oftentimes when the yce with the force of winde and sea did breake, pieces of it were tossed and driuen one vpon another with great force, terrible to behold, and the same happened at sometimes so neere vnto the lighters, that they expected it would haue ouerwhelmed them to their vtter destruction: but God who had preserved them from many perils befoze, did also saue and deliuer them then.

Within thzee or foure dayes after the first standing of the yce, when it was firme and strong, they tooke out all their goods, being forty and eight bales or packes of raw silke, &c. layd it on the yce, and couered the same with such provisions as they had. Then for want of victuals, &c. they agreed to leaue all the goods there vpon the yce, and to go to the shoze: and thereupon brake vp their Chests and Corobias, wherewith, and with such other things as they could get, they made sleddes for euery of them to draw vpon the yce, whercon they layd their clothes to keepe them warme, and such victuals as they had, and such other things as they might conueniently cary, and so they departed from the said goods and Pauoles very earely about one of the clocke in the morning, and traauailing on the yce, directed their way North, as neere as they could iudge, and the same day about two of the clocke in the afternoone, they had sight of the Chetera Babbas (foure hillocks of Islands so called) vnto the same they directed themselves, and there remained that night.

The goods and Pauoles which they left on the yce they iudged to be from those Chetera Babbas about 20 versts.

And the next morning departed thence Eastwards, and came to the Chetera Bougories (or foure Islands befoze spoken of) befoze noone (the distance betweene those places is about 15 versts) where they remained all that night, departing thence towards Astracan: the next morning very early they lost their way through the persuasion of the Russes which were with them, taking too much towards the left hand (contrary to the opinion of D. Hudson) whereby wandering vpon the yce foure or five dayes, not knowing whether they were entered into the Crimme Tartars land or not, at length it fortun'd they met with a way that had bene traauiled, which cross backwards towards the sea: that way they tooke, and following the same, within two dayes traualle it brought them to a place called the Crasnoyare (that is to say in the English tongue) Redcliffe, which diuers of the company knew.

There they remained that night, hauing nothing to eat but one loafe of bread, which they happened to finde with the two Russes that were left in the ship to keepe her all the Winter (as is aforesaid) whom they chanced to meet going towards Astracan, about five miles befoze they came to the said Crasnoyare, who certified them that the ship was cut in pieces with the yce, and that they had hard scaping with their liues.

In the morning they departed early from Crasnoyare towards the Ouchooze, and about 9 of the clocke befoze noone, being within 10 versts of the Vchooge, they met Amos Riall, with
the

The 13 of
November in
the mouth of
the river of
Volga.

The 16 day.

Tranaille by
on the yce.

Chetera Babbas.

The English
ship cut in pie-
ces with yce.

the carpenter, which he found at Ouchooge, and a gunner newly come out of England, and also 65 hoyses with so many Cassacks to guide them, and 50 gunners for gard, which brought provision of victuals, &c. and were sent by the Duke to fetch the goods to Astracan. The meeting of that company was much joy unto them.

December.

The Factors sent backe with Amos Riall and the sayd company to fetch the goods, Thomas Hudson the Master, Tobias Paris his Mate, and so they the sayd Factors and their company marched on to the Vchooge, where they refreshed themselves that day, and the night following. And from thence proceeded on towards Astracan, where they arrived the last day of November. These that went for the goods after their departure from the Factors traualled the same day untill they came within 10 versts of the Chetera Babbas, where they rested that night. The next morning by the break of the day they departed thence, and before none were at the Chetera Babbas, where they stayed all night; but presently departed thence Thomas Hudson with the Carpenter and gunner to seeke where the goods lay: who found the same, and the next day they returned backe to their company at the Chetera Babbas, and declared unto them in what sort they had found the sayd goods.

Their returne to Astracan.

The 3 day early in the morning they departed all from the 4 Babbas towards the said goods, and the same day did lade all the goods they could find upon the said sleds, and with all convenient speed returned backe towards Astracan. And when they came to the Chetera Bougori, where they rested the night, in the morning very early before the break of day, they were assaulted by a great company of the Nagays Tartars horsemen, which came shouting and halloving with a great noise, but our people were so inuironed with the sleds, that they durst not enter upon them, but ranne by, and shot their arrowes amongst them, and hurt but one man in the head, who was a Russe, and so departed presently. Yet when it was day, they shewed themselves a good distance off from our men, being a very great troope of them, but did not assault them any moze. The same day our men with those cariages, departed from thence towards Astracan, where they arrived in safety the 4 of December, about 3 of the clocke in the afternoone, where our people greatly reioyced of their great good happe to haue escaped so many hard cuents, troubles and miseries, as they did in that voyage, and had great cause therefore to praise the Almighty, who had so mercifully preferred and deliuered them. They remained the Winter at Astracan, where they found great fauour and friendship of the duke, capitaine, and other chiefe officers of that place: but that Winter there happened no great matter worth the noting.

The breaking up of the yce.

In the spring of the yeere 1581, about the mids of March, the yce was broken up, and cleare gone before Astracan, and the ninth of Apriil, hauing all the goods that were returned from the parts of Media, laden into a Stroog, the Factors, William Turnebull, Matthew Taileboyes, Giles Crow, Christopher Burrough, Michael Lane, Laurence Proufe gunner, Randolfe Foxe, Tho. Hudson, Tobias Parris, Morgan Hubblethorne the dier, Rich. the surgean, Rob. Golding, Ioh. Smith, Edw. Reding carpenter, and William Perrin gunner, hauing also 40 Russes, whereof 36 were Cassacks to row, the rest merchants passengers, departed from Astracan with the sayd Stroog and goods by the Volga towards Yeraslaue. They left behinde them at Astracan, with the English goods & merchandise there remaining, Amos Riall, W. Wincoll, and Richard Relfe, and appointed them to sell & barter the same, or so much thereof as they could to the Tisiks, if there came any thither that spring, and to others as they might, & the rest with such as they should take in exchange to returne by to Yeraslaue that Summer, when the Emperors carriage should passe by the Volga. The 21 day they came with their Stroog to the Peraulok, but made no stay at that place: for they had bene much troubled with yce in their coming from Astracan. The 3 of May about noone they came to Oucak, and from thence proceeding by the riuer, on the 17 day William Turnebull departed from the Stroog in a small boat, and went before towards Tetusha to provide victuals, and send downe to the Stroog, from which place they were then about 230 versts. The 23 day they met a boat with victuals, which William Turnebull sent from Tetusha, and the same day they arrived with their Stroog at Tetusha, where they stayed all night, and the next morning betimes departed thence, but W. Turnebull was gone in the small boat before to Cazan, to provide necessities from thence, and to make way for their dispatch. The 26 day they arrived with their Stroog at Cazan, where they remained till the fourth of June: the Factors sent Giles Crow from Cazan to the Mosco, with their letters the 30 of May. The 4 day of June they departed from Cazan with their Stroog, and arrived at Yeraslaue the 22 day about 5 of the clocke in the morning.

May.

Morgan Hubblethorne dier sent into Persia.

The 23 day they provided Telegos, to carry the goods to Vologda. The 24 day hauing the goods laden upon Telegos, they departed with the same towards Vologda, and remained there five versts from Yeraslaue,

The

The 29 day they came to Vologda, with all their goods in safety, and good order. The same 29, William Turnbull and Peter Garrard departed from Vologda post by water towards Colmogro, the third of July, having their goods laden in a small bosnik, they departed with the same from Vologda towards Role Island by S. Nicholas, where they arrived in safety the 16 of July, and found there the Agents of Russia, and in the roade the ships sent out of England, almost laden ready to depart.

The 25 day departed for England (out of the roade of S. Nicholas) the ship Elizabeth.

The 26 day departed thence the Thomas Allen and Mary Susan, and in the Thomas Allen went William Turnbul, Mathew Tailboys, Thomas Hudson, and others. The goods returned of the Persia voyage were laden into the ship, William and John, whereof was Master, William Bigat, and in her with the same goods came Peter Garrard and Tobias Parris.

The 11 of August, the same ship being laden and dispatched departed from the roade of S. Nicholas, and with her in company another of the companies freighted ships, called the Tomasin, whereof was M. Christopher Hall. In their returne homewards they had some foule weather, and were separated at the sea, the William and John put into Newcastle the 24 of September: from whence the sayd Peter Garrard and Tobias Parris came to London by land, and brought newes of the arrivall of the ship.

The 25 of September both the sayd ships arrived at the port of London in safety, and ankered before Limehouse and Wapping, where they were discharged, 1581.

Observations of the latitudes and meridian altitudes of divers places in Russia, from the North to the South: Anno 1581.

Michael Archangel.	{ Meridian altitude observed at Michael the Archangel, 42. degrees, 30. minutes.	
	{ The true latitude, 64. degrees, 54. minutes.	
The English house in Colmogro.	{ The English house in Colmogro, in latitude, 64. d. 25. m.	
	{ The meridian altitude there observed, the 29 of July, 42. d. 15. m.	
Recola.	{ Meridian altitude the 30 of July, 41. d. 40. m.	{ 64. d. 20. m.
	{ Declination, 16. d. 6. m.	
Yeegris.	{ Meridian, 4 of August, 41. d. 50. m.	{ 62. d. 59. m.
	{ Declination Northerly, 14. d. 49. m.	
Towlma.	{ Meridian altitude, the 15 of August, 40. d. 45. m.	{ 60. d. 17. m.
	{ Declination Northerly, 11. d. 2. m.	
Vologda.	{ Meridian altitude, the 20 of August, 40. d.	{ 59. d. 17. m.
	{ Declination Northerly, 9. d. 17. m.	
Vologda.	{ Meridian altitude, 21 of August, 39. d. 36. m.	{ 59. d. 20. m.
	{ Declination, 8. d. 56. m.	
Yereflaue.	{ Latitude by gesse, 57. d. 50. m.	{ }
Swyoskagorod.	{ Meridian altitude, 21. September, 31. d.	{ 56. d. 4. m.
	{ Declination, 2. d. 56. m.	
Ouslona Monastery.	{ Meridian altitude, 23. September, 30. d. 26. m.	{ 55. d. 51. m.
	{ Declination, 2. d. 56. m.	
Tetuskagorod.	{ Meridian altitude, 28. September, 28. d. 28. m.	{ 55. d. 22. m.
	{ Declination, 5. d. 35. m.	
Oueck.	{ Meridian altitude, 5. October, 30. d. 12. m.	{ 51. d. 30. m.
	{ Declination, 8. d. 18. m.	
Astracan.	{ Astracan meridian altitude, 22. October, 29. d. 36. m.	{ 46. d. 10. m.
	{ Declination, 14. d. 16. m.	
Astracan.	{ Meridian altitude, 1 of November, 26. d. 35. m.	{ 46. d. 9. m.
	{ Declination, 17. d. 16. m.	

Certaine

Certaine directions giuen by *M. Richard Hackluit* of the *Middle Temple*, to *M. Morgan Hubblethorne*, *Dier*, sent into *Persia*, 1579.

1 For that England hath the best wool & cloth of the world, and for that the clothes of the realme haue no good vent, if good dying be not added: therefore it is much to be wished, that the dying of forren countreys were scene, to the end that the arte of dying may be brought into the Realme in great & excellency: for thereof will follow honour to the Realme, and great and ample vent of our clothes: and of the vent of clothes, will follow the setting of our people on worke, in all degrees of labour in clothing and dying: for which cause most principally you are sent ouer at the charge of the city: and therefore for the satisfiing the lords, and of the expectation of the merchants and of your company, it behooues you to haue care to returne home with more knowledge then you caried out.

2 The great dearth of clothes is a great let in the ample vent of clothes, and the price of a cloth, for a fifth, sixth and seventh part riseth by the colour and dying: and therefore to deuise to die as good colours with the one halfe of the present price were to the great commodity of the Realme, by sauing of great treasure in time to come. And therefore you must haue great care to haue knowledge of the materials of all the countreys that you shall passe thorow, that may be used in dying, be they beeches, weeds, barks, gummes, earths, or what els soeuer.

3 In Persia you shall finde carpets of course thymmed wooll, the best of the world, and excellently coloured: those cities & townes you must repaire to, and you must vse means to learne all the order of the dying of those thymmes, which are so died as neither raine, wine, nor yet vinegar can staine: and if you may attaine to that cunning, you shall not need to feare dying of cloth: For if the colour holde in yarne and thymme, it will holde much better in cloth.

4 For that in Persia they haue great colouring of silks, it behooues you to learne that also, for that cloth dying & silke dying haue a certaine affinity, and your merchants mind to bying much raw silke into the Realme, and therefore it is more requisite you learne the same.

5 In Persia there are that staine linnen cloth: it is not amisse you learne it if you can: it hath bene an olde trade in England, whereof some excellent clothes yet remaine: but the arte is now lost, and not to be found in the Realme.

6 They haue a cunning in Persia to make in buskins of Spanish leather flowers of many kindes, in most liuely colours, and these the Courtiers do weare there: to learne which arte were no harme.

7 If any Dier of China, or of the East parts of the world, be to be found in Persia, acquaint your selfe with him, and learne what you may of him.

8 You shall finde Anile there, if you can procure the herbe that it is made of, either by seed or by plant, to cary into England, you may do well to endreouour to enrich your countrey with the same: but withall learne you the making of the Anile, and if you can get the herbe, you may send the same by into England, for possibly it groweth here already.

9 Returne home with you all the materials and substances that they die withall in Russia, and also in Persia, that your company may see all.

10 In some litle pot in your lodging, I wish you to make daily trials in your arte, as you shall from time to time learne ought among them.

11 Set downe in writing whatsoeuer you shall learne from day to day, lest you should forget, or lest God should call you to his mercy: and by ech returne I wish you to send in writing whatsoeuer you haue learned, or at the least keepe the same safe in your coffer, that come death or life your countrey may enjoy the thing that you goe for, and not lose the charge, and trauell bestowed in this case.

12 Learne you there to fire and make sure the colour to be giuen by logge wood: so shall we not need to buy wood so deare, to the enriching of our enemies.

13 Enquire of the price of leckar, and all other things belonging to dying.

14 In any wise set downe in writing a true note from whence euery of them doe come, and where, and in what countrey ech of them doth grow, I meane where the naturall place of ech of them is, as how neere to such a city, or to such a sea, or to such a portable riuer in Russia, Persia, or elsewhere.

15 If before you returne you could procure a singular good workman in the arte of Turkish carpet making, you should bying the arte into this Realme, and also thereby increase worke to your company.

Commission giuen by sir Rowland Hayward knight, and George Barne, Aldermen and gouernours of the company of English Merchants, for discouery of new trades, vnto Arthur Pet, and Charles Lackman, for a voyage by them to be made, for discouery of Cathay, 1580. in forme following.



In the Name of God Almighty, and euermlasting, Amen. This writing for commission Tripartite, made the twentieth day of May Anno Dom. 1580. and in the 22. yeere of the reigne of our Soueraigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. Betwene sir Rowland Hayward knight, and George Barne, Aldermen of the Citie of London, and gouernours of the company of English Merchants, for discouery of new trades, for the behoofe, and in the name of the said company, on the first partie, and Arthur Pet of Ratcliffe, in the Countie Middlesex, Captaine, Master, and chiefe ruler of the good barke, called the George of London, of the burthen of 40. tunnes, or thereabouts, on the second pattie, and Charles Lackman of Popler, in the said Countie of Middlesex, Captaine, Master and ruler of the good barke, called the William of London, of the burthen of 20. tunnes, or thereabouts, (which barkes are now riding at anker in the riuer of Thames against Limehouse) on the third partie: witnesseth, that the said Gouernours, and company haue hired the saide Arthur Pet, to serue in the said barke, called the George, with nine men and a boy: And likewise the said Charles Lackman, to serue in the said barke, called the William, with nine men and a boy, for a voyage by them to be made by Gods grace, for search and discoueries of a passage by sea from hence by Boroughs streights, and the Island Vaigats, Eastwards, to the countreis or dominions of the mightie Prince, the Emperour of Cathay, and in the same vnto the Cities of Cambalu and Quinsay, or to either of them.

Boroughs
streets.

The which passage (vpon authoritic of writtes, and great reason) is conceiued to bee from the Vaigats Eastwards, according to the description in plat of spirall lines, made by master William Burrough, whereof either of the saide Arthur Pet, and Charles Lackman, haue one deliuered vnto them, and also one other sailing carde, and a blanke plat for either of them. But if it should not be in all points, according to that description, yet we hope that the continent or firme land of Asia doth not stretch it selfe so faire Northwards, but that there may be found a sea passeable by it, betwene the latitude of 70. and 80. degrees. And therefore we haue appointed you with these two barkes to make triall of the same: wishing you both to ioyne in friendship together, as most deere friends and brothers, to all purposes and effects, to the furtherance and orderly performing of the same voyage. And likewise order your companies, that they of the one barke may haue such loue and care, to helpe and succour them of the other, as most deere friends and brothers would doe: so as it may appeare, that though they be two barkes, and two companies, (which is so appointed for your greater comfort and assurance) yet that you are wholly of one minde, and bend your selues to the bettermost of your powers, to performe the thing that you are both employed for.

Doe you obserue good order in your dayly seruice, and pray vnto God, so shall you prosper the better.

We would haue you to meete often together, to talke, conferre, consult, and agree how, and by what meanes you may best performe this purposed voyage, according to our intents. And at such meeting we thinke it requisite, that you call vnto you your mates, and also Nicholas Chanceler, (whom wee doe appoint as merchant, to keepe account of the merchandize you shall buy or sell, barter or change) to the ende that what soeuer God should dispose of either of you, yet they may haue some instructions and knowledge howe to deale in your place, or places. And of all your assemblies and consultations together, and the substance of matter you shal at euery time agree vpon, we would haue you to note them in the paper booke that wee giue you for that purpose, vnto each barke one. We do appoint Arthur Pet in the George, as Admirall, to meate the flagge in the maine top, and Charles Lackman in the William, as Viceadmirall. For good orders to be taken for your good and orderly keeping of company together, which we wish may be such, as you should neuer lose sight the one of the other, except by both your consents, to discouer about an Island, or in some riuer, when and where you may certainly appoint to meete together againe, wee referre the same to your discretions.

And now for your good direction in this voyage, we would haue you with the next good winde and weather, that God shall send thereunto meete and comenient, after the 22. day of this present moneth of May, saile from this riuer of Thames, to the coast of Finmarke, to the North Cape there, or to the Wardhouse, and from thence direct your course to haue sight of Willoughbies land, and from it passe along to the Noua Zemla, keeping the same landes alwayes in your sight

on your starboord side (if conveniently you may) to the ende you may discover, whether the same Willoughbies land be continent and firme land with Noua Zembla, or not: notwithstanding we would not haue you to entangle your selues in any Bay, or otherwise, so that it might hinder your speedy proceeding to the Island Vaigats.

The land of
Samoeda.

And when you come to Vaigats, we would haue you to get sight of the maine land of Samoeda, which is ouer against the South part of the same Island, and from thence with Gods permission, to passe Eastwards alongst the same coast, keeping it alwayes in your sight (if conveniently you may) vntill you come to the mouth of the riuer Ob, and when you come vnto it, passe ouer the said riuers mouth vnto the border of land, on the Eastside of the same (without any stay to be made for searching inwardly in the same riuer) and being in sight of the same Easterly land, doe you in Gods name proceed alongst by it, from thence Eastwards, keeping the same alwayes on your starboord side in sight, if you may, and follow the tract of it, whether it incline Southerly or Northerly (as at times it may do both) vntill you come to the Countrey of Cathay, or the dominion of that mightie Emperour.

And if God prosper your voyage with such good successe, that you may attaine to the same, doe you seeke by all meanes you can to arriue to the Cities Cambalu, and Quinsay, or to the one of them, But if it happen that you cannot conveniently come to either of those places, or shall be driuen to remaine & winter in some other port or place of his dominion, do you seeke by all meanes possible to winne fauour and liking of the people, by gifts and friendly demeanes towards them, and not to offer violence, or do wrong to any people or nation whatsoeuer, but therein to be innocent as doves, yet wilie as serpents, to auoid mischiefe, and defend you from hurt. And when you shall haue gotten friendship through your discrete ordering of your selues, towards the people, doe you learne of them what you can of their Prince, and shewe them one of the Queenes Maiesties letters, which she sendeth with you (by either of you one, made of one substance and effect, for ech of you particularly) written in Latine, whereunto her Maiestie hath subscribed, and caused her signet scale to be set, the effect of the same letters you haue also written in English, for your owne vnderstanding thereof.

The Queenes
letters.

The same her Maiesties letters you shall procure to deliuer vnto the same mightie Prince, or Governour, with some present to be giuen, such as you shall thinke meete and conuenient, vnto your selues in all points according to the effect of the same letters, and procure againe from the same Prince, his letters accordingly.

And if God so prosper your voyage, that you may this Summer passe the Streights, and compass about the Northernmost land of Asia, vnto the countrey of Cathay, or dominion of that mightie Prince, and wintering in it, may obtaine from him his letters of priuiledge against the next yeeres spring, you may then after your first setting forth, search and discover somewhat further then you had discovered before your wintering, so farre as you shall thinke conuenient, with regard had, and alwayes provided, that you may returne home hither, to giue vs aduise of your proceedings the same Summer, or before the sharpenes or extremitie of winter ouertake you.

And if it happen you cannot this Summer attaine to the border of Cathay, and yet find the land beyond the Ob, to stretch it selfe Easterly, with the sea adioyning vnto it nauigable, doe you then proceed on your discovery (as before said) alongst the same continent, so farre as you can this Summer, hauing care in the travel to finde out some conuenient harborow and place, where you may winter: and when you thinke it conuenient, put your selfe to wintering, where if you happen to finde people, you shall deale with them, as we haue afore aduised you to do with the people of Cathay, &c. And if you can learne that they haue a prince or chiefe governour, do you procure to deliuer vnto the same Prince or governour one of the Queenes Maiesties letters, as before said, and seeke to obtaine againe his letters accordingly. If you so happen to winter & obtaine letters of priuiledge, finding the countrey and people, with the commodities to be such, that by vnto trade thither with the people, and for the commodities, it may be beneficial vnto vs (as we hope you may) the same wil be some good liking vnto vs: notwithstanding we would haue you the next Summer (by the grace of God) at your first setting out of your wintering harborow, proceed alongst that tract of land to Cathay, if you see likelihood to passe it (for that is the Countrey that we chiefly desire to discover) and seeing you are fully victualed for two yeres and bywards, which you may very well make to serue you for two yeres and a halfe, though you finde no other help, you may therefore be the bolder to aduventure in proceeding vpon your discovery: which if you do, we doubt not, but you shall achieue the Countrey of Cathay, & deliuer to the prince there, one of her Maiesties letters, bringing from thence the same princes letters answerable: and so in the yeere of our Lord 1582. returne home with good newes, and glad tidings, not onely vnto vs the aduenterers in this voyage, but also to our whole Countrey and nation, which God graunt you may do, Amen.

But

But if it happen that the land of Asia, from beyond the river Ob, extend it selfe Northwards to 80. degrees, or neerer the pole, whereby you finde it to leade you into that extremitie, that small or no hope may be looked for, to saile that way to Cathay, doe you not withstanding followe the tract of the same land, as farre as you can discover this Summer, having care to finde out by the way a convenient place for you to winter in, the which (if you may discover the same lande of Asia this Summer to extend it selfe to 80. degrees of latitude, and upwards or to 85. degrees) we wish then that the same your wintering place may be in the river of Ob, or as neere the same river as you can, and finding in such wintering place, people, be they Samoeds, Yowgorians, or Molgomzes, &c. doe you gently entreat with them as aforesaide, and if you can learne that they haue a prince or chiefe gouernour amongst them, doe you deliuer him one of her Maiesties letters, and procure thereof an answer accordingly: do you procure to barter & exchange with the people, of the merchandise and commodities that you shall carry with you, for such commodities as you shall finde them to haue, &c.

The Quenes
letters.

If you so happen to winter, we would haue you the next Summer to discover into the river Ob, so farre as conveniently you may: And if you shall finde the same river (which is reported to be wide or broad) to be also nauigable and pleasant for you, to trauell farre into, happily you may come to the citie Siberia, or to some other towne or place habited vpon or neere the border of it, and thereby haue liking to winter out the second winter: vse you therein your discretions.

The Citie of
Siberia.

But if you finde the said river Ob to be sholde, or not such as you may conveniently trauell in with your barkes, do you then the next summer returne backe through Borowghs streights: And from that part of Noua Zembla, adioyning to the same streights, doe you come alongst the tract of that coast Westwards, keeping it on the starboord side, and the same alwayes in sight, if conveniently you may, vntill you come to Willoughbies land, if ourwards bound you shall not happen to discover and trie whether the said Willoughbies land ioyne continent with the same Noua Zembla, or not. But if you shall then proue them to be one firme and continent, you may from Noua Zembla direct your course vnto the said Willoughbies land, as you shall thinke good, and as you may most conveniently: and from Willoughbies land you shall proceed Westwards alongst the tract of it, (though it incline Northely) euen so farre as you may or can trauell, having regard that in convenient time you may returne home hither to London for wintering.

Willoughbies
land.

And for your orderly passing in this voyage, and making obseruations in the same, we referre you to the instructions giuen by M. William Burrough, whereof one copie is annexed vnto the first part of this Indenture vnder our seale, for you Arthur Pet, another copie of it is annexed to the second part of this Indenture, vnder our seale also, for you Charles Iackman, and a third copy thereof is annexed vnto the third part of this Indenture, remaining with vs the saide companie, sealed and subscribed by you the said Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman.

And to the obseruing of all things contained in this Commission (so neere as God will permit me grace thereunto) I the said Arthur Pet doe couenant by these presents to performe them, and euery part and partcell thereof. And I the said Charles Iackman doe for my part likewise couenant by these presents to performe the same, and euery part thereof, so neere as God will giue me grace thereunto.

And in witnes thereof these Indentures were sealed and deliuered accordingly, the day and yeere first aboue written. Thus the Lorde God Almighty sende you a prosperous voyage, with happy successe and safe returne, Amen.

Instructions and notes very necessary and needfull to be obserued in the purposed voyage for discovery of Cathay Eastwards, by Arthur Pet, and Charles Iackman: giuen by M. William Burrough. 1580.

When you come to Orfordnesse, if the winde doe serue you to goe a seaboard the lands, doe you set off from thence, and note the time diligently of your being against the saide Nesse, turning then your glasse, whereby you intende to keepe your continuall watch, and appoint such course as you shall thinke good, according as the wind seructh you: and fro that time forwards continually (if your ship be lose, vnder saile, a hull or tric) do you at the end of euery 4. glassees at the least (except calme) sound with your dipsin lead, and note diligently what depth you finde, and also the ground. But if it happen by swiftnes of the shippes way, or otherwise, that you cannot get ground, yet note what depth you did proue, and could finde no ground (this note is to be obserued all your voyage, as well outwards as homewards.) But when you come vpon any coast, or doe finde any sholde banke in the sea, you are then to vse your leade oftener, as you shall thinke it requi-

lite, noting diligently the order of your depth, and the deeping and sholding. And so likewise doe you note the depths into harboroughs, rivers, &c.

How to note
downe in his
Journall of the
voyage, his
dead recko-
ning, and other
observations.

And in keeping your dead reckoning, it is very necessary that you doe note at the ende of euery foure glasses, what way the shippe hath made (by your best proofes to be vsed) and howe her way hath bene through the water, considering withall for the sagge of the sea, to leeward, accordingly as you shall finde it growen: and also to note the depth, and what things worth the noting happened in that time, with also the winde vpon what point you finde it then, and of what force or strength it is, and what lasses you beare.

But if you should omit to note those things at the end of euery foure glasses, I would not haue you to let it slip any longer time, then to note it diligently at the end of euery watch, or eight glasses at the farthest.

Doe you diligently obserue the latitude as often, and in as many places as you may possible, and also the variation of the Compasse (especially when you may bee at shoare vpon any land) noting the same obseruations truely, and the place and places where, and the time and times when you do the same.

For noting the
shape and
view of the
land at first
discouery, &c.

When you come to haue sight of any coast or land whatsoeuer, doe you presently set the same with your sailing Compasse, howe it beares off you, noting your iudgement how farre you thinke it from you, drawing also the forme of it in your booke, howe it appeares vnto you, noting diligently how the highest or notablest part thereof beareth off you, and the extreames also in sight of the same land at both ends, distinguishing them by letters, A. B. C. &c. Afterwards when you haue sailed 1. 2. 3. or 4. glasses (at the most) noting diligently what way your barke hath made, and vpon what point of the Compasse, do you againe set that first land seene, or the parts thereof, that you first obserued, if you can well perceiue or discern them, and likewise such other notable points or signes, vpon the land that you may then see, and could not perceiue at the first time, distinguishing it also by letters from the other, and drawing in your booke the shape of the same land, as it appeareth vnto you, and so the third time, &c.

And also in passing alongst by any and euery coast, doe you drawe the maner of biting in of euery Bay, and entrance of euery harborow or rivers mouth, with the lying out of euery point, or headland, (vnto the which you may giue apt names at your pleasure) and make some marke in drawing the forme and border of the same, where the high cliffs are, and where lowe lande is, whether sande, hills, or woods, or whatsoeuer, not omitting to note any thing that may be sensible and apparant to you, which may serue to any good purpose. If you carefully with great heede and diligence, note the obseruations in your booke, as aforesaid, and afterwards make demonstration thereof in your plar, you shall thereby perceiue howe farre the land you first sawe, or the parts thereof obserued, was then from you, and consequently of all the rest: and also how farre the one part was from the other, and vpon what course or point of the Compasse the one lieth from the other.

For obseruing
of tides and
currents.

And when you come vpon any coast where you find floods and ebs, doe you diligently note the time of the highest and lowest water in euery place, and the flake or still water of full sea, and lowe water, and also which way the flood doeth runne, how the tides doe set, how much water it birt, and what force the tide hath to driue a ship in one houre, or in the whole tide, as neere as you can iudge it, and what difference in time you finde betwene the running of the flood, and the ebbe. And if you finde vpon any coast the current to runne alwayes one way, doe you also note the same duely, how it setteth in euery place, and obserue what force it hath to driue a ship in one houre, &c.

To take the
platfoymes of
places withm
compasse of
view vpon
land.

Item, as often and when as you may conueniently come vpon any land, to make obseruation for the latitude and variation, &c. doe you also (if you may) with your instrument, for trying of distances, obserue the platfoyme of the place, and of as many things (worth the noting) as you may then conueniently see from time to time. These orders if you diligently obserue, you may thereby perfectly set downe in the plats, that I haue giuen you your whole trauell, and description of your discouery, which is a thing that will be chiefly expected at your hands. But withall you may not forget to note as much as you can learne, vnderstand or perceiue of the maner of the soile, or fruitfulnessse of euery place and countrey you shall come in, and of the maner, shape, attire and disposition of the people, and of the commodities they haue, and what they most couet and desire of the commodities you carry with you. It behoueth you to giue trifling things vnto such people as you shall happen to see, and to offer them all courtesie and friendship you may or can, to winne their loue and fauour towards you, not doing or offering them any wrong or hurt. And though you should be offered wrong at their handes, yet not to reuenge the same lightly, but by all meanes possible seeke to winne them, yet alwayes dealing wisely and with such circumspection that you keepe your selues out of their dangers.

Thus I beseech God Almighty to blesse you, and prosper your voyage with good and happie successe, and send you safely to returne home againe, to the great ioy and reioycing of the aduenterers with you, and all your friends, and our whole countrey, Amen.

Certaine briefe aduises giuen by *Master Dee*, to *Arthur Pet*, and

Charles Iackman, to bee obserued in their Northeasterne discoverie,

Anno 1580.

If we reckon from Wardhouse to Colgoiue Island 400. miles for almost 20. degrees difference onely of longitude very neere East and West, and about the latitude of 70. degrees and two thirde parts: From Colgoiue to Vaigais 200. miles for 10. degrees difference onely in longitude, at 70. degrees of latitude also: From Vaigais to the promontoric Tabin 60. degrees difference of longitude (the whole course, or shortest distance being East and West) in the latitude likewise of 70. degrees, maketh 1200. miles: then is summa totalis from Wardhouse to Tabin 600. leagues, or 1800. English miles. Therefore allowing in a discoverie voiage for one day with another but 50. English miles, it is euident that from Wardhouse to Tabin, the course may be sailed easily in sixe and thirtie dayes: but by Gods helpe it may be finished in much shorter time, both by helpe of winde prosperous, and light continuall for the time requisite thereunto.

When you are past Tabin, or come to the longitude of 142. degrees, as your chart sheweth, or two, three, foure, or five degrees further Easterly, it is probable you shall finde the land on your right hand runne much Southerly and Eastward, in which course you are like either to fall into the mouth of the famous riuier Oechardes, or some other, which yet I coniecture to passe by the renowned Citie of Cambalu, and the mouth to be in latitude about 50. or 52. degrees, and within 300. or 400. miles of Cambalu it selfe, being in the latitude of 45. degrees Southerly of the same riuers mouth, or els that you shall trend about the very Northerne and most Easterly point of all Asia, passing by the prouince Ania, and then to the latitude of 46. degrees, keeping still the land in view on your right hand (as neere as you may with safetie) you may enter into Quinsay haue, being the chiefe citie in the Northern China, as I terme it for distinctions sake, from the other better known.

And in or about either or both of these two warme places, you may to great good purpose bee occupied the whole winter, after your arriuall in those quarters, as sometime by sea, sometime in notable fresh riuers, sometime in discreet view and noting downe the situation of the Cities within land, &c. and euer assaying to come by some charts or maps of the countrey, made and printed in Cathay or China, and by some of their bookes likewise for language, &c. You may also haue opportunity to saile ouer to Iapan Island, where you shall finde Christian men, Iesuits of many countreys of Christendome some, and perhaps some Englishmen, at whose handes you may haue great instruction and aduise for you affaires in hand.

Notes in writing, besides more priuie by mouth, that were giuen

by *M. Richard Hakluyt* of *Eiton* in the Countie of *Hereford*, Esquire, Anno 1580: to *M. Arthur Pet*, and to *M. Charles Iackman*, sent by the Merchants of the *Moscovie* companie for the discoverie of the Northeast straight, not altogether vnfit for some other enterprises of discoverie, hereafter to be taken in hand.

What respect of Islands is to be had, and why.

Whereas the Portugals haue in their course to their Indies in the Southeast, certaine ports and fortifications to thrust into by the way, to diuers great purposes: so you are to see what Islands, and what ports you had neede to haue by the way in your course to the Northeast. For which cause I with you to enter into consideration of the matter, and to note all the Islands, and to set them downe in plat, to two ends: that is to say, That we may deuise to take the benefit by them, And also foresee how by them the Sauages or euill Princes may in any sort annoy vs in our purposed trade that way.

And for that the people to the which we purpose in this voyage to go, be no Christians, it were good that the masse of our commodities were alwayes in our owne disposition, and not at the will of others. Therefore it were good that we did seeke out some small Island in the Scythian sea, where we might plant, fortifie, and staple safely, from whence (as time should serue) wee might feed those heathen nations with our commodities without cloying them, or without venturing our whole masse in the bowels of their countrey.

M. Dee gaue them a Chart of his owne making, which here he refers them vnto.

And to which Island (if neede were, and if wee should thinke so good) wee might allure the North-east naue, the naue of Cambalu to resort with their commodities to vs there planted, and stapling there.

And if such an Island might be found so standing as might shorten our course, and so standing, as that the naue of Cambalu, or other those parties might conueniently saile vnto without their dislike in respect of distance, then would it fall out well. For so, besides lesse danger and more safe-tye, our ships might there vnlade and lade againe, and returne the selfe same summer to the ports of England or of Norway.

And if such an Island may be for the stapling of our commodities, to the which they of Cambalu would not saile, yet we might, having ships there, imploy them in passing betwene Cambalu and that stapling place.

Respect of hauens and harborowes.

And if no such Islands may bee found in the Scythian sea toward the firme of Asia, then are you to search out the ports that be about Noua Zembla, all along the tract of that land, to the end you may winter there the first yere, if you be let by contrary winds, and to the end that if we may in short time come vnto Cambalu, and vnlade and set saile againe for returne without venturing there at Cambalu, that you may on your way come as farr in returne as a port about Noua Zembla: that the summer following, you may the sooner be in England for the more speedy vent of your East commodities, and for the speedier discharge of your Partners: if you cannot go forward and backe in one selfe same Summer.

And touching the tract of the land of Noua Zembla, toward the East out of the circle Arctike in the more temperate Zone, you are to haue regard: for if you finde the soyle planted with people, it is like that in time an ample vent of our warme wollen clothes may be found. And if there be no people at all there to be found, then you shall specially note what plentie of whales, and of other fish is to be found there, to the ende we may turne our newe found land fishing or Island fishing, or our whale fishing that way, for the ayde and comfort of our nexte trades to the North-east to the coasts of Asia.

*A good consi-
deration.*

Respect of fish and certaine other things.

And if the aire may be found vpon that tract temperate, and the soile yeelding wood, water, land and grasse, and the seas fish, then we may plant on that maine the offalls of our people, as the Portugals do in Brasill, and so they may in our fishing in our passage, and diuers wayes perceiue commodity to England by harbouring and victualling vs.

And it may be, that the inland there may yeeld masts, pitch, tarre, hempe, and all things for the Naue, as plentifully as Eastland doth.

The Islands to be noted with their commodities and wants.

To note the Islands, whether they be hie land or low land, mountaine or flat, grauelly, clay, chalkie, or of what soile, woody or not woody, with springs and riuers or not, and what wilde beastes they haue in the same.

And whether there seeme to be in the same apt matter to build withall, as stone free or rough, and stone to make lime withall, and wood or scale to burne the same withall.

To note the goodnesse or the badnesse of the hauens and harborowes in the Islands.

If a straight be found, what is to be done, and what great importance it may be of.

And if there be a straight in the passage into the Scythian seas, the same is specially and with great regard to be noted, especially if the same straight be narrow and to be kept. If say it is to be noted as a thing that doeth much import: for what prince soeuer shall be Lord of the same, and shall possesse the same, as the king of Denmarke doeth possesse the straight of Denmarke, he onely shall haue the trade out of these regions into the North-east parts of the world for himselfe, and for his private profit, or for his subiects onely, or to enioy wonderfull benefit of the toll of the same, like as the king of Denmarke doeth enioy of his straights, by suffering the merchants of other Princes to passe that way. If any such straight be found, the eleuation, the high or lowe land, the hauens neere, the length of the straights, and all other such circumstances are to be set downe for many purposes: and all the Partners in the voyage are to be sworn to keepe close all such things, that other Princes perceiue vs not of the same, after our returne vpon the disclosing of the Partners, if any such thing should hap.

Which

Which way the Sauage may bee made able to purchase our cloth and other their wants.

If you find any Island or maine land populous, and that the same people hath need of cloth, then are you to deuise what commodities they haue to purchase the same withall.

If they be poore, then are you to consider of the soile, and how by any possibilitie the same may be made to enrich them, that hereafter they may haue something to purchase the cloth withall.

If you enter into any maine by portable riuers, and shall find any great woods, you are to note what kind of timber they be of, that we may know whether they are for pitch, tarre, mallee, deal-wood, clappwood, or for building of ships or houses, for so, if the people haue no vse of them, they may be brought perhaps to vse.

Not to venture the losse of any one man.

You must haue great care to preserve your people, since your number is so small, and not to venture any one man in any wise.

To bring home besides merchandize certaine trifles.

Bring home with you (if you may) from Cambalu or other ciuill place, one or other yong man, although you leaue one for him.

Also the fruites of the Countreys if they will not of themselves dure, drie them and so preserve them.

And bring with you the kernels of peares and apples, and the stones of such stonefruits as you shall find there.

Also the seeds of all strange herbs & flowers, for such seeds of fruits and herbs comming from another part of the world, and so far off, will delight the faulce of many for the strangenelle, and for that the same may grow, and continue the delight long time.

If you arriue at Cambalu or Quinsay, to bring thence the mappe of that countrey, for so shall you haue the perfect description, which is to great purpose.

To bring thence some old printed booke, to see whether they haue had print there before it was deuised in Europe as some write.

To note their force by sea and by land.

If you arriue in Cambalu or Quinsay, to take a speciall view of their Maie, and to note the force, greatnesse, maner of building of them, the sailes, the tackles, the ankers, the furniture of them, with ordnance, armour, and munition.

Also, to note the force of the walls and bulwarks of their cities, their ordnance, and whether they haue any caliuers, and what powder and shot.

To note what armour they haue.

What swords.

What pikes, halberds and bills.

What horses of force, and what light horses they haue.

And so throughout to note the force of the Countrey both by sea and by land.

Things to be marked to make coniectures by.

To take speciall note of their buildings, and of the ornaments of their houses within.

Take a speciall note of their apparell and furniture, and of the substance that the same is made of, of which a Merchant may make a gesse as well of their commodity, as also of their wants.

To note their Shoppes and Warehouses, and with what commodities they abound, the price also.

To see their Shambles, and to view all such things as are brought into the Markets, for so you shall soone see the commodities, and the maner of the people of the inland, and so giue a gesse of many things.

To note their fields of graine, and their trees of fruite, and how they abound or not abound in one and other, and what plenty or scarcitie of fish they haue.

Things

Things to be caried with you, whereof more or lesse is to bee caried for a shew of our commodities to be made.

KArticles of all orient colours, specially of stamell, broadcloth of orient colours also. Frizadoes, Hotlies, Bristow frizes, Spanish blankets, Baies of al colours, specially with Stamell, Clostedes, Carrels, Saies, Cloadmols, flanelts, Rals, &c.

Felts of diuers colours.

Casseta hats.

Deepe caps for Mariners coloured in Stamell, whereof if ample vent may be found, it would turne to an infinite commoditie of the common pooze people by knitting.

Quilted caps of Lcuant casseta of diuers colours, for the night.

Knit stocks of silke of orient colours.

Knit stocks of Terzie yarne of orient colours, whereof if ample vent might folow the pooze multitude should be set in worke.

Stocks of karlie of diuers colours for men and for women.

Garters of silke of seuerall kinds, and of colours diuers.

Girdles of Bisse and all other leaether, with gilt and un gilt buckles, specially waste girdles, waste girdles of veluet.

Gloues of all sorts knit, and of leaether.

Gloues perfumed.

Points of all sorts of silke, threed, and leaether, of all maner of colours.

Shooes of Spanish leaether of diuers colours, of diuers length, cut and vncut.

Shooes of other leaether.

Veluet shooes and pantophles.

These shooes and pantophles to be sent this time, rather for a shew then for any other cause.

Purses knit, and of leaether.

Nightcaps knit, and other.

A garnish of pewter for a shew of a bent of that English commoditie, bottles, flagons, spoones, &c. of that mettall.

Glasses of English making.

Venice glasses.

Looking glasses for women, great and faire.

Small dials a few for prooffe, although there they will not hold the order they do here.

Spectacles of the common sort.

Others of Christall trimmed with siluer, and otherwise.

Power glasses.

Combes of bore.

Combes of Tuozie.

Combes of hozne.

Linnen of diuers sorts.

Handkerchiefs with silke of seuerall colours wrought.

Glazen eyes to ride with against dust.

Knives in sheaths both single and double, of good edge.

Needles great and small of euery kind.

Buttons greater and smaller, with moulds of leaether and not of wood, and such as be durable of double silke, and that of sundry colours.

Bores with weights for gold, and of euery kind of the coine of gold, good and bad, to shew that the people here vse weight and measure, which is a certaine shew of wisdom, and of certaine gouernment felted here.

All the seuerall siluer coyne of our English monies, to be caried with you to be shewed to the gouernours at Cambalu, which is a thing that shall in silence speake to wise men more then you imagine.

Locks and keyes, hinges, bolts, halpes, &c. great and small of excellent workmanship, whereof if vent may be, hereafter we shall set our subiects in worke, which you must haue in great regard. If in finding ample vent of any thing that is to be wrought in this realme, is more woorth to our people besides the gaine of the merchant, then Christchurch, Bidewell, the Sauoy, and all the Hospitals of England.

For banketting on shipboord persons of credite.

First, the sweetest perfumes to set vnder hatches to make y place sweet against their coming aboard, if you arriue at Cambalu, Quinscy, or in any such great citie, & not among Sauages.

¶ Carmelade,

Parmelade.

Sucket.

Comfets of diuers kinds made of purpose by him that is most excellent, that shal not dissolve.

Pyunes damaske.

Dried peares.

Smalnuts.

Olives to make them taste their wine.

The apple Iohn that dureth two yeeres to make shew of our fruits.

Pullocke.

} } Sacke.

Vials of good sweet waters, and casting bottels of glasses to besprinkle the ghesks withall, after their coming aboard.

Suger to vse with their wine if they will.

The sweet oyle of Zante, and excellent french vineger, and a fine kind of Bisket steeped in the same do make a banquetting dish, and a little Sugar cast in it cooleth and comforteth, and refresheth the spirits of man.

Cynamom water

} is to be had with you to make a shew of by taste, and also to comfort your
 } sticke in the voyage.

Imperiall water

With these and such like, you may banquet where you arriue the greater and best persons.

Or with the gift of these Parmelades in small boxes, or small vials of sweet waters you may gratifie by way of gift, or you may make a merchandize of them.

The Mappe of England and of London.

Take with you the mappe of England set out in faire colours, one of the biggest sorte I meane, to make shew of your countrey from whence you come.

And also the large Mappe of London to make shew of your Citie. And let the riuer be drawn full of Ships of all sorts, to make the more shew of your great trade and traffike in trade of merchandize.

Ortelius booke of Mappes.

If you take Ortelius booke of Mappes with you to marke all these Regions, it were not a misse: and if need were, to present the same to the great Can, for it would be to a Prince of marvellous account.

The booke of the attire of all Nations.

Such a booke caried with you and bestowed in gift would be much esteemed, as I perswade my selfe.

Bookes.

If any man will lend you the new Verball and such Bookes as make shew of herbes, plants, trees, fishes, foules and beasts of these regions, it may much delight the great Can, and the nobilitie, and also their merchants to haue the view of them: for all things in these partes so much differing from the things of those regions, since they may not be here to see them, by meane of the distance, yet to see those things in a shadow, by this meane will delight them.

The booke of Rates.

Take with you the booke of Rates, to the ende you may picke all those commodities there specified, that you shall chance to find in Cambalu, in Quinsley, or in any part of the East, where you shall chance to be.

Parchment.

Rowles of Parchment, for that we may vent much without hurt to the Realme, and it keth in small rounge.

Glew.

To carie Gliew, for that we haue plentie and want vent.

Red Oker for Painters.

To seeke vent because we haue great mines of it, and haue no vent.

Sope of both kindes.

To try what vent it may haue, for that we make of both kinds, and may perhaps make more.

Saffron.

Saffron.

To try what vent you may haue of Saffron, because this realme yeelds the best of the world, and for the tillage and other labours may set the poore greatly in worke to their reliefe.

Aquauiua.

By new deuises wonderful quantities may be made here, and therefore to seeke the vent.

Blacke Conies skins.

To try the vent at Cambalu, for that it lieth towards the North, and for that we abound with the commoditie, and may spare it.

Threed of all colours,

The vent thereof may set our people in worke.

Copper Spurres and Hawkes bels.

To see the vent for it may set our people in worke.

A note and Caueat for the Merchant.

That before you offer your commodities to sale, you indeuour to learne what commodities the countrey there hath. For if you bring thicher velvet, rassetta, spice, or any such commoditie that you your selfe desire to lade your selfe home with, you must not sell yours deare, least hereafter you purchase theirs not so cheape as you would.

Seeds for sale.

Carie with you for that purpose all sorts of garden seeds, as well of sweete strawing herbs and of flowers, as also of pot herbes and all sorts for roots, &c.

Lead of the first melting.

Lead of the second melting of the slags.

To make triall of the vent of Lead of all kinds.

English iron, and wier of iron and copper.

To try the sale of the same.

Brimstone.

To try the vent of the same, because we abound with it made in the Realme.

Antimonie a Minerall.

To see whether they haue any ample vse there for it, for that we may lade whole nauies of it and haue no vse of it unlesse it be for some small portion in founding of bels, or a litle that the Alchymists vse: of this you may haue two sortes at the Apothecaries.

Tinder boxes with Steele, Flint & Matches and Tinder, the Matches to be made of Iuniper to auoid the offence of Brimstone.

To trie and make the better sale of Brimstone by shewing the vse.

Candles of Ware to light.

A painted Bellowes.

For that perhaps they haue not the vse of them.

A pot of cast iron.

To try the sale, for that it is a naturall commoditie of this Realme.

All maner of sedge tooles.

To be sold there or to the lesse ciuil people by the way where you shall touch.

What I would haue you there to remember.

To note specially what excellent vying they vse in these regions, and therefore to note their garments and ornaments of houses: and to see their Die houses and the Materials & Simples that they vse about the same, and to bring musters and shewes of the colours and of the materials, for that it may serue this clothing realme to great purpose.

To take with you for your owne vse.

All maner of engines to take fish and foule.

To take with you those things that be in perfection of goodnesse.

For as the goodnesse now at the first may make your commodities in credit in time to come: so false and Sophisticate commodities shall drawe you and all your commodities into contempt and ill opinion.

A letter of Gerardus Mercator, written to M. Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, touching the intended discoverie of the Northeast passage, An. 1580.



Itera tua (vir humanissime) 19. Iunij demum mihi reddite fuerunt: vehementer dolui visis illis tantam, non modo temporis, sed multo magis tempestiua instructionis iacturam factam esse. Optassen: *Arthurum Pet* de quibusdam nou leuibis ante suum discessum pramonitum fuisse. Expeditissima sane per Orientem in Cathaium est nauigatio: & saepe miratus sum, eam feliciter inchoatam, desertam fuisse, velis in Occidentem translatis, postquam plus quam dimidium itineris vestri iam notum haberent. Nam post Insulam Vaigats, & Noua Zembla continuo ingens sequitur Sinus, quem ab ortu Tabin immane promontorium complectitur. In hunc medium maxima illabuntur flumina, quae vniuersam Regionem Sericam perluentia, utque existimo, in intima continentis usque magnis nauigijs peruia, facillimam ratione exhibent qualibet merces ex Cataio, Mangi, Mien, caeterisque circumfusis regnis contrahendi, atque in Angliam deportandi. Caeterum cum non temere eam nauigationem intermissam crederem, opinabar ab Imperatore Russorum & Moscouiae obstaculum aliquod interiectum fuisse. Quod si verum cum illius gratia vltior illac nauigatio detur, suaderem profecto non primum Tabin promontorium quaerere, atque explorare, sed Sinum hunc atque flumina, in ijsque portum aliquem commodissimum, stationemque Anglicis Mercatoribus deligere, ex quo deinceps maiore opportunitate, minoribusque periculis Tabin promontorium, & totius Cathai circumnauigatio indagari posset. Esse autem ingens in Septentrionem excurrentis promontorium Tabin, non ex Plinio tantum, verum & alijs scriptoribus, & tabulis aliquot (licet rudius depictis) certum habeo. Polum etiam Magnetis haud longe vltra Tabin situm esse, certis Magnetis obseruationibus didici: circa quem & Tabin plurimos esse scopulos, difficilemque & periculosam nauigationem existimo: difficiliorem tamen ad Cathaium accessum fore opinor, ea qua nunc via in Occidentem tentatur. Propinquior enim fiet haec nauigatio polo Magnetis, quam altera, ad quem propius accedere non puto tutum esse. Quia vero Magnes alium quam Mundi polum habet, quo ex omni parte respicit: quod propius ad eum acceditur, eo directorium illud Nauticum magnetis virtute imbutum, magis a Septentrione deniar, nunc in Occidentem, nunc in Orientem, prout quis vel orientior, vel occidentalior est illo Meridiano, qui per vtrumque polum Magnetis, & Mundi ducitur, Mirabilis est haec varietas, & quae nauigantem plurimum fallere potest, nisi hanc Magnetis inconstantiam norit, & ad poli eleuationem per instrumenta subinde respiciat. In hac re si non sit iustructus D. Arthurus, aut ea sit dexteritate, ut deprehenso errore eum inuenire & castigare possit, timeo ne deuias faciat ambages, tempus illum fallat, & semiperacto negotio, a gelu praecipuetur: Aiunt enim Sinum illum fortius quorannis congelari. Quod si contingat: hoc quod consultius mihi visum fuit, proximum illi erit refugium, vt in eo sinu, ijsque fluminibus quae dixi, portum quaerat, & per Legarum aliquem, cum magno Cham, nomine Serenissimae Reginae notitiam, amicitiamque contrahat: quam opinor Maximo orbis Imperatori gratam, imo gratissimam fore propter remotissima commercia. Opinor ab ostijs Bautisi & Oechardi fluminum maximorum, usque ad Cambalu Regiam summam Chami, non vltra 300. miliaria Germanica esse, & iter sumendum per Ezinam urbem regni Tangur, quae 100. tantum miliarijs Germanicis ab ostijs distare videtur, & parat Magno Cham.

Valde optarem cognoscere, quam alte comuniter exurgat aestus maris in eo Moscouiae portu, quem vestri pro statione habent, & in alijs versus orientem locis usque ad Tabin. Item, an mare in hoc districtu semper in vnam partem, videlicet Orientem, aut Occidentem fluat, an vero pro ratione aestuum fluat, & resuat, in medio inquam canali, hoc est, an ibi sex horis in occasum, & iterum sex in ortum fluat, an vero semper in eandem partem: aliae enim speculationes non parum vtilis hinc dependent. Idem optarem a D. Frobiscero in occidentem obseruari. Quod ad Sinum Merofro, & Canadam, ac Nouam Franciam attinet, ea in meis tabulis desumpta sunt ex quadam Tabula marina, quae a quodam sacerdote ex earum ditionum Naucleri peritissimi Galli descriptione excerpta fuit, & illustrissimo Principi Georgio ab Austria episcopo Leodiensi oblata. Non dubito, quin quantum ad littorum situm attinet & poli eleuationem, ad veritatem ea quam proximè accedant. Habebat enim ea tabula praeter scalam graduum latitudinis per medium sui extensam, aliam praeterea particularem Nouae Franciae littoribus adiunctam, qua deprauatae latitudines, occasione erroris Magnetis ibi commissae, castigarentur. Iacobi Cuoyen Buscoducensis itinerarium per omnem Asiam, Affricam, & Septentrionem, olim mihi Amicus Antuerpiae ab alio mutuo acceptum communicauit, eo usus sum, & reddidi: post multos annos eundem ab amico repetij, & reminisci ille non potuit a quo accepisset, Gulielmi Tripolitani & Ioannis de plano Carpini scripta non vidi, tantum excerpta ex illis qua-

Ingens Sinus post Insulam Vaigats & Nouam Zembliam.

Tabin promontorium ingens,

Quo propius ad polum acceditur, eo directorium Nauticum magis a Septentrione deniar,

Bautisi & Oechardus maxima flumina in hunc Sinum illabuntur.

Postulata Mercatoris, de quibus certior fieri cupit.

dam

dam in alijs scriptis libris inueni, Abilsada Epitome gaudeo verti, vt inam cito habeamus.

Hæc (mi Domine) tuis respondenda putau: si quid est aliud quod à me desideres, libentissimè tibi communicabo: hoc vicissim amanter à tua humanitate petens, vt quæ ex vtriusq; nauigationis cursu obseruata nancisci poteris, mihi communices, penes me pro tuo arbitrio manebunt omnia, & quæcunque inde collegero, fideliter ad te perscribam, si forte ad pulcherrimum, vt illissimumq; orbi Christiano hoc nauigationis institutum aliquid opis & consilij adferre possint, Bene vale, vir doctissime. Duisburgi in Cluiua, 28. Iulij 1580.

Redeunte Arthuro, quæso discas ab illo quæ optau, & num alicubi in suo itinere, dulce mare, aut parum falsum inuenerit: suspicor enim mare inter Noua Zembla, & Tabin dulce esse.

T. H. paratissimus quantus sum,

Gerardus Mercator.

Dulce mare inter
Nouam Zem-
blam & Tabin
suspicitur,

The same in English.

SIR, I receiued your letters the 19. of June: it grieued me much that vpon the sight of them the time being spent, I could not giue any conuenient instructions: I with Arthur Pec had bene informed befoze his departure of some speciall points. The voyage to Cathaio by the East, is doubtlesse very easie and short, and I haue oftentimes maruelled, that being so happily begun, it hath bene left of, and the course changed into the West, after that more then halfe of your boiage was discouered. For beyond the Island of Vaigars and Noua Zembla, there foloweth presently a great Bate, which on the left side is inclosed with the mightie promontorie Tabin. Into the mts hereof there fall great riuers, which passing through the whole countrey of Serica, and being as I thinke nauigable with great vessels into y heart of the continent, may be an easie means whereby to traffique for all maner of merchantize, and transport them out of Cathaio, Mangi, Mien, and other kingdoms thereabouts into England. But considering with my selfe that that nauigation was not intermitted, but vpon great occasion, I thought that the Emperoz of Russia and Hofcouz had hindered the proceeding thereof. If so be that with his grace and fauour a further nauigation may be made, I would counsell them certainly not first to seeke out the promontorie Tabin, but to search this bate and riuers aforesayd, and in them to picke and chuse out some conuenient port and harbozough for the English merchants, from whence after ward with more opportunitie and lesse perill, the promontorie Tabin and all the coast of Cathaio may bee discouered. And that there is such a huge promontorie called Tabin, I am certainly perswaded not onely out of Plinie, but also other writers, and some Maps (though some what rudely drawn:) and that the pole of the Loadstone is not farre beyond Tabin, I haue learned by the certaine obseruations of the Loadstone: about which pole and Tabin I thinke there are very many rockes, and very hard and dangerous sailing: and yet a more hard and difficult passage I thinke it to bee this way which is now attempted by the West, for it is neerer to the pole of the Loadstone, to the which I thinke it not safe to appoach. And because the Loadstone hath another pole then that of the world, to the which from all parts it hath a respect, the neerer you come vnto it, the more the needle of the Compass doeth varie from the North, sometimes to the West, and sometimes to the East, according as a man is to the Eastward or to the Westward of that Meridian, that passeth by both the poles of the Magnes and the World.

This is a strange alteration and very apt to deceiue the Sailer, vnlesse hee know the vncoustantie and variation of the Compass, and take the eleuation of the pole sometimes with his instruments. If master Arthur be not well provided in this behalfe, or of such dexteritie, that perceiuing the error he be not able to correct the same, I feare least in wandring by and downe he lose his time, and be ouertaken with the ice in the midst of the enterpryse. For that gulfes, as they say, is frozen euery yere very hard. Which if it be so, the best counsell I could giue for the ir best safetie, were to seeke some harbozough in that bate, and those riuers whereof I haue spoken, and by some Ambassadors to make friendship and acquaintance with the great Can, in name of the Queenes maiestie, which I beleue will be gratefull to the mightiest Emperour in the world, yea most excellent for the length of the traffique, and great distance of the places. I thinke from the mouthes of the mighty riuers Bauisus and Oecharus to Cambalu the chiefest seat of the prince the Can, there are not past 300. Germane miles, and to passe by Ezina a citie of the kingdom of Tangut, which seemeth to be but 100. Germane miles from the mouthes of the sayd riuers, and is subiect to the great Can.

I would gladly know how high the sea doeth flowe commonly in the port of Hofcouz where your men do harbozow, and in other Easterly places vnto Tabin. And also whether the sea in this streight do flow at waies one way to the East or to the West, or whether it do ebbe and flow according

A great gulfie
is beyond
Vaigars,
whereinto
mighty riuers
descend.

The best course
to be taken in
discoueries.

The mouthes
of Bauisus and
Oecharus 300.
leagues from
Cambatu.

ding to the maner of the tides in the middle of the chanel, that is to say, whether it floe there six houres into the West, and as may backe againe to the East, for hereupon depend other speculations of importance, I wroth with M. Frobisher to observe the same Westwards. Concerning the gulfe of Merosro and Canada, and new France which are in my mappes, they were taken out of a certaine sea card drawn by a certaine priest out of the description of a Frenchman, a Pilot very skilfull in those partes, and presented to the worthy prince George of Austria, bishop of Liege: for the treading of the coast, and the elevation of the pole, I doubt not but they are very nere the truth: for the Charte had, beside a scale of degrees of latitude passing through the middle of it, another particularly annexed to the coast of New France, wherewith the error of the latitudes committed by reason of the variation of the compasse might be corrected. The histozie of the voyage of Iacobus Cnoyen Buschoducensis throughout al Asia, Affrica, and the North, was lent me in time past by a friend of mine at Answerpe. After I had used it, I restored it againe: after many yeeres I required it againe of my friend, but hee had forgotten of whom hee had borrowed it. The writings of Gulielmus Tripolitanus, and Ioannes de Plano Carpini I neuer saw: onely I found certaine pieces of them in other written hand bookes. I am glad the Epitomie of Abilsfada is translated, I would we might haue it shortly.

Upon the observations of the tides depend great speculations.

Thus much Sir I thought good to answer your letters: if there be any thing els that you would require of me, I will most willingly communicate it with you, craving this likewise of your curtesie, that whatsoeuer observations of both these voyages shall come to your hands, you would impart them to me, they shall all remaine with mee according to your discretion and pleasure, and whatsoeuer I gather of them, I will faithfully signifie unto you by letters, if happily they may yeeld any helpe or light unto this most excellent enterpryse of navigation, and most profitable to our christian common wealth. Fare you well most learned friend. At Duisburg in Chiucland, 28. of Iulie, the yeere, 1580.

At Arthur his returne I pray you learne of him the things I haue requested, and whether any where in his voyage, he found the sea fresh, or not very salt: for I suppose the Sea betwene Noua Zembla and Tabin to be fresh.

Yours wholly to my power to be commanded,
Gerardus Mercator.

The discoverie made by M. Arthur Pet, and M. Charles Jackman, of the Northeast parts, beyond the Island of Vaigatz, with two Barkes: the one called the *George*, the other the *William*, in the yeere 1580.

Written by Hugh Smith.



Upon Sunday the 30. of May, we departed from Harwich in the afternoone, the winde being at South, and to the Eastward. The ebbe being spent we could not double the pole, and therefore were constrained to put in againe untill the next day in the morning, being the last of May: which day wee wayed our ankers about 3. a clocke in the morning, the wind being West south west. The same day we passed Orfordnesse at an East Sunne, and Stamford at a West Sunne, and Yarmouth at a West north west sunne, and so to Winterton, where we did anker at night: it was then calme, and the flood was come.

The next day being the first of Iune, we set saile at 3. a clocke in the morning, and set our course North, the wind at the South west, and at South south west.

The 10. day about one of the clocke in the afternoone, wee put into Norway to a place where one of the headlands of the sound is called Borel: the other headland is called Moile. There is also an Island called Kene. Heere I did find the pole to be elevated 62. deg. it doeth flowe there South, and it hieth 7. or 8. foor, not above.

Kene an Island of Norway.

The 11. day in the morning the wind came to the South and to the Southeast: the same day at six in the afternoone we set saile, and bare along the coast: it was very foule weather with raine and fogge.

The 22. day the wind being at West, we did hall the coast East north east, and East. The same day at 6. in the morning we did double the north cape. About 3. in the afternoone we past Skites beare nesse, and had along the coast East, and East south east, and all the same night wee halled Southeast, and Southeast by East.

The North cape double.

The 23. day about 3. in the morning we came to Wardhouse, the wind at the North west. The cause of our coming in was to seeke the William, whose companie wee lost the 6. day of this moneth,

Wardhouse.

moneth, and to send letters into England. About one of the clock in the after noone the William also came into Wardhouse to vs in good safetie, and all her company in good health.

The 24. the wind came to the East North-east. This day the William was hald a ground, because she was somewhat leake, and to mend her sterage. This night about 12. of the clocke she did hale a flote againe.

The 25. day the wind was at East north-east.

The 26. day the Toby of Harwich departed from Wardhouse for London, Thomas Greene being master, to whom we deliuered our letters.

The 27. day the wind was at South southeast, and the 28. also.

The 29. day about 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to the West north-west for the space of one houre, and presently to the East againe, and so was variable all the same night.

The 30. about five in the morning, the winde came to East southeast, and continued so all the same day.

July.

The first of July about 5. in the afternoone, the wind was at North-north-west: and about 7. of the clocke we set saile from Wardhouse East and by South.

The second day about 5. in the morning, the wind was East, and East southeast, and we did lie to the shorewards. And about 10. in the morning the wind came to South southeast, and we laid it to the Eastward: sometime we lay East by South, sometime East southeast, and sometimes East by North. About 5. in the afternoone we bare with the William, who was willing to goe with Keger, because we thought her to be out of trie, and sailed very ill, where we might mend her sterage: whereupon master Pet not willing to go into harborough laid to master Jackman, that if he thought himselfe not able to keepe the sea, he should doe as he thought best, and that he in the meane time would beare with Willoughbys land, for that it was a parcel of our direction, and would meete him at Veroue Ostroue, or Vaigars, and so we set our course East north-east, the winde being at Southeast.

Willoughbys
land.

The 3. day the winde at Southeast we found the pole to be eleuated 70. degrees, 46. minutes. The same night at 12. of the clocke we sounded, but had no ground, in 120. fathoms, being fifty leagues from the one side by our reckoning East north-east from Keger.

50. leagues
from Keger.

The 4. day all the morning was calme. This day we found the pole to be eleuated 71. degrees 38. minutes. This day at 9. in the afternoone the wind at North-east with a gentle gale, we hald along Southeast by East.

The 5. day the wind at North-west, we hald East and East by South: this day we saw land, but we could not make it, the wind being North-erly, so that we could not come neere to it.

The 6. day about 2. in the afternoone, the wind at North north-west, we halde East southeast with a faire and gentle gale: this day we met with ice. About 6. in the afternoone it became calme: we with saile and oares laide it to the North-east part, hoping that way to cleare vs of it: for that way we did see the head part of it, as we thought. Which done, about 12. of the clocke at night we gate cleere of it. We did thinke it to be ice of the bay of Saint Nicholas, but it was not, as we found after wards.

A sight of per-
fect land.

The seventh day we met with more yce, at the East part of the other yce: we halde along a weather the yce to finde some ende thereof by East north-east. This day there appeared more land North from vs being perfect land: the ice was betweene vs and it, so that we could not come neerer to it.

The same morning at five of the clocke wee put into the ice to finde some way through it, wee continued in it all the same day and all the night following, the winde by the North North-west. Wee were constrained to goe many pointes of our compasse, but we went most an Easterly course.

The eight day the winde at North north-west, we continued our course, and at five in the morning we sounded, and had 90. fadoms red oze. This day at foure in the afternoone we sounded againe, and had 84. fadoms oze, as befoze. At five in the after noone we cleared our selues of the ice, and hald along Southeast by South: we sounded againe at 10. a clocke at night, and had 43. fathom sandy oze.

The 9. day at 2. in the morning, we sounded againe, and had 45. fadoms, then there appeared a shadow of land to vs East North-east, and so we ran with it the space of 2. houres, and then perceiving that it was but fogge, we hald along Southeast.

70. deg. 3. min.

This day at 2. in the afternoone wee sounded and had fiftie fadoms blacke oze. Our latitude was 70. degrees three minutes. At tenne a clocke at night wee sounded againe, and had fiftie fadoms blacke oze.

The tenth day the wind being at North north-west, we halde East and by North, which course we

We set, because at ten of the clocke afoze noone wee did see land, and then wee sounde hauing 35. fadoms blacke oze. All this day there was a great fogge, so that wee durst not heare with the land to make it, and so we kept an outwardly course. This day at 6. in the afternoone we espied land, wherewith we halled, and then it grew calme: we sounde and had 120. fadoms blacke oze: and then we sent our boat a land to sound and pzooue the land. The same night we came with our ship within an Island, where we rode all the same night. The same night wee went into a bay to ride neere the land for wood and water.

An Island.

The 11. day the wind came to the East southeast: this day about a league from vs to the Eastwards, we saw a very faire sound of tiuer that past very farre into the countrey with 2. or 3. bayes with an Island in the midst.

The maine land.

The 12. of July the wind was East Southeast. This day about 11. a clocke in the morning, there came a great white beare down to the water side, and tooke the water of his own accord, we chased him with our boate, but for all that we could doe, he got to land and escaped from vs, where we named the bay Bearebay. This day at 7. in the after noone we set saile, for we had good hope that the winde would come Westterly, and with saile and oars we gate the sea. All the night it was calme with fogge.

Bearebay.

The 13. day in the morning the wind was very variable with fog, and as it cleared up wee met with great store of ice, which at the first shewed like land. This ice did vs much trouble, and the moze because of the fog, which continued vntill the 14. day, 12. of the clocke.

The 14. day in the morning we were so imbayed with ice, & we were constrained to come out as we went in, which was by great good fortune, or rather by the goodnesse of God, otherwise it had bene impossible, and at 12. of the clock we were cleere of it, the wind being at South and South by West. The same day we found the pole to be eleuated 70. degrees, 26. minutes: we lay along the coast North-west, thinking it to be an Island, but finding no end in rowing so long, we supposed it to be the maine of Noua Zembla. About 2. in the afternoone we laide it to the Southward to double the ice, which wee could not doe vpon that boozde, so that we cast about againe and lay West along vnder the ice. About seuen in the afternoone we got about the greatest part thereof. About 11. a clock at night we brought the ice Southeast of vs, and thus we were ridde of this trouble at this time.

70. deg. 26. min.

The supposed maine of Noua Zembla.

The 15. day about 3. in the morning, the wind was at South south-west: wee cast about and lay to the Eastwards: the winde did Westter, so that wee lay South south-west with a stawne heere, and so we ranne all the same day. About 8. in the after noone we sounde, and had 23. fadoms small grey sand. This night at twelue of the clocke we sounde againe, and had 29. fadoms sand, as afoze.

The 16. day vnto 3. in the morning we had along East Southeast, where we found 18. fadoms red sand, then we had along North-east. In these soundings wee had many ouerfalls. This day at 10. of the clocke we met with moze ice, which was very great, so that we coude not tell which way to get cleere of it. Then the winde came to the South Southeast, so that we lay to the Northwards. We thought that way to cleare our selues of it, but that way we had moze ice. About 6. in the afternoone, the wind came to the East. Then we lay to the Southwards that wee had 30. fadoms blacke oze. This day we found the pole to be eleuated 69. deg. 40. minutes, and this night at 12. a clocke we had 41. fadoms red sand.

Many ouerfalls.

The 17. day at 3. in the morning, we had 12. fadoms. At 9. we had 8. and 7. all this day we ran South and South by West, at the depth afoze laid, red sand, being but shallow water. At eight in the afternoone, the winde with a showze and thunder came to the South-west, and then wee ranne East North-east. At 12. at night it came to the South and by East, and all this was in the bay of Pechora.

The bay of Pechora.

The 18. day at 7. in the morning we bare with the headland of the bay, where wee founde two Islands. There are also ouerfalls of water of tides. We went between the maine and the Island, next to the head, where we had about 2. fadoms and a halfe. We found the pole eleuated 69. deg. 13. minutes. This day we had sight of Vaigatz: the land of the maine of Pechora did trend South-east, we had East southeast, and had 10. fadoms oze all the same day vntill 4. in the after noone, then being calme, we ankered in 10. fadoms all the same night.

They had sight of Vaigatz.

The 19. day at two in the morning we set saile, and ran South and South south-west all the same day at 8. 7. and 6. fadoms, this was off the South part of Vaigatz, this part of the land lieth North and South. This day at 4. in the afternoone we found shallow water sometime 4. fadoms, sometime 3. and 2. and a halfe, and one sadome and a halfe: there we ankered and sent our boate away to sound, and all to lee ward we had 4. foote and 3. foote, and 2. foot, there was not water for the boate betweene Vaigatz & the other lye: finding no moze water, there was no other way but

to goe backe as we came in, hauing the wind Northwest, so at twelue at night we let saile.

The 20. day we plied to the Northwards, and got deepe water againe 6. and 7. fadoms.

The 21. day the winde by the Northwest, we had along the coast North and North north-west, we had 8. and 9. and 10. fadoms.

The 22. day the winde came to the Southwest, wee bare along the coast of Vaigatz, as we found it to lie North and by West, and North north-west, and North. The winde blew very much with great fogge, we lacking water and wood bare within an Island where wee founde great store of wood and water, there were thre or foure goodly founes. Under two points there was a crosse set vp, and a man buried at the foote of it. Upon the said crosse Master Pet did graue his name with the date of our Lozde, and likewise vpon a stone at the foote of the crosse, and so did I also, to the end that if the William did chaunce to come thither, they might haue knowledge that wee had bene there. At eight in the afternoone the winde came to the North north-west, we set saile and turned out of the Bay. The same night the winde came to the West, so that we lay North along the land.

An Island hauing store of wood & water.

6. faire Islands.

The 23. day at five in the morning, the wind came to the Southwest, a Sea boord we sawe a great number of faire Islands, to the number of sixe: a sea boord of these Islands, there are many great ouerfalls, as great streames or rides: we halde Northeast and East northeast as the lande did trend. At eight afoorenoone the winde came to the Southeast with very much wind, raine and fogge, and very great store of ice a sea boorde: so we lay to the Southwest to attaine to one of the Islands to harbour vs if the weather did so extremely continue, and to take in our boate, thinking it meete so to doe, and not to towe her in such weather. About twelue of the clocke it became very calme vpon the sudden, and came by to the West Northwest, and Northwest by West, and then weooke in our boate, and this done, there came downe so much winde, as we were not able to steere afoze it, with coyle and bonnets of each, we halde South with the land, soz so the land did trend. This day all the afternoone we sailed vnder a great land of ice, we sailed betwene the land and it, being not able to crosse it. About twelue at night we founde the ice to stretch into the land, that we could not get cleare to the Eastward, so we laide it to the shoze, and there we founde it cleare hard aboord the shoze, and we found also a very faire Island which makes a very good harbour, and within are 12. fadoms.

An Island to the East of Vaigatz 4. or 5. leagues.

This Island is to the Eastwards of Vaigatz, 4. or 5. leagues. This land of the maine doth trend Southeast, and Southeast by East. It is a very faire coast, and euen and plaine, and not full of mountaines nor rocks: you haue but shallow water of 6. or 7. fadoms, about a league from the shoze, all this morning we halled East southeast. This day we found the pole to be eleuated 69. degrees 14. minutes. About 12. a clocke we were constrained to put into the ice to seeke some way to get to the Northwards of it, hoping to haue some cleare passage that way, but there was nothing but whole ice. About nine in the afternoone we had sight of the William, and when we sawe her, there was a great land of ice betwene her and vs, so that we could not come one to the other, but as we came nere to her, we sounded our trumpet and shot off two muskets, and she put out her flag vpon her foze topmasse in token that she did see vs: all this time wee did shorten our sailes, and went with our foze saile & maine top saile, seeking the best way through the broken ice, she making away the best that she could to follow vs, we put out our flagge to answer her againe with the like: thus wee continued all the afternoone till about 12. a clocke at night, and then we moared our ship to a piece of ice to tarie for the William.

The William and the George meeete againe.

The 25. day about five in the morning, the William came to vs, being both glad of our meeting. The William had her sterne post broken, that the rudder did hang clean besides the sterne, so that she could in no wise port her helme, with all hands she did lighten her sterne, and trimme her head, and when we had brought her fozward all that we could, wee brought a cable vnder her sterne, and with our captaine did wind by her sterne, and so we made it as well as the place would giue vs leaue, and in the ende wee brought her to sicere againe. Wee acknowledge this our meeting to be a great benefite of God for our mutuall comfort, and so gaue his maiestie thanks for it. All the night after weooke our rest bring made fast vpon a piece of ice: the winde was at West Northwest, but wee were so inclosed with ice that we could not tell which way to passe. Windes wee haue had at will, but ice and fogge too much against our willes, if it had pleased the Lord God other wise.

The 26. day the wind was at West Northwest: we set saile to the Northwards, to seeke if we could finde any way cleare to passe to the Eastward, but the further we went that way, the more and thicker was the ice, so that wee could goe no further. So about foure in the afternoon we were constrained to moare vpon another piece of ice. I thinke we sailed in all a league this day, here we had 15. fadoms oze, and this oze is all the chancellouer. All the same day after foure of the

the clocke, and all the night we tarried there, being without all good hope, but rather in despair. This day Master Lugman did see land East North-east from vs, as he did thinke, whether it were land or no, I cannot tell well, but it was very like land, but the fogges haue many times deceiued vs.

The 27. day the winde was at North-west. This day at nine in the morning we set saile to seeke the shore. Further into the ice we could not goe, and at seuen in the afternoone we moared to a piece of ice, and the William with vs, here we had 14. fathoms oze. At three in the afternoone we warpt from one ice to another. At nine in the afternoone we moared againe to a piece of ice vntill the next day. All this night it did snow with much wind, being at West North-west, and at North-west, and by West.

The 28. day the winde came to the South-west, and South-south-west: this day was a very faire day. At one in the afternoone master Pet and master Lackman did conferre together what was best to be done considering that the windes were good for vs, and we not able to passe for ice, they did agree to seeke to the land againe, and so to Vaygatz, and there to conferre further. At 3. in the afternoone we did warpe from one piece of ice to another to get from them if it were possible: here were pieces of ice so great, that we could not see beyond them out of the topp. Thus we warped vntill 9. in the afternoone, and then we moared both our shippes to a great and high piece of ice, vntill the next morning.

The ice runneth

The nine and twentie day the winde came to the South-west, we set saile at five in the morning to plie into the shore if it were possible, we made many turnes among the ice to small purpose, for with the winde doeth the currant runne. This day by misfortune a piece of ice strooke of our greype afoze at two afozenoone, yet for all this we turned to doe our best. The William being incumbered with ice, and perceiuing that shee did litle good,ooke in all her sailes, and made her selfe fast to a piece of ice, and about foure in the afternoone she set saile to followe vs. We were afraide that shee had taken some hurt, but she was well. At seuen afoze noone we tooke in all our sailes to tarie for the William, and made our shippe fast to a piece of ice: the William before she came to vs tooke in all her sailes, and moared to another piece of ice, and thus we continued vntill the next morning.

The currant runneth with the winde.

The 30. day the winde at Southeast, and by South, and at 9. in the morning we set saile, and sooner would haue done if the William had bene by vs, but we did tary for her to know whether all was well with her: But as soone as we made saile, shee did the like. All this day wee did our best to seeke our way as the ice would giue vs leaue, sometime we lay South, sometime West, and sometime East, and thus we continued vntill eight at night, and then being calme, wee made our ship fast to a piece of ice, and went to supper. In the meane time the wind with a faire gentle gale came vnto the East, and East and by South, but there came downe a showre of raine with it, which continued the space of one houre: Which being done, it became calme againe, so that wee could doe no good all that night, butooke our rest vntill the next day.

The 31. the winde being at South-west, we set saile to turne to windward at thre a clock in the morning. In this turning we did litle good, for the currant would not giue vs leaue. For as the winde is, so is the currant. We did our best vntill ten of the clocke, and then perceiuing that we did no good, and being inclosed with ice, wee made our ships fast to a piece of ice: All this day the William lay still, and did as much good as we that did labour all the forenoone. Thus we took our rest all the same day.

In the afternoone we set saile, the winde being at South & by East, we lay to the Westwards, as South-west and South-west and by South, and sometime to the Westward as wee might. Thus we continued vntill 9. at night, and then we could go no further for ice: so we with the William were constrained to make our ship fast to a piece of ice at the same night. This day we found the pole eleuated 69. degrees 20. minutes, and here we had 17. fathoms oze.

The first day of August was very calme in the morning, the winde being at West North-west. About twelue the winde came to the West, and continued so all the same night with great fogge.

As just

The second day the winde was at South-west all day with rayne and fogge. All this day wee were inclosed with ice, so that we were forced to lye still. Here we had one and twentie fathoms oze. At sixe in the afternoone the winde was at West with very much foule weather, and so continued all the same night.

The third day the winde was at West, and West by North, and West North-west, this day we lay still inclosed with yee, the weather being darke with fogge: thus abiding the Lords leasure, we continued with patience. And sounding we found 21. fathoms.

The fourth day we lay still inclosed with ice, the winde being at West North-west, this ice

did euery day increase upon vs, yet putting our trust in God, we hoped to be deliuered out of it in good time.

The fift day all the morning it rained with very much wind, being at South Southeast: about 3. in the after noone we set sayle, and presently it became calme for the space of one houre, then the wind came to the North Northeast, and here we had 33. fathoms: thus we made way among the yce South west, and South South west, & West, as we might finde our way for the space of 3. houres: then we met with a whole land of yce, so that we could go no further: here we moored our ship to carie for a further opening. Here we found 45. fathoms oze, and all the night was very darke with fogge.

A whole land
of yce.

The sixt day having no opening of the yce wee lay still, the winde being at West, and West by South: here we had sixty three fathoms oze: all the same night the winde was at the West North west.

The 7. day the winde was at West, and West and by North all day. And all this day we lay still being inclosed with yce, that we could not stirre, labouring onely to defend the yce as it came upon vs. Here we had 68. fathoms oze.

The 8. day was very faire & calme but foggy. This day towards night there was litle winde by the South South west: then the yce began a litle to open, and here we had 70. fathoms oze: all the night was foggy.

The 9. day the winde was at North west, and by West, all the afternoone we lay still because of the yce, which did still inclose vs. This day we found the pole elevated seventy degrees, 4. minutes, we had 63. fathoms oze: this night was a very fayre night, but it freezed: in the morning we had much adoe to goe through the same: and we were in doubt that if it should haue freezed so much the night following, we should hardly haue passed out of it. This night there was one star that appeared to vs.

70. degr. 4.
min.

Frost.

The appear-
ing of the
starres, signe
of Winter.

The tenth day the winde was at East Northeast with a very small gale. Wee with saile and oares made way through the yce: about five in the morning we set saile: sometime wee laye South west, and sometime South, and sometime West, as we might best finde the way. About thre in the afternoone the gale began to fresh: about six in the afternoone the winde was at Northeast with fogge. Here we had eighty eight fathoms: we bare saile all the same night, and it snowed very much.

Such snow.

The eleuenth day we were much troubled with yce, and by great force we made our way through it, which we thought a thing impossible: but extremity doth cause men to doe much, and in the weakenesse of man Gods strength most appeareth. This day we had 95. fathoms. At thre in the afternoone the winde came to the South west, we were forced to make our shippe fast to a piece of yce, for we were inclosed with it, and taried the Lordes leasure. This night we had 97. fathoms.

The 12. day the wind was at the Southeast not very much but in a maner calme: at a 11. of the clocke the winde came to the West South west: all the day was very darke with snowe and fogge. At 6. in the afternoone we set saile the winde being at the North Northeast: all this night we bare away South west, and South South west, as well and as neere as the yce would giue vs leaue: all this night we found the yce somewhat fauourable to vs, more then it was before, whereupon we stood in good hope to get out of it.

The 13. day at 7. in the morning, the winde was at the Northeast, and Northeast and by East: all this day we were much troubled with the yce, for with a blow against a piece of yce we brake the stocke of our ancre, and many other great blowes we had against the yce, that it was maruelous that the ship was able to abide them: the side of our boate was broken with our ship which did recule backe, the boate being betwixt a great piece of yce, and the ship, and it perished the head of our rudder. This day was a very hard day with vs: at night we found much broken yce, and all this night it blew very much winde, so that we lay in drift with the yce, & our drift was South, for the winde was at North all this night, and we had great store of snowe.

Great store
of snowe.

The 14. day in the morning wee made our shippe fast to a piece of yce, and let her drue with it. In the meane time wee mended our boate and our steeage: all this day the winde continued Northerly, and here wee had thre score and two fathoms. Thus wee lay a drift all the same night.

The 15. day we set saile at 6. in the morning, the winde being at Northeast. At 9. afoze noon we entred into a cleare Sea without yce, whereof wee were most glad, and not without great cause, and gaue God the praise. We had 19. fathoms water, and ranne in South west all the morning vntill we came to 14. fathoms, and thence we halled West, til we came to 10. fathoms, and then we went North west, for so the land doeth trend. At 12. of the clocke we had sight of the

the land, which we might haue had sooner, but it was darke and foggie all the same day: for when we had sight of the lande, we were not passing three leagues from it. This day we had the pole eleuated 69 degrees 49 minutes. All day we ran along the coast in ten and nine fadoms, pepered land. It is a very goodly coast and a bolde, and faire soundings off it, without sandes or rocks. 69 degrees 49 minutes.

The 16 day the winde was at East: this day we were troubled againe with ice, but we made great shift with it: for we gotte betweene the shoare and it. This day at twelue of the clocke we were thwart of the Southeast part of Vaigars, all along which part there was great store of yce, so that we stood in doubt of passage, yet by much adoe we got betwixt the shoare and it: about 6 in the afternoone was found a great white beare vpon a piece of ice: all this day in the afternoone it was darke with fogge. And all the night we haled North and North by West, and sometime North and by East, for so doth the land trend. There are thwart against Vaigars.

The 17 day in the morning we haled West, for so doth the land lie. The wind was at South-east, and it was very darke with fogge, and in running along the shoare we fell a ground, but God be praised without hurt, for we came presently off againe. The William came to an anker to stay for vs, and sent some of their men to help vs, but before they came we were vnder saile, and as we came to the William we did stowe our boates, and made saile, we went within some of the Islands, and haled Westsouthwest. Sands. The Islands.

About two of the clocke in the afternoone, we set our course South west and by South: so we ranne South west vntill twelue at night, the wind came to the Northnortheast, and then we haled West.

The 18 day at 6 in the morning we had 16 fadoms red sand: at 6 in the morning 13 fadoms. At 10, 14 fadoms, and we haled Westnorthwest. At 12 a clocke the winde came to the East, and East by South, we haled West and by North all the same day and night. At 6 in the afternoone we had 17 fadoms red sand.

The 19 day the wind was at Eastnortheast: at 6 in the morning we had 19 fadoms red sand: at 12 of the clocke the wind blew North and North by East, we had 17 fadoms of water: at 3 in the afternoone 15.

The 20 day the wind was at Northeast, and Northnortheast: at 7 in the morning we had 30 fadomes blacke oze: at twelue of the clocke we were vpon the suddaine in shoale water, among great sandes, and could find no way out. By sounding and seeking about, we came aground, and so did the William, but we had no hurt, for the wind was off the shoare, and the same night it was calme: all night we did our best, but we could not haue her ashore. These shoales doe lie off Colgoyue: it is very flat a great way off, and it doth not high about 2 or 3 foote water: it floweth Northeast, and Southwest. Shoales off Colgoyue.

The 21 day the wind was at Southwest, and being very faire weather we did lighten our ships as much as was possible for vs to doe, by reason of the place. The same high water, by the helpe of God, we got both a floate, and the wind being at the Southwest did help vs, for it cauled it to flow the more water.

This day we found the pole to be eleuated 68 degrees 40 min. In the afternoone we both set saile to seeke way to get out of these sandes, our boate a head sounding, hauing 6, 7, and 8 fadomes all within the land which was without vs. We bare to the Southward, and the William bare more to the Eastwards, and night being at hand the wind came to the Southeast, whereupon we layd it to the Southwards, lying Southwest, and South and by West, and ran to 19, and 12 and 14 fadoms, and presently we had but six fadoms, which was off the lands head, which we were a ground vpon the day before. Then we cast about to the Eastwards for deepe water, which we presently had, as 10, 15, and 20 and so to 23 fadoms.

The 22 day at 8 in the morning, we cast about to the Southward, and this day in the morning we saw the William vnder our lee as far as we could see her, and with a great fogge we lost the sight of her, and since we haue not seene her. Thus we ranne till we came to thirtie fadomes blacke oze, which we had at twelue of the clocke, and at three in the afternoone we had twenty and three fadoms, and then we ranne Westnorthwest, and West by North, all the same night following. They lost the William here.

The 23 day we had at 6 in the morning 27 fadoms, at 8 a clocke 28 fadoms: at 9 the winde being at Eastsoutheast, we haled Westnorthwest: this day we had sight of the land of Hugri side. At twelue of the clocke we had thirtie two fadoms sand. This day we ranne West and by North, and came to five fadoms off the bay of Morzouets. Then we layd it to the Northwards, so that we lay Northnortheast off. The wind after came to the North, and North by East, and we lay East and East by North, then we layd it to the Westward againe: and thus we lay till we came to The land of Hugri. The bay of Morzouets.

to fortye fadoms, and then we went Northwest till wee came to fourteene fadoms, and so to tenne fadoms. Then we cast about to the Eastwards and lay East, and East by North all the same night.

The 24 day at 8 in the morning we had 32 fadoms. We ran Northwest till we came to 11 fadoms, then we lay to the Northwards till 12 at night, and then we came to fortye fadoms, then the wind at Northeast we lay to the Westwards, and haled Northwest along.

The 25 at 4 in the morning we had 37 fadoms, wee ranne Northwest, the winde at Northeast very much.

The 26 day we ran with the same winde, and found the pole to be elevated 70 deg. 40 min.

The 27 at 7 in the morning we saw land, which we made to be Kegor, then we haled Northwest, and North by West to double the North Cape.

The 28 day at 3 in the morning we ran Northwest, and so all day. At night the wind came to the Southwest, and we ran Northwest all that night.

The towne of Hungon.

The 29 day we put into a sound called Tane, and the towne is called Hungon: we came to an ancre at 5 in the afternoone, at 25 fadoms very faire land. This sound is very large and good, and the same night we got water aboord.

The 30 day in the morning the winde at Northeast, and but litle, we set saile, and with our boate on head we got the sea about 12 of the clocke: the wind with a faire gale came to the East Southeast, and all this day and night we ran Westnorthwest.

They double the North Cape in their returne.

The 31 day at 12 of the clocke we doubled the North Cape, the wind being at Eastsouthead, we haled West all the same day, and at night we ran Westsouthwest.

The 1 day of September the wind was at Northeast with very much fogge: all this day we ran Westsouthwest: at 2 in the afternoone the wind came North.

The second day at 3 in the morning we doubled Fowlness, a the wind was this day variable at all parts of the Compasse. In the afternoone we made but litle way: at 6 a clocke the winde came to the Southwest, and we went Northwest. At 9 in the night there came downe so much winde by the Westsouthwest, that we were faine to lay it a hull, we haled it to Northwards for the space of 2 houres, and then we layd her head to the Southwards, and at the bzeake of day we saw land, which is very high, and is called by the men of the countrey Fowlness. It is within full of small Islands, and without full of rocks very farre out, and within the rockes you haue saye land at 20 fadoms.

Fowlness.

The 3 day in the morning we bare with the sound aforesaid: Within it is but shoale water, 4 5 and 3 fadoms, sandie ground, the land is very high, and the Church that is seene is called Helike Kirke. It doeth high here not aboue 8 or 9 foote.

Lowfoote.

The 12 day at 3 in the afternoone, we put into a sound by Lowfoote, where it doeth flowe Southwest, and by South, and doth high 7 or 8 foote water.

The 13 day much wind at West: we had a ledge of rocks in the wind of vs; but the road was reasonable good for all Southerly and Westlerly winds. We had the maine land in the winde of vs: this day was stormie with raine.

The sound of Romesal.

The 23 day at foure of the clocke in the afternoone we put into Norway, into a sound called Romesal, where it floweth Southsoutheast, and doth high 8 foote water: this place is full of low Islands, and many good sounds without the high mountaine land. Here is great store of wood growing, as firre, birch, oke, and hasell: all this night the wind was at the South, very much winde, with raine and fogge.

The 28 day in the morning the wind being at Eastnortheast we set saile at 8 of the clocke, and haled out of the bay Westsouthwest, and Southwest, hauing a goodly gale vntill one of the clocke, and then the wind came to Southeast, and to the South with raine and fogge, and very much winde: at five of the clocke we came into a very good roade, where we did ride all the same night in good safetie.

The 29 day we put into a good sound, the wind by the Southwest: at three in the afternoone there came downe very much wind by the South, and all night with vehement blastes, and raine.

The 30 day all day the wind was at Westsouthwest. And in this sound the pole is elevated 63 deg. 10 min.

October.

The first day of October the winde was at South with very much winde, and vehement blastes.

The 7 day we set saile: for from the first of this moneth vntill this 7 day, we had very foule weather, but specially the fourth day when the wind was so great, that our cables brake with the very storme, and I do not thinke that it is possible that any more wind then that was should blow:

for after the breaking of our cable, we did vniue a league, befoze our ankers woult take any hold : but God be thanked the storme began to slacke, otherwise we had bene in ill case.

The 7 day at night we came to an anker vntill the next day, which was the 8 day of the moneth, when as the winde grew great againe, with raine, whereupon we set saile and returned into the sound againe : and at our first comming to an anker, presently there blew so much winde, that although our best anker was out, yet the extremitie of the storm vziue vs vpon a ledge of rocks, and did bruse our ship in such sort, that we were constrained to lighten her to saue her, and by this meanes (by the helpe of God) we got off our ship and stopped our leakes, and moored her in good safety abiding for a wind. We rid from this day by reason of contrary winds, with fogge and raine vntill the 24 day, which day in the morning the wind came to the North-east, and at 8 of the clocke we set saile. This sound is called Moore sound, where it higheth about 5 foote water, & floweth South-south-east. The next day being the 25 day wee put into a sound which is called Vlar sound, where was a ship of the king of Denmarke put into another sound there by, being 2 leagues to the southwards of vs, that came out of Island: þ wind was contrary for vs at South-south-west.

Moore sound.

The 12 day of Nouember we set saile the wind being at the East South-east, and past through the sound where the kings ship did lie : which sound is called Sloure sound. But as we did open the sound, we found the wind at the South-west, so that we could doe no good, so that we moored our ship betwene 2 Islands vntill the 18 day, and then the weather being faire and calme, we set saile, & went to sea hoping to find a faire wind, but in the sea we found the wind at the South-west, and South-south-west, so that we were constrained to returne into the same sound.

The next day being the 19 the kings ship came out also, because she saw vs put to sea, & came as farre out as we, and moored where we did moore afoze : And at our returne backe againe, we moored our ship in an vtter sound called Scorpe sound, because the kings ship was without victuals, and we did not greatly desire her company, although they desired ours. In this sound the pole is eleuated 62 deg. 47 min. Thus we lay still for a wind vntill the 1 of December, which day we set saile at 6 a clocke in the morning, & at 4 in the afternoone we laid it to the inwards.

The 9 day we had sight of the coast of Scotland which was Buquhamnesse.

The 10 day we were open off the Frith.

The 11 day at 4 in the morning we werethwart of Barwike : at 6 we were thwart of Bam-burch : the same day at 10 at night we were shot as farre as Hollyfoore. Then the wind came to the South and South-east, so that we lay still vntill the next day in the morning, and then we were constrained to put with Timmouth. The same day at night wee haled aground to stoppe a leake, which we found to be in the skarfe afoze. The wind continued by the South-east & South-south-east vntill the 20 day, and then we set saile about 12 at night, bearing along the coast.

The 22 day by reason of a South-east wind, we thought we should haue bene put into Humber, but the wind came to the West, so that we haled South-east: and at 3 in the afternoone we haled a sea boord the sands, and had shoale water off Lymery and Owry, and were in 4 fadomes off them. The next day we haled as we might to seafe Orfordnesse.

The 24 day we came thwart of the Nase, about 8 in the morning.

The 25 day being the Natiuity of Christ, we came to an anker betweene Dohauen, and Tilberie hope. The same day we turned as high as Porsher.

The 26 day we turned as high as Raccliffe, and praised God for our safe returne. And thus I ende, 1580.

The William with Charles Jackman arriued at a port in Norway betweene Tronden and Roslock in October 1580, and there did winter : And from thence departed againe in February following, and went in company of a ship of the King of Denmarke toward Island: and since that time he was neuer heard of.

Instructions made by the company of English merchants for discouery of new trades, vnto Richard Gibs, William Biggat, John Backhouse, William Freeman, John Haly, and James Woodcock, &c. masters of the 9 ships, and one barke that we had freighted for a voiage with them to be made (by the grace of God) from hence to S. Nicholas in Russia, and backe againe: which ships being now in the riuer of Thames are presently ready to depart vpon the said voyage, with the next apt winds that may serue therunto: and with this Fleet afterwards was ioined M. Christopher Carlisle the Tjger. The 1 of Iune 1582.



As much as the number of Shippes which we purpose to send in this flecte together for Saint Nicholas in Russia is greater then at any time heretofore we haue sent thither, as also for that some speeches are giuen out that you shall be met withall by such as with force & violence will assault you as enemies, to the end that good order may

map

may be established among you for keeping together in company, and vnting your forces, as well for the better direction to be had in your nauigation, as also for your more safety and strength against the enemy, we haue thought good to appoint among you an Admirall and Viceadmirall, and that all of you and every one particularly shall be bound in the summe of one hundred pounds to keepe company together.

2 Because the Salomon is the biggest ship, best appointed, and of greatest force to defend or offend the enemy, we doe therefore appoint that ship Admirall, which shall weare the flag in the maine top.

3 The Thomas Allen being a good ship and well appointed, and for that the master of her is the ancientest master of the Fleet that hath taken charge that way, we doe appoint the same ship to be Viceadmirall, and to weare the flag in the foretop.

4 And for that the master of the Prudence is of great experience, and knowledge in that voyage, we doe appoint that he with the master of the Admirall and Viceadmirall shall conferre, consult and agree vpon the courses and directions that shall be vsed in this voyage, and it shall be lawfull vnto the master of the Admirall, with the consent of M. Gibs, and M. Biggar, or one of them to make his courses and directions from time to time during the whole voyage, and all the fleet are to follow and obserue the same without straying or breaking of company at any time vpon the penalty before specified.

5 The appointing of the ships for Admirall and Viceadmirall, and those men to consult and agree vpon the courses and directions of the voyage, as aforesaid, hath bene done by the contents and with the liking of you all, and therefore we doubt not but that you will all carefully and willingly obserue the premises.

6 Item, we haue thought good to put you in mind, that at such times as you may conveniently from time to time, you do assemble and meeete together, to consider, consult, and determine vpon such articles as you shall think necessary to be propounded touching your best safety and defence against all forces that may be offered you in this voyage, as well outwards bound, and while you shall remaine in the roade and bay of S. Nicholas, as also homewards bound, and that which you shall agree vpon, or that which most of you shall consent vnto, cause it to be set down in writing for record, which may serue for an acte amongst your selues to binde you all to obserue the same.

7 We haue appointed James Woodcock in the smal barke to attend vpon you, & to receiue his directions from you. You are therefore to remember well what conference and talke hath bene had with you here before your going touching y^e sayd barke, to what purposes she may best serue, and the maner how to imploy her, and thereupon to giue your order and direction vnto him, as the time and place shall require.

Berozoua Vstia.

8 Item, if you shall vnderstand as you are outwards bound, that the enemy is gone before you to S. Nicholas, remember what aduise hath bene giuen you for your stay at Berozoua Vstia, till you haue by espials viewed and vnderstood the forces, and the maner of their abode at that place.

9 And if in the sea either outwards or homewards, or in the time of your abode at anker at Saint Nicholas, you shall be assaulted by force of any, as enemy whatsoeuer, you are to defend your selues with such forces as you may or can: trust not too farre, neither giue place to inconuenience.

10 You will not forget what conference we had touching your passing outwards bound by Wardhouse, to view and vnderstand what you can at that place, and to shew your selues, to see if there be any there that haue a mind to speake with you, for that we thinke it better then, & thereabout, then after wards or els where.

11 While you shall remaine in the roade at S. Nicholas, be circumspect and carefull to haue your ships in readinesse, and in good order alwaies, and vpon all suddens. The greatest danger vnto you in that place will be while you shall shift your ships: therefore you are to consider of it, but the fittest time for you to doe the same, will bee when the winde is Southerly off the shoare, or calme, and at such time you may the better doe it without danger. You must take such order among you, that your companies may be alwaies willing and ready to helpe one the other, and appoint among your selues such ships to shift first, and such after, in such sort and forme as you shall thinke best and most conuenient. And while they shall be in discharging, shifting, and lading, let the rest of your companies which haue not then to doe in lading or discharging, helpe those ships that shall haue labour to doe, as well for carrying the barkes from ships to the shoare, or from shoare to the ships with your boates, as also for any other helpe that they shall haue neede of.

12 Remember what hath bene said vnto you touching the mozing of your shippes, &c. toz vling advantage against the enemye, if you shall be assaulted in that place.

13 See that you serue God, abolish swearing and gaming, be carefull of fire and candles, &c.

14 You are to consult and agree among your selues vpon signes, tokens, and good orders for the better keeping of company together, and also the maner how and by what meanes, rescue, ayde, or helpe may be giuen by one to the other in sight, if you happen to come to it.

Thus we pray God to send you a prosperous voyage and safe returne.

The opinion of Master *William Burrough* sent to a friend, requiring his iudgement for the fittest time of the departure of our ships towards *S. Nicholas in Russia*.

Whereas you request me to perswade the company not to send their shippes from hence before the fine of *May*, I do not thinke the same so good a course for them to obserue: for you know that the sooner wee sende them hence, the sooner we may looke for their returne. If wee sende them in the beginning of *May*, then may they be at *Saint Nicholas* by the fine of the same moneth: and by that time the greatest parte of your lading of necessitie must bee come downe, especially the flaxe: but if it should fall out so lateward a breaking by of the riuier of *Duyna*, that by the ende of *May* the goods cannot be brought to *Saint Nicholas*, yet this is alwayes to be accounted for certaine, that before our ships can come thither, the goods may be brought downe to that place: and if through ice the shippes be kept backe any time, the losse and charge of that time toucheth not the companie at all, but the owners of the shippes, and yet will the Owners put that in aduenture, rather then carie longer time before their going hence.

The best time
to be
sent forth in the
beginning of
May.

Now seeing by sending our shippes hence in the beginning of *May*, their arriuall at *S. Nicholas* may be at the ende of the same moneth, and remaining thirtie dayes there, they may bee laden and come thence by the last of *June*, and returne home hither by the 10 of *August* with commodities to serue the market then, it cannot bee denied but we should reape thereby great commoditie.

But it may be objected, that if all our shippes be sent then to returne as aforesaid, you shall not be able to send vs in so much cordage, Ware and Dyles, as otherwise you should doe if they remained a moneth longer, neither could you by that time perfect your accounts to be sent in them as you would doe.

For answer thereunto this is my meaning: though I wish the greatest part of our shipping to go as aforesaid, yet would I haue one good ship or two at the most well furnished in all points that should depart a waies from hence, betwene the beginning and the 10 day of *June*: and the same to be conditioned withall to remaine at *S. Nicholas* from the first arriuall there vntill the middle of *August*, or to be dispatched thence sooner, at the will and liking of our factors for the same: by this order these commodities following may ensue.

1 You may haue our commodities there timely to send by the riuier before it waxe shallow, to be dispersed in the countrey at your pleasure.

2 The greatest part of our goods may be returned hither timely to serue the first markets.

3 Our late ships remaining so long here may serue to good purpose, for returning answer of such letters as may be sent ouer land, and receiued here before their departure.

4 Their remaining so late with you shall satisfie your desire for perfecting your accounts, and may bring such cordage, Ware, Dyle, & other commodities, as you can provide before that time: and chiefly may serue vs in stead to bring home our goods that may be sent vs from *Persia*.

Now seeing it may be so many wayes commodious to the company to obserue this order, without any charge vnto them, I wish that you put to your helping hand to further the same.

A copie of the Commission giuen to *Sir Ierome Bowes*, authorizing him her Maiesties Ambassadour vnto the Emperour of *Russia*,
Anno 1583.

ELIZABETHA Dei gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hyberniæ Regina, fidei defensor, &c. Vniuersis & singulis presentibus literas visuris & inspecturis, salutem. Cum Serenissimus Princeps, Ioannes Basilus, Rex, & magnus Dux Russiæ, Volodimeræ, Moscouiæ, & Nouogrodix, Rex Cazani, & Astracani, Dominus Pleascoæ, & magnus Dux Smolenscoæ, Tueri, Vgori, Permiæ, Valeæ, Bolharæ, & aliarum ditionum: Dominus & magnus Dux Nouogrodix

uogrodæ in inferiori regione Chernigæ, Rezanæ, Polotcoæ, Ratfauæ, Yerafluaæ, Bealozeri, Liflandiæ, Oudori, & Condensæ, & gubernator in tota prouincia Siberiæ, & partium Septentrionalium, & aliarum, frater, & Amicus charissimus, Nobilem virum, Feodor Andrewich Spifemski, nuper ad nos ablegauerit, ad certa quædam negotia nobiscum agenda, quæ honorem vrinque nostrum quàm proximè attingunt, quæque rectè definiti concludi que nequeunt, nisi Ambassiatorem aliquem & oratorem ad præfatum serenissimum principem amandaucrimus: Hinc est, quòd nos de fidelitate, industria, prouida circumspectione, & satis magno rerum vsu, prædilecti nobis famuli nostri, Hieronimi Bowes Militis, ex nobilibus domesticis nostris vnus, plurimum confidentes, præfatum Hieronimum Bowes Militem, nostrum verum & indubitatum Ambassiatorem, Oratorem, & Commissarium specialem facimus, & constituimus per præsentem. Dantes, & concedentes eidem Hieronimo Bowes Militi oratori nostro tenore præsentium, autoritatem, & mandatum, tam generale, quàm speciale, ita quòd specialitas non deroget generalitati, nec è contrà generalitas specialitati, nomine nostro, & pro nobis, cum præfato serenissimo principe, eiusque consiliarijs, & deputatis quibuscunque de præfatis negotijs & eorum singulis, tractandi, cõferendi, concludendi appunctuandiq; pro ut præfato Oratori nostro æquum, & ex honore nostro videbitur: Nec non de, & super huiusmodi tractatis, conclusis, appunctuatisq; cæterisque omnibus & singulis, præmissa quouis modo concernentibus, literas, & instrumenta valida & efficacia, nomine nostro, & pro nobis tradendi, literasq; & instrumenta consimilis vigoris & effectus, ex altera parte petendi, & confici, & sigillari debetè procurandi, & recipiendi, & generaliter omnia, & singula præmissa qualitercunque concernentia, faciendi, exercendi, & expediendi, in, & eodem modo, sicut nos ipsi faceremus, & facere possemus, si essemus præsentem, etiamsi talia sint, quæ de se mandatum exigant magis speciale: promittentes bona fide, & in verbo Regio, omnia & singula, quæ per prædictum Ambassiatorem, & oratorem nostrum appunctuata, promissa, conuenta, concordata, & conclusa fuerint in hac parte, nos rata & grata & firma habituras & obseruaturas, & superinde literas nostras patentes confirmatorias, & approbatorias in forma valida, & autentica, prout opus fuerit, daturas. In cuius rei testimonium, his præsentibus manu nostra signatis, magnum sigillum nostrum regni nostri Angliæ apponi fecimus. Datæ è Regia nostra Grenwici quinto die mensis Iunii, Anno Dom, 1583. Regni verò nostri viceffimo quinto.

The same in English.

ELIZABETH by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to al and singular, to whom these presents shal come to be seen and red, greeting. Whereas the most excellent pynce Iohn Basilwich king, and great duke of all Russia, Volodomer, Mosconie, and Nouogrod, king of Cazan and Astracan, lord of Plesco, and great duke of Smolensco, of Tuer, Vgor, and Perinia, Valca, Bolhar and others, lord great duke of Nouogrod in the low country, of Cherniga, Rezan, Polotfco, Rostoue, Yeraflaue, Bealozera, Licfland, Oudor, Obdor and Condensa, and gouernour of al the land of Siberia, and of the North parts and other, our most deare brother and frie did of late send vnto vs one Feodor Andrewich Spifemsky, a noble man of his, to deale with vs in certaine speciall businesles, respecting very neerely the honour of either of vs, and being such as without the speeding of some Ambassadour of ours to the foresaid most excellent pynce, cannot be sufficiently determined and cõcluded: ffor this cause we hauing great cõfidence in the fidelitie, industrie, prouident circumspection and conuenient experience of our welbeloued seruant Ierome Bowes knight, a gentleman of qualitie of our houtholde, do by these presents make and constitute the foresaid Ierome Bowes knight our true & vndoubted Ambassadour, Orator and speciall commissioner, giuing and graunting to the same Ierome Bowes knight, our Orator, by the vertue of these presents authoritie and commandement, as wel general as special, so that the special shall not preiudice the generall, nor on the other side the generall the special, to intreat, conferre, conclude, and appoint in our name, and for vs with the foresaid most excellent pynce and his counsellors and deputies whasoeuer, concerning the foresaide businesles, and ech of them, accoꝝding as it shall seeme good, and for our honour to our foresaide Orator, as also of and vpon such things intreated, roncluded and appointed, as in all and singular other things, any maner of way concerning the premisses, to deliuer in our name and for vs, sufficient and effectual letters and instruments, and to require letters & instruments of the like validitie and effect of the other part, and to procure them lawfully to be made and sealed, and then to receiue them, and generally to doe, execute, and dispatch al and singular ether things concerning the premisses, in, and after the same maner, as we our selues would and might do if we were present, although they be such things as may seeme of themselves to require a more speciall commandement

mandement: promising in good faith and in the word of a prince, that we will hold and obserue all and singular the things which by our Ambassadoz aforesayd shall be appointed, promised, agreed, accorded and concluded in this behalfe, as lawfull, gratefull, and firme, and thereupon as need shall require, will giue our letters patents, confirmatoz and approbatoz, in forme effectiual and authenticall. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused our great seale of our kingdome of England to be put to these presentes, and signed them with our owne hand.

Giuen at our pallace of Greenwich the fourth day of June, in the yeere of our Lord 1583, and of our reigne the siue and twentieth.

A Letter sent from her Highnesse to the sayd great Duke of *Russia*,
by sir *Hierome Bowes* aforesayd, her Maiesties Ambassadour.

Serenissimo Principi ac Domino, Ioanni Basilio, Dei gratia Regi & magno Duci totius Russiae, Volodomeræ &c. Regi Cazani, &c. Domino Pleascoæ, &c. Domino & magno Duci Nouogrodia, &c. & Gubernatori in tota Prouincia Siberia, &c. Fratri & amico nostro charissimo.



LIZABETHA, Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei defensoratrix. &c. Serenissimo Principi ac Domino, Ioanni Basilio, eadem Dei gratia Regi & magno Duci totius Russiae, Volodomeræ, Moscouiæ, & Nouogrodia, Regi Cazani & Attracani, Domino Pleascoæ, & magno Duci Smolenscoæ, Tueri, Vgori, Permia, Viarskæ, Bolharæ, & aliarum ditionum, Domino & magno Duci Nouogrodia in inferiori regione, Chernigæ, Rezanzæ, Polotscoæ, Rostouæ, Iaroslauæ, Bealozeri, Lisslandi, Oudori, & Condensa, & Gubernatori in tota prouincia Siberiæ, & partium Septentrionalium, & aliarum, fratri & amico suo charissimo, Salutem.

Serenissime princeps, frater & amice charissime, ex ijs quæ nobiscum egit S. V. illustris legatus, intelleximus, quàm grarè vobis faceremus satis, si legatum aliquem cum mandatis instructum, ad S. V. ablegaremus. In quo certè quidem instituto aded nobis ex animo placuit, quod est honestè postulatam, vt non nisi præstita re, possemus nobis quoquo modo satisfacere. Atq; cum id haberemus apud nbs decretum, nobis non incommodè incurrit in mentem & oculos Hieronimus Bowes miles, ex nobilibus nostris Domesticis, plurimum nobis dilectus, quem in præsentiarum ad S. V. ablegamus, cuius prudentiæ & fidei, totum hoc quicquid est, quod ad Serenitatum mutuam nostrarum dignitatem ornandam pertinere posse arbitramur, commisimus. In quo munere perfungendo, quin omnem curam & diligentiam sit collaturus, neutiquam dubitamus: à S. autem V. rogamus, velit ei eam fidem habere in ijs persequendis quæ habet à nobis in mandatis, quam nobis habendam putaret, si essemus præsentis. Præterea, cum nobis multum charus sit Robertus Iacobus medicus, quem superiori anno, ad S. V. misimus, rogamus vt eum eo loco S. V. habeat, quo virum probatissimum, & singulari quàm plurimarum virtutum laude ornatum habendum esse, boni principes sentent. Quem à nobis neutiquam ablegauissemus, nisi amicitia nostræ, & studio gratificandi S. V. plurimum tribuissemus. In qua dum voluntate manemus erga S. V. non nisi optimè de bonis vestris meritis in præfatum Iacobum nobis pollicemur. Et Deum Opt. Max. precamur, vt S. V. saluam conseruet, & incolumem. Data è Regia nostra Grenouici 19 die mensis Iunij, Anno Domini 1583, regni verò nostri viceffimo quinto.

1582

S. vestra bona soror.

The same in English.

Elizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the Faith, &c. to the most excellent Prince and Lord, Iohn Basiliwich, by the same grace of God, King and great Duke of all Russia, Volodomer, Moscouie, and Nouogrod, King of Cazani and Attracan, Lord of Pleasco, and great Duke of Smolensco, of Tuer, Vgor, and Permie, Viarska, Bolhar, and others, Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the lowe countrey, of Cherniga, Rezan, Polotsko, Rostoue, Iaroslau, Bealozera, Lissland, Oudor, Obdor, and Condensa, and Gouvernour of all the land of Siberia, and of the North parts and others, her dearest brother and friend, Salutations.

Most excellent Prince, most deare brother and friend, by those things which the worthy ambassadoz of your excellency declared vnto vs, we haue vnderstood how kindly it would be taken, if

we should send to your excellency an ambassadoꝝ from vs, with commandement and instructions, In which matter your honourable request hath so much pleased vs, that we could not any maner of way satisfie our selues, except we perfoꝛmed the same. And hauing purposed with our selfe so to doe, we thought of, and remembꝛed Ierome Bowes Knight, a gentleman of qualitie of our householde, a man very much beloued of vs, whom at this present we send vnto your Maiesty, and to whose wisdom and faichfulness we haue committed all, whatsoeuer we take to apperteyne to the aduancement of both our honoꝛs indifferently. In the discharge of which seruice, we doubt not but that all care and diligence shall be vsed on his part, so that we intreat your Maiesty to giue him credence in the prosecuting of those things which he hath from vs in commandement, no lesse then to our selfe, if we were present. And whereas Robert Iacob doctoꝝ of physicke is a man very deare vnto vs, whom the last yere we sent vnto your excellency, we desire that he may haue that fauor and estimation with you, which good princes thinke a most honest and vertuous man woꝛthy of: foꝝ had we not caried great respect to our mutual friendship, and indeuour to gratifie your Maiesty, we should in no case haue parted with him. And seeing we continue still the same good will towards your excellency, we doe euen promise to our selfe your honourable kindnesse towards him: and we pray the almighty God to preserve your Maiesty in good safetie and health. Given at our pallace of Greenwich the 19 day of Iune, in the yere of our Lord 1583, and of our reigne the five and sixtientieth.

Doctoꝝ Iacob.

Your Maiesties good sifter,

A brieue discourse of the voyage of Sir Ierome Bowes knight, her Maiesties ambassadour to *Iuan Vasilinich* the Emperour of *Muscovia*, in the yere 1583.



The Emperour of Rulsia that then liued, by name Iuan Vasilinich, hauing deliberately considered how necessary it were foꝝ the strengthening of his estate, that a sure commerce and entercourse of merchants should be againe renewed betweene him and her sacred Maiesty of England, with such further immunities and priuileges foꝝ the honoꝛ and weill of both their dominions, and subiects of the same, as vpon mutuall treatie of persons interposed on both sides, might be assented vnto: sent ouer into this realme, in the yere of our Lord 1582, as his ambassadour foꝝ that purpose, an ancient discret gentleman of his householde called Pheodor Andreuich Phisemsky, accompanied with one of his Secretaries, foꝝ his better assistance in that expedition: and besides his many other directions, whereof part were to be deliuered by word of mouth, and the rest set downe in a letter vnder the Emperours signature, addressed to her Maiesty: he had in speciall charge to sollicit her Maiesty to send ouer with him to his maister an ambassadoꝝ from her, to treat and contract of such affaires of importance as concerned both the realmes, which was the principall end of his employments hither. Whereupon her Maiesty very graciously inclining to the Emperours motion, and at the humble sute of the English merchants craving those countreys being caried with the same princely respects, to satisfie his demands in that behalfe, made choice of sir Ierome Bowes, a gentleman of her Court, ordinarily attending vpon her Maiesties person, towards whom was apparantly expulled her princely opinion and fauor by the credit of this negociation.

Pheodor Andreuich Phisemsky the Emperours ambassadour.

After he had receiued his commission, with other speciall letters to the Emperour, with all other instructions apperteyning to his charge, and that the sayd Russe ambassadour was licenced to returne home to his maister, being honozably entertained and rewarded, the English ambassadoꝝ being attended vpon with foꝛty persons at the least, very honourably furnished, whereof many were gentlemen, and one M. Humfrey Cole a learned preacher, tooke his leaue of her Maiesty at the Court at Greenwich the eighteenth of Iune, and with the other ambassadour, with their seuerall companies, embarked themselues at Harwich the two and twentieth of the same, and after a stoꝛmy voyage at the Sea, they arriued both in safetie in the road of S. Nicholas the thye and twentieth of Iuly next following.

The Russe ambassadoꝝ lodged himselfe at the abbey of S. Nicholas: and the English ambassadoꝝ was lodged and well intertaines by the English merchants, at their house at S. Nicholas, standing in an Island called Rose Island.

The Russe ambassadoꝝ hauing reposed himselfe one whole day, tooke his leaue of the English ambassadoꝝ, and departed towards Mosco.

The English ambassadour abode yet at S. Nicholas foure or fixe dayes, when hauing made provision of boats, and meanes to that purpose, he went foꝛward vpon his journey towards Mosco,

Mosco, to a towne called Colmogro, about foure scoze miles distant from S. Nicholas.

You must here understand that befoze the English ambassadoz going into Russia, there were diuers strangers, but especially certeine Dutch merchants, who had intruded themselves to trade into those countreys, notwithstanding a priuilege of the sole trade thither was long befoze granted to the English merchants. These Dutch men had already so handled the matter, as they had by chargeable meanes woonne thzee of the chiefest counsellers to the Emperour to be their assured friends, namely, Mekita Romanouich, Bodan Belskoy, and Andrew Shalkan the chancelloz: for besides dayly gifts that they bestowed vpon them all, they tooke so much money of theirs at interest at five and twenty vpon the hundred, as they payd to some one of them five thousand marks yearly for the vse of his money, and the English merchants at that time had not one friend in Court.

The Hollanders intrude into our trade.

The ambassadoz hauing now spent five weeks at S. Nicholas and at Colmogro, there came to him then a gentleman sent from the Emperoz to enterteine him, and had in charge to conduct him by the riuers towards Mosco, and to deliuer him provision of all kinde of victuals necessary.

This gentleman being a follower of Shalkan the chancelloz, was by him (as it seemed) scilted into that seruice of purpose, as after ward appeared by the course he tooke, to offer discourtesies, and occasions of mislike to the ambassadoz: for you must understand that the chancelloz and the other two great counsellors (spoken of as friends to the Dutchmen) had a purpose to oppose themselves directly against her Haelsties ambassage, especially in that point, for the barring of all strangers from trading into the Emperozs countrey.

This gentleman conducted the English ambassadoz a thousand miles by the riuers of Dwinia and Soughana, to a citie called Vologda, where receiued him another gentleman sent from the Emperoz, a man of better countenance then the other, who presented the ambassadoz from the Emperoz with two faire geldings well furnished after their maner.

At a citie called Yeraslaue vpon the riuier Volga there met the ambassadoz a duke well accompanied, sent from the Emperoz, who presented him from the Emperoz a coach and ten geldings for the more easie conueying of him to Mosco, from whence this citie was distant five hundred miles.

Two miles on this side Mosco there met the ambassadoz foure gentlemen of good account, accompanied with two hundred horse: who after a litle salutation, not familiar, without imbaring, tolde him that they had to say to him from the Emperoz, and would haue had him light on foot to haue heard it, notwithstanding themselves would still haue sit on horsebacke: which the ambassadoz soone refused to doe, and so they stood long vpon termes, whether both parties should light or not: which afterwards agreed vpon, there was yet great nicenesse whose foot should not be first on ground.

Their message being deliuered, and after hauing embraced each other, they conducted the sayd ambassadoz to his lodging at Mosco, a house builded of purpose for him, themselves being placed in the next house to it, as appointed to furnish him of all provisions, and to be vsed by him vpon all other occasions.

The ambassadoz hauing benee some dayes in Mosco, and hauing in all that time bene very honorably vsed from the Emperoz (for such was his will) though some of his chiefest counsellors (as is sayd) had another purpose, and did often times cunningly put it in vse: He was sent for to Court, and was accompanied thither with about fozey gentlemen honorably mounted, and sumptuously arrayed, & in his passage from his lodging to the court, were set in a ward five or six thousand shot, that were of the Emperozs gard. At the entry into the court there met him foure noble men apparelled in cloth of gold, and rich furrer, their caps embroidred with pearle and stone, who conducted him towards the Emperoz, till he was met with foure others of greater degree then they, who guided him yet further towards the Emperoz, in which passage there stood along the walles, and late vpon benches and founnes in row, seuen or eight hundred persons, said to be noblemen and gentlemen, all apparelled in garments of coloured satins and cloth of golde.

These foure noblemen accompanied him to the Emperozs chamber dooze, where met him the Emperozs herald, whose office is there held great: and with him all the great officers of the Emperozs chamber, who all conducted him to the place where the Emperoz late in his state, hauing thzee crownes standing by him, viz. of Moscouia, Cazan, and Astrakan, and also by him 4 young noblemen of about twenty yeres of age, of each side twaine, costly apparelled in white, holding vpon their shoulders each of them a brode are, much like to a Galloglas are of Ireland, thin and very sharpe, the scale or handle not past halfe a yard long, and there late about the chamber vpon benches and other low seats, about an hundred noblemen richly apparelled in cloth of golde.

The ambassadoz being thus brought to the Emperoz to kisse his hand, after some complements

and inquiry of her Maiesties health, he willed him to goe sit downe in a place provided for that purpose, nigh ten paces distant from him, from whence he would haue had him to haue sent him her Maiesties letters and present, which the ambassadour thinking not reasonable stept forward towards the Emperour: in which passage the chancelloz came to meet him, and would haue taken his letters: to whom the ambassadour sayd, that her Maiesty had directed no letters to him; and so went on, and deliuered them himselfe to the Emperours owne hands.

And after, hauing thus deliuered her Maiesties letters and what he had els to say at that time, he was conducted to the Councell chamber, where hauing had conference with the councell of matters of his ambassage, he was soone after sent for againe to the Emperour, where he dined in his presence at a side table, nere vnto him, and all his company at another boord by, where also dined at other tables in the same place, all the chiefe noble men that were about the Court, to the number of an hundred. And in the time of this dinner, the Emperour vsed many fauours to the ambassadour and about the midst of dinner (standing by) drank a great caroule to the health of the Queene his good sister, and sent him a great bowle full of Rhenish wine and sugar to pledge him.

The ambassadour after this, was often called to Court, where he had conference both with the Emperour and his councell of the matters in question, touching both ambassages, which diuers times raised many iarres: and in the end, after sundry meetings, the Emperour finding himselfe not satisfied to his liking, for that the ambassadour had not power by his commission to yeeld to euery thing that he thought fit, as a man whose will was selborne wanted to be gainsayd, let loose his passion, and with a sterne and angry countenance tolde him that he did not reckon the Queene of England to be his fellow: for there are (quoth he) that are her betters.

The ambassadour greatly mistaking these speeches, & being very vnwilling (how dangerous soeuer it might pzooue to his owne person) to giue way to the Emperour, to derogate ought from the honour and greatnesse of her Maiesty: and finding also that to subiect himselfe to the angrie humour and disposition of the Emperour was not the meanes to winne ought at his hands, with like courage and countenance to answer his, tolde him that the Queene his Distresse was as great a pincee as any was in Christendome, equall to him that thought himselfe the greatest, well able to defend herselfe against his malice who soeuer, and wanted no meanes to offend any that either shee had, or should haue cause to be enemy vnto. *Woe* (quoth he) How sayest thou to the French king, and the king of Spaine? *Woe* (quoth the ambassadour) I holde the Queene my Distresse as great as any of them both. Then what sayest thou (quoth hee) to the Emperour of Germany? Such is the greatnesse of the Queene my Distresse (quoth the ambassadour) as the King her father had (not long since) the Emperour in his pay, in his wares against France.

This answer mistaked the Emperour yet so much moze, as that he tolde the ambassadour, that were he not an ambassadour, he would throw him out of the doozes. Whereunto he answered that he might doe his will, for he was now fast within his countrey: but he had a Distresse who (he doubted not) would be reuenged of any iniury that should be done vnto him. Whereupon the Emperour in great sudden bade him get him home. And he with no moze reuerence then such v- s- sage required, saluted the Emperour, and went his way.

All this notwithstanding, the ambassadour was not much sooner out of the chamber, and the Emperours cholar somewhat settled, but he deliuered to his councell that stood about him many commendations in the fauor of the ambassadour, for that he would not indure one ill word to be spoken against his Distresse, and therewithall withed himselfe to haue such a seruant.

The ambassadour had not bene much moze then one houre in his lodging, but the Emperour imagining (as it seemed) by the extraordinary behauior of the ambassadour (for he wanted not wit to indge) that he had found what was the Emperours case, sent his principall secretary vnto him, to tell him, that notwithstanding what had past, yet for the great loue that he bare to the Queene his sister, he should very shortly be called againe to Court, and haue a resolution of all the matters in question: and this Secretary was now further content to impart, and sayd to the ambassadour that the Emperour was fully resolu'd to send a greater noble man home with him in ambassage to the Queene his sister, then euer he yet at any time sent out of his countrey: and that he determined also to send to the Queene a present woorth three thousand pounds, and to gratifie himselfe at his departure with a gift that should be woorth a thousand pounds: and tolde him also that the next day the Emperour would send a great noble man vnto him, to conferre with him of certaine abuses done him by Shalkan the chancelloz, and his ministers.

And so the day following he sent Bodan Belskoy the chiefest counsellor that he had, a man most in credit with him: this man examined all matters wherewith the ambassadour had found himselfe grieved, and supplied him with what hee wanted, and righted him in all things wher in hee had bene wronged.

Not long after the returne of this noble man, the Emperour caused to be set downe in his owne presence, a new and much larger allowance of diet for the ambassadoꝝ then he had had before, and shortly after sent the same to the ambassadoꝝ by his principall Secretarie Sauio Frolo. This diet was so great, as the ambassadoꝝ often times sought to haue it lessened, but the Emperour would not by any meanes.

The seroule of the new diet was this :

One bushell of fine meale for thre dayes.
 One bushell of wheate meale for a day and a halfe.
 Two line geese for one day.
 Twenty hennes for the day.
 Seuen sheepe for a day.
 One ore for thre dayes.
 One sine of porke for a day.
 Seuentie egges for a day.
 Ten pound of butter.
 Seuentie peny white loaves of bzead.
 Twelue peny loaves of bzead.
 One beather oz gallon of vineger.
 Two beathers of salt cabiges.
 One pecke of onions.
 Ten pound of salt.
 On altine, oz sixe peny woort of ware candles.

Two altines of tallow candles.
 One fourth part of a beather of cherrie mead.
 As much of Mallynouomead.
 Halfe a beather of burnt wine.
 One beather of sodden mead called O. barni.
 Thre beathers of sweet mead.
 Ten beathers of white mead.
 Fifteene beathers of ordinary mead.
 Foure beathers of sweet bere.
 Fifteene beathers of bere.
 Halfe a pound of pepper.
 Thre sollitinccks oz ounces of saffron.
 One sollitinccke of mafe.
 One sollitinccke of nutmeggs.
 Two sollitinccks of cloues.
 Thre sollitinccks of anamon.

{ Prouender, { One bushell of oats,
 { One load of hay,
 { One load of straw.

Now he began so much to discouer his purpose and affections towards her Maiesty & her countrey, as he sent to the ambassadoꝝ, intreating him that his preacher, and doctoꝝ Jacob his English physician, might set downe the points of the religion in vse in England, which the ambassadoꝝ caused to be done accozdingly, and sent them vnto him, who seemed so well to like them, as he caused them (with much good allowance) to be publickly read before diuers of his councill, and many others of his nobility.

ap. Cole.

Now he dyed hoily againe in question to marry some kinswoman of her Maiesties, & that he would send againe into England, to haue some one of them to wife, and if her Maiestie would not vpon his next ambassage send him such a one as he required, himselfe would then goe into England, and cary his treasure with him, and marry one of them there.

Here you must vnderstand that the yere before this ambassage, he had sent to her Maiesty by his ambassadoꝝ to haue had the lady Mary Hastings in marriage, which intreaty by meanes of her inability of body, by occasion of much sicknesse, or perhaps, of no great liking either of herselfe or friends, or both, tooke no place.

The ambassadoꝝ was now so farre grown into the Emperours fauor, & his affection so great to England, as those great counsellors that were the ambassadoꝝs great enemies before, were now desirous of some publicke courties at his hands for their aduantage to the Emperour : neither durst they now any moze interpose themselves twixt the Emperour and him: so not long before this, the Emperour for abusing the ambassadoꝝ, had (to shew his fauor towards him) beaten Shalkan the chanceller very grieuously, and had sent him word, that he would not leaue one of his race aliue.

Now whilest the ambassadoꝝ was thus strongly posselt of the Emperours fauor, he employed himselfe in all he might, not onely for the speedy dispatch of the negotiation he had in hand, but laboured also by all the good meanes he might, further to benefite his countrey and countreyemen, and so not long after wanne at the Emperours hands not onely all those things he had in commission to treat for by his instructions, but also some other of good and great importance, for the benefite of the merchants.

Priuate futes obtained of the Emperor by the ambassador.

Lette for Richard Frantham an English man and apothecary to the Emperour, his wife, and children, to come home into England, and to bring with him all such goods as he had gotten there.

He obtained like leaue for Richard Elmes an Englishman one of the Emperours surgeons.

He also got leaue for Iane Ricards the widow of Doctor Bomelius a Dutchman, and physitian to the Emperour, who for treason practised with the king of Pole against the sayd Emperour, was rosted to death at the city of Mosco, in the yere 1579.

These following he obtained for the behoofe of the merchants.

HE procured for the merchants promise of recompense for certaine goods taken from their factories by robbery vpon the Volga.

He obtained likewise the payment of five hundred marks, which was payd for ten yeeres before his going into Russia (into the Emperours receit) for a rent of a house that they had at Vologda.

He also got granted for them the repayment of fiftene hundred marks, which had bene exacted of them the two last yeres before his comming thither.

He got also for them order for the repayment of an olde and desperate debt of thre thousand marks, a debt so desperate, as foure yeeres left out of their accounts, and by the opinion of them all, not thought fit to be dealt with, for too much offending the Emperour, or impeaching his other businesse, which was thought at least otherwise sufficient, and was therefore left out of his instructions from her Maiesty.

He obtained that all strangers were forbidden to trade any more into Russia, and that the passage and trade to all the Emperours Northzen coasts and countiees, from the Wardhouse to the river of Ob should be onely free to the English nation.

Lastly, of a great desire he had to do the merchants good, without motion either of themselves here, or their Agents there, or any other of them, he obtained of the Emperour the abatement of all their custome which they had long before payd, and agreed still to continue, which custome the Duchmen and strangers being remooued, as now it was agreed, amounted to two thousand pounds yerely.

All these were granted, some already payd before his comming from Mosco, the olde privilege ratified, newly written, signed and sealed, and was to be deliuered to the ambassadour at his next comming to Court, before when the Emperour fell sicke of a surfeit, and so died.

After whose death the case was woondroufully altered with the ambassadour: for whereas both in his owne conceit, and in all mens opinion els, he was in great forwardnes to haue growen a great man with the Emperour, what for the loue he bare to her Maiesty, and the particular liking he had of himselfe, he now fell into the hands of his great enemies, Mekita Romanouich and Andre Shalkan the chancellor, who, after the death of the Emperour, tooke the speciall government vpon themselves, and so presently caused the ambassadour to be shut vp a close prisoner in his owne house, for the space of nine weeks, and was so straightly guarded and badly vsed by those that attended him, as he dayly suspected some further mischief to haue followed: for in this time there grew a great vproze in Mosco of night twenty thousand persons, which remembryng that his enemies reigned, somewhat amazed the ambassadour, but yet afterwards the matter fell out against that great counsellor Bodan Belskoy, whom I noted before to be a speciall man in the old Emperours favour: who was now not withstanding so outragiously assaulted, as that he was forced to seeke the Emperours chamber for his safety, and was afterwards sent away to Cazan, a place he had in government, five hundred miles from Mosco, where he hath remained euer since, and neuer as yet called againe to court, at which time the ambassadour expected some such like measure, and prepared himselfe as well as he could, for his defence: yet happily after this, was sent for to court, to haue his dispatch, and to take his leaue of the Emperour: whither being conducted (not after the woonted manner) and brought to the counsell chamber, came to him onely Shalkan the chancellor and a brother of his, who without more adoe, tolde him for the summe of his dispatch, that this Emperour would not treat of further amity with the Queene his mistresse, then such as was betwene his late father and her, before his comming thither: and would not heare any reply to be made by the ambassadour, but presently caused both himselfe and all his company to be disarmed of their weapons, and go towards the Emperour. In which passage there were such outrages offered him, as had he not vsed more patience then his disposition afforded him, or the occasion required, he had not in likelihood escaped with life, but yet at length was brought to the presence of the Emperour, who sayd nothing to him, but what the chancellor had already done, but offered him a letter to carry to her Maiesty, which the ambassadour (for that he knew it contained nothing that did concerne his ambassage) refused till he saw his danger grow too great: neither would the Emperour suffer the ambassadour to reply ought, nor well he could, for they had now of purpose taken

taken away his interpreter, being yet unwilling (as it seemed, and suspecting the ambassadours purpose) that the Emperour and other should know how dishonourably he had bene handled: for there was at that time, in that presence a noble braue gentleman, one Boris Pheodorouich Gedenoe, brother to the Emperour that now is, who yet after the death of the Emperour did alwayes use the ambassadour most honourably, and would very willingly haue done him much more kinde-nesse, but his authority was not yet, till the coronation of the Emperour: but notwithstanding he sent often vnto him, not long before his departure, and accompanied his many honorable fauours with a present of two faire pieces of cloth of golde, and a rymber of very good sables: and desired that as there was kindeesse and brotherhood twixt the Emperour and her Maiestie, so there might be loue and brotherhood twixt him and the ambassadour. Sauiug from this man, there was now no more fauour nor friendship left for the ambassadour in Moscouia: for the chanceller Shalkan had now sent him word that the English Emperour was dead: he had now nothing offered him but dangers and disgraces too many, and a hasty dispatch from the Mosco, that he might not tary the coronation of the new Emperour: offences many in his preparation for his long iourney, onely one meane gentleman appointed to accompany him to the sea side, expecting daily in his passage some sudden reuenge to be done vpon him, for so he vnderstood it was threatned before his coming from the Mosco, & therefore with resolution provided by all the meanes he might, by himselfe and his seruants for his defence (for now was his danger knowen such, as the English merchants did altogether leaue him, although he commanded them in her Maiesties name to accompany him) that if any such thing should happen to be offered him, as many of them as he could that should offer to execute it, should die with him for company: which being perceiued was thought to make his passage the safer. So after ward being diuened to disgest many iniuries by the way, at length he recouered S. Nicholas, where remembering his vnfortunate losse of the old Emperour, and his ill vsage since then at the Mosco, he being forced to take a bare letter for the summe of his dispatch, contempning nothing of that he came for, and the pooze and disgracefull present sent him (in the name of the Emperour) in respect of that that was meant him by the old Emperour, knowing all these to be done in disgrace of her Maiestie and himselfe, determined now to be discharged of some part of them in such sort as he could, and so prouiding as he might to prouent his danger, in getting to his shippe, furnishing and placing his men to answere any assault that should be offered him, after he had bidden farewell to the vncourteous gentleman that brought him thither, by thre or foure of the valiantest and discreetest men he had, he sent to be deliuered him or left at his lodging, his maisters weake letter, and worlde present, and so afterwards happily (though hardly) recouered his ship in safetie, although presently afterwards, there was great hurly burly after him, to force him to receiue the same againe, but failed of their purpose. So came the ambassadour from S. Nicholas the twelfth day of August, and arrived at Grauesend the twelfth of September following, and attended her Maiestie at the court at Ouelands, where, after hauing kiss her Maiesties hands, and deliuered some part of the successe of his ambassage, he presented her an Elke or Loshe, the Red deere of the countrey, and also a brace of Raine deare, Buck and Doe, both bearing very huge hoznes: they in her Maiesties presence drew a sled and a man vpon it, after the manner of the Samoeds, a people that inhabite in the North heath from Russia, and were that yeece come ouer the sea in the winter season vpon the yce, in their sleds, or awen with these deere into Russia, where the ambassadour bought of them seuentene, whereof he brought nine alicue into Kent.

The great
friendship of
A. Boris Pheo-
dorouich.

The maner of the preferring of sutes in *Russia*, by the example of our English merchants bill, exhibited to the Emperour.

Iohn Basiliwich, Lord, King, and great Duke of all Russia, the English merchants, William, Sonne of Thomas, with his company sue vnto,

Lord, in the 7082. yeere of the worlde creation, thy Maiesties treasurer, named Gregorie Mekitowich Borozden, tooke of vs for thy vse 12. poods of loose sugar, pyled at 8. robes the pood, which sugar was sent to the Sloboda. Hoze, the sayd Gregorie treasurer, tooke of vs for thy Maiestie 200. reames of paper, pyled at 20. altines the reame, for all which the money hath not bene payd which amounteth to 216. robes.

And in the 84. yeere thy diake Stephan Lighachdo tooke of vs for thy Maiestie copper plates, for the summe of 1032. robes and one fourth part vnpayd for.

Also in the said 84. yeere thy Maiesties diakes called Iuan Blasghoy, and Iuan Sobakin tooke of vs for thy vse, sundry commodities, and haue not payd 630. robes, the rest of the money due for the said goods,

The Empe-
rours house of
recreation.

In the 85. yeere thy Diaktes tre aliter Peter Gholouen tooke of vs for thy Diaktes, cloth of sundry sorts, and hath not payd of the money due therefore 538. robes.

In the 88. yeere, thy diakes Andrea Shalkan, and Istomay Yeuskoy tooke of vs lead for thy Diaktes, so the value of 267. robes and a halfe not payd.

And in the same yeere thy Diaktes diak Boris Gregorowich had for thy vse 15. broad cloths of diuerse sorts, pyssed at 210. robes, wherof 90. robes are vnpayd.

Also in the said 88. yeere thy diak Andrea Shalkan tooke from vs 1000. robes for thee (Lord) in ready money, yet we know not whether by thy Diaktes appointment.

And also in the 89. yeere (Lord) thy diak Andrea Shalkan tooke from vs for thy Diaktes 500. robes, we know not whether by thy Diaktes order or no, because that thy authoized people do perely take away from vs, neither do they giue vs right in any cause.

All the mony (Lord) which is not payd vs out of thy Diaktes treasury for our commodities or wares, with the money taken from vs by Andrea Shalkan, is 4273. robes 25. altines.

Right noble king and Lord, shew thy mercy, and cause the money to be payd vs which is owing for our goods, as also that which hath bene taken from vs: extend thy fauor, King and Lord.

A letter of *M. Henrie Lane* to the worshipfull *M. William Sander-
son*, containing a brieue discourse of that which passed in the North-
east discouery for the space of three and thirtie yeeres.



After Sanderfon, as you lately requested mee, so haue I sought, and though I cannot finde things that heretofore I kept in writing, and lent out to others, yet perusing at London copies of mine old letters to content one that meaneth to pleasure many, I haue bryefly and as truly as I may, drawen out as followeth: The rough he wing may be planed at your leasure, or as please him that shall take the paines.

First the honourable attempt to discover by sea Northward and Northwest named for Cathay, being chiefly procured by priuledge from king Edward the first, and other his nobilitie, by and at the cost and lute of M. Sebastian Cabota, then gouernor for discoueries with sir Andrew Ludde, sir George Barnes, sir William Garrard, M. Anthony Huffle, and a companie of merchants, was in the last yeere of his Diaktes reigne 1553. The generall charge whereof was committed to one sir Hugh Willoughbie knight, a goodly Gentleman, accompanied with sufficient number of Pilots, Sailers, Merchants and Mariners, hauing three shippes well furnished, to wit, The Bona Speranza, the Edward Bonadventure, and the Confidentialia. The Edward Bonadventure, Richard Chancellor being Pilot, and Steuen Burrough Maister, hauing discovered Wardhouse vpon the coast of Finmark, by storme or fogge departed from the rest, found the bay of S. Nicholas now the chiefe port for Russia; there wintred in safetie, and had ayde of the people at a village called Newnox.

The other two shippes attempting further Northwards (as appeared by pamphlets found after written by sir Hugh Willoughbie) were in September encountered with such extreame colde, that they put backe to seeke a wintring place: and missing the laide baye fell vpon a deserte coast in Lappia, entering into a Riuer immediately frozen by, since discovered, named Arzina Rea, distant East from a Russian Monastery of Monkes called Pechingho, from whence they neuer returned, but all to the number of 70. persons perished, which was for want of experience to haue made caues and stoues. These were found with the shippes the next Summer Anno 1554. by Russe fishermen: and in Anno 1555. the place sent vnto by English Merchants as hereafter appeareth.

Anno 1554. the sayd shippe Edward Bonadventure (although robbed homewards by fleerings) returned with her company to London, shewing and setting forth their entertainments and discouery of the countreys euen to the citie of Mosco, from whence they brought a priuledge written in Russe with the Kings or great Dukes seale, the other two shippes looked for and vnknown to them where they were.

An. 1555. the said company of Merchants for discourie vpon a new supply, sent thither as gaine with two shippes, to wit, the Edward Bonadventure, & another bearing the name of the King and Queene, Philip and Marie, whose Diaktes by their letters to the said Poleonite, recommended sundry their subiects then passing, wherof certaine, to wit, Richard Chancellor, George Killingworth, Henry Lane, and Arthur Edwards, after their arriuall at the Bay, and passing by Dwina to Vologda, went first by to Mosco, where, vpon knowledge of the said letters, they with their traine had speciall entertainment, with houses and diet appointed, and shortly permitted to the

Anno 1553.
M. William Burrough was then
poung, and with
his brother in
this first voye
age.

Newnox is first
the road of S.
Nicholas West-
ward 35 miles.

Note.

Anno 1554.

Anno 1555.

The King and
Queens let-
ters.

the princes presence, they were with gentlemen brought through the citie of Mosco, to the castle and palace, replenished with numbers of people, and some gunners. They were sundry roemes, furnished in shew with ancient graue personages, all in long garments of sundry colours, golde, iellie, baldekin, and violet, as our vestments and copes haue bene in England, suitable with caps, jewels, and chaines. These were found to be no courtiers, but ancient Polcouites, inhabitants, and other their merchants of credite, as the maner is, furnished thus from the Wardrobe and Treasurie, waiting and wearing this apparell for the time, and so to restore it.

Then entering into the presence, being a large roome floored with carpets, were men of more estate, and richer shew, in number aboute an hundred set square: who after the said English men came in, doing reuerence, they all stood vp, the prince onely sitting, and yet rising at any occasion, when our King and Queenes names were read or spoken. Then after speeches by interpretation, our men killing his hande, and bidden to dinner, were stayed in another roome, and at dinner brought through, where might be seene masse siluer and gilt plate, some like and as bigge as kilberkins, and walshbowles, and entering the dining place, being the greater roome, the prince was set bare headed, his crowne and rich cappe standing vpon a pinnaele by. Not farre distant late his Metropolitane, with diuers other of his kindred, and chiefe Tartarian Captaines: none late ouer against him, or any, at other tables, their backs towards him: which tables all furnished with ghests set, there was for the Englishmen, named by the Russes, Ghoski Carabelski, to wit, strangers or merchants by ship, a table in the middell of the roome, where they were set direct against the prince: and then began the seruice, brought in by a number of his yeong Lordes and Gentlemen, in such rich attire, as is about specified: and still from the Princes table (notwithstanding their owne furniture) they had his whole messes set ouer all in masse fine golde, deliuered euery time from him by name to them, by their severall Christian names, as they late, viz. Richard, George, Henry, Arthur. Like wise bread and sundry drinckes of purified mead, made of fine white and clarified honic. At their rising, the prince called them to his table, to receiue each one a cup from his hand to drinke, and tooke into his hand Master George Killingworths beard, which reached ouer the table, & pleasantly deliuered it the Metropolitane, who seeming to blisse it, sayd in Russe, this is Gods gift. As in verdee at that time it was not onely thicke, broad, and yellow coloured, but in length five foot and two inches of assize. Then taking leaue, being night, they were accompanied and followed with a number, carrying pots of drinke, and dishes of meate dressed, to our lodging.

Mr. Killingworths beard of a marvellous length.

This yeere the two shippes, with the dead bodie of Sir Hugh Willoughbie, and his people, were sent vnto by Master Killingworth, (which remained there in Mosco Agent almost two yeeres) and much of the goods and victuals were recovered and saued.

Anno 1556. The company sent two shippes for Russia, with extraordinary masters and saylers to bring home the two shippes, which were frozen in Lappia, in the riuier of Arzina aforesaid. The two shippes sent this yeere from England sailing from Lapland to the Bay of S. Nicholas, tooke in lading with passengers, to wit, a Russe ambassadoe, named Ioseph Napea, and some of his men shipped with Richard Chancellor in the Edward. But so it fel out that the two which came from Lappia, with all their new Masters and Mariners, neuer were heard of, but in foule weather, and wrought seas, after their two yeeres wintering in Lapland, became, as is supposed, vntanch, and sunke, wherein were drowned also diuers Russes merchants, and seruants of the ambassadour. A third shippe the Edward aforesaid, falling on the North part of Scotland, vpon a rocke was also lost, and Master Chancellor, with diuers other, drowned. The said Russe ambassadour hardly escaping, with other his men, mariners, & some goods saued, were sent for into Scotland, from the King, Queene, and Merchants (the messenger being M. Doctoe Laurence Hussie, and others:) And then, as in the chronicles appeareth, honozably entertained and receiued at London.

Anno 1556.

This yeere also the company furnished and sent out a pinnesse, named the Serchthrift, to discover the harborowes in the North coast from Norway to Wardhouse, and so to the Bay of S. Nicholas. There was in her Master and Pilot, Stephen Burrough, with his brother William, and eight other. Their discovery was beyond the Bay, towarde the Samoeds, people dwelling neare the riuier of Ob, and found a sound of sea with an Island called Vaigars, first by them put into the Carde of Happe. In that place they threw snowe out of their said pinnesse, with shouels in August, by which extremite, and lacke of time, they came backe to Russia, and wintered at Colmogro.

Anno 1557. The company with foure good shippes, sent backe the said Russe ambassadour, and in company with him, sent as an Agent, for further discovery, Master Anthony Ienkinson, who after ward anno 1558, with great fauour of the prince of Moscouia, and his letters passed the riuier

Anno 1557.

Boghat bo page.

river Volga to Cazan, and meaning to seeke Cathay by land, was by many troupes and companies of vnciuil Tartarians encountred, and in danger: but keeping company with merchants of Baetria, or Boghar, and Vrgeme, traouelling with camels, he with his company, went to Boghar, and no further: whose entertainment of the king is to be had of master Ienkinson, which returned anno 1559, to Mcscouie. And in anno 1560. he, with Henry Lane, came home into England: which yeere was the first safe returne, without losse of shipwacke, or dead freight, & burnings. And at this time was the first traffike to the Narue in Liouonia, which confines with Lituania, & all the dominions of Russia: and the markets, saires, commodities, great towne & rivers, were sent vnto by diuers seruants: the reposes were taken by Henry Lane, Agent, and deliuered to the companie, 1561. The trade to Rie, and Reuel, of old time hath bene long since frequented by our English nation, but this trade to the Narue was hitherto concealed from vs by the Danskers and Lubeckers.

Anno 1561. the said Master Anthony Ienkinson went Agent into Russia, who the next yeere after, passing all the river of Volga to Astracan, and ouer the Caspian sea, arriued in Persia, and opened the trade thither.

Also betwene the yeeres of 1568. and 1573. sundry voyages after Master Ienkinsons, were made by Thomas Alcock, Arthur Edwards, Master Thomas Bannister, and Master Geffrey Ducket, whose returne (if spoule nere Volga had not ppeuented by rouing the reues) had altogether salued and recouered the companies (called the olde companes) great losse, charges, and damages: but the saying is true, By vnicie small things grow great, & by contention great things become small. This may be vnderstood best by the company. The stowardnesse of some few, and euill doing of some vniuill factozs, was cause of much of the euill successe.

Arthur Edwards was sent againe 1579. and died in the voyage at Astracan. About which matters, are to be remembred the voyages of Master Thomas Randolph Esquire, Ambassado, anno 1567. And late of Sir Ierome Bowes, anno 1583. both tending and treating for further discoueries, freedoms, and priuileges, wherewith I meddle not. But in conclusion, for their paines and aduentures this way (as diuers do now adapes other wayes) as woorthy Gentlemen sent from princes, to doe their countrey good, I put them in your memoerie, with my hearty farewell. From S. Magarets neere Dartforth in Kent,

Yours *Henry Lane.*

1560.

The first trade
to the Narue,
1560.

Alcock staitie
in Persia.
Bannister died
in Media,
Edwards died
at Astracan.

¶ Theodor.

The most solemne, and magnificent coronation of || *Pheodor Iuanowich*, Emperour of *Russia* &c. the tenth of Iune, in the yeere 1584. scene and obserued by Master *Ierom Horsey* gentleman, and seruant to her Maiesly, a man of great trauell, and long experience in those parts: wherwith is also ioyned the course of his iourney ouer land from *Mosco* to *Emden*.

The death of
Iuan Vasiluich
1584. Apr. 18.



I. Boris adopted
as the Empe-
rours third
sonne.

¶ When the old Emperour Iuan Vasiluich died, (being about the eighteenth of April, 1584. after our computation) in the cite of Mosco, hauing reigned 54. yeeres, there was some tumult and vpproze among some of the nobilitie, and cominaltie, which notwithstanding was quickly pacified. Immediatly the same night, the Prince Boris Pheodorowich Godonoua, Knez Iuan Pheodorowich, Mesthis Slafsky, Knez Iuan Petrowich Susky, Mekita Romanowich & Bodan Iacoulewich Belskoy, being all noble men, and chiefest in the Emperours Will, especially the Lord Boris, whom he adopted as his third sonne, & was brother to the Emperesse, who was a mā very well liked of all estates, as no lesse worthy for his valure & wisdom: all these were appointed to dispose, & settle his sonne Pheodor Iuanowich, hauing one swozne another, and all the nobilitie, and officers who soeuer. In the morning the dead Emperour was layd into the Church of Michael the Archangel, into a heuen sepulchre, very richly decked with vestures fit for such a purpose: and present proclamation was made, (Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich of all Russia &c.) Throughout all the cite of Mosco was great watch and ward, with souldiers, and gunners, good orders established, and officers placed to subdue the tumulters, and mainteine quietnes: to see what speede and policie was in this case vnder was a thing woorth the beholding. This being done in Mosco, great men of birth and account were also presently sent to the bordering Townes, as Smolensko Vobsko, Kafan, Nouogorod &c. with fresh garrison, and the old sent vp. As vpon the 4. of May a parliament was held, wherein were assembled, the Metropolitane, Archbishops, Bishops, Priors, and chiefe clergie men, and all the nobility whatsoeuer: where many matters were determined not pertinent to my purpose, yet all tended

to a new reformation in the government: but especially the terme, and tyme was agreed upon for the solemnizing of the new Emperors coronation. In the meane time y^e Emperesse, wife to the old Emperour, was with her child the Emperors sonne, Charlewich Demetrie Iuanowich, of one yeres age or there abouts, sent with her father Pheodor Pheodorowich Nagay, & that kindred, being 5. Brothers, to a towne called Ouglets, which was giuen vnto her, and the young Prince her sonne, with all the lands belonging to it in the shire, with officers of all sorts appointed, hauing allowance of apparell, iewels, diet, horse &c. in ample maner belonging to the estate of a prince. The time of mourning after their vse being expired, called Sorachyn, or fortie orderlie dayes, the day of the solemnizing of this coronation, with great preparations, was come, being vpon the 10. day of June, 1584. and that day then Sunday, he being of the age of 25. yeres: at which time, Master Ierom Horsey was orderly sent for, and placed in a fit roome to see all the solemnitie. The Emperour coming out of his Pallace, there went before him, the Metropolitane, Archbishops, Bishops, and chiefest Honkes, and Clergie men, with very rich Copes, and Priestes garments vpon them, carrying pictures of our Ladie &c. with the Emperours Angell, banners, censers, and many other such ceremonious things, singing all the way. The Emperour with his nobilitie in order entred the Church named Blaueshina, or Blessednes, where prayers, and seruite were vsed, according to the maner of their Church: that done, they went thence to the Church, called Michael the Archangell, and there also vsed the like prayers, and seruite: and from thence to our Lady Church, Prechista, being their Cathedrall Church. In the middell thereof was a chaire of marbitt placed, wherein his Ancestors vsed to sit at such extraordinarie times: his robes were then changed, and most rich and vnualueable garments put on him: being placed in this Princely seate, his nobility standing round about him in their degrees, his imperi- all Crowne was set vpon his head by the Metropolitane, his Scepter globe in his right hand, his sword of Justice in his left of great riches: his 6. Crownes also, by which he holdeth his king- domes were set before him, and the Lord Boris Pheodorowich was placed at his right hand: then the Metropolitane read openly a booke of a small volume, with exhortations to the Emperour to minister true Justice, to inioy with tranquillitie the Crowne of his auncestors, which God had giuen him, and vsed these words following:

The old Em-
peresse, her fa-
ther, and her
young sonne
sent to Ouglets,

The day of
Pheodor his
coronation.

Through the will of the almighty & without beginning God, which was before this world, whom we glorifie in the Trinitie, one onely God, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, maker of all things; worker of all in euery where, fulfiller of all things, by which will, and working, he both liueth, and giueth life to man: that our only God which enspireth euery one of vs his only children with his word to discern God through our Lord Iesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life, now in these perilous times establish vs to keep the right Scepter, and suffer vs to raigne of our selues to the good profit of the land, to the subduing of the people, together with the enemies, & the maintenance of vertue. And so the Metropolitane blessed and layd his crosse vpon him. After this, he was taken out of his chaire of Marbitt, hauing vpon him an upper robe adozned with precious stones of all sorts, orient pearles of great quantitie, but all wayes augmented in riches: it was in waight two hundred pounds, the traine, and parts thereof borne up by 6. Dukes, his chiefe imperi- all Crowne vpon his head very precious: his staffe imperi- all in his right hand of an vnicornes horne of threer foot and a halfe in length beset with rich stones, bought of Merchants of Ausburge by the old Emperour in An. 1581. and cost him 7000. Markes sterling. This Jewell M. Horsey kept sometimes, before the Emperour had it. His scepter globe was caried before him by the prince Boris Pheodorowich, his rich cap be set with rich stones and pearles was caried before him by a Duke: his 6. Crownes also were caried by Demetrius Iuanowich Godonoua, the Emperors vnckle, Mekira Romanowich the Emperors vnckle, Stephan Vasilwich, Gregory Vasilwich, Iuan Vasilwich brothers of the blood royal. Thus at last the Emperour came to the great Church dooze, and the people cried, God saue our Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich of all Russia. His horse was there ready most richly adozned, with a couering of imbodered pearle and precious stones, saddle, and all furniture agreeable to it, reported to be worth 300000. markes sterling.

There was a bridge made of 150. fadome in length, threer maner of waies, threer foote about ground and two fadome broad, for him to goe from one Church to the other with his Princes and nobles from the presse of the people, which were in number infinite, and some at that time pressed to death with the throng. As the Emperour returned out of the Churches, they were spred vnder foot with cloth of gold, the porches of the Churches with red veluet, the bridges with scarlet, and stammett cloth from one church to another: and as soone as the Emperour was passed by, the cloth of gold, veluet and scarlet was cut, and taken of those that could come by it, euery man desirous to haue a picce, to reserue it for a monument: silver and gold coppe, then imprinted

of purpose was cast among the people in great quantitie. The lord Boris Pheodorowich was sumptuously, and richly attired, with his garments decked with great orient pearle, beset with all sorts of precious stones. In like rich maner were appareled all the family of the Godonouacs in their degrees, with the rest of the princes, and nobilitie, whereof one named Knez Iuan Michalowich Glynsky, whose robe, horse, and furniture, was in register found worth one hundred thousand markes sterling, being of great antiquitie. The Emperesse being in her pallace, was placed in her chaire of State also befoze a great open window: most precious, and rich were her robes, and shining to behold, with rich stones, and orient pearle beset, her crowne was placed vpon her head, accompanied with her Princesses, and Ladies of estate: then cried out the people, God preferre our noble Emperesse Irenia. After all this the Emperour came into the Parliament house which was richly decked: there he was placed in his royall seat adozned as befoze: his 6. crownes were set befoze him vpon a table: the basin, and ewer royall of gold held by his knight of gard with his men standing two on each side in white apparell of cloth of siluer, called kindry, with scepters, and battle ares of gold in their hands: the Princes, and nobilitie were all placed according to their degrees all in their rich robes.

The Emperour after a short oration, permitted euery man in order to kisse his hande: which being done, he removed to a princely seate prepared for him at the table: where he was serued by his nobles in very princely order. The thre out rooms being very great, and large were beset with plate of golde, and siluer round, from the ground vp to the baus one vpon the other: among which plate were many barrels of siluer and golde: this solemnitie, and triumph lasted a whole weeke, wherein many royall pastimes were shewed and vled: after which the chiefest men of the nobilitie were elected to their places of office, & dignitie, as the Prince Boris Pheodorowich was made chiefe Counsellor to the Emperour, Master of the horse, had the charge of his person, Lieutenant of the Empire, and Warlike engins, Gouernour of Lieutenant of the Empire of Cazan, and Astracan and others: to this dignitie were by Parliament, and gift of the Emperour giuen him many reuenues, and rich lands, as there was giuen him, and his for euer to inherit a prouince called Vaga, of 300. English miles in length, and 250. in bredth, with many townes and great villages populous and wealthy, his yeerely reuenue out of that prouince, is 35. thousand markes sterling, being not the 5. part of his yeerely reuenue. Further, he and his house be of such authoritie, and power, that in 40. dayes warning they are able to bring into the fielde 100. thousand Souldiers well furnished.

The conclusion of the Emperours Coronation was a peale of ordinance, called a peale royall two miles without the citie, being 170. great pieces of brass of all sorts, as faire as any can be made; these pieces were all discharged with shot against bulwarkes made of purpose: 20. thousand hargubusers standing in 8. rankes two miles in length, appareled all in vlnet, coloured silke & stammels, discharged their shot also twice ouer in good order: and so the Emperour accompanied with all his princes and nobles, at the least 50. thousand horse departed through the City to his pallace. This royall coronation would aske much time, and many leaues of paper to be described particularly as it was perfozmed: it shal suffice, to vnderstand that the like magnificence was neuer seene in Russia.

The coronation, and other triumphes ended, at the nobilitie, officers, and merchants according to an accustomed order euery one in his place, and degree brought rich presents vnto the Emperour, wishing him long life, and joy in his kingdome.

The same time also Master Ierom Horsey aforesaid, remaying as seruant in Russia for the Queenes most excellent Maestie, was called for to the Emperour, as he sat in his imperiall seat, and then also a famous Merchant of Netherland being newly come to Mosco, (who gaue him selfe out to be the king of Spaines subiect) called Iohn de Wale, was in like sort called for. Some of the nobilitie would haue preferred this subiect of the Spaniard befoze Master Horsey seruant to the Queene of England, whereunto Master Horsey would in no case agree, saying he would haue his legges cut off by the knees, befoze he would yeeld to such an indignitie offered to his Soueraigne the Queenes Maestie of England, to bring the Emperour a present, in court after the King of Spaines subiect, or any other whatsoeuer. The Emperour, and the Prince Boris Pheodorowich perceiving the controuersie, sent the Lord Treasorer Peter Iuanowich Galayn, and Vasil Shalkan, both of the Counsell, to them, who deliuered the Emperour backe, Master Horseys spech: whereupon he was first in order (as good reason) admitted and presented the Emperour in the behalfe of the English Merchants trading thither, a present wishing him joy, and long to raigne in tranquillitie, and so kisse the Emperours hand, he accepting the present with good liking, and auouching, that for his sisters sake Queene Elizabeth of England, he would be a gracious Lord to her Merchants, in as ample maner as euer his father had ben: and being dismissed,

he had the same day sent him 70. dishes of sundry kinds of meats, with 3. carts laden with all sorts of drinks very bountifully. After him was the Exelays subiect of the Spanish king admired with his present, whom the Emperoz willed to be no lesse faithfull and seruiceable vnto him, then the Queene of Englands subiects were & had bene, and then the king of Spaines subiects should receiue fauour accordingly.

All these things thus in order performed, praises were sung in all the churches. The Emperoz and Emperesse very deuoutly resorted on foote to many principal Churches in the Citie, and vpon Trinitie Sunday betooke themselves to a progresse in order of procession, to a famous monastrie called Sergius and the Trinitie, 60. miles distant from the Citie of Mosco, accompanied with a huge armie of Noblemen, Gentlemen and others, mounted vpon goodly horses with furniture accordingly.

The Emperesse of deuotion tooke this iourney on foot all the way, accompanied with her princesses and ladies, no small number: her guard and gunners were in number 20000. her chiefe counsellor or attendant, was a noble man of the blood Roial her vncle of great authoritie called Demetri Iuanow Godonoua. All this progresse ended, both the Emperoz and Emperesse returned to Mosco: shortly after the Emperoz by the direction of the prince Boris Pheodorowich, sent a power into the land of Siberia, where all the rich Sables & Furses are gotten. This power conquered in one yeere and a halfe, 1000. miles. In the performance of this warre, there was taken prisoner the Emperoz of the countrey called Chare Sibersky, and with him many other dukes and noble men, which were brought to Mosco with a guard of souldiers and gunners, who were receiued into the citie in very honorable maner, and do there remaine to this day.

Chare Siberaki
prince of Siberia
taken prisoner
and brought to
Mosco.

Wherevpon the corrupt officers, Judges, Iustices, captains and lieutenants through the whole kingdom were remoued, and more honest men substituted in their places, with emperesse commandement, vnder seuerer punishment to surcease their old vrbing & extortion which they had vsed in the old Emperozs time, and now to execute true iustice without respect of persons: and to the end that this might be the better done, their lands and yeerly stipends were augmented: the great taks, customes, and duties, which were before layd vpon the people in the old Emperozs time, were now abated, and some wholly remitted, and no punishments commanded to be vsed, without sufficient and due prooffe, although the crime were capitall, deseruing death: many Dukes and noble men of great houses, that were vnder displeasure, and imprisoned 20. yeeres by the old Emperoz, were now set at libertie and resorted to their lands: all prisoners were set at libertie, and their trespasses forgiven. In summe, a great alteration vniuersally in the government folowed, and yet all was done quietly, ciuilly, peaceably, without trouble to the Prince, or offence to the Subiect: and this bred great assurance and honour to the kingdom, and all was accomplished by the wisdom especially of Irenia the Emperesse.

These things being reported and caried to the eares of the kings and princes that were borderers vpon Russia, they grew so fearefull and terrible to them, that the Monarch of all the Scythians called the Crimme Tartar or great Can himselfe, named Sopher Keri Alli, came out of his owne countrey to the Emperoz of Russia, accompanied with a great number of his nobilitie well horsed, although to them that were Christians they seemed rude, yet they were personable men, and valiant: their coming was gratefull to the Emperoz, and their entertainment was honorable. The Tartar prince hauing brought with him his wiues also, receiued of the Russe Emperoz entertainment, and princely welcome according to their estates.

Sopher Keri Alli
king of the
Crimmes ar-
riual at Mosco.

Not long after, 1200. Polish gentlemen, valiant souldiours, and proper men came to Mosco offering their seruice to the Emperoz, who were all entertained: and in like sort many Chirkasses, and people of other nations came and offered seruice. And as soone as the report of this new created Emperoz was spred ouer other kingdoms of Europe, there were sent to him sundry Ambassadors to wish him joy and prosperitie in his kingdom: thither came Ambassadors from the Turke, from the Persian, the Bogharian, the Crimme, the Georgian, and many other Tartar princes. There came also Ambassadors from the Emperoz of Almaine, the Pole, the Swerchen, the Dane, &c. And since his coronation no enemy of his hath prevailed in his attempts.

It fell out not long after, that the Emperoz was desirous to send a message to the most excellent Queene of England, for which seruice he thought no man fitter then M. Jerome Horsey, supposing that one of the Queenes owne men and subiects would be the more acceptable to her. The summe of which message was, that the Emperoz desired a continuance of that league, friendship, amitie and intercourse of traffique which was betweene his father and the Queens maiestie and her subiects, with other priuate affaires besides, which are not to be made common.

The new Em-
peroz Pheodore
Iuanowich his
letters and re-
quests to the
Queene.

M. Horsey being receiued the letters and requests of the Emperour, provided for his journey ouer land, and departed from Mosco the fifth day of September, thence vnto Oruer, to

Rt

Torshook,

1586

Torhook, to great Nouogrod, to Vobsky, and thence to Nyhouse in Liouonia, to Wenden, and so to Riga: (where he was beset, and brought forthwith before a Cardinall called Rageuil, but yet suffered to passe in the end :) From thence to Mito, to Golden, and Libou in Curland, to Memel, to Koningsburgh in Prussia, to Elbing, to Dantzike, to Steine in Pomerland, to Rostock, to Lubeck, to Hamborough, to Breme, to Emden, and by sea to London. Being arriued at her maiesties roiall court, and hauing deliuered the Emperors letters with good fauour, and gracious acceptance, he was forthwith againe commaunded to repasse into Russia, with other letters from her maiestie to the Emperoz, and prince Boris Pheodorowich, answering the Emperors letters, and withall requesting the fauour and friendship, which his father had peided to the English merchants: and hereunto was he earnestly also solicited by the merchants of London themselves of that company, to deale in their behalfe. Being thus dispatched from London by sea, he arriued in Mosco, the 20. of April 1586. and was very honorably welcommed. And for þ merchants behoofe, obtained all his requests, being therein specially fauoured by þ noble prince Boris Pheodorowich, who alwayes affected M. Horsey with speciall liking. And hauing obtained priuileges for the merchants, he was recommended from the Emperoz againe, to the Queene of England his mistresse, by whom the prince Boris, in token of his honorable and good opinion of the Queens maiestie, sent her highnesse a roiall present of Sables, Luzarns, cloth of gold and other rich things. So that the Companie of English merchants, next to their thankfulness to her maiestie, are to account M. Horseis paines their speciall benefit, who obtained for them those priuileges, which in twentie yeeres before would not be granted.

The maner of M. Horseis last dispatch from the Emperoz, because it was very honorable, I thought good to record. He was freely allowed post horses for him and his seruants, victuals and all other necessaries for his long iourney: at every towne that he came vnto from Mosco to Vollogda, which is by land five hundred miles, he receiued the like free and bountifull allowances, at the Emperors charge. New victuall and prouision were giuen him vpon the riuer Dwina at every towne by the kings officers, being one thousand miles in length. When he came to the new castle called Archangel, he was receiued of the Duke Knez Vasili Andrewich Isuenogorodsky by the Emperors commission into the Castle, gunners being set in rankes after their vse, where he was sumptuously feasted: from thence hee was dispatched with bountifull prouision and allowance in the Dukes boat, with one hundred men to rowe him, and one hundred Gunners in other boats to conduct him, with a gentleman captaine of the Gunners. Comming to the road where the English, Dutch, and French ships rode, the gunners discharged, and the ships got in like maner 46. pieces of their ordnance, & so he was brought to his lodging at the English house vpon Rose Island.

And that which was the full and complete conclusion of the fauour of the Emperoz and Boris Pheodorowich toward M. Horsey, there were the next day sent him for his further prouision by on the sea by a gentleman and a captaine the things following.

16. liue oxen.	2. swans.
70. sheepe.	65. gallons of mead.
600. hens.	40. gallons of Aquauitz.
25. sitches of Bacon.	60. gallons of beere.
80. bushels of meale.	3. pong beares.
600. loanes of byear.	4. hawkes.
2000. eggs.	Stoie of onions and garlike.
10. geese.	10. fresh salmons.
2. cranes.	A wild boze.

All these things were brought him downe by a Gentleman of the Emperors, and another of prince Boris Pheodorowich, & were receiued in order by Iohn Fresse seruant to M. Horsey, together with an honorable present and reward from the prince Boris, sent him by M. Francis Cherry an Englishman: which present was a whole very rich piece of cloth of gold, & a faire paire of Sables. This Gentleman hath obserued many other rare things concerning those partes, which hereafter (God willing) at moze conuenient time and laisure shall come to light.

Pheodor Iuanowich the new Emperors gracious letter of priuilege to the English Merchants word for word, obtained by *M. Jerome Horsey. 1586.*



Through the wil of the almightie, and without beginning God, which was before this world, whom we glorifie in þ Trinitie, one only God the father, the Sonne, and the holy ghost, maker of all things, worker of all in all euery where, fulfiller of all things, by which will and working, he both loueth and giueth life to man, That our onely God, which

which inspireth euery one of vs his onely chylozen with his word, to discern God through our Lord Iesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life now in these perillous times, Establish vs to keep the right Scepter, and suffer vs of our selues to raigne to the good profite of the land, and to the subduing of the people, together with the enemies, and to the maintenance of vertue.

The Pheodor the offspring of Iohn, the great Lord, Emperoz, king and great pynce of all Russia, of Volodeimeria, Moscouia and Nouogrod, king of Cazan, king of Astracan, Lord of Plesko, and great pynce of Smolensko, of Tuer, Yougoria, Permia, Viatsko, of Bolghar and others, lord and great pynce of the land of the lower Nouogrod, Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsko, Rostow, Yeraflauc, the White lake, Licfland, Oudor, Condensa, and Ruler of all Siberia, and all the North-se, and lord of many other countries.

I haue gratified the merchants of England, to wit, sir Rowland Haiward, and Richard Martin Aldermen, sir George Barnes, Thomas Smith esquire, Ierome Horsey, Richard Saltonstall, with their fellowes.

I haue licensed them to saile with their shippes into our dominion the land of Dwina, with all kind of commodities to trade freely, and vnto our kingdom and the citie of Mosco, and to all the cities of our empire of Moscouia.

And the english merchants sir Rowland Haiward & his societie desired vs, that we would gratifie them to trade into our kingdom of Moscouia, and into our heritage of great Nouogrod and Plesko, and into all parts of our kingdom, to buy and sell with their wares without custome.

Therefore we for our sisters sake Queene Elizabeth, & also because that they allege that they had great losse and hinderance by the venture of the sea, and otherwise, haue gratified the said English merchants sir Rowland Haiward and his societie, freely to come into our kingdom of Moscouia, and into al our dominions with al kind of commodities, to trade, & traffique freely, & at their pleasure with all kind of their commodities: also I haue commanded not to take any maner of custome for their goods, nor other customs whatsoeuer: That is to say, neither for passing by any place by water, nor for lanching, neither for passing through any place by land, neither for the vessels of boats, nor for their heads, nor for passing ouer byidges, nor for ferryng ouer at any place, neither for acknowledgement at any place where they shall come, nor any maner of custome or dutie, by what name soeuer.

Only they shal not bring with them into our dominions, neither recarie out of our dominions, or father any other mens goods but their owne, neither sell them nor barter them away for them.

Also our naturall people shal not buy and sell for them, or from them, neither shal they retaine or keepe any of our naturall subiects goods, or patwnces by them to colour them.

Also they shal not send any of their Russe seruants about into any citie to ingrosse, or buy by commodities, but into what citie they themselues shal come, they shal buy and sel, and shal sel their owne commodities and not ours.

And when they shal come into our inheritance of great Nouogrod and Plesko, and through all our dominions with their commodities, then our noblemen and captains, and euery one of our officers shal suffer them to depart according to this our letter, & shal take no custom at all of them, for any of their commodities, neither for passing through or passing by, nor for passage ouer any byidges, nor shal take of them any other dutie whatsoeuer name they haue.

Also into what places of our dominion, or when they shal happen to come, and to proceed to buy or sell, and where soeuer they shal passe through with goods not buying of any commodities, neither will sell their owne, then in those cities and towncs they shal take no maner of custome or dutie of them, accordingly as before.

And I haue gratified them and giuen them free leaue to traffique throughout all the dominions of our kingdom in all cities with their goods, to buy and sell all maner of commodities, without any dutie or custome whatsoeuer.

And the English merchants where they are desirous to buy or sell, or barter their wares with our merchants, whole wares for wares, they shal sell their commodities whole, and not by retails: That is to say, neither by small weight nor by the yarb, to sell or barter in their owne houses, and they shal sel and barter their wares wholly, Cloth by the packe, and by the whole Cloth, and Damaske and veluet by the piece and not by the yarb, and al maner of commodities that are to be sold by weight, not to sell by the small weightes, as by the pound and ounce, but by whole sale: also they shal sel wines by the pipe: and by the gallon, quart or stoope they shal not sell.

And they shal buy, sell and exchange their owne commodities themselues, and the Russe merchants shal not make sales or exchange for them or from them any of their commodities, neither shal they themselues conuey or carry through any other mans goods at no place in stead of their owne: and which of the English merchants will at any time sell his commodities at Colmogro or

Vologda or Yeraslaue, they may, and of their commodities throughout all our cities and dominions, our noblemen, captains, and euery of our officers shall take no maner of custome, according as it is written in this our gracious letter: and throughout all our dominions and cities they shall hire carriers and vessels with men to labour, at their owne charge, to transport their goods.

So likewise, whensoever the English merchants are disposed to depart out of our kingdom into any other countrey, or into their owne land, if our pleasure be, they shall take our goods with them from our Treasurie, and shall sell them, and exchange them for such commodities as is commodious for our kingdom, and shall deliuer it into our Treasurie, and with those our commodities, our Noblemen and captains, and euery of our officers shall let them passe through all our cities also without custome according to these our letters.

Also whensoever the English merchants shall haue sold their owne goods & bought themselves commodities, & wil depart out of Mosco, then they shall manifest themselves to our chiefe Secretarie Andrew Sholkaloue, in the office where the Ambassadors are alwayes dispatched.

And if the English merchants comming, haue had any mischance by the sea, in so much that the ship be broken, or if that ship do come to any part of our countrey: then we will cause the goods to be sought out in true Justice, and to be giuen to the English people, which at that time shall bee here resident in our countrey: and if so be that it so fall out that at that time there be no Englishmen within our realme: then wil we cause the se goods to be laid by in a place together, and when the people of England shall come into our realme, then we will command all those goods to be deliuered to the sayd English people.

Also we haue gratified all the English merchants with the house of one Vrie here in the Mosco right ouer against S. Maximes church behind the market, and they shall dwell in the same house according as befoze time, and they shall keepe one alwayes in the house to keepe it, either a Russe, or one of their owne people.

Also the English merchants shall possesse their houses, to wit, at Yeraslaue, Vologda, Colmogro, and the house at the haue of the sea, & they shall dwell in those houses, according as our goodnes hath bene to them heretofore: and we haue commanded, that there shall not be taken of them no yeerely rent, nor no maner of custome, tare, rent or any other dutie whatsoeuer for those houses, neither shall they pay any dutie or tare with any of the townsmen of those places, & in euery one of those houses, to wit, at Yeraslaue, Vologda, and Colmogro, they shall haue men to keepe their houses, two or thye of their owne countrey people, strangers or els Russes, men of the meanest sort, which shall be no merchants, that they may lay their goods in those houses, and they may sell the commodities out of those their houses to whom they please, according to this our gracious letter: and those that keepe their houses shall not sell or buy no part of their commodity, except they be there or giue order, whereby they be not deceived by them.

So likewise I haue commanded that they shall not cary their goods from thence to the new castle S. Michael the archangel, but shall arriue, and doe as they haue done heretofore with their wares at that their house, and shall vnlade their commodities out of their ships, and shall lade them againe with Russe commodities, euen there at that their house without interruption: onely they shall permit our officers of Colmogro & two or three men to write by those commodities, both the commodities of England, and those of Russe land, what the merchants shall declare themselves, & no other wise, but they shall not ouerlook their commodities, neither shall they vnbind any of their packs.

And when the English merchants are disposed to send into their owne countrey, to wit, any of their owne people on land through any other kingdom whatsoeuer, they shall not send their people without our kingly knowledge and commandement, and which of their people so euer they do meane to send out of our kingdom into their owne countrey, then they shall send those their people, not without our kingly maiesties knowledge, to wit, those that go of pleasure without carying any commodities with them, and they shall haue a letter of passe giuen vnto them, out of the office where the Ambassadors haue alwayes their dispatch.

And whosoever hath any thing to doe with them in matters of controuersie, either concerning merchandize or iniuries, then they are to be iudged by our treasurers and Secretarie of the Ambassadors office to do iustice between both parties, & to seeke out the trueth of matters in all things, and whatsoeuer cannot be found out by the Law, shall be tried by othe and lots: whose lot soeuer is taken foorth, him to haue right.

And in what place of all our kingdom, in what citie soeuer they or their people shall bee, and that there happen any matter of controuersie, either concerning merchandize, iniuries or otherwise, that they haue occasion to set vpon any man by lawe, or that any seeke vpon them, concerning what matter soeuer in all our kingdom and cities, then our lieutenants, captains, and our

our officers shall give them Justice, and shall minister all true justice betwene them, seeking out the truth: and what cannot be truly sought by law, shall be sought out by othe and lot: whole lot fouer is taken out, him to haue right: according as before, and the Judges or Iudices shall take of them no kind of dutie, for matters of law no where throughout all our realmes. This letter is giuen in our princely palace within the citie of Mosco, in the yeere from the foundation of the world, seuen thousand fourescore and fiftene in the month of February.

The Ambassage of M. Giles Fletcher, Doctor of the Ciuil Law, sent from her Maiestie to Theodor the Emperour of Russia, Anno 1588.

In the yeere 1588, was sent Ambassader from her highnesse into the countrey of Russia, Giles Fletcher Doctor of the Ciuil Lawe, as well to treat with the new Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich, about league and amitie, in like maner as was before with his father Iuan Vasilowich, as also for the reestablishing and reducing into order the decayed trade of our Englishmen there. Who notwithstanding at his first arriua all at the Mosco, found some peeces of hard entertainment, by meanes of certaine rumors concerning the late nauall victoery which was there reported to haue fallen on the Spanish side, as also for some dislike conceiued against the priuiledged trade of our English merchants. Yet in the end he obtained of the Emperour many good & equall conditions, and was courteously and honourably dismissed by him. The principall points which he entreated of, and were granted vnto him by the said Emperour, were these:

1 A continuation of league and amitie betwene her Highnesse and the sayd Emperour Pheodor Iuanowich, in like maner as was before with his father Iuan Vasilowich.

2 A confirmation and reestablishment of the former priuileges of the Companie of our English merchants, which were infringed and annulled in the principal points, with diuers necessary additions to the same, for the better ordering of their trade in those countreys hereafter, viz. That the state of the priuilege granted before in the names of some priuate and particular men, be altered in that point, and the same granted by the name and stile of their incorporation, viz. To the fellowship of English merchants for the discouerie of new trades,

3 That vpon euery surmise and light quarel, the said priuilege be not reuoked and annulled, as before time it hath bene.

4 That iustice shall be administered to the said Companie and their Agent without delay, vpon such as shall offer them any despite or iniurie, or shall exact or impole vpon them any payment, taxation or imposition whatsoeuer, contrary to the freedome of the said grant.

5 That the goods & commodities of the said Companie, be not forcibly taken as before time they had bene by the Emperours officers or people of authoritie, either for the vse of the said Emperour or of his officers, But in case they haue need of the said commodities, the same to be taken at reasonable prices, and for ready money.

6 That the said Companie be not charged hereafter with the answering of such debts as are made by any Englishman not being of the societie.

7 That the Emperours authorized people shall not hereafter repute any Englishman resident in that countrey, to be any factor, seruant, or dealer in the said Companies affaires, but such as the Agent shall inregister by name, within the offices where custome is entered in all such places of the land where the sayd Companie haue residencies to traffike.

8 That the names of such as shall to be inregistred be no longer continued in record, nor themselves reputed as factors or dealers for the said Companie, then the Agent shall thinke good, But in case the said Agent in his discretion shall thinke meet to strike out of the Register any name of such as haue bene imployed in the Companies seruice, the said person to be held as priuate, & whose acte in bargaining or otherwise, shall not charge the said Companie.

9 That if any Englishman within the countrey of Russia be suspected for any notorious crime, as felony, treason, &c. the same be not straightwaies set vpon the *Pudkey, nor otherwise tormented, till such time as he shall be conuicted by plaine and eident proofes: which being done, the whole proceeding to be sent ouer to the Queene of England.

*It is rosting to death.

10 That the said priuilege with the additions, shall be published in all townes and partes of the Emperours dominions, where the said Companie haue traffike.

11 That the said Companie shall be permitted to vse a sole trade through the Emperours countries, by the riuer Volga into Media, Persia, Bogharia, and the other the East countries.

12 Whereas there was claimed of the said Companie the summe of 23553. markes of

debt, made by certaine of their factors for the said company, for paiement whereof, their whole stocke was in danger of arrest, by publike authoritie: Further also 2140. iubbles for cuttome and houserent, he obtained a rebatement of eighteene thousand, one hundred fiftie and three marks of the sayd debt,

The said Ambassadoꝝ *Dr. Giles Fletcher*, as I vnderstand, hath drawen a booke intituled, Of the Russe Common wealth, containing:

First, a Cosmographical description of the country, which hath these chapters.

- 1 Of the length and bredth of the country of Russia, with the names of the shires.
- 2 Of the soile and climate.
- 3 Of the natie commodities of the country.

Secondly, a description of their policie contained in these Chapters, viz.

- 1 Of the constitution or state of the Russe Common wealth.
- 2 Of their Parliaments, and maner of holding them.
- 3 Of the Russe Nobilitie and meanes whereby it is kept in an vnder proportion agreeable to that state.

- 4 Of the maner of governing their prouinces or shires.
- 5 Of the Emperours priuie counsell.
- 6 Of the Emperours customs & their reuenues, with the practises for the increase of them.
- 7 Of the Russe communalitie and their condition.
- 8 Of their publike iustice and maner of proceeding therein.
- 9 Of the Emperours forces for his warres, with the chiefe officers, and their salarie or pay.
- 10 Of their maner of mustering armour, and prouision for victuall.
- 11 Of their ordering, marching, charging, and their martiall discipline.
- 12 Of their colonies and policie in maintaining their purchases by conquest.
- 13 Of their borderers with whom they haue most to doe in warre and peace.
- 14 Of their church offices and degrees.
- 15 Of their liturgie or forme of Church seruice.
- 16 Of their maner of administering the Sacraments.
- 17 Of the doctrine of the Russe church.
- 18 Of the maner of solemnizing their mariages.
- 19 Of the other ceremonies of the Russe church.

Thirdly, the Oeconomie or priuate behaviour of the Russe containing these chapters.

- 1 Of the Emperours household officers, and order of his house.
- 2 Of the priuate behaviour and maner of the Russe people.

The description of the country of *Russia*, with the bredth, length, and names of the Shires.

The country of Russia was somtimes called Sarmatia. It changed the name (as some do suppose) for that it was parted into diuers small, and yet absolute gouernments, not depending, nor being subiect the one to the other. For Russia in that tongue doeth signifie as much as to part, or deuide. The Russe reporteth that foure brethren, Trubor, Rurico, Sinees, and Varius deuided among them the North parts of the country. Like wise that the South parts were possessed by 4. other, Kio, Scieko, Choranus, and their sister Libeda: each calling his territorie after his own name. Of this partition it was called Russia, about the yere from Christ 860. As for the coniecture which I find in some Cosmographers, that the Russe nation borrowed the name of the people called Roxellani, & were the very same nation with them, it is without all good probability, both in respect of the etymologie of the word (which is very far set) and especially for the seat and dwelling of that people, which was betwixt the two riuers of Tanais and Boristhenes, (as Strabo reporteth) quite another way from the country of Russia.

When it bare the name of Sarmatia, it was deuided into two chiefe parts: the White and the Black. The white Sarmatia was all that part that lieth towards the North, & on the side of Lief-land: as the prouinces now called Dwina, Vagha, Vltiug, Vologda, Cargapolia, Nouogrodia, &c whereof Nouogrod velica was the Petropolitie or chiefe citie. Black Sarmatia was all that country that lieth Southward towards the Euxin or Black sea: as the dukedome of Volodemer, of Mosco, Rezan, &c. Some haue thought that the name of Sarmatia was first taken from one Sarmates, whom Moses & Iosephus call Asarmathes sonne to Ioktan, & nephew to Heber, of the posteritie of Sem. But this seemeth to be nothing but a coniecture take out of the likeness of the name Asarmathes. For the dwelling of all Ioktans posteritie is described by Moses to haue bene betwixt Mescha or Masius (an hil of the Ammonites) & Sephace, nere to the riuier Euphrates: which ma-
kerh

Strabo in his
7. booke of
Geogr.

Gen. 10.
Ioseph. l. 1, ca. 14.

keeth it very unlikely that Asarmathes should plant any colonies so far off in y^e North & north-west countries. It is bounded northward by the Lappes & the North Ocean, On the South side by the Tartars called Crimmes. Eastward they haue the Nagaian Tartar, that possesseth all the countrey on the East side of Volga towards the Caspian sea. On the West and South-west border lieth Lithuania, Liouonia and Polonia.

The borders of Russia.

The whole Countrey being now reduced vnder the government of one, containeth these chiefe Provinces or Shires. Volodemer, (which beareth the first place in the Emperours stile, because their house came of the Dukes of that Countrey) Mosco, Nisnouogrod, Plesko, Smolensko, Nouogrod velica (or Nouogrod of the low Countrey) Rostoue, Yarullau, Bealozera, Rezan, Duyna, Cargapolia, Meschora, Vagha, Vstuga, Ghaleria. These are the naturall shires pertaining to Russia, but farre greater and larger then the shires of England, though not so well peopled. The other Countreys or provinces which the Russe Emperours haue gotten perforce added of late to their other dominion, are these which followe, Twerra, Youghoria, Permia, Vadska, Boulghoria, Chernigo, Oudoria, Obdoria, Condora, with a great part of Siberia: where the people though they be not naturall Russes, yet obey the Emperour of Russia, and are ruled by the Lawes of his Countrey, paying customes and taxes, as his owne people doe. Besides these he hath vnder him the kingdomes of Cazan and Astracan, gotten by conquest not long since. As for all his possession in Lithuania (to the number of 30. great Townes and more,) with Narue and Dorp in Liouonia, they are quite gone, being surpris'd of late yeeres by the Kings of Poland and Sweden. These Shires and Provinces are reduced all into foure Jurisdictions, which they call Chesfyrd (that is) Terrarchies, or Fourthparts.

The Shires of Russia.

The Provinces of Countreys got by conquest.

The whole Countrey is of great length and breadth. From the North to the South (if you measure from Cola to Astracan which bendeth somewhat Eastward) it reacheth in length about 4200. verst, or miles. Notwithstanding the Emperour of Russia hath more territorie Northward, farre beyond Cola vnto the Riuer of Troimschua, that runneth a hundred verst, we might beyond Pechinga, neere to Wardhouse, but not intire nor clearely limited, by reason of the kings of Sweden and Denmarke, that haue diuers Townes there, as well as the Russe, plotted together the one with the other: euery one of them clayming the whole of those North parts as his owne right. The breadth (if you go from that part of his territorie that lyeth farthest Westward on the Narue side, to the parts of Siberia Eastward, where the Emperour hath his garisons) is 4400. verst or thereabouts. A verst (by their reckoning) is a 1000. pases, yet lesse by one quarter then an English mile. If the whole dominion of the Russe Emperour were all habitable, and peopled in all places, as it is in some, he would either hardly holde it all within one regiment, or be ouer mightie for all his neighbour Princes.

The breadth and length of the Countrey.

Pechinga.

Of the Soile and Climate.

The soyle of the Countrey for the most part is of a sleight sandie mould, yet very much different one place from another, for the yeeld of such things as grow out of the earth. The Countrey Northwards towards the parts of S. Nicholas and Cola, and North-east towards Siberia, is all very barren, and full of desert woods by reason of the Climate, and extremitie of the colde in Winter time. So likewise along the Riuer Volgha betwixt the Countreys of Cazan, and Astracan: where (notwithstanding the soyle is very fruitfull) it is all uninhabited, sauing that vpon the riuer Volgha on the Westside, the Emperour hath some fewe Castles with garisons in them. This happeneth by meanes of the Crimme Tartar, that will neither himselfe plant Townes to dwell there, (liuing a wild and vagrant life) nor suffer the Russe (that is farre off with the strength of his Countrey) to people those parts. From Vologda (which lyeth almost 1700. verst from the port of S. Nicholas) do wne towards Mosco, and so towards the South part that bordereth vpon the Crimme, (which containeth the like space of 1700. verst or thereabouts) is a very fruitfull and pleasant Countrey, yeelding pasture, and cozne, with woods and waters in very great plenty. The like is betwixt Rezan (that lyeth South-east from Mosco) to Nouogrod and Vobsko, that reach farthest towards the North-west. So betwixt Mosco, and Smolensko (that lyeth South-west towards Lithuania) is a very fruitfull and pleasant soile.

The whole Countrey differeth very much from it selfe, by reason of the yeere: so that a man would maruelle to see the great alteration and difference betwixt the Winter, and the Summer Russia. The whole Countrey in the Winter lieth vnder snow, which falleth continually, and is sometime of a yard or two thicke, but greater towards the North. The Riuers and other waters are all frozen by a yard or more thicke, how swift or broad so euer they bee. And this continueth commonly fixe moneths, viz. from the beginning of Nouember till towards the ende of March,

The colde of
Russia.

March, what time the snow beginneth to melt. So that it would beeede a frost in a man to loke abroad at that time, and see the Winter face of that Countrey. The sharpnesse of the aire you may iudge of by this: for that water dropped downe or cast vp into the aire congealeth into yce befoze it come to the ground. In the extremitie of Winter, if you holde a pewter dish or pot in your hand, or any other mettall (except in some chamber where their warme stoaves bee) your fingers will friele fast vnto it, and drawe off the skinn at the parting. When you passe out of a warme roome into a colde, you shall sensibly feele your breath to ware starke, and euen stifeling with the colde, as you drawe it in and out. Diuers not onely that trauell abroad, but in the very market, and streetes of their Townes, are mortally pinched and killed withall: so that you shall see many drop downe in the streetes; many travellers brought into the Townes sitting dead and stifte in their Sieds. Diuers lose their noses, the tips of their eares, and the bals of their chetkes, their toes, feete, &c. Many times (when the Winter is very hard and extreme) the beares and woolfes issue by troups out of the woods driven by hunger, and enter the villages, tearing and rauening all they can finde: so that the inhabitants are faine to flie for safegard of their liues. And yet in the Sommer time you shall see such a new hiew and face of a Countrey, the woods (for the most part which are all of firre and birch) so fresh and so sweete, the pastures and meadowes so greene and well grown, (and that vpon the sudden) such varietie of flowers, such noyle of birdes (specially of nightingales, that seeme to be moze lowde and of a moze variable note then in other Countreys) that a man shall not lightly trauell in a moze pleasant Countrey.

And this fresh and speedy growth of the Spring there seemeth to proceede from the benefite of the snow: which all the Winter time being spread ouer the whole Countrey as a white robe, and keeping it warme from the rigour of the frost, in the Spring time (when the Sunne waxeth warme, and dissolueth it into water) doth so throughly drench and soake the ground, that is somewhat of a sleight and sandie mould, and then thineeth so hotely vpon it againe, that it draweth the hearbes and plants forth in great plentie and varietie, in a very short time. As the Winter exceedeth in colde, so the Sommer inclineth to ouer much heat, specially in the moneths of June, July, and August, being much warmer then the Sommer aire in England.

The Countrey throughout is very well watered with springs, riuers, and Ozeracs, or lakes. Wherein the providence of God is to be nozed, for that much of the Countrey being so farre inland, as that some part lieth a thousand miles and moze euery way from any Sea, yet it is serued with faire Riues; and that in very great number, that emptying themselves one into another, runne all into the Sea. Their lakes are many and large, some of 60, 80, 100, and 200, miles long, with breadth proportionate.

The chiefe Ri-
uers of Russia.

The chiefe Riuers are these, First, Volgha, that hath his head or spring at the roote of an Alder tree, about 200. verst above Yaruslaue, and groweth so bigge by the encrease of other Riuers by that time it cometh thither, that it is broad an English mile and moze, and so runneth into the Caspian sea, about 2800. verst or miles of length.

The next is Boristhenes (now called Neper) that diuideth the Countrey from Lithuania, and falleth into the Euxin sea.

The third Tanais or Don, (the ancient boulder betwixt Europe and Asia) that taketh his head out of Rezan Ozer, and so running through the Countrey of the Chrim Tartar, falleth into the great Sea, lake, or meare, (called Mxotis) by the Citie of Azou. By this Riuer (as the Russe reporteth) you may passe from their Citie Mosco to Constantinople, and so into all those parts of the world by water, drawing your boate (as their maxer is) ouer a little isthmus or narrow slip of land, a few versts ouerthwart. Which was proued not long since by an Ambassadour sent to Constantinople, who passed the Riuer of Moscu, and so into another called Ocka, whence hee drew his boat ouer into Tanais, and thence passed the whole way by water.

The fourth is called Duyna, many hundred miles long, that falleth Northward into the bay of S. Nicholas, and hath great Alabaster rockes on the bankes towards the sea side.

The fifth Duna, that emptyeth into the Balrick sea by the towne Riga.

The sixt Onega, that falleth into the Bay at Solouersko 90. verst from the port of S. Nicholas. This Riuer, below the towne Cargapolia, meeteth with the Riuer Volock, that falleth into the Finland Sea by the towne Yama. So that from the port of S. Nicholas into the Finland sea, and so into the Sound, you may passe all by water, as hath bene tried by the Russe.

The seuenth Suchana, that floweth into Duyna, and so into the North sea.

The eight Ocka, that fetcheth his head from the borders of the Chrim, and streameth into Volgha.

The ninth Moscu, that runneth thorow the Citie Mosco, and giueth it the name.

There is Wichida also a very large and long riuer that riseth out of Permia, and falleth into Volgha.

Volgha. All these are rivers of very large streames, the least to be compared to the Thames in bignesse, and in length farre more, besides diuers other. The Pole at Mosco is 55. degrees 10. minutes. At the port of S. Nicholas towards the North 63. degrees and 50. minutes.

The natiue commodities of the Countrey.

For kindes of fruites, they haue Apples, pearces, plummes, cherries, red and blacke, (but the blacke wilde) a deene like a mulke millian, but more sweete and pleasant, cucumbers and goords (which they call Arboufe) rasps, strawberies, and hurtiberies, with many other berries in great quantitie in euery wood and hedge. Their kindes of graine are wheat, rie, barley, oates, pease, buckway, psnycha, that in taste is somewhat like to rice. Of all these graines the Countrey yeeldeth very sufficient with an ouerplus quantitie, so that wheate is solde sometime for two alteens or ten pence sterling the Chekird, which maketh almost three English bushels.

The fruites and graine of Russia.

Their rie is sowed befoze the Winter, all their other graine in the Spring time, and for the most part in May. The Permians and some other that dwell farre North, and in desert places, are serued from the parts that lye more Southward, and are forced to make bread sometimes of a kinde of roote (called Vaghnoy) and of the middle rine of the firre tree. If there be any dearth (as they accounted this last yeere Anno 1588. wheat and rie being at 13. alteens, or 5. shillings five pence sterling the Chekird) the fault is rather in the practise of their Nobilitie that vse to engrosse it, then in the Countrey itselfe.

The natiue commodities of the Countrey (wherewith they serue both their owne turnes, and send much abroad to the great enriching of the Emperoz, and his people) are many & substantiall. First, furrers of all sorts. Wherin the prouidence of God is to be noted, that prouideth a naturall remedie for them, to helpe the naturall inconuenience of their Countrey by the cold of the Climat. Their chiefe furrers are these, Blacke fox, Sables, Lusernes, dun fox, Marrtrons, Gurnestalles or Armins, Lafets or Miniuer, Beuer, Wuluerins, the skin of a great water Rat that smelleth naturally like muske, Calaber or gray squirrel, red squirrel, red & white fox. Besides the great quantitie spent within y^e Countrey (the people being clad al in furrers the whole winter) there are transported out of the Countrey some yeeres by the merchants of Turkie, Persia, Bougharia, Georgia, Armenia, and some other of Chyristendom, to the value of foure or five hundred thousand rubles, as I haue heard of the merchants. The best Sable furre groweth in the countrey of Pechora, Mongolorskoy and Obdorskoy, the worst sort in Siberia, Perm, & other places. The blacke fore and red come out of Siberia, white and dunne from Pechora, whence also come the white wolfe, and white Beare skin. The best Wuluerin also thence and from Perm. The best Marrtrons are from Siberia, Cadam, Morum, Perm, and Cazan. Lyserns, Mineuer, and Armins, the best are out of Gallats, and Ougliis, many from Nouogrod and Perm. The Beauer of the best sort breedeth in Murmonskey by Cola. Other common furrers, and most of these kindes grow in many, and some in all parts of the Countrey.

The chiefe commodities of the Countrey.
1. Furrers.

These Rats are in Canada.

Mongolorskoy perhaps Molgomzaia.

The second commoditie is of Ware, whereof hath bene shipped into fozeigne countreys (as I haue heard it reported by those that best know it) the summe of 50000. pood yeerely, euery pood concepneth 40. pound, but now about 10000. pood a yeere.

2. Ware.

The thirde is their Ponie, whereof besides an exceeding great quantitie spent in their ordinarie drinckes (which is Mead of all sorts) and their other vles, some good quantitie is caried out of the countrey. The chiefe encrease of hony is in Mordua and Cadam nere to the Cheremissen Tartar: much out of Seuerskoy, Rezan, Morum, Cazan, Dorogobose, and Vasma.

3. Hony.

Fourthly, of Tallow they asoord a great waight for transportation: not onely for that their countrey hath very much good ground apt for pasturage of cattell, but also by reason of their many Lents and other fasses: and partly because their greater men vse much ware for their lightes, the poorer and meaner sort birch dried in their stoanes, and cut into long stiuers, which they call Luchineos. Of tallow there hath bene shipped out of the Realme a few yeeres since about 100000. pood yeerely, now not past 30000. or thereabouts. The best yeeld of tallow is in the parts and territories of Smolensko, Yaruslaue, Ougliis, Nouogrod, and Vologda, Orfer, and Goroderskey.

4. Tallow.

An other principall commoditie is their Loth and Cow hide. Their Loth or Busse hide is very faire and large. Their bull and cowe hide (soz oren they make none, neither yet weather) is of a small size. There hath bene transported by merchants strangers some yeeres 100000. hides, now it is decreased to 30000. or thereabouts. Besides great stoe of goates skinnes, whereof great numbers are shipped out of the countrey. The largest kinde of Loth or Busse breedeth about Rostoue, Wichida, Nouogrod, Morum, and Perm. The lesser sort within the kingdome of Cazan,

5. Hide.

An other very great and principall commoditie is their Trane oyle, drawn out of the Seal fish,

6. Trane oyle.

The maner of
hunting the
Seale fish.

fish. Where it will not be impertinent to shew the maner of their hunting the Seal, which they make this oyle of: which is in this sort. Towards the ende of Sommer (before the frost beginne) they goe downe with their boates into the Bay of S. Nicholas, to a cape called Cusconesse or Foxnose, where they leane their boats till the next spring tide. When the Sunne march warme toward the spring, and yet the yce not melted within the Bay, they returne thither againe. Then drawing their boates over the sea yce, they use them for houses to rest and lodge in. There are commonly about 17. or 18. flectes of them, of great large boates, which diuide themselves into diuers companies, five or sixe boates in a consort.

They that first finde the haunt, fire a beaçon, which they carry with them for the nonce. Which being espied by the other companies, by such among them as are appointed of purpose, they come altogether and compass the Seales round about in a ring, that lie sunning themselves together vpon the yce, commonly foure or five thousand in a shoale, and so they inuade them euery man with his club in his hand. If they hit them on the nose, they are soone killed. If on the sides or backe they beare out the blow, and many times so catch and holde downe the clubbe with their teeth by maine force, that the partie is forced to call for helpe to his fellowes.

The maner of the Seals is when they see themselves beset, to gather all close together in a throng or plump, to sway downe the yce, and to breake it (if they can) which so bendeth the yce that many times it taketh the sea water vpon it, and maketh the hunters to wade a foote or more deepe. After the slaughter when they haue killed what they can, they fall to sharing euery boate his part in equall portions: and so they slay them, taking from the body the skin, and the lard or fat with all that cleaueth to the skin. This they take with them, leauing the bodies behind, and so go to shore. Where they digge pits in the ground of a fadome and an halfe deepe, or thereabout, and so taking the fat or lard off from the skinne, they throw it into the pit, and cast in among it hoar burning stones to melt it withall. The vppermost and purest is sold, and vled to oile wool for cloth, the grosser (that is of a red colour) they sell to make sope.

7. Ickary.

Like wise of Ickary or Cauery, a great quantitie is made vpon the riuer of Volgha out of the fish called Bellougina, the Scurgeon, the Seueriga and the Sterledey. Whereof the most part is shipped by French and Netherlandish merchants for Italy and Spaine, some by English merchants.

8. Hemp and
Flaxe.

The next is of Flax and Hemp, whereof there hath bene shipped (as I haue heard merchants say) at the port of Narue a great part of 100. ships small and great yere. Now, not past siue. The reason of this abating and decrease of this & other commodities, that were wont to be transported in a greater quantitie, is the shutting vp of the port of Narue towards the Finland sea, which now is in the handes and possession of the Sweden. Likewise the stopping of the passage ouerland by the way of Smolensko, & Plorsko, by reason of their warres with the Polonian, which causeth the people to be lesse prouident in mainteining and gathering these and like commodities, for that they lacke sales. For the growth of flaxe the prouince of Vobsko, and the countrey about is the chiefe and onely place. For Hemp Smolensko, Dorogobofe and Vasma.

9. Salt.

The countrey besides maketh great store of salt. Their best salt is made at Srararoufe in very great quantitie, where they haue great store of salt wels, about 250. verst from the sea. At Astracan salt is made naturally by the sea water, that casteth it vp into great hills, and so it is digged downe, and caried away by the merchants and other that wil fetch it from thence. They pay to the Emperour for acknowledgement or custome 3. d. Russe vpon euery hundred weight. Besides these two, they make salt in many other places of the Realme, as in Perm, Wichida, Torma, Kenitsina, Solouetsky, Ocona, Bombafey, and Nonocks, all out of salt pits, saue at Solouetsky, which lieth nere to the sea.

Nonocks.

10. Carre.

Like wise of Carre they make a great quantitie out of their firre trees in the countrey of Duyna and Smolensko, whereof much is sent abroad. Besides these (which are all good and substantiall commodities) they haue diuers other of smaller accompt, that are naturall and proper to that countrey: as the fish tooth (which they call Ribazuba) which is vled both among themselves, and the Persians and Bougharians that fetch it from thence for beads, knives, and sword harts of Noblemen and gentlemen, and for diuers other vses. Some vse the powder of it against poison, as the Vnicornes hozne. The fish that weareth it is called a Morfe, and is caught about Pechora. These fish teeth some of them are almost 2. foote of length, and weigh 11. or 12. pound apiece.

11. Ribazuba.

12. Slude.

In the prouince of Corelia, and about the riuer Duyna towards the North sea, there groweth a soft rocke which they call Slude. This they cut into pieces, and so teare it into thin flakes, which naturally it is apt for, and so vse it for glasse-lanthorns and such like. It giueth both inwards and outwards a clearer light then glasse, and for this respect is better then either glasse or hozne: for that it neither breaketh like glasse, nor yet will burne like the lanthorne. Salt pcter they make in many places, as at Oughits, Yaruslaue & Vsiug, and some smal store of bymstorne vpon the riuer

13. Salt pcter
and bymstorne.

Volgha,

Volgha, but wāt skil to refine it. Their iron is somewhat brittle, but a great weight of it is made
in Corelia, Cargapolia, & Vking Thelesna. Other mine they haue none growing within þ realme.

14 Iron.

Their beasts of strange kinds are the Losh, the Ollen, the wild hozle, the beare, the wolouering,
oꝝ wood dog, the Lylerne, the Beauer, the Sable, the Martton, the black and dunne fox, the white
Beare towards the sea coast of Pechora, the Gurnstale, the Lafet oꝝ Pineuer. They haue a kinde
of Squirrell that hath growing on the pinion of the shoulder bone a long tuft of haire, much like
vnto feathers with a far broader taile then haue any other Squirrels, which they moue and shake as
they leape from tree to tree, much like vnto a wing. They skife a large space, & seeme soꝝ to flie
withal, and therefore they cal them Lerach Vechshe, that is, the flying Squirrels. Their hares and
Squirrels in Sommer are of the same colour with ours, in Winter the hare changeth her coate
into milke white, the Squirrel into gray, whercof commeth the Calaber.

The strange
beastes, fish,
foules, &c. that
bred in *Russia*.

They haue fallow deere, the roe bucke, & goats very great stoꝝe. Their hozles are but smal, but
very swift & hard, they trauell them vntho both winter and Sommer, without all regard of pace.
Theit sheepe are but smal & beare courle & harsh wool. Of foule they haue diuers of the principal
kinds: First, great stoꝝe of hawks, the eagle, the gersaulton, the slight faulton, the goshawk, the taf-
sel, the sparhawk, &c. But the principal hawke þ breedeth in the cuntry, is counted þ gersaulton.
Of other foules their pꝛincipall kinds are the swan tame & wilde, (whercof they haue great stoꝝe)
the stoꝝke, the crane, the tender of the colour of a feasant, but far bigger & liueth in the fire woods.
Of feasant and partridge they haue very great plentie. An owle there is of a very great bignesse,
moꝝe vgly to behold then þ owles of this cuntry, with a broad face, & eares much like vnto a man.

foꝝ fresh water fish, besides the comon foꝝts (as carpe, pikes, pearch, tench, roach, &c.) they haue
diuers kinds very good and delicate: as the Bellouga oꝝ Bellougina of 4, oꝝ 5, elnes long, the Osi-
rina oꝝ Sturgion, the Seucriga and Strededy somewhat in fashjon and taste like to the Scurgion, but
not so chicke noꝝ long. These 4, kinds of fish breed in the Volgha, and are catched in great plnty,
and serued thence into the whole Realme foꝝ a great food. Of the Roes of these foure kinds they
make very great stoꝝe of Icaꝝy oꝝ Caucary as was said befoꝝe.

They haue besides these that breed in the Volgha a fish called the Riba bela, oꝝ white salmon,
which they accompe moꝝe delicate then they do the red salmon, whercof also they haue exceeding
great plentie in the Riuers Northward, as in Duyna, the riuer of Cola, &c. In the Ozera oꝝ lake
neere a towne called Perislaue, not far frō the Mosco, they haue a smal fish which they cal the fresh
herring, of the fashjon, and somewhat of the taste of a sea-herring. Their chiefe townes foꝝ fish are,
Yaruslaue, Bealozera, Nouogrod, Astracan, and Cazan: which all yeeld a large custome to the
Emperour euery yeere foꝝ their trades of fishyng, which they pꝛactise in Sommer, but sende it
frozen in the Winter time into all parts of the Realme.

The chiefe Cities of *Russia*.

The chiefe cities of *Russia* are Mosco, Nouogrod, Rostoue, Volodomer, Plesko, Smolensko,
Iaruslaue, Perislaue, Nisnouogrod, Vologda, Vking, Colmogro, Cazan, Astracan, Carga-
polia, Columna. The city of Mosco is supposed to be of great antiquitie, though the first founder
be vnknown to the Russe. It seemeth to haue taken the name frō the riuer that runneth on the one
side of the towne. Berofus the Chaldean in his 5, booke telleth that Nimrod (whō other prophane
stories cal Saturne) sent Assyrius, Medus, Moscus, & Magog into Asia to plant colonies there, and
that Moscus planted both in Asia and Europe. Which may make some probability, that the citie,
oꝝ rather the riuer whercof it is built, tooke the denomination frō this Moscus: the rather because
of the climate oꝝ situation, which is in the very farthest part & list of Europe, bordering vpon Asia.
The Citie was much enlarged by one Iuan oꝝ Iohn, sonne to Daniel, that first changed his title of
duke into King: though that honoꝝ continued not to his posterity: the rather because he was inue-
sted into it by the Popes Legate, who at that time was Innocencius the 4, about the yeere 1246,
which was very much mistiked by the Russe people, being then a part of the Easterne oꝝ Greeke
Church. Since that time the name of this city hath growen noꝝe famous, & better knowne to the
world: inso much that not only the pꝛouince, but the whole Countrey of *Russia* is termed by some
by the name of Moscouia the Petropolitie city. The forme of this City is in maner round with 3,
strong wals, circuling the one within the other, & streets lying betwene, whercof the inmost wall,
and the buildings closed within it (lying safest as the heart within the body, fenced and watted with
the riuer Moscuia, that runneth close by it) is all accompted the Emperours castle. The number of
houses (as I haue heard) though the whole Citie (being reckoned by the Emperour a litle befoꝝe
it was fired by the Crim) was 41500, in all. Since the Tarrar besieged and fired the towne (which
was in the yere 1571) there lieth waste of it a great breadth of ground, which befoꝝe was wel set
and planted with buildings, specially that part on the South side of Moscuia, built not long befoꝝe

Mosca.

by

Novograd.

by Basilius the Emperoz for his garison of souldiers, to whom he gaue privilege to drinke Beere, and beere at the dye or prohibited times, when other Russes may drinke nothing but water, and for that cause called this new city by the name of Naloi, that is skince or poure in. So that now the city of Mosco is not much bigger then the city of London. The next in greatnes, & in a manner as large, is the citie Novograd: where was committed (as the Russe saith) the memorabile warre so much spoke of in stoies of the Scythians seruants, that took armes against their masters: which they report in this sort: viz. That the Boiarens or gentlemen of Novograd & the territory about (which only are souldiers after the discipline of those countreys) had war with the Tartars, which being well performed & ended by them, they returned home wards. Where they vnderstood by the way that their Cholopey or bondslaves whom they left at home, had in their absence possessed their townes, lands, houses, wines and all. At which newes being somewhat amased, and yet disdeining the villany of their seruants, they made the moze speed home: and so not far from Novograd met them in warlike manner marching against them. Whereupon aduising what was best to be done, they agreed all to set vpon them with no other shew of weapon but with their hozle whips (which as their maner is euery man rideth withal) to put them in remembrance of their seruile condition, thereby to terrifie them, & abate their courage. And so marching on & lashing al together with their whips in their hands they gaue the onset. Which seemed so terrible in the eares of their villaines, and stroke such a sence into them of the smart of the whip which they had felt before, that they fled altogether like sheepe before the driuers. In memory of this victoery the Nouogradians euer since haue stamped their coine (which they cal a dingoe Nouogrodskoy currant through al Russia) with the figure of a hozsman shaking a whip aloft in his hand. These 2. cities exceed y^e rest in greatnes. For strength their chiefe townes are Vobsko, Smolensko, Cazan & Astracan, as lying vpon the bozders. But for situation Iaruslaue far exceedeth the rest. For besides the commodities that the soile yeildeth of pasture and cozne, it lieth vpon the famous riuer of Volgha, & looketh ouer it from a high banke very faire & stately to behold: whereof the towne taketh the name. For Iaruslaue in that tongue significth as much as a faire or famous banke. In this towne (as may be guessed by the name) dwelt the Russe king Vladimir surnamed Iaruslaue, that married the daughter of Harald king of England, by mediation of Sueno the Dane, as is noted in the Danish stoey about the yere 1067.

Iaruslaue.

Saxo Grammaticus lib. 11. pag. 187.

The other townes haue nothing y^e is greatly memorabile, saue many ruines within their wals. The streets of their cities and townes in stead of paving are plankt with fir trees, plained & layd euer close the one to the other. Their houses are of wood without any lime or stone, built very close and warme with firre trees plained and piled one vpon another. They are fastned together with dents or notches at euery corner, & so clasped fast together. Betwixt the trees or timber they thrust in mosse (whereof they gather plenty in their woods) to keep out the aire. Euery house hath a paire of staires that lead vpon into the chambers out of the yard or streat after the Scottish maner. This building seemeth far better for their countrey, then that of stone or bricke; as being colder & moze dampish then their wooden houses, specially of firre, that is a dry & warme wood. Whereof the providence of God hath giuen them such store, as that you may build a faire house for 20. or 30. rubbles or litle moze, where wood is most scant. The greatest inconuenience of their wooden building is the aptnesse for firing, which happeneth very oft & in very feartful sort, by reason of the drynesse and fatnes of the fir, that being once fired, burneth like a torch, & is hardly quenched til all be burnt vpon.

The maner of Ruiss building.

Of the maner of Crowning or Inauguration of the *Russe* Emperours.

The solemnities vsed at y^e Russe Emperours coronation, are on this maner. In the great church of Precheeste (or our Lady) within the Emperours castle is erected a stage whereon standeth a scrine that beareth vpon it the Imperial cap & robe of very rich stuffe. When the day of the Inauguration is come, there resort thither, first the Patriarch wth the Metropolitanes, archbishops, bishops, abbots and priors, al richly clad in their pontificalibus. Then enter the Deacons with the quier of singers. Who so soone as the Emperoz setteth foot into y^e church, begin to sing: Many yeres may liue noble Theodore Iuanowich, &c. Whereunto the patriarch and Metropolitane with the rest of the cleargy answer with a certaine hymne, in foyme of a prayer, singing it altogether with a great noise. The hymne being ended, the patriarch with the Emperoz mount vpon the stage, where standeth a seat ready for the Emperoz. Whereupon the patriarch willecth him to sit downe, & then placing himself by him vpon another seat provided for y^e purpose, boweth downe his head towards y^e ground, and saith this prayer: Oh Lord God king of kings, Lord of lords, which by thy prophet Samuel didst chofe thy seruant Dauid, & annoynt him for King ouer thy people Israel, heare now our prayer, & looke fro^m thy sanctuary vpon this thy seruant Theodore, whom thou hast chosen and exalted for king ouer these thy holy natiōs, anoint him with the oile of gladnes, protect by thy power,

power, put vpon his head a crowne of gold & precious stones, giue him length of dayes, place him in the seat of Iustice, strengthen his arme, make subiect vnto him all the barbarous nations, Let thy feare be in his whole heart, turne him from an euill faith, and all error, and shewe him the saluation of thy holy and vniuersal Church, that he may iudge thy people with Iustice, & protect the children of the poore, & finally attaine euerlasting life. This prayer he speaketh with a low voice, & then pronounceth aloud: Al praise and power to God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost. The prayer being ended, he commandeth certaine Abbots to reach the imperiall roabe & cap: which is done very decently, and with great solemnitie, the Patriarch withal pronouncing aloud: Peace be vnto all. And so he beginneth another prayer to this effect: Bow your selues rogether with vs, and pray to him that reigneth ouer all. Preferue him (oh Lord) vnder thy holy protection, keepe him that hee may doe good and holy things, let Iustice shine forth in his dayes, that we may liue quietly without strife and malice. This is pronounced somewhat softly by the Patriarch, whereto hee addeth againe aloud: Thou art the king of the whole world, and the sauour of our soules, to thee the Father, Sonne and Holy ghost be al praise for euer and euer. Amen. Then putting on the roabe and the cap, he blesseth the Emperour with the signe of the crosse, saying withall: In the name of the Father, the Sonne, and the Holy ghost. The like is done by the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops: who all in their order come to the chaire, and one after another blesse the Emperour with their two forefingers. Then is sayd by the Patriarch another prayer, that beginneth: O most holy virgin, mother of God &c. After which a Deacon pronounceth with a loude voice: Many yeres to noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodemer, of Mosco, Emperour, and Monarch of all Russia, &c. Whereto the other Priests and Deacons that stand somewhat farre of by the altar or table, answer singing: Many yeres, many yeres to the noble Theodore. The same note is taken vp by the Priests and Deacons, that are placed at the right and left side of the Church, and then altogether, they chaunt and thunder out, singing: Many yeres to the noble Theodore, good, honourable, beloued of God, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosco, Emperour of all Russia, &c. These solemnities being ended, first commeth the Patriarch with the Metropolitans, Archbishops, and Bishops, then the Nobility, and the whole company in their order, to doe homage to the Emperour, bending downe their heads, and knocking them at his feete to the very ground.

The stile wherewith he is inuested at his Coronation, runneth after this maner.

Theodore Iuanowich, by the grace of God great Lord and Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, King of Astracan, Lord of Plesco, and great duke of Smolensco, of Twerria, Ioughoria, Permia, Vadaska, Bulghoria, and others, Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod of the Low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotskoy, Rostoue, Yaruslaueley, Bealozera, Liefland, Oudoria, Obdoria, and Condensa, Commander of all Siberia, and of the North parts, and Lord of many other Countries, &c.

This stile containeth in it all the Emperours Prouinces, and letteth forth his greatnesse. And therefore they haue a great delight and pride in it, forcing not onely their owne people but also strangers (that haue any matter to deliuer to the Emperour by speech or writing) to repeat the whole forme from the beginning to the end. Which breedeth much cauill, and sometimes quarell betwixt them and the Tartar, and Poland Ambassadors: who refuse to call him Czar, that is Emperour, and to repeat the other parts of his long stile. My selfe when I had audience of the Emperour, thought good to salute him only with thus much vz, Emperour of all Russia, great Duke of Volodemer, Mosco and Nouogrod, King of Cazan, King of Astracan. The rest I omitted of purpose, because I knew they gloried, to haue their stile appeare to be of a larger volume then the Queenes of England. But this was taken in so ill part, that the Chancelour (who then attended the Emperour, with the rest of the nobility) with a loude chaunting voice, called still vpon me to say out the rest. Whereto I answered, that the Emperours stile was very long, and could not so well be remembred by strangers, that I had repeated so much of it, as might shew that I gaue honour to the rest &c. But all would not serue till I commanded my interpreter to say it all out.

Their forces for the wars, with the chief officers and their salaries.

The Souldiers of Russia are called Sinaboyarskey, or the sons of Gentlemen: because they are all of that degree, by vertue of their military profession. For euery souldier in Russia is a gentleman, and none are gentlemen, but only the souldiers, that take it by descent from their

Souldiers by
birth and in-
heritance.

ancestors : so that the sonne of a gentleman (which is bozne a souldier) is euer a gentleman, and a souldier withall, & professeth nothing els but military matters. When they are of yeres able to beare armes, they come to the office of Roserade, or great Constable, and there present themselves : who entreteth their names, and allotteeth them certaine lauds to maintaine their charges, for the most part the same that their fathers enioyed. For the lands assigned to maintaine the army, are euer certain, annexed to this office without unpouing, or detracting one foot. But that if the Emperoz haue sufficient in wages, the roomes being full so farre as the land doeth extend already, they are many times deferred, and haue nothing allowed them, except some one portion of the land be deuided into two. The whole number of his souldiers in continuall pay, is this. First he hath his Dworaney, that is, Pensioners, or Ward of his person, to the number of 15000 horsemen, with their captaines and other officers, that are alwaies in a readines.

Degrees of
horsemen.
1. Prætoriani or
such as attend
the Emperors
person 15000.

Of these 15000 horsemen, there are thre sortes or degrees, which differ as well in estimation as in wages, one degree from another. The first sort of them is called Dworaney Bulshey, or the company of head Pensioners, that haue some an hundred, some fourescore rubbles a yeare, and none vnder 70. The second sort are called Seredney Dworaney, or the middle ranke of Pensioners. These haue sixty or fifty rubbles by the yeare, none vnder fortye. The third and lowest sort, are the Dyta Boiarskey, that is, the low Pensioners. Their salary is thirty rubbles a yeare for him that hath most, some haue but 25, some 20, none vnder 12. Whereof the halfe part is paid them at the Mosco, the other halfe in the field by the general, when they haue any wars, & are imployed in seruice. When they receiue their whole pay, it amounteth to 55000 rubbles by the yeare.

And this is their wages, besides lands allotted to euery one of them, both to the greater and the lesse, according to their degrees. Whereof he that hath least, hath to yeelde him twentie rubbles or markes by the yeare. Besides these 15000 horsemen, that are of better choyce (as being the Emperozs owne gard when himselfe goeth to the wars, not unlike the Romane souldiers called Prætoriani) are a hundred and ten men of speciall account for their Nobilitie, and trust, which are chosen by the Emperoz, and haue their names registred, that find among them for the Emperozs wars, to the number of 65000, horsemen, with all necessaries meet for the wars after the Russe maner.

These other
traupes to the
number of
65000.

To this end they haue yereely allowance made by the Emperoz for themselves, and their companies, to the summe of 40000 rubbles. And these 65000 are to repayre to the field euery yeare on the borders towards the Crim Tartar, (except they be appointed for some other seruice) whether there be wars with the Tartars, or not. This might seeme peradventure somewhat dangerous for some state, to haue so great forces vnder the command of Noblemen to assemble euery yeare to one certain place. But the matter is so vsed, as that no danger can growe to the Emperoz, or his state by this means. First, because these noblemen are many, to wit, an 110, in all, & changed by the Emperoz so oft as he thinketh good. Secondly, because they haue their livings of the Emperoz, being otherwise but of very small reuenuer, and receiue this yereely pay of 40000 rubbles, when it is presently to be paid forth againe to the souldiers that are vnder them. Thirdly, because for the most part they are about the Emperozs person being of his Counsel, either speciall, or at large. Fourthly, they are rather as paymasters, then Captaines to their companies, themselves not going forth ordinarily to the wars, saue when some of them are appointed by speciall order from the Emperoz himselfe. So the whole number of horsemen that are euer in a readinesse, and in continuall pay, are 80000, a few more or lesse.

Horsemen in
continuall pay
80000.

If he haue neede of a greater number (which seldom falleth out) then he enterteineth of those Sinaboiarskey, that are out of pay, so many as he needeth : and if yet he want of his number, he giueth charge to his Noblemen, that hold lands of him to bring into the field euery man a proportionable number of his seruants (called Kolophy, such as till his lands) with their furniture, according to the iust number that he intendeth to make. Which the seruice being done, presently lay in their weapons, and returne to their seruile occupations againe.

Footmen in
continuall pay
12000.

Of footmen that are in continuall pay, he hath to the number of 12000 all gunners, called Strelscy: Whereof 5000 are to attend about the citie of Mosco, or any other place where the Emperoz shall abide, and 2000 (which are called Stremaney Strelscy, or gunners at the stirrop) about his owne person at the very Court or house where himselfe lodgeth. The rest are placed in his garison townes, till there be occasion to haue them in the field, and receiue for their salary or stipend euery man seuen rubbles a yeare, besides twelue measures a peece of Rye, and Dates. Of mercenary Souldiers, that are strangers (whom they call Nimschoy) they haue at this time 4300 of Polonians: of Chirchasses (that are vnder the Polonians) about 4000, wherof 3500 are abroad in his garisons : of Douches & Scots about 150 : of Greekes, Turks, Danes and Swedens, all in one band, an 100 or thereabouts. But these they vse onely vpon the Tartar

Strangers mer-
cenaries in pay
4300.

Tartar side, and against the Siberians: as they doe the Tartar souldiers (whom they hire sometimes, but only for the present) on the other side against the Polonian and Sweden: thinking it best policie to vse their seruice vpon the contrary bozder.

The chiefe Captaines or leaders of these forces, according to their names and degrees, are these which follow. First, the Voyauoda Bulshaia, that is, the Great Captaine, or Lieutenant general vnder the Emperour. This commonly is one of the foure houses of the chiefe Nobility of the land. Their great Voiaud or general at this present in their wars, is commonly one of these foure: Knez Feodor Iuanowich Methissloskey, Knez Iuan Michalowich Glinskoy, Cherechaskoy, and Trowbetskoy, all of great nobilitie. Next vnto the Voiaud or general there is some other placed as Lieutenant general, bring a man of great valour and experience in the wars, who ordereth all things that the other countenance th. At this time their principal man, & most vsed in their wars, is one Knez Demetric Iuanowich Forestine, an ancient and expert captaine, and one that hath done great seruice (as they say) against the Tartar and Polonian. Next vnder the Voiaud and his Lieutenant general are foure other that haue the marshalling of the whole army diuided among them, and may be called the marshalls of the field.

The chief captaines of leaders.

1. The Voiaud or General.

2. Lieutenant General.

3. Marshalls of the field foure.

Euery man hath his quarter, or fourth part vnder him. Whereof the first is called the Praua Polskoy, or right wing. The second is the Leuoy Polskoy, or left wing. The third is Rufaoy Polskoy, or the broken band, because out of this there are chosen to send abroad vpon any sodaine exploit, or to make a rescue or supplie, as occasion doth require. The fourth Storohouoy Polskoy, or the warding band. Euery one of these foure Marshalls haue two other vnder them (eight in all) that twice euerie weeke at the least must muster and traine their seueral wings or bands, and hold and giue iustice for all faults, and disorders committed in the campe.

Foure marshalls: deputies eight.

And these eight are commonly chosen out of the 110. (which I spake of before) that receiue & deliuer the pay to the souldiers. Vnder these eight are diuers other Captaines, as the Gulanoj, Captaines of thousandes five hundredes and 100. The Peryde Setskoy or Captains of fifties, and the Decerskies or Captains of tennes.

Five Companies vnder Captains.

Besides the Voiauada or general of the armie (spoke of before) they haue two other that beare the name of Voiauada, whereof one is the master of the great Ordinance (called Naradna voiauada) who hath diuers vnder officers, necessary for that seruice. The other is called the Voiaudogulanoj, or the walking Captaine, that hath allowed him 1000 good horsemen of principall choise, to range & spie abroad, & hath the charge of the running Castle, which we are to speake of in the Chapter following. All these Captaines, & men of charge must once euery day resort to the Bulsha voiauada, or General of the armie, to know his pleasure, & to informe him, if there be any requisite matter pertaining to their office.

Sire Masters of the Artillery

The walking Captaine.

Of their mustering, and leuying of forces, maner of armour, and prouision of victuall for the warres.

When wars are towards (which they faile not of lightly euery yere with the Tartar, & many times with the Polonian & Sweden) the foure Lozds of the Chetbirds send forth their summons in the Emperours name, to all the Dukes and Dyacks of the Prorinces, to be proclaimed in the head towne of euery Shire: that at the Sinaboarskey, or sonnes of gentlemen make their repaire to such a bozder where the seizure is to be done, at such a place, & by such a day, and there present themselves to such, & such Captaines. When they come to the place assigned them in the summons or proclamation, their names are taken by certaine officers that haue commission for that purpose from the Roserade, or high Constable, as Clarkes of the bands. If any make default & faile at the day, he is multcted, & punished very seuerely. As for the General & other chiefe Captaines, they are sent thither from the Emperours owne hand, with such Commission & charge as he thinketh behoofull for the present seruice. When the souldiers are assembled, they are reduced into their bands, & companies, vnder their seueral Captaines of tennes, fifties, hundredes, thousandes, &c. and these Bands into 4 Polskeis, or Legions (but of farre greater numbers then the Romane Legions were) vnder their foure great Leaders, which also haue the authoritie of Marshalls of the field (as was sayd before.)

Their order of mustering.

Concerning their armour they are but slightly appointed. The comon horseman hath nothing els but his bow in his case vnder his right arme, & his quier & sword hanging on the left side: except some fewe that beare a case of dagges, or a Iauelin, or short staffe along their horse side. The vnder captaines will haue commonly some piece of armour besides, as a shirt of male, or such like. The General with the other chiefe captaines & men of Nobilitie will haue their horse very richly furnished, their saddles of cloth of gold, their bridles fair bossed & tasselled with gold, & silk fringe, bestudded with pearle & precious stones, the selues in very faire armor, which they cal Bullatnoy,

The horsemans furniture.

made of faire shining Steele, yet covered commonly with cloth of golde, and edged round with armin furre, his Steele helmet on his head of a very great price, his sword both and arrowes at his side, his speare in his hand, with another faire helmet, and Shelta pera, or horsemans scypter carried before him. Their swords, bowes, and arrowes are of the Turkish fashion. They practise like the Tartar to shoote forwards and backwards, as they flie and retire.

The footmans
furniture.

Prouision of
victual.

The Strelsey or foote man hath nothing but his piece in his hand, his striking hatchet at his back, & his sword by his side. The stock of his piece is not made calicuerwise, but with a plaine & straitte stocke (somewhat like a fouling piece) the barrel is rudely & vnartificially made, very heauie, yet shooteth but a very small bullet. As for their prouision of victual, the Emperoz alloweth none, either for Captaine or souldiour, neither prouideth any for them except peraduenture some coine for their money. Every man is to bring sufficient for himselfe, to serue his turne for foure monthes, & if neede require to giue order for more to be brought vnto him to the Campe from his tenant that tilleth his land, or some other place. One great helpe they haue, that for lodging and diet every Russe is prepared to be a souldier beforehand. Though the chiefe Captains & other of account carry tents with them after the fashion of ours, with some better prouision of victual then the rest. They bring with them commonly into the Campe for victual a kind of dried bread, (which they call Suchary) with some store of meale, which they temper with water, and so make it into a ball, or small lump of doue, called Tollockno. And this they eate rawe in stead of bread. Their meat is bacon, or some other flesh or fish dyed, after the Dutch maner. If the Russe souldier were as hardy to execute an enterpryse, as he is hard to beare out toyle and trauell, or were other wise as apt and well trained for the warres, as he is indifferent for his lodging and diet, hee would farre exceede the souldiers of our parts.

Of their marching, charging, and other Martial discipline.

The Russe trusteth rather to his number, then to the valure of his souldiers, or good ordering of his forces. Their marching or leading is without al order, save that the foure Polskey or Legions, (wherinto their armie is diuided) keepe themselves severall vnder their ensignes, & so thrust all on together in a hurree, as they are directed by their Generall. Their Ensigne is the image of S. George. The Bulshu Dworaney or chiefe horsemen, haue every man a small drum of bzalle at his saddle bowe, which he striketh when he giueth the charge, or onset.

Horsemens
drummes.

The horsemans
maner of charging.

They haue drummes besides of a huge bigness, which they carry with them vpon a boord layde on foure horses, that are sparr'd together with chaines, every drumme hauing eight strikers, or drummers, besides trumpets and shawmes, which they sound after a wilde maner, much different from ours. When they giue any charge, or make any inuasion, they make a great hollow or shoute altogether, as loud as they can, which with the sound of their trumpets, shawmes, and drummes, maketh a confused and horrible noyse. So they set on first discharging their arrowes, then dealing with their swordes, which they vse in a brauerie to shake, and brandish ouer their heads, before they come to strokes.

The footmans
charge.

The walking
Cattle.

Their footmen (because otherwise they want order in leading) are commonly placed in some ambush or place of aduantage, where they may most annoy the enemy, with least hurt to themselves. If it be a set battell, or if any great inuasion be made vpon the Russe borders by the Tartar, they are set within y running or mouing Castle (called Beza, or Gulaygorod) which is carried about with them by the Voiauoda guluuoy (or the walking General) whom I spake of before. This walking or mouing Castle is so framed, that it may be set by in length (as occasion doeth require) the space of one, two, three, foure, five, sixe, or seuen miles: for so long it will reach. It is nothing els but a double wall of wood to defend them on both sides behinde and before, with a space of three yards or thereabouts, betwixt the two sides: so that they may stand within it, and haue roome enough to charge and discharge their pieces, and to vse their other weapons. It is closed at both ends, and made with loope holes on either side, to lay out the nose of their piece, or to push forth any other weapon. It is carried with the armie wheresoeuer it goeth, being taken into pieces, and so layde on cartes sparr'd together, and drawn by horse that are not seene, by reason that they are couered with their cariage as with a helle or perchouse. When it is brought to the place where it is to be used (which is deuised and chosen out before by the walking Voiauod) it is planted so much as the present vse requireth, sometime a mile long, sometimes two, sometimes three or more: Which is soone done without the helpe of any Carpenter, or instrument: because the timber is so framed to claspe together one piece with in another: as is easily vnderstoode by those that know the maner of the Russe building.

In this Castle standeth their shot well fenced for aduantage, specially against the Tartar, that bringeth

bringeth no ordinance, nor other weapon into the field with him, save his sword, and bow, and arrows: They have also within it divers field pieces, which they use as occasion doth require. Of pieces for the field they carie no great store, when they warre against the Tartar: but when they deale with the Polonian (of whose forces they make moze account) they go better furnished with all kind of munition, and other necessarie provisions. It is thought that no Prince of Christendome hath better store of munition, then the Russe Emperour. And it may partly appeare by the Artillery house at Mosco, where are of all sortes of great Ordnance, all brasse pieces, very faire, to an exceeding great number.

The Russe souldier is thought to be better at his defence within some castle or towne, then he is abroad at a set pitched field. Which is euer noted in the practise of his warres, and namely at the siege of Vobsko, about eight yeres since: where he repulld the Polonian King Stepan Batore, with his whole armie of 100000 men, and forced him in the end to giue over his siege, with the losse of many of his best Captaines and souldiers. But in a set field the Russe is noted to haue euer the worse of the Polonian and Sweden.

1580.

If any behaue himselfe moze valiantly then the rest, or do any special piece of seruice, the Emperour sendeth him a piece of golde, stamped with the Image of Saint George on horsebacke, which they hang on their sleeves, & set in their caps. And this is accounted the greatest honour they can receiue, for any seruice they doe.

Reward for valure.

Of their Colonies, and maintaining of their conquests, or purchases by force.

The Russe Emperours of late yeres haue very much enlarged their dominions, & territories. Their first conquest after the Dukedome of Mosco (for before that time they were but Dukes of Volodomer, as before was said) was the citie, & Dukedome of Nouogrod on the West, and North-west side: which was no small enlargement of their dominion, & strengthening to them for the winning of the rest. This was done by Iuan great grandfather to Theodor now Emperour, about the yere 1480. The same began likewise to encroach vpon the countries of Lituania and Liuania, but the conquest only intended, & attempted by him, vpon some part of those countries, was pursued & performed by his sonne Basileus, who first wan the citie & dukedom of Plesko, after wards the citie & dukedome of Smolensco, & many other faire towne, with a large territory belonging vnto them, about the yere 1514. These victories against the Lettoes or Lituanians, in the time of Alexander their duke, he atchieued rather by aduantage of ciuil dissentions, & treasons among themselves, then by any great policie, or force of his own. But al this was lost againe by his son Iuan Vasiluich, about 80 yeres past, vpon coposition with the Polonian king Stephan Batore: wherunto he was forced by the aduantages which the Polle had then of him, by reason of the foile he had giuen him before, and the disquietnes of his own state at home. Onely the Russe Emperour, at this time hath left him on that side his countrey, the cities of Smolensco, Vobsko, Chernigo, & Bealagorod in Lituania. In Liuania, not a towne nor one foot of ground.

1580.

When Basilius first conquered those countries, he suffered then the natives to keepe their possessions, and to inhabite all their towne, onely paying him a tribute, vnder the gouernement of his Russe Captaines. But by their conspiracies & attempts not long after, he was taught to deale moze surely with them. And so coming vpon them the second time, he killed and caried away with him, three parts of foure, which he gaue or sold to the Tartars that serued him in those wars, and in stead of them placed there his Russes, so many as might ouermatch the rest, with certaine garisons of strength besides: Wherein notwithstanding this oversight was committed, for that (taking away with him the vpland, or countrey people that should haue tilled the ground, & might easily haue bene kept in order without any danger, by other good policies) he was driuen afterwards many yeres together, to vicaille the countrey (specially the great towne) out of his owne countrey of Russia, the soile lying there in the meane while wast, and vntilled.

Lituania.

The like fell out at the port of Narue in Liefland, where his sonne Iuan Vasiluich deuised to build a towne, and a castle on the other side the riuer, (called Iuangorod) to keepe the towne and countrey in subiection. The castle he caused to be so built and fortified, that it was thought to be inuincible. And when it was furnished, for reward to the Architect (that was a Polonian) he put out both his eyes, to make him unable to build the like againe. But hauing left the natives all within their owne countrey, without abating their number or strength, the towne and castle not long after was betrayed, and surrendered againe to the king of Sweden.

Narue.

On the South-east side, they haue got the kingdomes of Casan, and Astracan. These were wonne from the Tartar, by the late Emperour Iuan Vasiluich, the one about thirtie yeres, the other about thirtie and three yeres agoe. Northward out of the countrey of Siberia, he hath

Siberia and Ob-

Conquest of a
1000 miles.

Permia and
Pechora.

Speans of hol-
ding chiefe
townes.

layed vnto his realme a great breadth and length of ground, from Wichida to the riuer of Obba, about a 1000 miles space: so that he is bolde to write himselfe now, The great Commander of Siberia. The countries likewise of Permia and Pechora are a diuers people and language from the Russe, ouercome not long since, and that rather by theating, and shaking of the sword, then by any actual force: as being a weak and naked people, without meanes to resist.

That which the Russe hath in his present possession, he keepeth on this sort. In his foure chief border townes of Vobsko, Smolensko, Astracan, and Cazan, he hath certaine of his counsell nor of greatest nobility, but of greatest trust, which haue moze authoritie within their precincts, (for the countenancing and strengthening of their government there) then the other Dukes that are set to gouerne in other places, as was noted befoze, in the manner of ordering their Prouinces. These he changeth sometime euery yere, sometime euery second or third yere, but exceedeth not that time, except vpon very speciall trust, and good liking of the party, and his seruice: least by enlarging of their time, they might grow into some familiaritie with the enemy (as some haue done) being so farre out of sight.

The townes besides are very strongly fenced with trenches, castles, & store of munition, and haue garisons within them, to the number of two or thre thousand a piece. They are stored with victual if any sieg should come vpon them, for the space of two or thre yeres befoze hand. The foure castles of Smolensko, Vobsko, Cazan and Astracan, he hath made very strong to beate out any sieg: so that it is thought that those townes are impregnable.

As for the countries of Pechora and Permia, and that part of Siberia, which he hath now vnder him, they are kept by as easie meanes, as they were first got, v. rather by shewing, then by vsing of armes. First, he hath stored the countrie with as many Russes as there are natives, & hath there some few souldiers in garison, inough to keepe them vnder. Secondly, his officers & Magistrates there are of his own Russe people, and he changeth them very often, v. euery yere twice or thre: notwithstanding there be no great feare of any inuouation. Thirdly, he deuidech them into many smal gouernments, like a staffe broke in many small pieces: so they haue no strength being seuered, which was but litle neither when they were all in one. Fourthly, he prouideth that the people of the countrie haue neither armoz, nor money, being cared & pilld so often as he thinketh good: without any meanes to shake off that yoke, or to relieue themselves.

In Siberia (where he goeth on in pursuing his conquest) he hath diuers castles & garisons, to the number of 6000 souldiers of Russes & Polonians, & sendeth many new supplies thither, to plant and to inhabite, as he winneth ground. At this time besides he hath gotten the kings brother of Siberia, allured by certaine of his captaines, to leaue his own countrie by offers of great entertainment, and plesanter life with the Russe Emperoz, then he had in Siberia. He was brought in this last yere, and is now with the Emperoz at Mosco well entertained.

Of the Tartars, and other borderers to the country of Russia, with whom they haue most to doe in warre, and peace.

Speans of hol-
ding the coun-
tries of Pecho-
ra, Permia, and
Siberia.

Siberia.

The kings bro-
ther of Siberia.
1588.

The Polonians
called Laches by
the Russe.

The Chym
Tartar.

The firing of
Mosco by the
Chym Tartar
in the yeare
1571.

Their neighbors with whom they haue greatest dealings & intercourse, both in peace & war, are first the Tartar. Secondly the Polonian whom the Russe callith Laches, noting the first author or founder of the nation, who was called Laches or Leches, wherunto is added Po, which signifieth People, and so is made Polaches, that is, the People or posterity of Laches: which the Latins after their manner of writing call Polonos. The thirde are the Swedens, The Polonians & Swedens are better knownen to these parts of Europe then are the Tartars, that are farther off from vs (as being of Asia) and diuided into many tribes, different in name, and government one from another. The greatest and mightiest of them is the Chym Tartar, (whom some call the Great Can) that lieth South, & Southeastward from Russia, and doth most annoy the country by often inuasions, commonly once euery yere, sometimes entring very farre within the inland parts. In the yere 1571 he came as farre as the citie of Mosco, with an armie of 20000 men, without any battel, or resistance at all, for that the Russe Emperoz (then Iuan Vasiluich) leading forth his armie to encounter with him, marched a wrong way. The citie he tooke not, but fired the suburbs, which by reason of the buildings (which are all of wood without any stone, brick, or lime, saue certaine out roomes) kindled so quickl, and went on with such rage, as that it consumed the greatest part of the citie almost within the space of foure houres, being of 30 miles or moze of compass. Then might you haue seene a lamentable spectacie: besides the huge & mighty flame of the citie all on light fire, the people burning in their houses and streets, but most of all of such as laboured to passe out of the gates farthest from the enemy, where meeting together in a mighty throng, & so pelling euery man to ppeuent another, wedged themselves so fast within

the gate, and creepes neere vnto it, as that three ranks walked one vpon the others head, the vppermost treading downe those that were lower: so that there perished at that time (as was said) by the fire & the presse, the number of 800000 people or more.

The principall cause of this continual quarrell betwixt the Russe & the Chrim is for the right of certaine border partes claimed by the Tartar, but possessed by the Russe. The Tartar alleagech that besides Astracan and Cazan (that are the auncient possession of the East Tartar) the whole countrey from his boundes North and Westward so farre as the citie of Mosko, and Mosko it selfe pertaineth to his right. Which seemeth to haue bene true by the report of the Russes them selues, that tell of a certaine homiage that was done by the Russe Emperour euery yere to the great Chrim or Can, the Russe Emperour standing on foot and feeding the Chrims horse, (himselfe sitting on his backe) with oates out of his owne cappe, in stead of a bowle or manger, and that within the caille of Mosko. And this homiage (they say) was done till the time of Basileus grandfather to this man. Who surprizing the Chrim Emperour by a stratageme done by one of his nobilitie (called Iuan Demetro wich Belschey) was content with this ransom, viz. with the changing of this homiage into a tribute of furrer: which afterwards also was denied to be payde by this Emperours father.

Homage done by the Russe to the Chrim Tartar.

Wherupon they continue y quarrell, the Russe defending his countrey, & that which he hath won, y Chrim Tartar inuading him once or twice euery yere, sometime about Whitefontide, but oftner in haruest. What time if the great Can or Chrim come in his owne person, he bringeth with him a great armie of 100000, or 200000 men. Otherwise they make short & sudden rodes into the countrey with lesser numbers, running about the list of the border as wild geefe flie, inuading and retiring where they see aduantage.

Their common practise (being very populous) is to make diuers armies, and so drawing the Russe to one or two places of the frontiers, to inuade at some other place, that is left without defence. Their maner of fight, or ordering of their forces is much after the Russe maner (spoken of before) saue that they are all horsemen, and carie nothing els but a bowe, a sheafe of arrowes, and a falcon swoord after the Turkish fashion. They are very expert horsemen, and vse to shoote as readily backward, as for ward. Some wil haue a horsemans staffe like to a boze speare, besides their other weapons. The comon souldier hath no other armour then his ordinary apparell, viz. a blacke sheeps skin with the wool side outward in the day time, and inwarde in the night time, with a cap of the same. But their Morleys or noblemen imitate the Turk both in apparel and armour. When they are to passe ouer a riuer with their armie, they tie three or foure horses together, and taking long poles or pieces of wood, bind them fast to the taitles of their horse: so sitting on the poles they vzie their horse ouer. A handie strokes (when they toyne battell) they are accounted faire better men then the Russe people, fierce by nature, but more hardy and bloody by continuall practise of warre: as men knowing no artes of peace, nor any ciuill practise.

The maner of the Tartars fight, and armour.

Yet their subtilty is more then may seeme to agree with their barbarous condition. By reason they are practised to inuade continually, and to robbe their neighbours that border about them, they are very pregnant, and ready witted to deuise stratagemes vpon the sudden for their better aduantage. As in their warre against Beala the fourth, king of Hungarie, whome they inuaded with 500000 men, and obtained against him a great victorie. Where, among other, hauing slaine his Chancelor called Nicholas Schinick, they found about him the kings priuy seale. Whereupon they deuised presently to counterfeite letters in the kings name, to the cities and towines next about the place, where the field was fought: with charge that in no case they should conuey themselves, and their goods out of their dwellings, where they might abide safely without all feare of danger, and not leaue the countrey desolate to the possession of so vile and barbarous an enemy, as was the Tartar nation, terming themselves in all reproofful maner. For notwithstanding he had lost his carriages, with some few straglers that had marched disorderly, yet he doubted not but to recouer that losse, with the accesse of a notable victorie, if the sauage Tartar durst abide him in the field. To this purpose hauing written their letters in the Polish character, by certaine yong men whom they tooke in the field, and signed them with the Kings seale, they dispatched them forth to all the quarters of Hungaria, that lay neere about the place. Whereupon the Ungarians that were now flying away with their goods, wiues, and chyldren; vpon the rumour of the kings overthrow, taking comfort of these counterfeite letters, staid at home. And so were made a pray, being surprisid on the sudden by this huge number of these Tartars, that had compassed them about before they were aware.

The subtiltie of the Tartar.

When they besiege a towne or fort, they offer much parle, and send many flattering messages to perswade a surrendry: promising all things that the inhabitantes will require: but being once possessed of the place, they vie all maner of hostilitie, and crueltie. This they doe vpon a rule they haue,

haue, v^z. that iustice is to bee practised but towards their owne. They encounter not lightly, but they haue some ambush, whereunto (hauing once shewed themselves, and made some short conflict) they retire as repulled for feare, and so draw the enemy into it if they can. But the Russe being well acquainted with their practise is moze warie of them. When they come a touting with some small number, they set on horsebacke counterfaite shayes of men, that their number may seeme greater.

When they make any onset, their maner is to make a great shout, crying all out together Olla Billa, Olla Billa, God helpe vs, God help vs. They contemne death so much, as that they chuse rather to die, then to yeeld to their enemy, and are seene when they are slain to bite the very weapon, when they are past striking or helping of themselves. Wherein appeareth how different the Tartar is in his desperate courage from the Russe and Turke. For the Russe souldier, if he begin once to retire, putteth all his safetie in his speedy flight. And if once he be taken by his enemy, he neither defendeth himselfe, nor intreateth for his life, as reckoning straight to die. The Turke commonly, when he is past hope of escaping, falleth to intreatie, and casteth away his weapon, offereth both his hands, and holdeth them, as it were to be tied: hoping to saue his life, by offering himselfe bondslau.

The chiefe bootie the Tartars seeke for in all their warres is to get store of captiues, specially young boyes, and giules, whome they sell to the Turkes, or other their neighbours. To this purpose they take with them great baskets made like bakers pauniers to carry them tenderly, and if any of them happen to tire, or to be sicke by the way, they dash him against the ground, or some tree, and so leaue him dead. The Souldiers are not troubled with keeping the captiues and the other bootie, for hindering the execution of their warres, but they haue certaine bandes that intend nothing else, appoynted of purpose to receiue and keepe the captiues and the other praye.

The Tartar religion.

The Russe borderers (being vsed to their inuasions lightly euery yere in the Sommer) keepe fewe other cattell on the border partes, saue swine onely which the Tartar will not touch, nor dye away with him: for that he is of the Turkish religion, and will eate no swines flesh. Of Christ our Saviour they confesse as much as doeth the Turke in his Alkaron, viz. that he came of the Angel Gabriel and the Virgin Marie, that he was a great Prophet, and shall be the Iudge of the worlde at the last day. In other matter likewise, they are much ordered after the manner and direction of the Turke: hauing felt the Turkish forces when hee wonne from them Azou and Caffa, with some other townes about the Euxine or blacke Sea, that were before tributaries to the Crim Tartar. So that now the Emperour of the Crims for the most part is chosen one of the Nobility whom the Turke doeth commend: whereby it is brought nowe to passe, that the Crim Tartar giueth to the Turke the tenth part of the spoyle which hee getteth in his warres against the Christians.

Herein they differ from the Turkish religion, for that they haue certaine idole puppets made of sticke, or like stufte, of the fashion of a man, which they fasten to the dooze of their walking houses, to be as Ianusses or keepers of their house. And these idoles are made not by all, but by certaine religious women which they haue among them for that and like vses. They haue besides the image of their King or great Can, of an huge bignesse, which they erect at euery stage when the army marcheth: and this euery one must bend and bowe vnto as he passeth by it, be he Tartar or stranger. They are much giuen to witchcraft, and ominous coniectures vpon euery accident which they heare of see.

In making of marriages they haue no regard of alliance or consanguinitie. Onely with his mother, sister, and daughter a man may not marrie, and though he take the woman into his house, and accompany with her, yet he accounteth her not for his wife till he haue a childe by her. Then hee beginneth to take a dowry of her friends of horse, sheepe, kine, &c. If she be barren after a certaine time, he turneth her home againe.

The Tartar nobilitie.

Under the Emperour they haue certaine Dukes, whome they call Morfeis or Diuoymorfeis, that rule ouer a certaine number of 10000, 20000, or 40000, a piece, which they call Hoords. When the Emperour hath any vble of them to serue in his warres, they are bound to come, and to bring with them their Souldiers to a certain number, euery man with his two horse at the least, the one to ride on, the other to kill, when it commeth to his turne to haue his horse eate. For their chiefe vitaille is horse flesh, which they eate without bread, or any other thing with it. So that if a Tartar be taken by a Russe, he shall be sure lightly to finde a horse-legge, or some other part of him at his saddle bowe.

The Tartar diet.

This last yere when I was at the Mosco, came in one Kiriach Morsey, nephew to the Emperour of the Crims that nowe is (whose father was Emperour before) accompanied with 300.

Tartars,

Tartars, and his two wiues, whereof one was his brothers widow. Where being intertaind in very good sort after the Russe maner, hee had sent vnto his lodging for his welcome, to be made ready for his supper and his companies, two very large and fat horses, ready slayed in a sled. They prefer it before other flesh, because the meate is stronger (as they say) then Beefe, Mutton, and such like. And yet (which is marueile) though they serue all as horsemen in the warres, and eat all of horse flesh, there are brought yeerely to the Mosco to be exchanged for other commodities 30. or 40. thousand Tartar horse, which they call Cones. They keepe also great herds of kine, & flocks of blacke sheepe, rather for the skins and milke (which they carie with them in great bottles) then for the vse of the flesh, though sometimes they eat of it. Some vse they haue of ryle, figs, and other fruits. They drinke milke or warme blood, and for the most part card them both together. They vse sometime as they trauel by the way, to let their horse blood in a vaine, and to drinke it warme, as it cometh from his bodie.

Townes they plant none, nor other standing buildings, but haue walking houses, which the latines call *Veij*, built vpon wheeles like a shepheards cottage. These they drawe with them whither soeuer they goe, drining their cattell with them. And when they come to their stage, or stanting place, they plant their cartt houses verie orderly in a ranke: and so make the forme of streetes, and of a large towne. And this is the maner of the Emperoz himselfe, who hath no other seat of Empire but an *Agora*, or towne of wood, that moueth with him whither soeuer hee goeth. As for the fired and standing building vled in other countreyes, they say they are vnto whole some and vnplesant.

The Tartars dwelling.

They begin to moue their houses and cattell in the Spring time from the South part of their Countrey towards the North partes. And so drining on till they haue graed all vp to the farthest part Northward, they returne backe againe towards their South countrey (where they continue all the Winter) by 10. or 12. milles a stage: in the meane while the grasse being sprung vp againe, to serue for their cattell as they returne. From the border of the Shalcan towards the Caspian sea, to the Russe frontiers, they haue a goodly Countrey, specially on the South and Southeast partes, but lost for lacke of tillage.

Of money they haue no vse at all, and therefore prefer brasse and Steele before other mettals, specially bullate, which they vse for swordes, knives, and other necessaries. As for golde and silver they neglect it of very purpose, (as they doe all tillage of their ground) to be more free for their wandring kinde of life, and to keepe their Countrey lesse subiect to inuasions. Which giueth them great aduantage against all their neighbors, euer inuading, and neuer being inuaded. Such as haue taken vpon them to inuade their Countrey (as of old time Cyrus and Darius Hystaspis, on the East and Southeast side) haue done it with very ill successe: as wee finde in the storie written of those times. For their manner is when any will inuade them, to allure and drawe them on by flying and reculing (as if they were afraide) till they haue drawen them some good way within their countrey. Then when they begin to want victuall and other necessaries (as needes they must where nothing is to be had) to stoppe vp the passages, and inclose them with multitudes. By which stratagem (as wee reade in Laonicus Chalcacondylas in his Turkish storie) they had welnigh surprisid the great and huge armie of Tamerlan, but that hee retreated with all speede hee could towards the riuer Tanais or Don, not without great losse of his men, and cariages.

In the storie of Pachymerius the Greeke (which hee wrote of the Emperors of Constantinople from the beginning of the reigne of Michael Palazologus to the time of Andronicus the elder) I remember he telleth to the same purpose of one Nogas a Tartarian captaine vnder Cazan the Emperoz of the East Tartars (of whom the citie and kingdome of Cazan may seeme to haue taken the denomination) who refused a present of Pearle and other iewels sent vnto him from Michael Palazologus: asking withall, for what vse they serued, and whether they were good to keepe away sicknesse, death, or other misfortunes of this life, or no. So that it seemeth they haue euer, or long time bene of that minde to value things no further, then by the vse and necessitie for which they serue.

Pachymerius.

For person and complexion they haue broad and flatte visage, of a tanned colour into yellowe and blacke, fierce and cruell lookes, thinne haired vpon the vpper lippe, and pitte of the chinne, light and nimble bodied, with short legges, as if they were made naturally for horsemen: whereto they practise themselves from their childhood, seldeome going afoot about any businesse. Their speech is verie sudden and loude, speaking as it were out of a deepe hollowe throate. When they sing you woulde thinke a kowe lowed, or some great bandogge howled. Their greatest exercise is shooting, wherein they traine vp their children from their verie infancie, not suffering them to eat, till they haue shot neere the marke within a certaine scantling.

scantling. They are the very same that sometimes were called Scythian Nomades, or the Scythian shepherds, by the Greeks and Latines. Some thinke that the Turkes took their beginning from the nation of the Crim Tartars. Of which opinion is Laonicus Calcocondylas the Greek Historiographer, in his first booke of his Turkish storie. Wherin hee followeth diuers verie probable coniectures. The first taken from the verie name it selfe, for that the worde Turk signifieth a Shepheard or one that followeth a vagarant and wilde kinde of life. By which name these Scythian Tartars haue euer bene noted, being called by the Greekes *οὐδαι κτηνοβοσκoi* or the Scythian shepherds. His second reason, because the Turkes (in his time) that dwelt in Asia the lesse, to wit, in Lydia, Caria, Phrygia and Cappadocia, spake the very same language that these Tartars did, that dwelt betwixt the river Tanais or Don, and the countrey of Sarmatia, which (as is well knowen) are these Tartars called Crims. At this time also the whole nation of the Turkes differ not much in their common speeche from the Tartar language. Thirdly because the Turke and the Crim Tartar agree so well together, as well in religion, as in matter of traffique neuer invading, or inuoying one another: saue that the Turke (since Laonicus his time) hath encroched vpon some Townes vpon the Euxin Sea, that before pertained to the Crim Tartar. Fourthly, because Ortogules sonne to Oguzalpes, and father to Otoman the first of name of the Turkish nation made his first roads out of those parts of Asia, vpon the next borderers, till hee came towardes the countreys about the hill Taurus, where hee ouercame the Greekes that inhabited there: and so enlarged the name and territozie of the Turkish nation, till hee came to Eubæa and Artica, and other partes of Greece. This is the opinion of Laonicus; who liued among the Turkes in the time of Amurat the first Turkish Emperour, about the yeere 1400, when the memoize of their originall was moze fresh: and therefore the likeliest hee was to hit the crueth.

There are diuers other Tartars that border vpon Russia, as the Nagayes, the Cheremissens, the Mordwites, the Chircasses, and the Shalcans, which all differ in name moze then in regiment, or other condition, from the Crim Tartar, except the Chircasses that border Southwest, towardes Lituania, and are farre moze ciuill then the rest of the Tartars, of a comely person, and of a stately behauiour, as applying themselves to the fashion of the Polonian. Some of them haue subiected themselves to the Kings of Poland, and professe Christianitie. The Nagay lieth Eastward, and is reckoned for the best man of warre among all the Tartars, but verie sauage, and cruell about all the rest. The Cheremissen Tartar, that lieth betwixt the Russe and the Nagay, are of two sorts, the Lugauoy (that is of the valley) and the Nagornay or of the hilly countrey. These haue much troubled the Emperours of Russia. And therefore they are content now to buy peace of the, vnder pretence of giuing a yeerely pension of Russe commodities to their Morseys, or Diuoy morseys, that are chiefe of their tribes, for which also they are bound to serue them in their wars, vnder certaine conditions. They are said to be iust and true in their dealings: and for that cause they hate the Russe people, whom they account to be double, and false in all their dealing. And therefore the common sort are very vniwilling to keepe agreement with them, but that they are kept in by their Morseys, or Dukes for their pensions sake.

The most rude & barbarous is counted the Mordwit Tartar, that hath many selfe-fashions and strange kinds of behauiour, differing from the rest. For his religion, though he acknowledge one God, yet his manner is to worship for God, that liuing thing he first meeteth in the morning, & to sweare by it all that whole day, whether it be horse, dog, cat, or whatsoeuer els it bee. When his friend dieth, he killeth his best horse, and hauing slayed off the skinne hee carrieth it on high vpon a long pole before the corpes to the place of buriall. This hee doeth (as the Russe saith) that his friend may haue a good horse to carie him to heauen: but it is likelier to declare his loue towards his dead friend, in that he will haue to die with him the best thing that he hath.

Next to the kingdom of Astracan, that is the farthest part Southeastward of the Russe dominion, lieth the Shalcan, and the countrey of Media: whither the Russe marchants trade for rawe silkes, Syndon, saphion, skinnes, and other commodities. The chiefe Townes of Media where the Russe trade, are Derbent (suitt by Alexander the great, as the inhabitants say) and Zamachi where the staple is kept for rawe silkes. Their manner is in the Spring time to reuite the silke-wormes (that lie dead all the Winter) by laying them in the warme sunne, and (to hasten their quickening that they may sooner goe to worke) to put them into bags, and so to hang them vnder their childrens armes. As for the woorme called Chrinifin (as wee call it Chrymsor) that maketh coloured silke, it is bred not in Media, but in Assyria. This trade to Derbent and Samachi for rawe silkes, and other commodities of that Countrey, as also into Persia, and Bougharia downe the river of Volga, and through the Caspian sea, is permitted aswell to the English as to the Russe merchants, by the Emperours last grant at my being there.

Which

Laonicus Calcocondylas.

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The Nagay Tartar the cruellist. The Chircasse the ciuillist Tartar.

The Cheremissen Tartar of two sorts: the Lugauoy and the Nagornay.

The Mordwit Tartar the most barbarous of the rest.

The reuiving of silke-wormes.

Chrinifin a kind of silke-worme.

Liberty to trade downe the Caspian sea,

Which he accounteth for a very speciall favour, and might prove indeede very beneficiall to our English merchants, if the trade were wel and orderly vsed.

The whole nation of the Tartars are utterly void of all learning, and without written Law: yet certaine rules they haue which they hold by tradition, common to all the Hoords for the practice of their life. Which are of this sort. 1. To obey their Emperour and other Magistrates, whatsoeuer they command about the publike seruice. 2. Except for the publike behoofe, euery man to be free and out of controulment. 3. No priuate man to possesse any lands, but the whole countrey to be as common. 4. To neglect all daintinesse and varietie of meates; and to content thein selues with that which commeth next to hand, for more hardnesse, and readines in the executing of their affaires. 5. To weare any base attire, and to patch their clothes whether there be any neede or not: that when there is neede, it be no shame to weare a patcht coate. 6. To take or steale from any stranger whatsoeuer they can get, as beeing enemies to all men, saue to such as will subiect them selues to them. 7. Towards their owne hoorde and nation to be true in worde and deede. 8. To suffer no stranger to come within the Realme. If any doe, the same to be bondslau to him that first taketh him, except such merchants and o-ther as haue the Tartar Bull, or passport about them.

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No stranger without passport admitted.

Of the Permians, Samoites, and Lappes.

The Permians and Samoites that lye from Russia, North and Northeast, are thought likewise to haue taken their beginning from the Tartar kinde. And it may partly bee guessed by the fashion of their countenance, as hauing all broade and flat faces as the Tartars haue, except the Chircasses. The Permians are accounted for a very ancient people. They are nowe subiect to the Russe. They liue by hunting, and trading with their fures, as also doeth the Samoite, that dwelleth more towardes the North Sea. The Samoite hath his name (as the Russe saith) of eating himselfe: as if in times past, they liued as Cannibals, eating one another. Which they make more probable, be cause at this time they eat all kind of raw flesh, whatsoeuer it be, euen the very carion that lieth in the ditch. But as the Samoites themselves will say, they were called Samoite, that is, of themselves, as though they were Indigene, or people bred vpon that very soyle, that neuer changed their seate from one place to another, as most nations haue done. They are subiect at this time to the Emperour of Russia.

The Permians.

The Samoites.

I talked with certaine of them, and finde that they acknowledge one God: but represent him by such things as they haue most vs and good by. And therefore they worship the Sunne, the Moon, the Loth, and such like. As for the story of Sata Baba, or the Golden hagge, (which I haue read in some mappes, and descriptions of these countries, to be an idole after the foyme of an olde woman) that being demanded by the Priest, giue them certaine Oracles, concerning the successe, and cunct of things, I found it to be a very fable. Onely in the Province of Obdoria vpon the sea side, neare to the mouth of the great riuer Obba, there is a rocke, which naturally (being somewhat helped by imagination) may seeme to beare the shape of a ragged woman, with a child in her armes (as the rocke by the North Cape the shape of a Frier) where the Obdoria Samoites vse much to resort, by reason of the commoditie of the place for fishing: and there sometime (as their manner is) conceiue, and practise their sorceries, and ominous coniecturings about the good or bad speede of their iourneies, fishings, huntings, and such like.

The Samoites religion.

Sata Baba or the goldē Hag.

A fable.

The Sea.

Fishing of sea.

They are clad in Seale skins, with the hairie side outwards downe as low as the knees, with their breeches and netherstockes of the same, both men and women. They are all blacke haired, naturally beardedlesse. And therefore the men are hardly discerned from the women by their looks: saue that the women weare a locke of haire downe along both their eares. They liue in a manner a wilde and sauage life, roving still from one place of the countrey to another, without any property of house or land more to one then to another. Their leader or directer in euery companie, is their Papa or Priest.

The Samoites habit and dress. The people of Meta Incognita such.

On the North side of Russia next to Corelia, lieth the countrey of Lappia, which reacheth in length from the farthest point Northward, (towards the North Cape) to the farthest part South-east (which the Russe calleth Sweetnesse or Holy nose, the English men Capegrace) about 345. verst or miles. From Sweetnesse to Candelox by the way of Versega (which measureth the breadth of that countrey) is 90. miles or thereabouts. The whole countrey in a maner is either lakes, or mountaines; which towardes the Sea side are called Tondro, because they are all of harde and craggy rocke, but the inland partes are well furnished with woods that growe on the hilles sides, the lakes lying betweene. Their diet is very bare and simple. Bread they haue none,

The Lappes.

none, but feede onely vpon fish and foule. They are subiect to the Emperoz of Russia, and the two kings of Sweden and Denmarke: which all exact tribute and custome of them (as was saide befoze) but the Emperoz of Russia beareth the greatest hand ouer them, and exacteth of them farre more then the rest. The opinion is that they were first termed Lappes of their brieft and short speech. The Russe diuideth the whole nation of the Lappes into two sortes. The one they call Nowremanskoy Lapary, that is, the Noruegian Lappes because they be of the Danish religion. For the Danes and Noruegians they account for one people. The other that haue no religion at all but liue as brute and heathenth people, without God in the worlde, they cal Dikoy Lapary, or the wilde Lappes.

The whole nation is vcerely vnlerned, hauing not so much as the vse of any Alphabet, or letter among them. For practise of witchcraft and sorterie they passe all nations in the worlde. Though for enchanting of ships that saile along their coast, (as I haue heard it reported) and their giuing of winds good to their friends, and contrary to other, whom they meane to hurt by tyng of certaine knots vpon a rope (somewhat like to the tale of Eolus his windbag) is a very fable, deuised (as may seeme) by themselves, to terrifie sailers for comming neere their coast. Their weapons are the long bow, and handgunne, wherein they excell, aswell for quicknesse to charge and discharge, as for neerenesse at the marke by reason of their continual practise (wheretoe they are forced) of shooting at wild fowle. Their maner is in Sommer time to come downe in great companies to the sea side, to Wardhuylse, Cola, Kegor, and the bay of Vedagoba, and there to fish for Codde, Salmon, & But-fish, which they sel to the Russes, Danes, & Noruegians, and nowe of late to the English men that trade thither with cloth, which they exchange with the Laps & Coze-lians for their fish, oyle, and fures, wherof also they haue some store. They holde their mart at Cola on S. Peters day: what time the captaine of Wardhuylse (that is resident there for the king of Denmark) must be present, or at least send his deputie to set prices vpon their stockfish, crain oile, fures, and other commodities: as also the Russe Emperors customer, or tribute taker, to receiue his custome, which is euer payde befoze any thing can bee bought or solde. When their fishing is done, their manner is to drawe their carballies or boates on shoze, and there to leaue them with the keele turned bywardes, till the next spring tide. Their trauaile to and fro is vpon sleddes drawn by the Olen Deere: which they vse to turne a grazing all the Sommer time in an Island called Kildyn, (of a verie good soyle compared with other partes of that Countrey) and towards the Winter time, when the snowe beginneth to fall, they fetch them home againe for the vse of their sledde.

The mart at
Cola.

Sleds drawn
with Deere.

The description of the regions, people, and riuers, lying North and East from *Moscovia*: as the way from *Moscovia* to the riuier *Petzora*, and the Prouince *Ingaria* or *Iubra*, and from thence to the riuier *Obi*. Likewise the description of other countreys and regions, euen vnto the Empire of the great *Can* of *Cahay*, taken out of *Sigismundus ab Herberstein*.

The dominion
of the Duke of
Moscovia.

Vologda.
Verst.
Vstiug.



The dominion of the Prince of *Moscovia*, reacheth farre toward the East and North, vnto the places which we will now describe. As concerning which thing, I translated a booke was presented vnto me in the *Moscovites* tongue, and haue here made a brieft rehearsall of the same. I will first therefore describe the iourney from *Moscovia* to *Petzora*, and so to *Ingaria* and *Obi*. From *Moscovia* to the citie of *Vologda*, are numbred fve hundred versts, one verst conceyning almost the space of an Italian myle. From *Vologda* to *Vstiug* toward the right hand, descending with the course of the riuier of *Vologda* and *Suchana* with whom it ioyneeth, are counted fve hundred versts, where within two versts of the towne called *Strelze*, and hard by the citie of *Vstiug*, *Suchana* ioyneeth vnto *Iug*, which runneth from the South: from whose mouth vnto the springs of the same, are numbred fve hundred versts.

Suchana,
Iug. So called
of his swift
and pleasant
streame.

Pienega.

Nicholai.
Kuluio.

But *Suchana* and *Iug*, after they ioyne together, lose their first names, and make but one riuier named *Dwina*, by the which the passage to the citie of *Colmogro* containeth fve hundred versts, from whence, in the space of sixe dayes iourney, *Dwina* entreth into the North Ocean at sixe mouthes. And the greatest part of this iourney consisteth by Nauigation. For by lande from *Vologda* vnto *Colmogro*, passing ouer the riuier *Vuaga*, are a thousand versts. Not farre from *Colmogro*, the riuier *Pienega* running from the East on the right hand for the space of seuen hundred versts, falleth into *Dwina*. From *Dwina* by the riuier *Pienega*, by the space of two hundred versts, they come to a place called *Nicholai*, from whence within halfe a verst ships haue passage into the riuier *Kuluio*, which hath his originall from a lake of the same name towards the North,

from

from whose Springs is eight daies biage to the mouth of the same, where it entreteth into the Ocean.

Sayling by the coasts of the right hand of the sea, they passe by the regions of Stanuwische, Calunczicho, and Apnu: And sayling about the promontorie or cape of Chorogoski Nofz, Stanuwische, Camenckh, and Toltickh, they come at length into the riuer Mezen, and from thence in the space of five dayes, to a village of the same name, standing in the mouth of the riuer Pieza, by the which againe ascending toward the left hand & Sommer East, they come to the riuer Pielcoia: from whence sayling for the space of five versts, they come into two lakes, in the which are seene two wayes: whereof one on the right side, goeth to the riuer Rubicho, by the which they passe to the riuer Czircho. Other, by an other and shorter way, bring their ships from the lake directly into Czircho: from whence, except they be hindered by tempest, they come in the space of three weekes to the riuer and mouth of Czilma, flowing into the great riuer Perzora, which in that place is two versts in breadth. Sayling from thence, they come in the space of five dayes to the Towne and castle of Pustosero, neare unto the which, Perzora entreteth into the North Ocean at Crow mouths. The inhabitants of this place, are men of simple wit: they received the faith of Christ, and were baptised in the yeare M.D.xviii.

From the mouth of Czilma unto the mouth of the riuer Vssa, going by Perzora, is one moneths biage. Vssa hath his Springs in the mountaine *Poyas Semnoi, being on the left hand toward the Sommer East, and springeth out of a great stone of the same mountaine, called Camen Bolchoi. From the Springs of Vssa to the mouthes of the same, are numbered moze then a thousand versts. Furthermore, Perzora runneth from this south winter part, from whence ascending from the mouthes of Vssa, unto the mouthes of the riuer Szuchogora, is three weekes biage. They that described this voyage sayd that they rested betweene the mouthes of the riuers of Szuchogora and Potzscheriema, and left their victuals there which they brought with them from Russia. Depend the riuers of Perzora and Szuchogora toward the mountaine Camenipoias, and the sea with the Islands thereabout, and the Castle of Pustosero, are diuers and innumerable nations, which by one common name are called Samoged (that is) such as eat themselves. They haue great increase of fowles, birds, and diuers kindes of beastes: as Sables, Marternes, Weuers, Otters, Hermelines, Squirrels: and in the Ocean the beast called a Hoys: Also Uesse, white Beares, Wolues, Hares, Equiboduani, great Whales, and a fish called Semfi, with diuers other. The people of these nations come not to Moscouia: for they are wilde, and flee the company and society of other men.

From the mouthes of Szuchogora, sayling by the riuer unto Poiassa, Artawische, Cameni, and Poiassa the greater, is three weekes voyage. Furthermore, the ascending to the mountaine Camen, is three dayes iourney: from the which descending they come to the riuer Artawische, and from thence to the riuer Sibur, from whence they passe to the Castle of Lepin, and from Lepin to the riuer Soffa. The people that inhabite the region by this riuer, are called Vuogolici. Leauing Soffa on the right hande, they come to the great riuer Obi, that springeth out of the lake Kiraisko, the which, with all the haste they could make, they could scarcely passe ouer in one day, the riuer being of such breadth that it reacheth fourescore versts. The people also that dwell about the riuer, are called Vuogolici and Vgritzchi. From the Castle of Obea, ascending by the riuer of Oby, unto the riuer Irtische, into the which Soffa entereth, is three moneths iourney. In these places are two Castles named Ierom and Tumen, kept by certaine Lords called Kneht Iuhorski, being tributaries to the great Duke of Moscouia, as they say. Here are diuers kindes of beastes and fures.

From the mouth of the riuer Irtische to the Castle of Grustina, is two moneths iourney: from whence to the lake Kitai, by the riuer Oby (which I said to haue his Springs in this lake) is moze then three moneths iourney. From this lake come many blacke men, lacking the vse of common speech. They bring with them diuers wares, and especially pearles and precious stones, which they sell to the people called Grustinzi and Serponowrzi. These haue their name of the Castle Serponow, situate in the mountaines of Lucomoria, beyond the riuer Obi. They say that to the men of Lucomoria chaunceth a marueilous thing and incredible: for they affirme, that they die peereley at the xxvii. day of Nouember, being the feast of S. George among the Moscouites: and that at the next Spring about the xxiii. day of Aprill, they reuue againe as doe Froggess.

With these also, the people of Grustinzi and Serponowrzi exercise a new and strange kinde of trade: for when the accustomed time of their dying, or rather of sleeping, approacheth, they leaue their wares in certaine places appointed, which the Grustinzi and Serponowrzi carry away, leauing other wares of equall value in their places: which if the dead men at the time of their reuiving perceiue to be of vnequall price, they require their otone againe: by reason whereof, much strife and fighting is betweene them.

The regions by the North sea.

Pieza. Pielcoia.

Rubicho.

Czircho.

Czilma. Perzora.

Pustosero.

Vssa.

*Cingulus mundi

Szuchogora. Potzscheriema.

Camenipoias.

Samoged. fowles and beastes.

Wilde people.

Poiassa.

Camen. Artawische. Sibur. Lepin.

Soffa. Obi. Kiraisko.

Vuogolici.

Irtische. Ierom. Tumen.

Grustina. Kitai.

Blacke men without speech

Serponow. Lucomoria.

Men that peereley die and reuue.

A strange trade of merchandise.

Obi.
Calami.
Riuers.

From the riuer of Obi descending toward the left hand, are the people called Calami, which came thither from Obiowa and Pogosa. Beneath Obi, about Aurea Anus (that is, the golden old wife) are the riuers Sossa, Berezuua, and Danadim, all which spring out of the mountaines Camen, Bolchegea, Poiassa, and the rockes ioyning to the same. All the nations that inhabite from these riuers to Aurea Anus, are subiect to the prince of Moscouia.

Aurea Anus,
Obdora.

Aurea Anus, called in the *Hoscouites* tongue, *Slara Baba*, is an idol, at the mouthe of Obi in the prouince of Obdora, standing on the furthest banke toward the sea. Along by the bankes of Obi, & the riuers neare there about, are here and there many castles and fortresses: all the lordes whereof, are subiect to the prince of Moscouia, as they say. They say also, or rather fable, that the idol called Aurea Anus, is an image like vnto an old wife, hauing a child in her lap, and that there is now seene another infant, which they say to be her nephew: Also, that there are certaine instruments that make a continuall sound like the noyle of *Trumpets*, the which, if it so be, I thinke it to be by reason of the winde, blowing continually into the hollow places of those instruments.

Cossin.

Cassima.

Tachnin a great
riuier.
People of mis-
shapen shape.
26 fish like a
man.
Plinie writeth
of the like fish.

The riuer Cossin falleth out of the mountaines of Lucomoria: In the mouth of this is a castle, whither from the springs of the great riuer Cossin, is two monethes viage. Furthermore, from the springs of the same riuer, the riuer Cassima hath his originall, which running through Lucomoria, falleth into the great riuer Tachnin, beyond the which (as is said) dwell men of prodigious shape, of whom, some are ouergrown with haire like wilde beastes, other haue heads like dogges, and their faces in their breasts, without neckes, and with long hands also, and without feete. There is likewise in the riuer Tachnin a certaine fish, with head, eyes, nose, mouth, hands, feete, and other members vicerly of humane shape, and yet without any voyce, and pleasant to be eaten, as are other fishes.

The end of the
iournall.

All that I haue hitherto rehearsed, I haue translated out of the saide iourney which was deliuered me in the *Hoscouites* tongue: In the which, perhaps some things may seeme fabulous, and in maner incredible, as of the dombe men, and the dead reuiuing, the Aurea Anus also, and the monstrous shapes of men, with the fish of humane forme: whereof, although I haue made diligent inquisition, yet could I knowe noching certaine of any that had seene the same with their eyes: neuerthelesse, to giue further occasion to other to search the truely of these things, I haue thought good to make mention hereof.

Noss in the *Hoscouites* tongue signifieth a nose, and therefore they call all capes or points, that reach into the sea, by the same name.

Mountaines.

The mountaines about the riuer of Petzora are called *Semnoi Poyas*, or *Cingulus mundi*, that is, the girdle of the world, or of the earth.

The great Can
of Cathay.

Kirhai is a lake, of which the great Can of Cathay, whom the *Hoscouians* call *Czar Kirhaiski*, hath his name: For Can in the *Tartars* language signifieth, A King.

Moria is the sea.
Lucomoria.

The places of Lucomoria, neare vnto the sea, are saluage, full of woods, and inhabited without any houses. And albeit, that the author of this iourney, said, that many nations of Lucomoria are subiect to the prince of Moscouia, yet for as much as the kingdome of Tumen is neare therunto, whose prince is a *Tartar*, and named in their tongue, *Tumenski Czar*, that is, a king in Tumen, and hath of late done great damage to the prince of Moscouia: it is most like that these nations should rather be subiect vnto him.

Petzora,
Papin.

High mount-
taines, suppo-
sed to be *Hyper-
borei*, and
highly.

Neare vnto the riuer Petzora (whereof mention is made in this iourney) is the citie and castle of *Papin*, or *Papinowgorod*, whose inhabitants are named *Papini*, and haue a private language, differing from the *Hoscouites*. Beyond this riuer are exceeding high mountaines, reaching euen vnto the bankes, whose ridges or tops, by reason of continuall windes, are in maner vicerly barren without grasse or fruits. And although in diuers places they haue diuers names, yet are they commonly called *Cingulus mundi*, that is, the girdle of the world. In these mountaines doe *Ferfalcones* breed, whereof I haue spoken before. There growe also *Cedar* trees, among the which are found the best and blackest kinde of *Sables*: and onely these mountaines are seene in all the dominions of the prince of Moscouia, which perhaps are the same that the old writers call *Rhipheos*, or *Hyperboreos*, so named of the *Greeke* world, *Hyper*, that is, Above, and *Boreas*, that is, the North: for by reason they are covered with continuall snow and frost, they can not without great difficultie be trauesed, and reach so farre into the North, that they make the vnknewen land of *Engronland*. The Duke of Moscouia, *Basilius* the sonne of *Iohn*, sent on a time two of his Captaines, named *Simeon Pheodorowich Kurbski*, & *Knes Peter Vschatoi*, to search the places beyond these mountaines, and to subdue the nations thereabout. *Kurbski* was yet alive at my being in Moscouia, & declared vnto me, that he spent xviii. daies in ascending the mountaine, & yet could not come to the top thereof, which in their tongue is called *Scolp*, that is, a pillar. This mountaine is extended into the Ocean vnto the mouthes of the riuers of *Dwina* and *Petzora*.

But

But now having spoken thus much of the said iourney, I will recurre to the dominions of Moscouia, with other regions lying Eastward & South from the same, toward the mighty Empire of Cathay. But I will first speake somewhat briefly of the prouince of Rezan, and the famous riuer of Tanais.

The prouince of Rezan, situate betweene the riuers of Occa and Tanais, hath a citie builded of wood, not from the banke of Occa: there was in it a Castle named Iaroslau, whereof there now remaineth nothing but tokens of the old ruine. Not farre from that citie, the riuer Occa maketh an Island named Scrub, which was sometime a great Duke dome, whose pynce was subiect to none other. This prouince of Rezan is moze fruitful then any other of the prouinces of Moscouia: In somuch that in this (as they say) euery graine of wheat bringeth forth two, and sometimes moze eares: whose stalkes or strawes grow so thicke that horses can scarcely go through them, or Quaples sie out of them. There is great plenty of hony, fishes, foules, birdes, and wilde beasts. The fruits also doe farre exceede the fruits of Moscouia. The people are bolde and warlike men.

Cathay.

The fruitfull prouince of Rezan. Iaroslau.

Hong.

A speciall note gathered by the excellent Venetian Cosmographer M. Iohn Baptista Ramusius our of the Arabian Geographic of *Abilfada Ismael*, concerning the trending of the Ocean sea from *China* Northward, along the coast of *Tartarie* and other vnknowen lands, and then running Westwards vpon the Northerne coasts of *Russia*, and so farther to the Northwest.

DEscrinendo poi il predetto Abilfada Ismael i luoghi della terra habitabile, che circuendo il mar Oceano tocca, dice cosi.
Riuoltasi l'Oceano da leuante verso la regione delle Cine, & va alla volta di Tramontana, et passata finalmente la detta regione, se ne giunge a Gogi & Magogi, cio è alli confini de gli Vltimi Tartari, et di quiri ad Alcune Terre che sono Incognite: Et correndo sempre per Ponente, passa sopra li confini Settentrionali della Rossia, et va alla volta di Macstro.

La regione delle Cine. Confini delli vltimi Tartari. Alcune Terre Incognite. Confini Settentrionali della Rossia.

The same in English.

The aforesaid *Abilfada Ismael* describing afterward the habitable places of the earth, which the Ocean sea in his circuit toucheth, sayth in this manner following.

The Ocean sea turneth from the East toward the Countrey of the *Chinaes*, and stretcheth toward the North, and at length hauing passed the sayd Countrey, it reacheth vnto the *Gogi* and *Magogi*, that is, to the confines of The vttermost *Tartars*, and from thence, vnto certaine vnknown Countreys: and running still Westward it passeth vpon the Northerne coasts of *Russia*, and from thence it runneth toward the Northwest, (which it doeth indeede vpon the coast of *Lappia*.) By this most notable testimony it appeareth, that the Ocean sea compasseth and enuironeth all the East, Northeast, and North parts of *Asia* and *Europe*.

The Countrey of China.

The coasts of the vttermost Tartars. Certaine vnknown Countreys. The Northerne coasts of Russia. The North-west.

The Emperors priuate or household Officers.

The chiefe Officers of the Emperors household are these which follow. The first is the office of the *Boiaren Conesheua*, or master of the Horse. Which containeth no more then is expressed by the name, that is, to be ouerfeer of the Horse, and not Magister equitum, or Master of the Horsemen. For he appointeth other for that seruice, as occasion doth require, as before was sayd. He that beareth that office at this time, is *Boris Pheodorowich Godonoe*, brother to the Emperesse. Of Horse for seruice in his warres (besides other for his ordinary vles) he hath to the number of ten thousand which are kept about *Mosco*.

Master of the Horse.

The next is the *Lord Steward* of his household at this time, one *Gregory Vasilowich Godonoe*. The third is his *Treasurer*, that keepeth all his moneys, iewels, plate, &c. now called *Sephan Vasilowich Godonoe*. The fourth his *Controllor*, now *Andreas Petrowich Clesimine*. The fifth his *Chamberlaine*. He that attendeth that office at this time, is called *Estoma Bisabroza Pastelnitchay*. The sixt his *Cassers*, now *Theodor Alexandrowich*; and *Iuan Vasilowich Godonoe*. The seuenth his *Harbengers*, which are thzee Noble men, and diuers other Gentlemen that do the office vnder them. These are his ordinary officers, and offices of the chiefe account.

The L. Steward. The L. Treasurer. Controllor. Chamberlaine.

Cassers. Harbengers.

Of Gentlemen, beside them that waite about his chamber, and person (called *Shilsey Strapsey*) there are two hundred, all Noblemens sonnes. His ordinary Garde is two thousand *Hagbutters* readie with their pieces charged, and their march lighted, with other necessarie furniture continually

Gentlemen of the chamber. The Gard.

continually day and night: which come not within the houle, but waite without in the court or yard, where the Emperour is abiding. In the night time there lodgeth next to his bedchamber the chiefe Chamberlaine, with one or two more of best trust about him. A second chamber off, there lodge five other of like account for their trust and faithfulness. In the thirde chamber lie certaine young Gentlemen, of these two hundred, called Shilley Strapsey, that take their turnes by forties every night. There are Groomes besides that watch in their course, and lie at every gate and doore of the Court, called Estopnick.

Groomes.

The Hagbutters or Gunners, whereof there are two thousand (as was said before) watch about the Emperours lodging, or bed chamber by course 250. every night, and 250. more in the Court yarde, and about the Treasure houle. His Court or house at the Mosco is made Castle wise, walled about, with great store of faire ordinance planted upon the wall, and containeth a great breadth of ground within it, with many dwelling houses: Which are appointed for such as are known to be sure, and trustie to the Emperoz.

Of the priuate behauour, or qualitie of the Russe people.

THE priuate behauour and qualitie of the Russe people, may partly be understood by that which hath bene sayd concerning the publique state and vtage of the Countrey. As touching the naturall habite of their boodies, they are for the most part of a large size, and of very fleshy bodies: accounting it a grace to be somewhat grosse and burley, and therefore they nourish and spread their beards, to haue them long and broad. But for the most part they are very vnwieldy and vnactive withall. Which may be thought to come partly of the climate, and the numbness which they get by the cold in winter, and partly of their diet that standeth most of rootes, onions, garlike, cabbage, and such like things that breed grosse humors, which they vse to eate alone, and with their other meates.

Constitution of their bodies.

Their diet.

Their diet is rather much then curious. At their meales they beginne commonly with a Charke or small cuppe of Aqua vira, (which they call Russe wine) and then drinke not till towards the end of their meales, taking it in largely, and all together, with kissing one another at every pledge. And therefore after dinner there is no talking with them, but every man goeth to his bench to take his afternoones sleepe, which is as ordinary with them as their nights rest. When they exerce, and haue bartetic of dishes, the first are their baked meates (for roste meates they vse litle) and then their broaches or pottage. Their common drinke is Mead, the poorer sort vse water, and a third drinke called Quasse, which is nothing else (as we say) but water turned out of his wits, with a litle byanne mealed with it.

This diet would breed in them many diseases, but that they vse bathstones, or hote houses in steade of all Physicke, commonly twice or thrise every weeke. All the winter time, and almost the whole Sommer, they heat their Peaches, which are made like the Germane bathstones, and their Doclads like ouens, that so warme the houle that a stranger at the first shall hardly like of it. These two extremities, specially in the winter of heat within their houses, and of extreme colde without, together with their diet, make them of a dark, and fallow complexion, their skinnes being tanned and parched both with cold and with heate: specially the women, that for the greater part are of farre worse complexions, then the men. Whereof the cause I take to be their keeping within the hote houses, and busying themselves about the heating, and vsing of their bathstones, and peaches.

The Russe because that he is vsed to both these extremities of heat and of cold, can beare them both a great deale more patiently, then strangers can doe. You shall see them sometimes (to season their bodies) come out of their bathstones all on a froch, and fuming as hoat almost as a pigge at a spit, and presently to leape into the riuer stark naked, or to powze cold water all ouer their bodies, and that in the coldest of all the winter time. The women to mend the bad hue of their skinnes, vse to paint their faces with white and red colours, so visibly, that every man may perceiue it. Which is made no matter, because it is common, and liked well by their husbands: who make their wiues and daughters an ordinarie allowance to buy them colours to paint their faces withall, and delight themselves much to see them of fowle women to become such faire images. This parcheth the skinne, and helpeth to deforme them when their painting is of.

An admirable induring of extreme heat, and colde at one and the same time.

The Noble mans attire.

They apparell themselves after the Greeke manner. The Noblemans attire is on this fashion. First a Taffia, or litle night cappe on his head, that couereth litle more then his crowne, commonly verie rich wrought of silke and golde threed, and set with pearle and precious stone. His head he keepeth haunc close to the very skinne, except he be in some displeasure with the Emperour. Then hee suffereth his haire to growe and hang downe upon his shoulders, couering

ring his face as ugly and deformedly as he can. Over the Tassia hee weareth a wide cappe of blacke fure (which they account for the best furre) with a Tiara or long bonnet put within it, standing up like a Persian or Babylonian hatte. About his necke (which is scene all bare) is a collar set with pearle and pperious stone, about thye or foure fingers broad. Next over his shirt, (which is curiously wrought, because hee strippeth himselfe into it in the Sommer time, while he is within the house) is a Shepon, or light garment of silke, made downe to the knees, buttoned before: and then a Casian or a close coat buttoned, and girt to him with a Persian girdle, whereat he hangs his knives and spoone. This commonly is of cloth of gold, and hangeth downe as low as his ankles. Over that hee weareth a lose garment of some rich silke, furred and faced about with some golde lace, called a Ferris. Another over that of chauncet, or like stuffe called an Alkaben, sleeved and hanging lowe, and the cape commonly brooched, and set all with pearle. When hee goeth aboard, he casteth over all these (which are but sleight, though they seeme to be many) an other garment called an Honoratkey, like to the Alkaben, save that it is made without a collar for the necke. And this is commonly of fine cloth, or Camels haire. His buskins (which he weareth in stead of hose, with linne nsoles under them in stead of boot hose) are made of a Persian leather called Saphian, embzodered with pearle. His vpper stockes commonly are of cloth of golde. When he goeth aboard, hee mounteth on horsebacke, though it be but to the next doore: which is the maner also of the Boiarskey, or Gentlemen.

The Boiarskey or Gentlemans attire is of the same fashion, but differeth in stuffe: and yet he will have his Casian or undercoat sometimes of clothe of golde, the rest of cloth, or silke.

The Gentlesmans apparel.

The Noble woman (called Chyna Boiarshena) weareth on her head, first a caul of some soft silke (which is commonly redev) and over it a fruntlet called Obrosa, of white colour. Over that her cappe (made after the ruse fashion of cloth of gold) called Shapka Zempska, edged with some rich furre, and set with pearle and stone. Though they haue of late begonne to disdain embzodering with pearle about their cappes, because the Diacks, and some Marchants wives haue taken up the fashion. In their eares they weare earrings (which they call Sargee) of two inches or moze compasse, the matter of gold set with Rubies, or Sapphires, or some like pperious stone. In Sommer they goe often with kerchieffes of fine white lawne, or cambricke, fastned under the chinne, with two long tassels pendent. The kerchiefe spotted and set thicke with rich pearle. When they ride or goe aboard in raynie weather, they weare white hattes with coloured bandes, called Scapa Zemskoy. About their neckes they weare collers of thye or foure fingers broad, set with rich pearle and pperious stone. Their vpper garment is a loose gowne called Oposhen commonly of scarlet, with wide loose sleeves, hanging downe to the ground buttoned before with great golde buttons, or at least silver and guilt nigh as bigge as a walnut. Which hath hanging over it fastned under the cappe, a large broad cape of some rich furre, that hangeth downe almost to the middes of their backs. Next under the Oposhen or vpper garment, they weare another called a Leimick that is made close before with great wide sleeves, the cuffe or halfe sleeue up to the elbows, commonly of cloth of golde: and under that a Ferris Zemskoy, which hangeth loose buttoned throughout to the very foote. On the hande wzefts they weare very faire bracelets, about two fingers broad of pearle and pperious stone. They goe all in buskins of white, yellow, blew, or some other coloured leather, embzodered with pearle. This is the attire of the Noblewoman of Russia, when she maketh the best she we of her selfe. The Gentlewomans apparell may differ in the stuffe, but is all one for the making or fashion.

The Noble womans attire.

As for the pooze Mousick and his wife they goe poozely cladde. The man with his Honoratkey, or loose gowne to the small of the legge, tyed together with a lace before, of course white or blew cloth, with some Shube or long wallcoate of furre, or of strepckinne under it, and his furred cappe, and buskins. The poozer sort of them haue their Honoratkey, or vpper garment, made of Kowes haire. This is their winter habite. In the sommer time, commonly they weare nothing but their shirts on their backs, and buskins on their legges. The woman goeth in a red or blew gowne, when she maketh the best she we, and with some warme Shube of furre under it in the winter time. But in the sommer, nothing but her two shirts (for so they call them) one over the other, whether they be within doores, or without. On their heads, they weare caps of some coloured stuffe, many of velvet, or of cloth of gold: but for the most part kerchieffes. Without earrings of silver, or some other mettal, and her crosse about her necke, you shall see no Russe woman, be she wife, or maide.

The Mousicks or common mans attire.

The Lord *Boris Pheodorowich* his letter to the Right Honorable
William Burghley Lord high Treasurer of England, &c.

By the grace of God the great Lozd Emperoz, and great Duke Theodore Iuanowich, great Lozd, King, and great Duke of all Russia, of Volodómer, Mosco, and Nouogorod, king of Cazan, and Astracan, Lozd of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensco, Tuer, Vghon, Permi, Viarsko, Bolgorie, and other places, Lozde and great Duke of Nouogrod in the Lowe Countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Pólotsky, Rostouc, Yersclau, Bealozera, and Liefland, of Oudorski, Obdorski, Condinski, and commander of all Sibierland, and the North coasts, great Lozde ouer the Countrey of Iuerski, Grifinski, Emperoz of Kabardinski, and of the Countrey Charchaski, and the Countrey of Gorsky, and Lozd of many other regions.

From Boris Pheodorowich his Maiesties brother in law, master of his horses, gouernour of the territories of Cazan and Astracan, to William Lozd Burghley, Lozd high Treasurer to the most vertuous Ladie Elizabeth, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, and ocher dominions: I receiued your Lozships letters, wherein you wryte that you haue receiued very iopfully my letters sent vnto you, and aduisedly read them, and imparted the same vnto her Maiestie: and that your Merchants finde themselves agreed, that when they appoach these parts, and are arriued here, they are not permitted to enter into a free and liberall course of barter, traffike, and erchange of their commodities, as heretofore they haue done, but are compelled before they can enter into any traffike to accept the Emperours ware, and other goods, at high rates farre above their value, to their great losse: and that they are by reason of this restraine long holden vpon these coasts to the danger of wintering by the way. Hereafter there shalbe no cause of offence giuen to the Merchants of the Queenes Maiestie Queene Elizabeth: they shall not be forced to any thing, neither are there or shall be any demands made of custome or debts. Such things as haue bene heretofore demaunded, all such things haue bene already vpon their petition and supplication commaunded to be discharged. I haue sollicited his Maiestie for them, that they be not troubled hereafter for those matters, and that a fauourable hand be caried ouer them. And according to your request I will be a meane to the Emperour for them in all their occasions, and will my selfe shew them my fauorable countenance. And I pray you (*William Burghley*) to signifie to her Maiesties Merchants that I promise to haue a care of them, and for the Queenes Maiestie of Englands sake, I will take her Merchants into my protection, and will defend them as the Emperours selected people vnder the Emperours commission: and by mine appointment all his Maiesties officers and authorized people shall be carefull ouer them. The Emperours gracious fauor towards them was neuer such as it is now. And where you wryte that at the port the Emperours Officers sell their ware by commission at a set rate giuen them, farre above the value, and that they enforce your Merchants to accept it; they deny that they take any such course, but say they barter their ware for other wares, and also put their ware to sale for readie money to your Merchants, according to the worth thereof, and as the price goeth in the custome house here. It hath bene heretofore deare, and now is sold as good cheape as in any other place, and as they can best agree: they enforce no man to buy it, but rather kepe it: therefore your Merchants haue no iust cause to make any such report. I haue expressely giuen order, that there shall be no such course vsed to enforce them, but to buy according to their owne willes, and to carrie at the port or to depart at their pleasure. And as touching the customes already past, and debts demaunded at your Merchants hands, whereof you wryte: Our Lozd great Emperour and great Duke Theodore Iuanowich of all Russia of famous memozy hath shewed his Maiesties especial fauour and loue, for the great loue of his welbeloued sister Queene of England, and by my petition and mediation, whereas there was commandement giuen to take Marshes whole debt of your Merchants and factors, it is moderated to the halfe, and for the other halfe, commandement giuen it should not be taken, and the Merchants billes to be deliuered them. And to the end hereafter that her Maiesties Merchants moue no contention betwixt our Lozd the Emperour and great Duke of Russia, and his welbeloued sister Queene Elizabeth, his Maiestie desireth order to be giuen, that your Merchants doe deale iustly in their traffike, and plainly without fraud or guile. And I will be a fauourer of them aboue all others, vnder his Maiesties authoritie: themselves shall see it. Written in our great Lozde the Emperours citie of Mosco in the moneth of Iuly,

The Emperours title increased.

The English Merchants complaints.

English Merchants in great fauour with the Emperour.

Halfe the debt of Antony Marsh committed.

Ann. Dom. see it. Written in our great Lozde the Emperours citie of Mosco in the moneth of Iuly,
1590. 7099.

The Queenes Maiesties letter to *Theodore Iuanovich*
Emperour of *Russia*, 1591.



Lizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the faith, &c. to the right high, mighty, and right noble prince Theodore Iuanovich great Lord, King, and great Duke of all Russia, Volodimer, Mosco, Nouogrod, King of Cazan, and Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensko, Otuer, Vghory, Perme, Viarski, Bolgory, and other places: Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, Rezan, Polotsky, Rostoue, Yeraslaue, Bealozero, and Lif-

land, of Oudorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and commander of all Siberland and the North coast, great Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, Grifinsky, Emperoz of Kabardinsky, and of the countrey of Charkasky, and of the countrey of Gorsky, and Lord of many other countreys, our most deare and louing brother, greeting. Right noble and excellent prince, we haue receiued your Maiesties letters brought ouer by our merchants in their returne of their last voyage from your port of S. Nicholas; which letters we haue aduisedly read and considered, and there by perceiue that your Maiesty doth greatly mislike of our late imployment of Ierome Horsey into your dominions as our messenger with our Highnesse letters, and also that your Maiesty doth thinke that we in our letters sent by the sayd messenger haue not obserued that due order or respect which appertained to your princely maiesty, in the forme of the same letter, as well touching the enlargement of your Maiesties stile and titles of honoz which your Maiesty expected to haue bene therein moze particularly expressed, as also in the adding of our greatest seale or signet of armes to the letters which we send to so great a Prince as your Maiesty is: in any of which pointes we would haue bene very loth willingly to haue giuen iust cause of offence thereby to our most deare and louing brother. And as touching the sayd messenger Ierome Horsey we are soyy that contrary to our expectation he is fallen into your Maiesties displeasure, whom we minde not to mainteine in any his actions by which he hath so incurred your Maiesties mislike: yet that we had reason at such time as we sent him to your Maiesty to vse his seruice as our messenger, we referre our selues to your princely iudgement, praying your Maiesty to reduce into your minde the especiall commendation, which in your letters wrytten vnto vs in the yeere 1585, you made of the sayd Ierome Horsey his behauiour in your dominions: at which time your Maiesty was pleased to vse his seruice as your messenger to vs, requiring our answere of your letters to be returned by him and by none other. That imployment, with other occasions taken by your Maiesty to vse the seruice of the sayd Ierome Horsey (as namely in the yeere 1587) when your Maiesty sent him to vs againe with your letters, and your liberall and princely priuiledge at our request granted to our merchants (for which we haue heretofore giuen thanks to your Maiesty, so doe we hereby reiterate our thankfullnesse for the same) moued vs to be of minde, that we could not make choise of any of our subiects to fit a messenger to your Maiesty as he, whom your Maiesty had at seuerall times used vpon your owne occasions into this our Realme. But least your highnesse should continue of the minde that the letters which you sent by our ambassadoz Giles Fletcher (wherein some mention was made of your conceiued displeasure against the sayd Horsey) came not to our hands, and that wee were kept ignozant of the complaint which your Maiesty made therein against the sayd Horsey, we do not deny but that we were acquainted as well by our ambassadour as by those letters of some displeasure conceiued against him by your Maiesty: but your sayd letters giuing onely a short generall mention of some misdemeanour committed by him, expressing no particulars, we were of opinion that this offence was not so hainous, as that it might utterly extinguishe all your former princely fauour towards him, but that vpon his humble submission to your Maiesty, or vpon better examination of the matter of the displeasure conceiued against him, the offence might haue bene either remitted, or he thereof might haue cleared himselfe. And to that end we were not onely by his great impozunity long sollicited, but by the intercession of some of our Nobility giuing credit to his owne defence, we were intreated on his behalfe to vse his seruice once againe into Russia as our messenger to your Maiesty, whereby he might haue oppoztunity to cleare himselfe, and either by his answere or by his submission recouer your Maiesties former fauour: whereunto our princely nature was moued to yeeld, withing the good of our subiect so farre forth as his desert might carry him, or his innocencie cleare him.

This noble Prince, our most louing and dearest brother, it may appeare vnto your Maiesty how we were induced to vse the seruice of the sayd messenger, as well for the recouery of your
Maiesties

1590

1585

Maiesties fauor towards him (if he had bene found woorthy of it) as for experience of the maners and fashions of your countrey, where he hath bene much conuersant. But sith by your Maiesties letters it appeareth that he hath not cleared himselfe in your Maiesties sight, we meane not to vse him in any such price hereafter.

And as touching your Maiesties conceit of the huentie which we vsed in the setting downe of your Maiesties stile and titles of honour: as nothing is further from vs, then to abridge so great and mighty a Prince of the honour due vnto him (whom we holde for his greatnesse to deserue moze honour then we are able to giue him) so shall we need no further nor surer argument to cleare vs of the suspicion of the detracting from your Maiesty any part of your iust and princely honoz and greatnesse, then the consideration of our owne stile, which is thus contracted, videlicet, Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith &c. which kingdomes and dominions of ours are expressed by these generall words, videlicet, England, France, and Ireland: in euery of which there are seuerall principallities, dukedomes, earledomes, prouinces and countreys: which being scuerally expressed would enlatge much our stile, and make it of great length; which by our progenicours hath not bene vsed: not withstanding, we thinke it no dishonour to vs, compendiously to abridge the same in all our writings and letters written to what Prince, King, or Potentate soeuer. Whereupon we inferre, that holding your Maiesties generall stile, we offer your Highnesse no dishonour in not expressing all the particular prouinces: albeit we can willingly content our selfe, vpon the knowledge of your vages and customes, to obserue that course, which your selfe shall thinke most honourable. And for the sealing vp of our letters which we write to all our allies, kinsmen, and friends, Kings and Princes, we haue in vse two seuerall seales; both which we esteeme alike honourable, being our princely seales. And as the volume of our letters falleth out to be great or small, so accordingly is our greater or lesser scale annexed to the sayd letters, without esteeming either of them moze or lesse honourable then the other. So as, our most louing and dearest brother, in the said letters there was nothing done of purpose to detract from your Maiesty any thing of the vsuall regard, which our Highnesse was woont to yeeld vnto your most noble father of famous memory Iuan Basiluich Emperoz of al Russia, or to your selfe, our dearest brother. For the residue of the points of your Maiesties letters concerning the entertainment of our ambassadour, and proceeding in the cause of Anthonie Marsh we holde our selfe satisfied with your princely answer, and doe therein note an honourable and princely care in your Maiestie to preuent the like troubles, controuersies and lutes, that Marshes cause stirred vp betweene our merchants and your subiects, which is, that your Maiestie doeth purpose from time to time to purge your Countrey of such straglers of our subiects, as doe or shall hereafter abide there, and are not of the Company of our merchants, but contemptuously depart out of our land without our Highnesse licence: of which sort there are presented vnto vs from our merchants the names of these seuerall persons, videlicet, Richard Cocks, Bennet Lackman, Rainold Kirchin, Simon Rogers, Michael Lane, Thomas Worfenham: whom it may please your Maiesty by your princely order to dismisse out of your land, that they may be sent home in the next shippes, to auoid the mistlike which their residence in those parts might beeed to the disturbance of our brotherly league, and the impeaching of the entercourse.

And whereas, most louing and dearest brother, one William Turnebull a subiect of ours is lately deceased in your kingdom, one with whom our merchants haue had much controuersie for great summes of money due vnto them by him while he was their Agent in their affayres of merchandises: which differences by arbitrable order were reduced to the summe of 3000 roubles, and so much should haue bene payed by him as may appeare by your Maiesties counsell or magistrates of iustice by very credible information and testimony: and whereas also the sayd Turnebull was further indebted by billes of his own hand to diuers of our subiects, amounting in the whole, to the summe of 1326 pounds, which billes are exemplified vnder our great seale of England, and to be sent ouer with this bearer: of which summes he hath often promised payment: it may please your most excellent Maiestie in your approued loue to iustice, to giue order to your fauourable counsell and magistrates, that those seuerall debts may be satisfied to our merchants and subiects out of the goods, merchandise, and debts which are due to the state of the sayd Turnebull: wherof your Maiesties counsell shall be informed by the Agent of our merchantes.

We trust we shall not need to make any new request by motion to your Maiesty that some order might be taken for the finding out of the rest of our merchants goods seized to your maiesties vse in the hands and possession of Iohn Chappel their seruant, being a thing granted, and no doubt already performed by your Maiesties order. We therfore intreat your Maiesty, that as conueniently as may be, satisfaction or recompense be giuen to our said merchants towards the repairing of

The Emperoz
seized our mer-
chants goods.

of their sundry great losses, as well therein as other wise by them of late sundry wayes sustained. And lastly, our most deare and louing brother, as nothing in all these our occasions is to be preferred before our entire league and amitie, descending vpon vs as an inheritance, in succession from both our ancestours and noble progenitours: so let vs be carefull on both sides by all good meanes to holde and continue the same to our posterity for euer. And if any mistaking or error of either side do rise, in not accomplishing of circumstances agreeable to the fashion of either of our countreys and kingdomes, let the same vpon our enterchangeable letters be reconciled, that our league and amitie be no way impeached for any particular occasion whatsoeuer. And thus we recommend your Maiesty to the tuition of the most High. From our royall Palace of Whitehall the 14 of January, anno Domini 1591.

1591

The Queenes Maiesties letters to the Lord Boris
Pheodorowich.



Lizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defendour of the faith, &c. to the right honourable and noble Prince Lord Boris Pheodorowich Godonoua, Master of the hozles to the great and mightie Emperour of Russia, his Highnesse lieutenant of Cazan and Astracan, our most deare and louing cousin, greeting. Right honourable, it hath appeared vnto vs vpon the reading and perusing of the Letters lately sent vnto our Highnesse from our deare and louing brother the Emperour, in what part his Maiestie tooke the late imployment of our messenger Ierome Horsey in our affaires into Russia: wherein we doe also finde the honourable endeuour vsed by your Lordship to appease his Highnesse mistike and erception taken as well to the person of our Messenger, as to our princely letters sent by him: both of which points we haue answered in our letters sent by this bearer directed to our sayd louing brother the Emperour: vpon perusing whereof we doubt not but his Maiestie will be well satisfied touching our sayd Messenger and former letters. And for the honourable course holden by your Lordship in the interposing of your opinion and fauorable construction in a thing which might grow to the offence of the league and amitie standing betweene your Soueraigne Lord and vs (wherein your Lordship performed the office of an honourable and graue Counsellour) we take our selfe beholding to your Lordship for your readinesse in that behalfe, and doe assure our selfe that the same did proceed of the especiall loue and kinde affection that your Lordship hath euer borne and continued towards vs, whereof our princely nature will neuer be vnmindfull. We haue bene also from time to time made acquainted by our chiefe and principall Counsellour William Lord Burghley, Lord high Treasurour of our Highnesse Realme of England, of your letters which haue passed betweene your Lordship and him, concerning the entercourse of our Merchants trafficke in your Countreys, and of the honourable offices done by your Lordship with the Emperour in fauour of our sayd Merchants. And lastly (which wee take a most assured argument of your vndoubted loue and affection towards vs) that your Lordship hath vouchsafed, and of purpose taken into your hands the protection of our sayd Merchants, and the hearing and determining of all their causes and occasions whatsoeuer, which shall concerne them or their trade. All which wee conceiue to be done for our sake, and therefore do acknowledge our selues to be, and still will continue beholding vnto you for the same.

And whereas we haue made mention in our sayd Letters written to our louing brother the Emperour of certaine debts due as well to our merchants, as to other of our subiects by one William Turnebull a subiect of ours late deceased in Russia, wee pray you to be referred to the sayd letter. And forasmuch as the sayd cause will fall vnder your Lordships iurisdiction by reason of your acceptation of all their causes into your patronage and protection: we are so well assured of your honourable inclination to iustice, and your good affection towards our merchants for our sake, that we shall not need to intreat your honourable furtherance either of iustice or expedition in the sayd cause. And lastly considering that your noble linage together with your great wisdom and desert hath made you a principall Counsellour and directour of the state of so great a Monarchie, whereby your aduice and direction is followed in all things that doe concerne the same, we haue given order to our sayd principall Counsellour William Lord Burghley, treasurour of our Realme of England, that as any occasion shall arise to the hinderance of the entercourse betweene these Countreys, or of the priuiledges graunted by his Maiestie to our merchants, that he may by aduertisement treat with your Lordshippe thereupon: which we by reason of our great princely affaires can not so conueniently at all times doe with such expedition

expedition as the cause may require. And thus with our princely commendations we bidde you farewell. From our royall Pallace of Whitehall the foureteenth day of Januarie, Anno Domini 1591.

To the right honourable my very good Lord, the Lord *Boris Pheodorowich*, Master of the horses to the great and mighty Emperour of *Russia*, his Highnesse Lieutenant of *Cazan* and *Astracan*, *William Cecil* Lord *Burghley*, Knight of the noble Order of the Garter, and Lord high Treasurer of *England*, sendeth greeting.



Right honourable my very good Lord, vpon the last returne of our merchants shippes out of *Russia*, there was brought vnto my handes, by one *Francis Cherrie* an English merchant, a letter directed to the Queenes Maiestie, from the great and mightie Emperour of *Russia*, and another letter from your Lordship directed to me: which sayd letter written from the Emperour to her Maiestie hath bene considerably and aduisedly by her Highnesse read and perused, and the matter of complaint against *Ierome Horsey* therein comprised thepiously examined: which hath turned the same *Horsey* to some great displeasure. I did also acquaint our Maiestie with the contents of your Lordships letters written to mee, and enformed her of your Lordships honourable fauour shewed to her Highnesse merchants from time to time: who tooke the same in most gracious part, and confessed her selfe infinitely beholding vnto your Lordship for many honourable offices done for her sake, the which she meant to acknowledge by her letters to be written to your Lordship vnder her princely hand and seale. And soasmuch as it hath pleased your good Lordshippe to take into your handes the protection of her Maiesties merchants, and the redresse of such iniuries as are, or shall be offered vnto them contrary to the meaning of the priuiledges and the free liberty of the entercourse, wherein in some points your Lordship hath already vsed a reformation, as appeareth by your sayd letters: yet the continuance of traffique moouing new occasions and other accidents tending to the losse of the sayd merchants, whereof some particulars haue bene offered vnto me to treat with your Lordship vpon: I thought it good to referre them to your honourable consideration, that order might be taken in the same, for that they are apparantly repugnant to the Emperours letters written to her Maiestie, and doe much restrain the liberty of the trade: one is, that at the last coming of our merchants to the port of *Saint Michael* the Archangel, where the mart is holden, their goods were taken by the Emperours officers for his Highnesse seruice at such rates, as the sayd officers were disposed to set vpon them, so farre vnder their value, that the merchants could not assent to accept of those prices: which being denied, the sayd officers restrained them of all further traffique for the space of three weekes, by which meanes they were compelled to yeld vnto their demand how unwillingly soeuer. Another is, that our sayd merchants are diuicid to pay the Emperours officers custome for all such *Russe* money as they bring downe from the *Mosco* to the Sea side to employ there at the *Part* within the Emperours owne land; which seemeth strange vnto me, considering the same money is brought from one place of the Countrey to another, and there imploied without any transport ouer of the sayd money. These interruptions and impositions seeme not to stand with the liberties of the Emperours priuiledges and freedom of the entercourse, which should be restrained neither to times or conditions, but to be free and absolute: wherof it may please your Lordship to be aduised, and to continue your honourable course holden betweene the Emperour and her Maiestie, to reconcile such differences as any occasion doth offer to their league or trafficke. Thus not doubting of your Lordships furtherance herein, I humbly take my leaue of your good Lordship. From her Maiesties royall palace of Whitehall this 15 of January, 1591.

This is a new port.

The English merchants 3 weeks restrained from their *Part*.

1591

A Letter from the Emperour of *Russia*, *Theodore Iuanouich* to the Queenes Maiestie.

1592



Through the tender mercie of our God, whereby the day-spring shon on high hath visited vs, thereby to guide our feet into the way of peace. Euen this our God by mercy we glorifie in *Trinitie*.

We the great Lord, King and great Duke *Theodore Iuanowich*, gouernour of all *Russia*, of *Volodimer*, *Mosco*, and *Nouogrod*, King of *Cazan* and *Astracan*, Lord of *Vobsko*, and great Duke of *Smolensco*, *Otuer*, *Vghori*,

Vghori, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke also of Nouogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotsko, Rostoue, Yeroslaue, Bealozera, and of Lifland, of Vdorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Siberia, and commander of all the North parts, and Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, and King of Grufinsky, and of the countrey of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and Duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many countreys more &c. To our louing sister Elizabeth Queene of England, France, and Ireland, &c. Louing sister, your letters sent by your seruant Thomas Lind, we haue receiued, and read what you haue written in the same touching our title, and touching your order holden in your letters heretofore sent vs by your seruant Ierome Horsey: wherein you haue answered vs sufficiently and most graciously.

The Emperors stile lately enlarged.

And whereas your Maiestie hath written in your letter concerning the goods of William Turnebull late deceased in our kingdome, that your subiects, for whom he was factour, should haue debts growing vnto them from him by account; we at your Maiesties request haue caused not onely order to be taken, but for your Highnesse sake, louing sister, we haue caused the goods to be fought out and deliuered to your merchants Agent and his company, together with his stiffe, bookes, billes and writings, as also moncy to the value of fife hundred roubles, which Christopher Holmes and Francis Cherry are to pay for yecarie: and we haue set at libertie the sayd Turnebulls kinsman Raynold Kitchin and his fellowes, and deliuered them to your merchants Agent.

This is a damp meate made of the roas of Star. geons.

And further, where you write vnto vs for such your subiects as haue departed out of your maiesties Realme secretly without licence, that we should giue order to send them home: concerning such your subiects for which you haue written vnto our Maiestie by letters, we will cause search to be made, and such as are willing to goe home into your kingdome, we will command forthwith to be deliuered vnto your merchants Agent, and so to passe. And such of your Maiesties people as haue giuen themselves vnder our government as subiects, we thinke it not requisite to grant to let them passe.

And further, where you haue written vnto vs concerning the goods of John Chappell, we haue written heretofore the whole discourse thereof not once, but sundry times, and therefore it is not needfull to write any more thereof. And such goods as were found out of the goods of the sayd Chappell, the money thereof was restozed to your Maiesties people William Turnbull and his fellowes. Your Maiesties seruant Thomas Lind we haue sent with our letters the same way whereby he came into our kingdome. The long abiding here of your Maiesties seruant in our kingdome, was for the coming of your people from the Sea port. Written in our princely court and royall seat in the city of Moico in the yeere from the beginning of the world 7101, in the moneth of January.

By Thomas Lind.

1592

To the Queenes most excellent Maiestie from the Lord

Boris Pheodorouich Godonoua.

By the grace of God great Lord and great Duke Theodore Iuanouich gouernour of Russia, Volodimer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensco, Otuer, Vghori, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke of Nouogrod in the low countrey, of Chernigo, of Rezan, Polotsko, Rostoue, Ieroslaue, Bealozera, and of Lifland, of Vdorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Sibery, and commander of all the North parts, and Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, and King of Grufinsky, and of the countrey of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many countreys more, &c.

Most resplendent Queene Elizabeth of England, France, and Ireland, &c. his princely Maiesties seruant, Lord and Master of his hopes, and high Steward of his house, and President of the territories of Cazan and Astracan, Boris Pheodorouich Godonoua, vnto your most excellent Maiesty, great Ladie Queene Elizabeth, send my humble commendations. It hath pleased your Maiestie to write vnto me your gracious and princely letter by your seruant Thomas Lind; which letter I receiued with all humbleness. During the time of the abode of your Messenger Thomas Lind here in the Mosco, it pleased God of his mercifulnesse, and our Lady the mother of God, and holy Saints, by the prayers of our lord and king his Maiestie Theodore Iuanouich ouer all Russia gouernour, the right beloued and loued of Christ, to send our Queene and gracious Lady Irene a young Princessse, to the great ioy and comfort of our kingdome, named Pheodocine. Wherefore we giue all honour and glory to the almightie God vspeakable, whose

The Emperesse Irene deliuered of a daughter.

whole giftes had beene manifolde with mercie vnto vs; for which all wee Christians laud and praise God.

After all this your seruant was occasioned to stay vntill the comming of your merchants from the sea port.

Touching the letters which you haue receiued from your louing brother our Lord and Master by your ambassadour, therein you perceiue sufficiently my good meaning, in traouling for the continuance of amitie and friendship betwixt you mighty great princes, in the which I will continue mine endeuour. Also your merchants I haue taken into my protection for to defend them for the loue I beare to your Maiestie. As heere tofore I haue done it willingly, and with great care of their good, so I meane to continue so farre as God will giue me leaue; to the end that brotherly loue be holden betweene you Princes without disturbance.

As I haue bene to your merchants in times past, so now by the permission and commandement of our Lord and Master, I will be their defendour in all causes: and will cause all our authorized people to fauour them and to defend them, and to giue them free liberty to buy and sell at their pleasure. The merchants doe not certifie your princely Maiestie of all our friendship and fauour shewed vnto them from time to time. And where as your Maiestie hath now written to our Lord and Master for the debtes which your merchants ought to haue of William Turnebull lately deceased, I hauing perused your Maiesties letter, whereby I am requested to be a meane for the recouerie and obtaining of their sayd debtes, I haue moued it to our Lord and King his Maiestie, that order may be giuen therein: and that his kinsman Rainold Kirchin with three persons moze may be sent ouer together with the sayd Turnebulles stufte and other things, as belles, books and writings. All which shall be deliuered to your merchants Agent and his fellows, and in money 600 rubbles of the sayd Turnebulles.

And touching your merchants, I will haue a great care ouer them, and protect them, whereby they shall suffer no damages in their trade: and all kinde of trafficke in merchandise shall be at their libertie.

Written in our Lord and Kings Maiesties royall citie of Mosco, in the yeere from the beginning of the world 7101, in the moneth of Januarie.

A letter from the Lord *Boris Pheodorovich* to the right honourable Lord *William Burghley*, Lord high Treasurer of England.



By the grace of God great Lord, King, and great Duke Theodor Iuano- uich, gouernour of Russia, Volodimer, Mosco, and Nouogrod, King of Cazan and Astracan, Lord of Vobsko, and great Duke of Smolensco, Otuer, Vghory, Perme, Viatsky, Bulgary, and other regions, Lord and great Duke of all Nouogrod in the low countreys, of Chernigo, of Liffeland, of Vdorsky, Obdorsky, Condinsky, and all the countrey of Sibery, and commaunder of all the North parts, and Lord ouer the countrey of Iuersky, and King of Grusinsky, and of the countreys of Kabardinsky, Cherchasky, and Duke of Igorsky, Lord and ruler of many Countreys moze &c. His princely Maiesties seruant, Lord and Master of his horses, and high Steward of his house, President of the territories of Cazan and Astracan, Boris Pheodorovich Godonoua, to the most honourable Counsellor of the most resplendent mightie great Lady Elizabeth Queene of England, France, and Ireland, William Burghley, Lord, and Knight of the Garter, high Treasurour of England, sendeth greeting.

I perceiue by your letter that your merchants last shippes came home in sattie, and that you haue receiued the letters sent by them, by the hands of Francis Cherie, one from our Lord and great King of all Russia his Maiesty, vnto your Queenes most excellent Maiesty, and one from me to her Highnesse, and one from my selfe to you; and the contents thereof you haue caused to be read and well vnderstood at large. And whatloeuer is therein written concerning Ierome Horsey, you haue sought out the ground thereof, and that he is in great displeasure. And her Highnesse hath written in her letter concerning her Maiesties merchants, that whereas I haue taken them into protection, she taketh it very louingly and kindly, that for her sake they haue receiued to great kindnesse.

And touching the damages and hinderances which your merchaunts haue sustained by meanes of the Emperours authorized people and officers, and that they were not permitted to trafficke at liberrie at the Sea port in the yeere 1589, for the space of three weekes, it hath bene against the Emperours Maiesties will and pleasure, as also against mine. Where you

you desire and wish that betweene our Emperours Maiestie, and your Queenes Maiestie, their loue and amitie may not bee seperated at any time, but to continue: and you request mee that I should be good unto the English merchants, and to defend them from all such domages hereafter: your honours loving letter I haue therein thoroughly considered: and as I haue bene heretofore, so I will still continue to be a meane betwixt our Lozde and kings Maiestie, and your great Lady the Queene her highnesse, for the maintepning of brotherly loue and amitie, most ioyfully and willingly, as God knoweth, aswel here after as I haue bene heretofore: praying you to doe the like also. Mine onely desire is for your most excellent Princesse sake, to do all that lyeth in mee for the apoynting, helping and protecting of her Maiesties merchants, by the order and commaundement of our Lozde and king his Maiestie.

And to that ende, I haue giuen order to all our authorisid people to bee carefull ouer them, and to defende them in all causes, and to giue them free libertie to trafficke at their owne willes and pleasures. It may bee that your merchants doe not certifie you the truth of all things, nor make knowne unto your honour my readinesse to protect them: And howe my Letters and Commissions are sent to all authorisid people for them, that they shoulde ayde and assist them according to the tenour of my Letters, to all others that bee in authoritie vnder the said Officers or otherwise.

Also your honour writeth of the debarring of your merchants at the Sea port from their accustomed libertie of enterchangeable trafficke and bartar. Touching which complaint search and inquisition hath bene made, and commaundement giuen, that your Queenes Maiesties merchants at the Seaside, and in all places where the trade is, doe not sustaine any damage or hindrance hereafter, but that they shalbe at libertie without any hindering or letting, either in the Mosco, the Treasurehouse, or else where by any of our authorisid people, but absolutely to bee at free libertie at their owne will and pleasure. And also I will continue to be their protectour and defendour in all causes, by our Lozde and kings Maiesties order and commaundement: as it shalbe knowne and certified you by your people resident here in the Mosco.

Written in our Kings Maiesties royall citie of Mosco from the beginning of the world 7101, Anno Domini 1592.
the peere, in the moneth of Ianuary.

A most gracious Letter giuen to the English Merchants Sir *Iohn Hart* and his company, by *Theodore Iuanowich*, the King, Lord, and great duke of all *Russia*, the onely vpholder thereof.



We onely God omnipotent befoze all eternitie, his will be done without ende: the Father, Sonne, and holy Ghost we glorifie in Trinitie. Our onely God the maker of all things and worker of all in all euery where with plentifull increase: for which cause he hath giuen life to man to loue him, and to trust in him: Our onely God which inspireth euery one of vs his holy children with his word to discerne good through our Lozde Iesus Christ, and the holy quickning spirit of life now in these perious times establish vs to keepe the right scepter, and suffer vs to reigne of our selues to the good profit of the land, and to the subuoyning of the people together with the enemies, and to the maintenance of vertue.

We the great Lozde, king, and great duke *Theodore Iuanowich*, of all *Russia* the onely vpholder of *Volodimer*, *Mosco*, and *Nouogrod*, King of *Casan*, and king of *Astracan*, Lozde of *Vobsko*, and great duke of *Smolensko*, of *Ociuer*, *Vghorie*, *Permia*, *Viarski*, *Bulgari*, and other regions, great duke also of *Nouogrod* in the lowe Countrey, of *Chernigo*, of *Rez an*, *Polorski*, *Rostoue*, *Yaruslaue*, *Bealozero*, and of *Liefland*, of *Vdorski*, *Obdorski*, *Condenski*, and commaunter of all the Countrey of *Siberi* and of the North parts, and Lozde ouer the Countrey of *Iuerski*, *Grufinski*, and King ouer the Countrey of *Igorski*, and ruler ouer many other kingdomes and Lordships more.

Our princely Maiestie at the request of our brother in lawe *Boris Feodorowich Godenoua* our seruant, and Master of our hostes, generall Comptroller of our house, and gouernour of the Lordships and kingdomes of *Casan* and *Astracan*, vnto the English merchants *Sir Iohn Hart* knight, *Sir William Webbe* knight, *Richard Salkenstow Alderman*, *Nicholas Moseley* Alderman, *Robert Douc*, *Wil. Garrowe*, *Iohn Harbey*, *Robert Chamberlaine*, *Henry Anderson*, *Iohn Woodworth*, *Francis Cherry*, *Iohn Merrick*, & *Christopher Holmes*; hath graciously giuen leave to come & go with their ships into our kingdome & territories of *Duina* with all kind of commodities at their pleasures to trafficke fra the seaside to our roial citie of *Mosco*, & in al other cities, towne, counteries and territories of our whole kingdome of *Mosco*: vpon the humble petition and

lute of the saide English merchants sir Iohn Hart and his company, wee haue giuen them leaue to passe and trafficke into all parts of our dominions and territories of Mosco, and to our inheritance of Nouogrod and Ple sco with their wares and commodities without paying any custome or duties.

As the great Lord, king, and great duke Theodore Iuanowich of all Russia haue firmly giuen and graunted vnto the aforesaide English merchants sir Iohn Hart and his company, for the loue we beare to our deare sister Queene Elizabeth, we I say of our gracious goodnes haue giuen leaue to trauel and passe to our royal seat of Mosco, and to all the parts of our kingdome with all kinde of commodities, and to trafficke with all kinde of wares at their owne pleasure; without paying any custome of their said wares.

To you our Customers we wil and command not to take any maner of custome of the said merchants and their company, neither for entering, weying nor passing by or through any place of our territories, nor for custome, of iudgement by Lawe, or for their person or persons; nor any duties ouer bridges, or for certificats or proseses, or for conducting ouer any streames or waters, or for any other customes or duties that may be named; we wil and straitly commaund you not to take any of them in any wise.

Provided alwayes, that the saide merchants shall not colour any strangers wares, nor bring them into our countrey, nor fauour them colourably, nor sel for any stranger. To you our subiects also we command, not to meddle or deale with any wares of strangers colourably, nor to haue them by you in keeping, nor to offer to sel their commodities; but themselues to sel their owne commodities in change or otherwise as they may or can. And in all towne, cities, countreys, or any part of our dominions and territories it shalbe lawful for the foresaid merchants and their company to sell or barter away their owne commodities in change or otherwise, for or at their pleasure as they will. And whensoever the said merchants or any of them come into our territories of great Nouogrod or Ple sco, or to any other parts of our kingdome with their wares, by vertue of these our Haires letters we straitly charge and command you our Captaines, generals, and all other that be authorized or in office, to suffer the aforesaid merchants to passe and repasse, and to take no kinde of custome or dutie of them, or any of their goods, howsoever it may haue names nor in no place else where they shal come in all our kingdome. Likewise if they sell not nor buy no wares, you shall take no custome, but suffer them quietly to passe where they will with their goods. Of our gracious goodnes and meere goodwill we haue giuen the said merchants leaue to trafficke throughout all our kingdomes, and in all towne and cities with all maner of wares and commodities without paying any custome or dutie. Wheresoever they shal happen to sel or barter away any of their commodities to our subiects, they are to barter or sell by whole sale, and not by retaile, as by the yard or by the ounce in their houses or elsewhere; but by the packe or whole clothes, veluets, damasks, cattatics by the piece, and not by the yard; and al other wares that are to be sold by weight, they are to be sold not by the ounce, but by great sale. Your wines shalbe sold by hogs heads, pipes or buttes, but not by quartes nor pintes.

The said English merchants are to sel or barter away their owne commodities themselues, and not to suffer any Ruffles to buy or sell for them: nor to carry or transport any wares of strangers in stead of their owne in no wise. And if the saide English merchants shall be desirous to sell any of their commodities at Colmogro, or vpon the Riuer of Diuina, or at Vologhda or at Yeraslaue; when as the saide merchants haue solde in any of the saide Townes, Cities or territories, then you our officers and authorized people by vertue of this our gracious letter wee will and straitly commaund not to take any custome of the aforesaid merchants, howsoever it may be named.

Also whensoever the saide English merchants or any of their factours shalbe desirous to hire carriers to carry their wares to any place of our dominions or Cities; it shalbe at their choyse and pleasure to hier them the best they can, and where they will, either water men to rowe, or vessels.

Also when any of the said merchants themselues, or any of theirs are desirous to trauel into any part of our dominions, or into any other kingdomes, or into their owne kingdome, if any of our treasure be deliuered to them, they to take it with them, and to sel it in barrat or otherwise for such wares as are most requisite and necessary to be brought into our kingdome and to be deliuered into our treasury. You, our nobilitie, generals & al others in authority suffer them to passe through al our cities, towne & countries without taking any custome of them. And when the said merchants haue done their traffick in any place & come to the Mosco, they shal make it knowne at their arriual at the house of Chancery and secretariship to Vahli Shalkan. And further when there come any English merchants with their ships or vessels by sea, that by mishap shalbe cast away vpon any of our shoars or colkes, we wil and command you to ayde & helpe them, and to seeke for their goods so perished

perished by any casualty, and to be restozed againe to the saide English merchants or their assignes without any prolonging or decayning. As also if any of the aforesaid merchants goods be found in any part of our coastes or streames and they not present themselves, let the said goods be taken and layd up in safetie in some place or other, and be deliuered to the aforesaid merchants or their factozs vnder penaltie of our displeasure.

Furthermoze we King, Lord, and great Duke of all Russia, of our gracious goodnesse giue vnto the English merchants and their company, their house in the Citie of Mosco lying hard by the Church of S. Marke behinde the market place: which they shall keepe and remaine therein after their old accustomed vse. Prouided alwayes that they shall keepe one Russe porter or one of their owne people, & may keepe any other Russe seruant at their discretion. Also their houses in sundry places, as at Ierassau, Vologhda, Colmogro, and at S. Michael Archangel, all these houses they shall keepe and vse at their owne pleasure, according to our former letters patents without paying any dutie, rent, or custome. Doz you the communalitie of the said townes shal take any thing of them or theirs for any dutie that should belong to you, especially of the houses aforesaid: but the said English merchants shal enjoy them peaceably for themselves and their families, but shall not suffer any other strangers Russes or others to vse the aforesaid houses: Also you shall suffer them to lay their wares and commodities in their warehouses, and to sell their commodities to whom they please without let or hinderance, by vertue of this our gracious letter.

Their housekeeper being a Russe shall not undertake to meddle, or sell any of their wares without they themselves be present, nor to buy any thing for them.

Also it shalbe lawfull for the said merchants when they shal arrive at their port, to lade and unlade their merchandises as in times past they haue done at their pleasure. And when they lade their ships with Russe commodities or unlade them, it shalbe lawfull for them to hire any of our subiects to helpe them for the present time, and for them to carry their goods to and fro with their owne vessels to S. Michael Archangel, or elsewhere.

Also we command you our authorized people at the sea side as wel Customers as others to take of the foresaid merchants a note, or remembrance, what goods they bring in and ship out: wherby it may be knowen what goods come in and go out. But in no wise shall you open or vnyacke any of their wares or merchandises.

In like maner when as they ship or sende away any of their countrey commodities from S. Michael Archangel to any other place, or to our royall Citie of Mosco yee shall not hinder nor let them any maner of wise for the shipping of their merchandises in or out, by vertue of these our gracious letters of priuiledge giuen them.

And whensoever any of the said English merchants haue any occasion to send ouer land out of our dominions into their own countrey any of their seruants or factozs, by vertue of this our gracious letter we command you to giue them their passeport out of the office of our Secretariship.

And whensoever any of our subiects hath any thing to do with any of the foresaid merchants by way of contentions: or that they be daunished or hindered by any of our subiects: then we appoint and ordeine our Chancellor and Secretary Vasil Shalcan to heare their causes, and finally to determine on both sides according to equitie and iustice: and that he shall search the truth betwene both parties.

And when the truth cannot be proued or found out, then to cast lots by order of the foresaid Iudge, and he to whom the lot shall fall to take his othe.

Furthermoze whensoever any of the English merchants or their factozs shall come into any parts of our dominions or Cities, and shalbe wronged any kinde of wayes in trading, or other wise by any abused, or haue any occasion of contention with any by way of trade in merchandise or other wayes: we straitly charge and command you our gouernours, and authorized subiects within all our Realme and territories of the same, to minister iustice vnto the aforesaid merchants, or to their deputies, and to search the truth of the contention: And for want of sufficient prooue cast lots who shall take his oath for the more ready triall of the cause: And in no wise to take any fee or dutie of the aforesaid English merchants for the said iudgement in Lawe.

We wil and command all this to be obserued and kept in all parts of our dominions by all our subiects and authorized people, by vertue of these our royal letters patents: And the said letters not to be diminished in any part or partell thereof, by any persons howsoever they be named. And whosoever shall withstand & not regard these our gracious letters shalbe in our high displeasure, and shal incurre the losse of his life. This our gracious letter was giuen in our kingdom and royal City of Mosco, in the yere from the beginning of the world 7104. in the moneth of May.

Subscribed by the Emperours Chancellour

and Secretarie *Vasil Shalcan.*

The contents of *M. Garlands* Commission vnto *Thomas Simkinson* for the bringing of *M. John Dee* to the Emperour of *Russia* his Court.



Friend *Thomas Simkinson* I pray you goe to *Brounswick* or *Cassil* and inquire if *Master John Dee* be there or where he is, and when you finde him, certifie him howe that I haue sent you purposely to knowe where hee doeth remaine, and at your returne I will come and speake with him my selfe. Also you may certifie him that the Emperour of *Russeland* hauing certaine knowledge of his great learning and wisdome is marueilous desirous of him to come into his Countrey. And hath giuen me his letter with his hand and golden seale at it for to bring him into the Countrey with mee if it be possible, and for his lining the we him that he shall be sure of 2000. pound yeerely, and also all prouision for his table out of the Emperours kitchen free: and if he thinke this too little, I will assure him that if he aske almuch moze, hee shall haue it, and for his charges into the Countrey, I haue sufficient of the Emperours allowance to bring him and all his royally into the Countrey. And because hee may doubt of these proffers, hee shall remaine at the borders vntill the Emperour be certified of him, and of his requests, which he would haue. And I am sure he shall be conueyed through the land with five hundred horses, and hee shall be accounted as one of the chiefest in the land next the Emperour. Also shew him howe that my Lord *Protector* at my coming away did take me in his armes, and desired me as hee should be my friend to bring him with me, and he would giue him of his owne purse yeerely 1000. rubbles besides the Emperours allowance. All these foresaide grauntes and demaunds see I *Thomas Simkinson* acknowledge to be spoken by *Edward Garland* to mee, and to be sent to declare the same vnto *Master John Dee*. And in witness that this is of a truth I haue written the same with my owne hand, and thereunto set my name, in *Wittingaw*, otherwise called *Trebona*, the 18. of September, Anno 1586.

By me *Thomas Simkinson* of *Hull*.

A letter to the right worshipfull *M. John Dee* Esquire, conteyning the summe and effect of *M. Edward Garland* his message, deliuered to *Master Dee* himselfe, (Letterwise) for a more perfect memoriall thereof. Anno 1586.



Right worshipfull, it may please you to vnderstand, that I was sent vnto you from the most mightie Prince *Feodor Iuanowich*, Lord, Emperour and great duke of *Russia*, &c. As also from the most excellent prince *Boris Feodorowich*, Lord *Protector* of *Russia*: to giue your worship to vnderstand the great good will and heartie desire they beare vnto you; for that of long time they haue had great good report of your learning & wisdom, as also of your good counsel vnto Princes: whereupon his Maiesties most earnest desire and request is vnto you; that you would take the paines to come vnto his citie of *Mosco*, to visite his Maiesties Court: for that hee is desirous of your company, and also of your good counsell in diuers matters that his Maiestie shall thinke needfull. And for the great goodwill that his Maiestie beareth vnto you, he will giue you yeerely toward your maintenance 2000. pound sterling; and the Lord *Protector* will giue you a thousand rubbles, as also your prouision for your table you shall haue free out of his Maiesties kitchen: And further whatsoeuer you shall thinke needfull or conuenient for you, in any part or parts of his dominion, it shall be at your worships commaundement. And this is the summe and effect of my message and commaundement giuen me by his Maiestie and the Lord *Protector*.

In witness whereof I haue written this with my owne hand, the 17. of December 1586.

By me *Edward Garland*.

In *Trebona* Castell otherwise called *Wittingaw* in *Boemia*: to which place this *M. Edward Garland* came to *M. Dee* with two *Moscouites* to serue him, &c. He had sixe more, which by *M. Dees* counsell were sent backe.

Witnessse *M. Edward Kelley*, and *M. Francis Garland*, brother to the foresaid *Edward*, and diuers others.

It seemeth that this princely offer of the Emperour *Pheodor Iuanowich*, and of the *L. Boris Pheodorowich* *Protector* to his Maiestie, was made vnto the learned and famous *Mathematician M. John Dee*, partly to vse his counsell & direction about certaine discoveries to the *North-east*; and partly for some other weighty occasions: but because their conquest to *Siberia* was not as then fully settled, & for diuers other secret reasons, it was for y^e time with al thankfulness refused.

A branch

A branch of a letter from *M. Iohn Merick*, Agent vnto the *Moscouie* company in *Russia*, closed vp in the *Mosco* the 14. of March, Anno 1597. touching the death of *Pheodor Iuanovich* late Emperour of all *Russia*, &c.



Asing thus farre proceeded with this my answere vnto the chiefeſt points of your worſhips letters receiued, my deſire was to haue ſent one vnto you long ſince, as you may perceiue by the firſt date: but by reaſon I could not get leaue, I haue deferred it of till this inſtant, ſoꝛ that there was none ſuffered to paſſe out of the land. The cauſes may be iudged, ſoꝛ that it pleaſed God to call out of this worlde, the Emperour his Heireſſe, who departed about the 7. of Ianuary: and euer ſince hath bene a mourning time, & no ſuites foꝛ any matter could be heard. But it hath bene a very dead ſeaſon. Yet (thankes be to God) through the wiſe gouernment of Loꝝd Boris Pheodorowich the Loꝝd Protectoꝛ vnto the ſaide late Emperour, ſince his death all things haue bene very quiet without any diſſention; as the like in ſuch a great kingdome I haue not heard of. And now through the prouidence of Almighty God, and by ſurrender of the late Emperice Irenia Feodoruna, and the common conſent of the Patriarch, Nobles, Biſhops, and the whole Clergie, with the whole Commons beſides, choiſe is made of none other but of the ſaid Loꝝd Protectoꝛ, L. Boris Pheodorowich to be Emperour, and great duke of all *Russia*, who was moſt vnwilling to receiue the kingdome, but the people would make no other choiſe, nor haue any other. So that with much adoe and entreatie, it hath pleaſed his Heireſſe to take vpon him the kingdome, and he is abſolute Emperour to him and his heires. And certainly God hath done much foꝛ this Countrey, and hath made the people greatly happy, in that he hath prouided and appointed ſo famous and worthy a Prince: whoſe excellent gouernment and experience theſe foureteene yeeres hath bene manifeſt to all *Russia*. God graunt his highneſſe a moſt proſperous and long raigne, with his Lady the Emperice, the Prince his Sonne, and the Princelle his daughter. All men do reioyce both Ruſſe and Strangers foꝛ this moſt famous Emperour. The Coronation is thought ſhalbe on the Aſſenſion day next, till which time I cannot depart from *Mosco*: which is a litle befoꝛe the time that ordinarily I doe take my iourney from hence. And touching his Heireſſes fauour towards me on your behalfe, eſpecially foꝛ her Heireſſes ſake, as in ſoꝛetime it was extraordinary, and ſo ſpecially ſhe wed to mee, as to none the like: ſo hath his highneſſe promiſed the continuance thereof, with further fauour as ſhalbe deſired. Whereof I haue no doubt: foꝛ dayly I do finde the ſame.

10. Febr. 1597.

Prince Boris Pheodorowich by generall conſent choſen Emperour of *Russia*.

A learned Epistle written 1581. vnto the famous Cosmographer

M. Gerardus Mercator concerning the riuer *Pechora*, *Naramſay*, *Cara recæ*, the mighty riuer of *Oh*, the place of *Taks Olguſh* in *Siberia*, the great riuer *Ardob*, the lake of *Kiſſay* called of the borderers *Paraba*, the Countrey of *Carrab Colmak*, giuing good light to the diſcouery of the Northeaſt paſſage to *Cathay*, *China* and the *Maluccas*.

¶ *Inchylo & celebri Gerardo Mercatori, domino & amico ſingulari in manus proprias Duſſburgi in Clinia.*



Vni meminifſem, amice optime, quanta, cum vnà ageremus, delectatione afficerere in legendis Geographicis ſcriptis Homeri, Strabonis, Ariſtotelis, Plinij, Dionij & reliquorum, lætatus ſum eo quod incidifſem in hunc nunciũ, qui tibi has literas tradit, quem tibi commendatum eſſe valde cupio, quiſque dudũ Arũsbũrgi hic ad Ofſellam fluuiũ appulit. Hominis experientia, vt mihi quidem videtur, multum te adiuuerit in re vnã, eaque ſummis à te votis expetita, & magnopere elaborata, de qua tam varie inter ſe diſſentiunt Cosmographi recentiores; patefactione nimirum ingentis illius Promontorij Tabin, celebriſque illius & opulentię regionis ſub Cathayorum rege per Oceanum ad Orientem brumalem. Aſerius iſt natiõẽ Belga, qui captiuus aliquot annos vixit in Moscouitarum diſtione, apud viros illic celeberrimos Yacouũ & Vnekium; à quibus Antuerpiam miſſus eſt accerſitum homines rei nauticę peritos, qui ſatis amplo propoſito præmio ad illos viros ſe recipiant; qui Sueuo artiſtice duꝛs ad eam patefactionem naues edificarunt in Duina fluuio. Vt ille rem proponit, quam quam ſine arte, appoſite tamen, & vt ſatis intelligas, quod queſo diligenter perpendas, aditus ad Cathayam per Orientem proculdubio breuiſſimus eſt & admodũ expeditus. Adijt ipſe fluuiũ Obam tũm terra per Samocdorũ & Sibericorũ regionem, tũm mari per litus Pechoræ fluminis ad Orientem. Hac experientia confirmatus cerro apud ſe ſtatuit nauim mercibus onuſtã, cuius carinã non niniũ profundè demifſam eſſe vulꝛ, in Sinũ S. Nicolai conducere in regione Moscouitarũ, inſtructam illã quidem rebus omnibus ad eam patefactionem neceſſarijs,

Dux nauis edificatz in Duina fluuio ad patefactionem Orientalem.

cessarijs, atque illic redintegrato comineatu, Moscoviticæ nationis notissimos iusta mercede asciterè: qui & Samoedicam linguam pulchrè tenent, & fluvium Ob exploratum habeant, vt qui quotannis ea loca ventitant. Vnde Maio exeunte constituit pergere ad Orientem per continentem Vgoriæ ad Orientales partes Pechoræ, Insulamque cui nomen est Dolgoia. Hic latitudines obseruare, terram describere, bolidem demittere, locorumque ac punctorum distantias annotare, vbi & quoties licebit. Et quoniam Pechoræ Sinus vel euntibus vel redeuntibus commodissimus est tum subsidij tum diuerforij locus propter glaciem & tempestates, diem impendere decreuit cognoscendis vadis, facillimoque nauium aditu inueniendo: quo loco antehac aquarum altitudinem duntaxat ad quinque pedes inuenit, sed profundiores canales esse non dubitat: deinde per eos fines pergere ad tria quatuorve milliaria nautica, relicta Insula quam Vaigats vocant, media ferè via inter Vgoriam & Nouam Zemblam: tum Sinum quandam præterire inter Vaigats atque Obam, qui per Meridiem vergens pertingit ad terram Vgoriæ, in quem confluentur exigui duo amnes || Marmesia atque Carah, ad quos amnes gens alia Samoedorum accolit immanis & efferata. Multa in eo tractu loca vadosa, multas cataraectas inuenit; sed tamen per quas possit Nauigari. Vbi ad fluvium Obam peruentum fuerit, qui quidem fluuius (vt referunt Samoedi) septuaginta habet ostia, quæ propter ingentem latitudinem multas magnasque concludentem Insulas, quas varij incolunt populi, vix quisquam animaduertat, ne temporis nimium impendat, constituit ad summum tria quatuorve tentare ora, ea præferim quæ ex consilio Incolarum, quos in itinere aliquot habiturus est, commodissima videbuntur, triaque quatuorve eius regionis nauigiola tentandis Ostijs adhibere, quam fieri potest ad litus proxime, (quod quidem sub itinere trium dierum incolitur) vt quo loco tutissime nauigari possit, intelligat.

Quod si nauim per fluvium Obam aduerso amne possit impellere, prima si poterit cataraecta, eaque, vt verisimile est, commodissima, ad eumque locum appellere, quem aliquando ipse cum suis aliquot per Sibericorum regionem terra adiit, qui duodecim iuxta dierum itinere distat à Mari, quæ influit in mare flumen Ob, qui locus est in continente, propè fluvium Ob cui nomen est Yaks Olgush, nomine mutato ab illo magno Profluente flumini Ob illabente, tum certè speraret maximas se difficultates superasse. Referunt enim illic populares, qui trium duntaxat dierum nauigatione ab eo loco absuerunt (quod illic rarum est; eo quod multi ad vnum duntaxat diem cymbas pelliceas à litore propellentes oborta tempestate perierunt, cum neque à sole neque à syderibus rectionem scirent petere) per transuersum fluminis Ob, vnde spaciosum esse illius latitudinem constat, grandes se carinas præciosis onustas mercibus magno fluuiio delatas vidisse per Nigros, puta Æthiopes. Eum fluvium Ardoh illi vocant, qui influit in lacum Kittayum, quem Paraha illi nominant, cui contermina est gens illa latissime fusa, quam Carrah Colmak appellant, non alia certè quam Cathaya. Illic, si necessitas postulabit, opportunum erit hybernare; se suosque reficere, resque omnes necessarias conquirere. Quod si acciderit, non dubitat interim plurimum se adiutum iri, plura illic quærentem atque ediscentem. Veruntamen sperat æstate eadem ad Cathayorum fines se peruenturum, nisi ingenti glaciæ mole ad os fluuij Obæ impediatur, quæ maior interdum, interdum minor est. Tum per Pechoram redire statuit, atque illic hybernare: vel si id non poterit, in flumen Duinæ, quo mature satis pertinget, atque ita primo vere proximo in itinere progredi. Vnum est quod suo loco oblitus sum. Qui locum illum Yaks Olgush incolunt, à maioribus suis olim prædicatum asserunt, se in lacu Kittayoy dulcissimam campanarum harmoniam audiuisse, atque ampla ædificia conspexisse: Et cum gentis Carrah Colmak mentionem faciunt (Cathaya illa est) ab imò pectore suspiria repetunt, manibusque proiectis suspiciunt in cælum, velut insignem illius splendorem innuentes atque admirantes. Vtinam Alfarius hic Cosmographiam melius saperet, multum ad illius vsus adiungeret, qui sanè plurimus est. Multa prætereo, vir amicissime, ipsumque hominem te audire cupio, qui mihi spondidit se in itinere Duisburgi te visurum. Auet enim tecum conferre sermones, & procul dubio hominem multum adiuueris. Satis instructus videatur pecunia & gratia, in quibus alijsque officijs amicitia feci illi, si vellet, mei copiam. Deus Optimus maximus hominis votis atque alacritati faueat, initia secundet, successus fortunet, exitum felicissimum concedat. Vale amico ac Domitæ singularis.

Arusburgi ad Ostellam fluvium 20. Februarij 1581.

Tuus quantus quantus sum

Ioannes Balakus.

To

Dolgoia Insula.

Insula Vaigats.

Sinus inter Vaigats & Obam vergens per meridiem.
|| Vel Naramsey & Carah.

Litus Obæ incolitur ab Ostijs trium dierum itinere.

Yaks Olgush locus super Obam fluuii duodecim dierum itinere à mari.

Ardoh flumen influens in lacum Kittayum: de quo in itinere ad Boghariam scribit Antonius Ienkinsonus.

Carrah Colmak est Cathaya.

To the famous and renowned *Gerardus Mercator*, his Reuerend and singular friend at *Duisburgh* in *Cleueland*, these be deliuered.

Calling to remembrance (most deare Friend) what exceeding delight you tooke at our being together, in reading the Geographicall writings of Homer, Strabo, Aristotle, Plinie, Dion, and the rest, I reioyced not a little that I happened vpon such a messenger as the bearer of these presents, (whom I do especially recommend vnto you) who arriued lately here at *Arusburg* vpon the riuer of *Osella*. This mans experience (as I am of opinion) will greatly auaille you to the knowledge of a certaine matter which hath bene by you so vehemently desired, and so curiously laboured for, and concerning the which the late Cosmographers do hold such varietie of opinions: namely, of the discoverie of the huge promontorie of *Tabin*, and of the famous and rich countreys subiect vnto the Emperoz of *Cathay*, and that by the North-east Ocean sea. The man is called * *Alferius* being by birth a *Netherlander*, who for certaine yeeres liued captiue in the dominions of *Russia* vnder two famous men *Yacouius* and *Vneckius*, by whom he was sent to *Antwerp* to procure skilfull Pilots and Piloters, (by propounding liberall rewards) to go vnto the two famous personages aforesayd, which two had set a *Sweden* Shipwright on worke to build two ships for the same discoverie vpon the riuer of *Dwina*. The passage vnto *Cathay* by the North-east (as he declareth the matter, albeit without arte, yet very aptly, as you may well perceiue, which I request you diligently to consider) is without doubt very short and easie. This very man himselfe hath trauelled to the riuer of *Ob*, both by land, through the countreys of the *Samoeds*, and of *Sibir*, and also by Sea, along the coast of the riuer *Pechora* Eastward. Being encouraged by this his experience he is fully resolu'd with himselfe to conduct a *Barke* laden with merchandize (the keele whereof hee will not haue to drawe ouer much water) to the *Baie* of *Saint Nicholas* in *Russia*, being furnished with all things expedient for such a discoverie, and with a new supply of victuals at his arriuall there, and also to hire into his company certaine *Russes* best known vnto himselfe, who can perfectly speake the *Samoeds* language, and are acquainted with the riuer of *Ob*, as hauing frequented those places yeere by yeere.

* *Dr. Olier.*

Two ships built vpon the riuer of *Dwina* for the North-east discoverie.

Whereupon about the ende of *May* hee is determined to saile from the *Baie* of *S. Nicholas* Eastward, by the maine of *Ioughoria*, and so to the Easterly parts of *Pechora*, & to the Island which is called *Dolgoia*. And here also hee is purposed to obserue the latitudes, to suruey and describe the countrey, to sound the depth of the Sea, and to note the distances of places, where, and so oft as occasion shall be offered. And forasmuch as the *Baie* of *Pechora* is a most conuenient place both for harbour and victuall, as well in their going forth as in their returne home in regard of Ice and tempest, he is determined to bestow a day in sounding the *Flats*, and in searching out the best enterance for ships: in which place heretofore he found the water to be but five foute deepe, howbeit he doubteth not but that there are deeper chanelis: and then hee intendeth to proceed on along those coasts for the space of three or foure leagues, leaning the Island called *Vaigats* almost in the middle way betwene *Vgoria* and *Noua Zembla*: then also to passe by a certaine *Baie* betwene *Vaigats* and *Ob*, trending Southerly into the land of *Vgoria*, where into fall two small riuers called * *Marmesia* and *Carah*, vpon the which riuers doe inhabite another barbarous and sauage nation of the *Samoeds*. He found many *Flats* in that tract of land, and many cataracts or ouerfalls of water, yet such as hee was able to saile by. When hee shall come to the riuer of *Ob*, which riuer (as the *Samoeds* report) hath seuentie mouthes, which by reason of the huge breadth thereof containing many and great *Islands*, which are inhabited with sundry sortes of people, no man scarcely can well discover, because he will not spend too much time, he purporeth to search three or foure at the most of the mouthes thereof, those chiefly which shall be thought most commodious by the aduise of the inhabitants, of whom hee meaneth to haue certaine with him in his boyaage, and meaneth to employ three or foure boates of that Countrey in search of these mouthes, as neere as possibly he can to the shoze, which within three dayes iourney of the Sea is inhabited, that he may learne where the riuer is best navigable. If it so fall out that he may sayle by the riuer *Ob* against the streame, and mount vp to that place which heretofore accompanied with certaine of his friends, he passed vnto by land through the countrey of *Siberia* which is about twelue dayes iourney from the Sea, where the riuer *Ob* falleth into the Sea, which place is in the Continent neere the riuer *Ob*, and is called *Yaks Olguls*, borowing his name from that mightie riuer which falleth into the riuer *Ob*, then doubtlesse hee would conceiue full hope that hee had passed the greatest difficulties: for the people dwelling thereabout report, which were three dayes sayling onely from that place beyond the riuer

The Island of *Dolgoia*.

The Island of *Vaigats*. A *Baie* betwene *Vaigats* and *Ob* trending Southerly.

* *Dr. Naramfey* and *Cara Rea*.

The place vpon the riuer *Ob*, where he was but 12. dayes iourney fro 3. mouthes thereof, and is called *Paha* *Olguly*.

John Ienkinson in
his voyage to
Baghar spea-
keth of the ri-
uer Ardob.

riuer Ob, whereby the breath thereof may be gathered (which is a rare matter there, because that many rowing with their boaces of leather one vapes iourney onely from the shore, haue bene cast away in tempest, hauing no skill to guide themselves neither by Sunne nor Starre) that they haue seene great vessels laden with rich and precious merchandize brought downe that great riuer by blacke or swart people. They call that riuer * Ardob, which falleth into the lake of Kirray, which they call Paraha, whereupon bozereth that mightie and large nation which they call Carrah Colmak, which is none other then the nation of Cathay. There, if neede require, he may sit by Winter and refresh himselfe and his, and seeke all things which he shall stand in need of: which if it so fall out, he doubteth not but in the meane while he shall be much furthered in searching and learning out many things in that place. Howbeir, he hopeth that hee shall reach to Cathaya that very Sommer, vntesse he be hindered by great abundance of Ice at the mouth of the riuer of Ob, which is sometimes moze, and sometimes lesse. If it so fall out, hee then purposeth to returne to Pechora, and there to Winter: or if he cannot doe so neither, then hee meaneth to returne to the riuer of Dwina, whither he will reach in good time enough, and so the next Spring following to proceed on his voyage. One thing in due place I forgate before.

The people which dwell at that place called Yaks Olgush, affirme that they haue heard their forefathers say, that they haue heard most sweete harmonic of bells in the lake of Kirthay, and that they haue seene therein stately and large buildings: and when they make mention of the people named Carrah Colmak (this countrey is Cathay) they fetch deepe sighes, and holding vp their hands, they looke vp to heauen, signifying as it were, and declaring the notable glozy and magnificence of that nation. I would this Oliuer were better seene in Cosmographie, it would greatly further his experience, which doubtlesse is very great. Post deare friend, I omit many things, and I wish you should heare the man himselfe which promised mee faithfully that he would visite you in his way at Duisburg, for he desireth to conferre with you, and doubtlesse you shall very much further the man. He seuerly sufficiently furnished with money and friends, wherein and in other offices of curtesie I offered him my furtherance if it had pleased him to haue used me. The Lord prosper the mans desires and forwarde, blisse his good beginnings, further his proceedings, and grant vnto him most happy issue. Fare you well good sir and my singular friend. From Arusburg vpon the riuer of Odiella, the 20. of February, 1581.

Yours wholly at commandement,

John Balak.

MAfter Anthonie Ienkinson in a disputation before her Maiestie with sir Humfrey Gilbert for prooue of a passage by the North-east to Cathaya, among other things alleageth this: videlicet, that there came a continuall streame or curreant through Mare glaciale, of such swiftnesse as a Colmak told him, that if you cast any thing therein, it would presently be carried out of sight towards the West, &c.

A testimonie of the Northeasterne Discouerie made by the English, and of the profite that may arise by pursuing the same: taken out of the second volume of Navigations and Voyages, fol. 17. of the notable Cosmographer, M. John Baptista Ramusius, Secretarie to the State of Venice: Written in Italian in the yeere, 1557.



Alla parte poi di sotto la nostra Tramontana, che chiasamo scrittore & Cosmographo di questi & de passati tempi s'ha hora vi ha messo: & mette mare congelato, & che la terra corra continuamente fino a 90. gradi verso il Polo: sopra questo mappa-mondo all'incontro si vede che la terra va solamente vn poco sopra la Noruega & Suetia, & voltando corre poi Greco & Levante nel paese della Moscouia & Rossia, & va dritto al Cataio. Et che cio sia la verita, se navigationi che hanno fatte gl' Inglesi con le loro nani, volendo andare a scoprire il Cataio al tempo del Re Odoardo Sesto d' Inghilterra, questi anni passati, ne possono far vera testimonianza: perche nel mezzo del loro viaggio, capitate per fortuna a i liti di Moscouia, doue trouarono all' hora regnare Giouanni Vasiluich Imperatore della Rossia & gran Duca di Moscouia, il quale con molto piacere & marauiglia vedutogli, fece grandissime carezze, hanno trenato quel mar e essere nauigabile, & non agghiacciato. La qual navigatione (ancor che con l'esito s'ha hora non sia stata bene intesa) se col spesso frequenarla & col lungo uso & cognitione de que mari

si continuerà, è per fare grandissima mutazione & riuolgimento nelle cose di questa nostra parte del mondo.

The same in English.

Moreouer (having before spoken of diuers particularities, in an excellent Map of Paulus Venerus) on that part subiect to our North pole, where euery writer and Cosmographer of these and of former times hitherto, haue, and doe place the frozen Sea, and that the land stretcheth continually to 90. degrees, towards the pole: contrarywise, in this mappe is to bee seene, that the land extendeth onely a litle about Norway and Swethland, and then turning it selfe trendeth afterwards towards the Southeast and by East, vnto the countrey of Moscouie and Russia, and stretcheth directly vnto Cathay. And that this is true, the navigations which the English men haue of late made, intending to discover Cathay, in the time of Edward the first, king of England, are very sufficient witnesses. For in the mids of their voyage, lighting by chance vpon the coast of Moscouie (where they found then reigning Iohn Vasiluich Emperoz of Russia, and great duke of Moscouia, who after he had, to his great delight and admiration, seene the English men, entertained them with exceeding great curtesies) found this sea to be nauigable, and not frozen.

Which navigation to Cathay, although it be not as yet thoroughly knowen, yet if with often frequenting the same, and by long vse and knowledge of those seas it bee continued, it is like to make a wonderfull change and reuolution in the state of this our part of the world.

The great hope of the Northeastern Discoverie.

The testimonie of Gerardus Mercator in his last large Mappe of Europe, touching the notable discoveries of the English, made of Moscouie by the Northeast.



Agnam occasionem certamque rationem emendandæ Europæ nobis attulit celeberrima Anglorum per Cronium mare nauigatio: quæ littora Septentrionalia Finlappiæ Moscouiæque iuxta cæli situs, mundi que plagas digesta habet. Exacta etiam vrbs Moscuz latitudo ab Anglis obseruata, interiorum Regionum emendatius describendarum infallibilem legem præscripsit: Quibus oblatis adminiculis pulcherrimis, iniquum putauit tabulam hanc castigatorem non reddere.

The same in English.

The most famous navigation of the English men by the Northeast sea hath offered vnto me a great occasion, and certaine direction for the reformation of the mappe of Europe: which discoverie hath the Northerne parts of Fiomarke, Lapland, and Moscouie, laid out according to the iust eleuation and the quarters of the world. And further, the true obseruation of the latitude of the city of Mosco, made by the foresaid Englishmen, hath yeelded me an infallible rule, for the correcting of the situation of the inland countries: which notable helps being ministered vnto me, I thought it my duetic to exhibite to the world this Mappe, more exact and perfect then hitherto it hath bene published.

Another testimonie of Ioannes Metellus Sequanus concerning the same Navigation and Discoverie in his Preface prefixed before Osorius de rebus gestis Emanuelis Regis Portugallie, written about the yeere, 1574.



The omnis, vnis Hispanis, Oceani maris gloria totaque concederetur, Britanni Septentriones noua in Moscouiam nauigatione, ab hinc annis viginri plus minus illustrarunt. Nam bellis Sueticis à Moscouitarum, Naruzque Liouiaz exclusi commercio, iter ad illos Oceano, hinc Noruegiæ, Finmarchiæ, Lappiæ, Scricinniaz, Biarmiæque; illinc Groenlandiæ littora præteruecti, vltra Septuagesimum latitudinis Aquilonaris gradum sibi patefaciunt. Quam nauigationem Belgæ postea, non sine tamen cum cum iisdem Britannis velitatione, sunt secuti. Eò vehunt argenti veteris fragmenta, lineasque vestes propè detritas, omnisque generis minutiores merces, ad vsum, cultumque corporis hominum

minum vtriusque sexus, veluti lintea & byssea cingula, periscelides, crumenas, cultros, & id genus sexcenta. A Moschis autem pelles omnis generis preiosas adferunt, & salmones salitos, fumoque duratos.

The same in English.

BUt least all and the whole glory of discovering the Ocean sea should be ascribed to the Spaniards, the Englishmen about twentie yeeres past, by a new nauigation into Moscouie, discovered the Northeast partes. For they by reason of the warres of Swethland being hindered from the traffique of the Moscouites and of the Narue in Liefland, opened a passage for themselves by the Ocean sea, beyond the Northerne latitude of 70. degrees: hauing in their course on the one side the coastes of Norway, Finmark, Lapland, Scrickfin and Biarmia: On the other side the coast of Gronland. Which voyage the Hollanders afterwarde entred into, but not without some conflict with the English. They carry thither old plate and course linnen cloth, and all kind of small Mercerie wares, seruing for the apparelling of men and women, as linnen, and silke girdles, garters, purses, knives, and many such like things. And they bring away from the Moscouies, all kinde of precious furrer, and Salmons salted and dyed in the smoke.



B R E V I S

COMMENTARIVS DE ISLANDIA: QVO SCRIPTORVM DE HAC

Insula errores deteguntur, & extraneo-
rum quorundam conuitijs, ac calumnijs,
quibus Islandis liberius insultare
solent, occurritur:

per

ARNGRIMVM IONAM ISLANDVM

SERENISSIMO PRINCIPI AC DOMINO,

Domino CHRISTIANO IIII. DANIAE, Noruegia, Vanda-
lorum, Gothorumq; Regi electo: Slesuici, Holsaie, Stor-
maria & Wismarsia Duci: Comiti in Ol-
denburg & Delmenhorst: Domino
suo clementissimo.



*P*raclaram sanè apud Historicos meretur laudem, Sereniss. Prin-
ceps, Anchuri illius Midae regis filij ausus plusquam humanus,
& in patriam pietas, fere exemplo carens, quod ad occlundendum
ingentem circa Celanam Phrygia oppidum terra hiatus, quoti-
die homines haud exiguo numero, & quicquid in propinquo erat,
absorbentem, sese ultro obtulerit. Cum enim ab oraculo Midae
pater accepisset, non prius conclusum iri istam voraginem, quam
res eo preciosissima immitterentur: Anchurus existimans, nihil
esse anima pretiosius, sese viuum in illud profundissimum chasma precipitem dedit: idq;
tanto animi cum feruore, vt neque parentis desiderio, neque dulcissima coniugis amplexu
vel lachrymis, ab isto proposito se retrahi passus sit.

Nec inferiorem multo consecati sunt gloriam Sperrhius & Bulis, Lacedaemonij, qui ad
auerendam potentissimi Regis Persarum Xerxis, ob occisos à Lacedaemonijs Darij patris
legatos, ultionem, ad Regem profecti sunt, & vt legatorum necem in se, non in patria vl-
cisceretur, erectis & constantibus animis sese obtulerunt.

Qua verò res, Sereniss. Princeps, illos ac alios complures mouit, vt patria flagrantes amo-
re, nulli pro ea periculum, nullas molestias, imò ne mortè ipsam recusarint, ea profectò me
quoque impulit, non quidem, vt quæuadmodum illi, mortem sponte oppeterem, aut me ma-
tandum ultro offerrem, sed tamen, vt id quod solum possem, in gratiam patriæ tentarem:
Hoc est, vt scriptorum de ea errores colligerem & rumusculos vanos refellerem: Ac ita
rem profectò periculosam, & multorum forsàn sinistro obnoxiam iudicio, aggrederer.

In eo proposito me etiam Cn. Pompeij exemplum confirmauit: Quem rei frumentariæ
apud Romanos procuratorem, cum in summa Urbis annonæ charitate, in Sicilia, Sardinia
& Africa frumentum collegisset, maiorem patriæ, quàm sui, tradunt rationem habuisse.
Cum enim Romam versus properaret, & ingenti ac periculosa oborta tempestate, Naucle-
ros trepidare, nec se ventorum aut maris sauitia committere velle animaduerteret, ipse
nauem primus ingressus, anchoras tolli iussit, in hac verba exclamans: Vt nauigemus vr-
get necessitas: vt viuamus, non vrget. Quibus vir prudentissimus innuisse videtur,
patriæ periclitantis maiorem habendam rationem, quàm priuatæ incolumitatis.

Hunc ego sic imitor,

(Si parua licet componere magnis, & muscam Elephanto conferre) ut collectis ac portatis ijs, quibus ad succurrendum gentis nostrae nomini ac fame, apud extraneos, ex maleuolorum quorundam inuidia iam diu laboranti vterer; paucula haec in lucem emittere, meque pelago huic quantumuis turbulento committere, sin te ventis tradere, cumque illo exclamare non dubitem: Ut scribamus, vrget necessitas: Ut verò scriptum nostrum, cuiusuis delicato palato, ubiq; satisfaciatur, aut omnem Momi proteruiam effugiat, non vrget. Institutum meum complures probaturos spero: successum forsitan non itidem omnes probabunt. Nihilominus tamen maiorem habendam rationem patriae, multorum haecenus opprobria & contumelias sustinentis, quam sine laudis, sine vituperationis, ad me ipsum hinc forsitan reditur, existimabam. Quid enim causa esse potest, cur nonnullorū odium & inuidiam, cum hoc patriae benefaciendi seu gratificandi studio fortè coniuncta re cusem?

Quod si scriptorum errores liberius notare, si quorundam calumnias durius perstringere videbor, eos tamen aequos me habiturum censors confido, qui paulo diligentius animaduertere volent, quam parum tolerabiles sint scriptorum de nostra gente errores: quot etiam & quam graues quorundam in nos calumniae, quibus nationem nostram varijs modis lacefluere, & etiamnum lacefluere non desistunt. Dandum etiam aliquid omnibus congenito soli navalis amoris est; Dandum iusto, ob hanc patriae illatam iniuriam, dolori. Et ego quidem, quantum fieri potuit, ubiq; mihi temperavi, ac à conuitijs abstinere volui: quod si quid videatur mollius dicendum fuisse, id praedicta ratione veniam spero, merebitur.

Cum igitur haec mihi subeunda sit alea, quod omnibus scriptum aliquod edituris in more positum animaduerto, id mihi hoc tempore sollicitè curandum est: Nempe ut patronum & mecenatem aliquem huic meo commentariolo quaeram, sub cuius nomine & numine, tutius in vulgi manus exeat.

Eam igitur ad rem nihil poterit contingere optatius, vestra, clementissime Princeps, Sereniss. Maiestate. Etenim nos ei, qui vitam & fortunas nostras in suam potestatem & tutelam accepit, ei inquam, nomen quoque gentis nostrae innocenter contaminatum, curae vestrae supplices rogamus.

Imò verò, Rex clementiss. non solum ad hanc rem, S. Maiestat. V. clemens implorare auxilium necessum habemus; Sed ad multa quoque alia, quae in nostra patria desiderantur, aut quae alioqui ad huius utilitatem & salutem communem spectant: quaeq; non per me, sed per summorum nostrae gentis virorum libellos supplices hoc tempore exponuntur; aut certe breui exponentur. Nihil enim dubitamus quin S. V. Maiestat. Christianissimorum maiorum exemplo, etiam nostram patriam, inter reliquas imperij sui Insulas, sua cura & protectione regia dignari velit. Nam quae nostra est ad S. Maiestatem V. confugiendi necessitas, ea est S. Maiestat. V. in nobis subleuandis, curandis & protegendis, gloria. Et ob tranquillitatem & tuta singulari Dei beneficio halcyonia habet, praemium, ac reposita in caelis immarcescibilis vitae aeternae corona.

Ceterum cum illa huius loci non sint, id quod meum est propositi subiūgo: & à S. Maiestate V. ea, quae par est, animi submissione peto, ut huic meae opella & studio in patriam collato, fauere, & patroni benigni esse loco, clementer dignetur. Quod superest Sereniss. Princeps, Dom. clementissime, Maiestatem V. sapientia & prudentia, omniumq; adeo virtutum heroicarum indies incrementa summentem, ad summum imperij fastigium, summus ille regnorum, omniumq; adeo rerum humanarum dispensator, Deus opt. max. euehat: Euectam, omni rerum felicissimo successu continuè beet: Beatamque hoc modo, ut summum horum regnorum ornamentum, columen, praesidium, Ecclesiae chlypeum & munimen, quam diutissime conseruet: Ac tandem in altera vita, in solido regni caelestis gaudio, cum praecipuis ecclesiae Dei nutritijs, syderis instar, illustrem fulgere faciat. Faxit etiā idem Pater clementiss. ut haec vota, quando sepius, in amplissimorum Maiestat. V. regnorum & Insularum quouis angulo, quotidie repetuntur ac ingeminantur, tanto rata magis & certiora maneant.

Haffnae 1593. Mensis Mart.

S. M. V. humiliter subiectus:

Arngrimus Ionas Islandus.
Benigno

Benigno & pio Lectori salutem.



N lucem exijt circa annum Christi 1561. Hamburgi fœtus valde deformatis, patre quodam Germanico propola: Rhythmi videlicet Germanici, omnium qui vnquam leguntur spurcissimi & mendacissimi in gentem Islandicam. Nec sufficiebat sordido Typographo sordidum illum fœtum semel einississe, nisi tertium etiam aut quartum publicasset, quo videlicet magis innocenti genti apud Germanos & Danos, aliisque vicinos populos summam & nunquam delendam ignominiam, quantum in ipso fuit, inueret. Tantum Typographi huius odiũ fuit, & ex re illicita lucrauiditas. Et hoc in illa ciuitate, quę plurimos annos commercia sua magno suorum cum lucro in Islandia exercuit, impunẽ fecit, *Ioachimus Leo* nomen illi est; dignus certẽ qui Leones pascat.

Reperiuntur præterea multi alij scriptores, qui cum miracula naturæ, quæ in hac Insula creduntur esse plurima, & gentis Islandicæ mores ac instituta describere se velle putant, à re ipsa & veritate prorsus aberrarunt, nautarum fabulas plusquam aniles, & vulgi opiniones vanissimas secuti. Hi Scriptores etsi non tam spurca & probrosa reliquerunt, quàm sordidus iste Rhythmistæ: multa tamen sunt in illorum scriptis, quæ illos excusare non possunt, aut prorsus liberare, quo minus innocentem gentem suis scriptis deridendam alijs exposuerint. Hæc animaduertens, legens, expendens, subinde nouis, qui Islandorum nomen & æstimationem læderent, scriptoribus ortis, alienorum laborum suffuratoribus impudicis, qui etiam non desinunt gentem nostram nouis conspurcare mendacijs, lectorisquẽ noua monstrorum enumeratione & descriptionibus fictis deludere, sæpe optabam esse aliquem, qui ad errata Historicorum, & aliorum iniquorum censorum responderet, quisque aliquo scripto innocentem gentem à tot conuicijs si non liberaret, certẽ aliquo modo apud pios & candidos Lectores defenderet: Quare hoc tempore Author eram honesto studioso, *Arngrimo Iona F.* vt reuolutis scriptorum monumentis, qui de Islandia aliquid scripserunt, errores & mendacia solidis rationibus detegeret. Ille etsi primò reluctabatur, vicit tamen demum admonitio, amorque communis patriæ, ita vt hunc qualemcunque commentariolum conscriberet, non ex vanis vulgi fabulis, sed & ex sua & multorum fide dignorum experientia, comprobationibus sumptis.

Ille verò, qui hanc rem meo est aggressus instinctu, vicissim à me suo quasi iure flagitabat, vt in has pagellas, vel tribus saltem verbis præferar: existimans aliquid fidei vel auctoritatis opusculo inde conciliatum iri. Quare vt mentem breuiter exponam: Ego quidem & honestam & necessariam quoque operam nauasse eum iudico, qui non modò scriptorum varias sententias de rebus ignotis perpendere, & inuicem conferre, nec non ad veritatis & experientiæ censuram exigere: Sed etiam patriam à venenatis quorundam sycophantarum morsibus vindicare conatus sit. Equum est igitur, Lector optime, vt quicquid hoc est opusculi, velut sanctissimo veritatis & patriæ amore aduersus Zoilorum proteruiam inunitum & muniendum excipias. Vale.

Gudbrandus Thorliacus Episcopus
Holensis in Islandia.

Anno 1592. Jul. 29.

¶ Authoris ad Lectorem.

Imbate Lector suavis arte Palladis,
Lector benigne humane, multum candidæ,
Qui cuncta scis collis sacri mysteria:
Has videris si fortè quando paginas
Non lectione siq; dedignabere,
Fac, nos tuo candori vt hæc committimus
Et æquitati, fronte sic non tetrica,
Vultu legas nec ista quando turbido:
Communis vnquam sortis baud sis immemor,
Infirmas quam nostra nobis contulit.
Obnoxius nam non quis est mortalius
Erroribus namique semper plurimis?

Quod si diu multumque cogitaueris,
Nostris eris conatibus paulo æquior,
Tuis & isto ritè pacto confules:
Candore nam quo nostra tractans utere,
En te legentes rursus vtentur pari:
Sic ipse semper alteri quæ feceris,
Æqualitatis lege & hæc fient tibi.
De gente multis predicata Islandica
Auctoribus quamuis probata maximis,
Nostro periculo hucusq; vulgò credita,
Licere nobis credimus refellere,
Non vt notam scriptorum inuiam nominari,
Nostrum

*Nostrum sed à nota probrosa vindicem:
Hoc institutum iusq; fâsq; comprobant:
Hoc nostra consuetudo lexque comprobant:
Hoc digna lecti exempla denique comprobant.
Ergo fane: nostris fane conatibus,*

*Sis mitis, indulgens & equus arbiter,
O Lector arte imbuere suavis Palladis,
Lector benigne, amice, multum candide,
Qui cuncta scis collis sacris mysteria.*

COMMENTARIJ DE ISLANDIA INITIUM.



Vemadmodum in militia castrensi, alios nulla æqua ratione adductos, sed ambitione, inuidia & avaritia motos, Martis castra sequi animaduertimus: Alios verò iustis de causis arma sumere; vt qui vel doctrinæ cœlestis propagandæ aut seruandæ ergò bellamouent, vel aliquo modo laceßiti paratam vim ac iniuriam repellunt, vel saltem non laceßiti, propter obsidentem hostem metu in armis esse coguntur: Non secus Apollini militantes: alij animo nequaquam bono, Philosophico seu verius Christiano, ad scribendum feruntur: puta qui gloriæ cupiditate, qui liuore ac odio, qui affectata ignorantia alios sugillant, vt ipsi potiores habeantur, nunc in personam, nomen ac famam alicuius, nunc in gentem totam stylum acuentes, atque impudenter quasi mentiendo, infontem nationem & populos commaculantes: Alij verò contra, animo ingenuo multa lucubrando inuestigant & in lucem emittunt; vt qui scientiam Theologicam & Philosophicam scriptis mandant, quique suis vigilijs veterum monumenta nobis explicuerunt: qui quicquid in illis obscurum, imperfectum, inordinatum animaduertunt, vsu & experientia duce illustrarunt, explerunt, ordinarunt: qui mundi historias, bona fide, æternæ memoriæ consecrarunt: qui linguarum cognitionem suis indefessis laboribus iuuerunt: denique qui aliorum in se suamue gentem vel patriam, licentiosam petulantiam reprimere, calumnias refellere, & quandam quasi vim iniustam propulsare annexi sunt.

Et quidem ego, cui literas vix, ac ne vix quidem videre contigit, omnium qui diuinæ Palladi nomen dederunt, longè infimus (vt id ingenuè de mea tenuitate confitear) facere certè non possum, quin me in illorum aciem conferam, qui gentis suæ maculam abluere, veritatem ipsam asserere, & conuiciantium iugum detrectare studuerunt: Maiora ingenio fors denegauit: Id quoquo modo tentare compellit ipsius veritatis dignitas, & innatus amor patriæ, quam extraneos nonnullos falsis rumoribus deformare, varijs conuictijs, magna cum voluptate proscindere, alijsq; nationibus deridendam propinare comperimus. Quorum petulantia occurrere, & criminationes falsas, detectis simul scriptorum de hac Insula erroribus, apud bonos & cordatos viros, (Nam vulgus sui semper simile, falsi & vani tenacissimum, non est quòd sperem me ab hac inueterata opinione abducere posse) diluere hoc commentariolo decreui.

Et si autem Islandia multos habet, vt ætate, ita ingenio & eruditione me longè superiores, ideòq; ad hanc causam patriæ suscipiendam multò magis idoneos: Ego tamen optimi & clarissimi viri, Dom. Gudbrandi Thorlacij, Episcopi Holesuis, apud Islandos, sollicitationibus motus communi causæ, pro viribus, nequaquam deesse volui, tum vt æquissimæ postulationi ipsius parerem, atque amorem & studium debitum erga patriam declararem, tum vt reliquos sympatriotas meos, in bonarum literarum scientiæ scœlicius versatos, atque in rerum plurimarum cognitione vterius progressos, ad hoc gentis nostræ patrociniū inuitarem: Tantum abest, vt ijs qui idem conabuntur, obstaculo esse voluerim.

Cæterum vt ad rem redeamus, quoniam illi quicumque sunt nostræ gentis obtrectatores, testimonio scriptose vti ac niti iactitant: videndum omnino est, quidnam de Islandia, & quàm vera scriptores prodiderint, vt si fortè isti, alijs in nos dicendi aliquam occasionem dederint, patefactis ipsorum erroribus (nolo enim quid durius dicere) quàm meritiò nos calumnientur, reliquis planum fiat. Porrò, quamuis vetustiorum quorundam scripta de hac Insula, ad veritatis & experientia normam exigere non verear: Tamen nobis eorundem alioqui sacra est memoria, reuerenda dignitas, suspicienda eruditio, laudanda voluntas & in Rempub. literariam studium: Nouitij verò, si qui sunt id genus scriptores, aut verius paucissimi, cum ijs longè veriora quàm scripserant, audire & nosse de Islandia licuerit, sua leuitate & ingenio malè candido, nihil nisi inuidia & calumnia maculam lucrati esse videbuntur.

Atque vt Commentarius hic noster aliquid ordinis habeat, duo erunt propositæ orationis capita, vnum de Insula, de incolis alterum: quantum quidem de his duobus capitibus Scriptores qui in nostris manibus versantur, annotatum reliquerunt: Quoniam vltra has

metas.

metas vagari, vel plura quàm hæc ipsa, & quæ huc pertinere videbuntur attingere nolo. Non enim ex professio Historicum vel Geographum sed disputatorem tantum agimus. Itaque ommissa longiore præfatione partem primam, quæ est de situ, nomine, miraculis, & alijs quibusdam adiunctis Insulæ, aggrediamur.

Primæ partis tractatio.

SECTIO PRIM A.

Insula Islandia, quæ per immensam à cæteris secretâ longè sita est in Oceano, vix à navigantibus agnoscitur, &c.

Munst. lib. 4. Cosmographiæ.

Et hæc tractare, quæ ipsam terram vel illius adiuncta seu proprietates concernunt, ad gentem vel incolas à calumniantium morfu vindicandos parum faciat: tamen id nequaquam omitendum videtur. Sed de his primum, & quidem prolixius aliquantò agendum est, ut perspecto, quàm vera de hac re tradant illi Islandiæ scriptores, facilè inde candidus Lector, in ijs quæ de incolis scripta reliquerunt, quæque ab illis alij, tanquam Dijs prodentibus, acceperunt, vnde sua in gentem nostram ludibria depromi aiunt, quantum fidei mereantur, iudicet.

Primum igitur distantiam Islandiæ à reliquis terris non immensam esse, nec tantam, quanta vulgò putatur, si quis insulæ longitudinem & latitudinem aliquo modo cognitam haberet, facilè demonstrari posset. Non enim id alio, quàm isto cognosci exactè posse modo existimâri, cum nulli dubium sit, quàm semper nautarum vel rectissimus, ut illis viderur, cursus aberret. Quare varias authorum de situ Islandiæ sententias subiungam, ut inde quivis de distantia id colligat, quod maximè verisimile videbitur, donec fortè aliquando propria edoctus experientia, meam quoque sententiam si non interponam, tamen adiungam.

Munsterus Islandiam collocat	Longit.	Latitud.	Heckelsel promontorium	25.	67.
sub gradibus ferè	20	68.	Madher promontorium	21.20	65.10
Gerardus Mercator	352	68.	Civitates in ea mediterranea sunt		
Gemma Frisus:			Holen Episcopalis	28.	67. 50
Medium Islandiæ:	7. 0	65. 30	Schalholten Episcopalis	22	63. 30
Hersee:	7. 40	60. 42	Reinholdus.		
Thirtes:	5. 50	64. 44	Per Holen Islandiæ.		68.
Nadar:	6. 40	57. 20	Ioh. Myritius,		
Iacobi Ziegleri:			Per Med. Islandiæ.		69. 2
Littus Islandiæ Occident.	20.	63.	Neander.		
Chos promontorium:	22. 46	63.	Islandia tribus gradibus in circulum vsque Arcticum ab æquinoctiali excurrit, adeo ferè, ut mediam circulus ille secet, &c.		
Latus orientale extenditur contra Septentrionem: & finis extensionis habet	30.	68.			
Latus septentrionale contra occidentem extenditur, & finis extensionis habet	28.	69.			
Lateris Occidentalis descriptio.					

Et si qui sunt præterea, qui vel in mappis, vel alioqui suis scriptis Insulæ suam notarunt, quorum plures sententias referre nihil attinet, cum quò plures habeas, eò magis dissidentes reperias. Ego quamvis verisimiles coniecturas habeo, cur nullæ citatæ de Islandiæ situ sententiæ assentiar, quin potius diuersum quippiam ab ijs omnibus statuam, tamen id ipsum in dubio relinquerè malo, quàm quicquam non exploratum satis affirmare, donec, ut dixi, fortè aliquando non coniecturam, sed obseruationem & experientiam propriam afferre liceat.

Distantiam ab ostio Albis ad portum Islandiæ meridionalis Bartzende, quidam scripserat esse circiter 400, milliarium: Vnde si longitudinis differentiam ad meridianum Hamburgensem supputaueris, nullam modò positaram longitudinum habebit illo in loco Islandia. Ego tenuis Hamburgensium nauigationibus docere possum, septimo die Hamburgum ex Islandia peruentum esse. Præterea etiam, Insulæ quæ ab omnium multitudine Færeyjar, seu rectius Faareyjar dictæ sunt, bidui nauigatione, ut & littora Noruagiæ deserta distant. Quaridui verò nauigatione in Gronlandiam habitabilem, & pari ferè temporis interuallo, ad prouinciam Noruagiæ Stad. inter opida Nidrosiam & Bergas sitam peruenitur, quemadmodum in harum nationum vetustis codicibus reperimus.

Bidui nauigatio ab Islandia ad Noruagiæ desertam.

SECTIO SECUNDA.

Munsterus, Olaus
magnus: & reli-
qui.

In hac, æstiuo solstitio, sole signum Cancræ transeunte, nox nulla, brumali Solstitio proinde nullus dies. Item, Vadianus. In ea autem Insula qua longe supra Arcticum circulum in amplissimo Oceano sita est, Islandia hodie dicta, & terris congelati maris proxima, quas Entgronlandt vocant, menses sunt plures sine noctibus,

Nillum esse hyemali solstitio diem, id est, tempus quo sol supra horizontem conspicitur in illo tantum Islandiæ angulo, si modò quis est, fatemur, ubi polus ad integros 67. gradus attollitur. Holis autem, quæ est sedes Episcopalis Borealis Islandiæ, sita etiam in angustissima & profundissima conualle, latitudo est circiter grad. 65. 44. min. ut à Domino *Gudbrando* eiusdem loci Episcopo accepimus, & illic diem breuissimum habemus ad minimum duarum horarum, in meridionali autem Islandia longiorem, ut ex artificum tabulis videre est. Vnde constat nec Islandiam ultra Arcticum circulum positam esse, nec menses plures noctibus in æstiuo, vel diebus in brumali solstitio carere,

SECTIO TERTIA.

Munsterus.
Saxo.

Nomen habet à glacie qua illi perpetuo ad Boream adheret. Item. A latere Occidentali Noruægiæ Insula, quæ Glacialis dicitur, magno circumfusa Oceano reperitur, obsoleta admodum habitationis telus, &c. Item, Hæc est Thyle, nulli veterum non celebrata,

Scelandia.

Nomen habet à glacie) Tria nomina consequenter sortita est Islandia. Nam qui omnium primus eius inuentor fuisse creditur *Naddocus* genere Noruagus, cū versus insulas Farenfes nauigaret tēpestate valida, ad littora Islandiæ Orientalis fortè appulit: ubi cum fuisset aliquot septimanas cum socijs commoratus, animaduertit immodicam niuium copiam, montium quorundam cacumina obtegentem, atque idcò à niue nomen Insulæ *Scelandia* indidit. Hunc securus alter, *Gardarus*, fama quam de Islandia *Naddocus* atulerat impulsus, Insulam quæ situm abijt, reperit, & nomen de suo nomine *Gardarsbolme* id est, *Gardars* Insula imposuit, Quin & plures nouam terram visendi cupido incessit: nam & post illos duos adhuc tertius quidam *Nornagus* (Floki nomen habuit) contulit se in Islandiam, illiq; à glacie qua viderat ipsam cingi nomen fecit.

Obsoleta admodum) Ego ex istis verbis Saxonis hanc sententiam nequaquam eruo, ut quidam, quòd inde ab initio habitam esse Islandiam, seu ut verbo dicam, Islandos autocthonas dicat, cum constet vix ante annos 718. incolæ ceptam.

874

Hæc est Thyle) Grammatici certant & adhuc sub iudice lis est. Quam tamen facilè dirimi posse crediderim, si quis animaduertat, circa annum Domini 874 primùm fuisse inhabitatam. Nisi quis dicere velit Thulen illum Aegypti Regem, quem hoc ipsi nomen dedisse putant, ad Insulam iam tum incultam & inhabitatam penetrasse. Illud verò rursus si quis neget, per me sanè licebit, ut illud sit quoddam quasi spectaculum, dum ita in contrarias scinduntur sententias. Vnus affirmat esse Islandiam. Alter quandam insulam, ubi arbores bis in anno fructificant. Tertius vnam ex Orcadibus, siue vltimam in ditione Scoti, ut *Ioannes Myritinus & alij*, qui nomen illius referunt *Thylensæy*, quod etiam *Virgilius* per suam vltimam Thylen sensisse videtur. Siquidem ultra Britannos, quo nomine Angli hodie dicti & Scoti veniunt, nullos populos statureret. Quod vel ex illo *Virgilij* Eclog. 1. apparet.

Et penitus toto dimisus orbe Britannos. Quartus vnam ex Farenfisbus. Quintus Telemarchiam *Nornagiæ*. Sextus *Schrichfinniam*.

Glacies Aprili
aut Maio soluitur

Perpetuo ad Boream adheret.) Illud verò, *Glaciem Insula perpetuò*, vel ut paulò post asserit *Munsterus*: *Octo continuis mensibus adherere*: neutrum verum est. Nam ut plurimum in mense Aprili aut Maio soluitur, & Occidentem versus propellitur, nec ante Ianuarium aut Februarium sæpissimè etiam tardius redit. Quid? quòd plurimos annos numerare licet, quibus glaciem illam huius nationis innite flagellum, ne viderit quidem Islandia: Quod etiam hoc anno 1592. compertum est. Vnde constat quàm verè à *Frisio* scriptum sit, *nauigationem ad hanc insulam tantum quadrimestrem patere, propter glaciem & frigora, quibus intercludatur iter*, Cùm Anglicæ naues quotannis nunc in Martio, nunc in Aprili, quædam in Maio, Germanorum & Danorum in Maio & Iunio, plerumque ad nos redeant, & harum quædam non ante Augustum iterum hinc soluant. Superiore autem anno 1591. quædam nauis Germanica, cupro onusta, portum Islandiæ *Vopnafiord* 14. dies circiter in Nouembri occupauit, quibus lapsis inde foeliciter soluit. Quare cum glacies Islandiæ, nec perpetuò, neque octo mensibus adheret, *Munsterus & Frisius* manifestè falluntur,

SECTIO QUARTA.

Tam grandis Insula, ut populos multos contineat. Item, Zieglerus, Sicut Insula extenditur inter austrum & boream ducentorum prope Schænorum longitudine.

Kranzius.
Munsterus.

Grandis.) Wilstenius quidam, rector Scholæ OLDENBURGENSIS Anno 1591. ad auunculum meum in Islandia Occidentali misit breuem commentarium, quem ex scriptorum rapsodij de Islandia collegerat, Vbi sic reperimus: *Islandia duplo maior Sicilia, &c.* Sicilia autem secundum *Munsterum* 150. milliaria Germanica in ambitu habet, Nostræ verò Insulæ ambitus etsi nobis non est exactè cognitus, tamen vetus & constans opinio, & apud nostrates recepta 144. milliaria numerat per duodecim videlicet promontoria Islandiæ insigniora, quæ singula 12. inter semilliaribus distent, aut circiter, quæ collecta prædictam summam ostendunt.

Magnitudo
Islandiæ.

Populos multos) Gysserus quidam, circa annum Domini 1090. Episcopus *Schalholtsensis* in Islandia, omnes Insulæ colonos seu rusticos qui tantas facultates possiderent, ut regi tributum solvere tenerentur (reliquis pauperibus cum scæminis & promiscuo vulgo omisissis) iustrari curavit, reperitque in parte Insulæ Orientali 700, meridionali 1000, Occidentali 1100, Aquilonari 1200. Summa 4000, colonorum tributa soluentium, iam si quis experiatur, inueniet Insulam plus dimidio fuisse inhabitatam.

SECTIO QUINTA.

Insula multa sui parte montosa est & inculta. Qua parte autem plana est præstat plurimum pabulo, tam læto, ut pecus depellatur à pascuis, ne ab aruina suffocetur.

Munst. Frisius,
Ziegler.

ID suffocationis periculum nullo testimonio, nec nostra nec patrum nostrorum, vel quàm longè retrò numeraris, memoria confirmari potest.

SECTIO SEXTA.

Sunt in hac Insula montes elati in cælum, quorum vertices perpetua nive candent, radices sempiterno igne æstuant, Primus Occidentem versus est, qui vocatur Hecla, alter Crucis, tertius Helga. Item Zieglerus. Rupes sine promontorium Hecla æstuans perpetuis ignibus. Item Saxo. In hac itidem Insula mons est, qui rupem siderum perpetua flagrationis æstibus imitatus, incendia sempiterna iugi flammarum eruptione continuat.

Munst.
Frisius.

Miracula Islandiæ *Munsterus* & *Frisius* narraturi mox in vestibulo, magno suo cum incommodo impingunt, Nam quod hic de monte Hecla asserunt, etsi aliquam habet veritatis speciem, tamen quod idem de duobus alijs montibus perpetuo igne æstuantibus dicunt, manifestè erroneum est. Illi enim in Islandia non extant, nec quicquam, quod huic tanto scriptorum errori occasionem dederit, imaginari possumus. Facta tamen est, sed nunc demum. Anno 1581. ex monte quodam australi Islandiæ, maritimo, perpetuis niuibus & glacie obducto memorabilis fumi ac flammæ eruptio, magna saxorum ac cineris copia eiecta. Cæterum ille mons longè est ab his tribus, quos authores commemorant, diuersissimus. Porro etsi hæc de montibus ignitis maximè vera narrarent, annon naturaliter ista contingerent? An ad extruendam illam, quæ mox in *Munsteri*, *Zieglero* & *Frisio* sequitur, de orco Islandico opinionem aliquid faciunt? Ego sanè nefas esse duco, his vel similibus naturæ miraculis ab absurda asserenda abuti, vel hæc tanquam impossibilia cum quadam impietate mirari. Quasi verò non concurrant in huiusmodi incendijs causæ ad hanc rem satis validæ. Est in horum montium radicibus materia vri aptissima, nempe sulphurea & bituminosa. Accedit ær per poros ac cauernas in terræ viscera ingressus, ac illum maximi incendiij fomitem exsufflans vnà cum nitro, qua exsufflatione tanquam foliis quibusdam, ardentissima excitatur flamma. Habet siquidem ignis, his ita conuenientibus, quæ tria ad vrendum sunt necessaria, materiam scilicet, motum, & tandem penetrandi facultatem: Materiam quidem pinguem & humidam idèoque flammam diuturnas alentem: Motum præstat per terræ cauernas admissus ær: Penetrandi facultatem facit ignis vis inuicta, sine respiraculo esse nescientis, & incredibili conatu violenter erumpentis, atque ita (non secus ac in cuniculis machinisue seu tormentis bellicis, globi è ferro maximi, magno cum fragore ac strepitu, à sulphure & nitro, è quibus pyrius puluis conficitur, excitato, eijciuntur) lapides & Saxa in ista voragine ignita, ceu quodam camino, colliquefacta cum inmodica arenæ & cinerum copia, exspuentis & eiaculantis, idque vt plurimum, non sine terræmotu: qui si secundum profunditatem terræ fiat, succussio à Possidoneo appellatur, vel hiatus erit, vel pulsus.

Lib. 2. cap. 20.

Hiatu terra dehiscit: pulsu eleuatur intumescens, & nonnunquam, vt inquit *Plinius*, moles magnas egerit: Cuiusmodi terræ motus iam mentionem fecimus, maritima *Islandiæ Australis* Anno 1581 infestantis, quique à Pontano his verbis scitissimè describitur.

*Ergo incerta ferens raptim vestigia, anhelus
Spiritus incur sat, nunc huc, nunc percitus illuc,
Exploratque abitum insistens, & singula tentat,
Si quæ forte queat viclis erumpere claustris.
Intereatremiu ingentem factura ruinam
Terra, suis quatens latas cum mœnibus vrbes:
Dissiliunt auulsa iugis immania saxa, &c.*

Hæc addere libuit, non quòd cuiquam hæc ignota esse existimemus; Sed ne nos alij ignorare credant, atque ideo ad suas fabulas, quas hinc exstruunt, confugere velle.

Cæterum video quid etiamnum admirationem non exiguam scriptoribus moueat, in his, quos ignoranter fingunt, tribus *Islandiæ* montibus, videlicet cum eorum basin semper ardere dicant, summitates tamen nunquã niue carcant. Porro id admirari, est præter autoritatem tãtorum virorum, quibus *Ætne* incendium optimè notum erat, quæ, cum secundum *Plinium* hybernis temporibus niualis sit, noctibus tamen, eodem teste, semper ardet. Quare etiam secundum illos, ille mons, cum adhuc niuium copia obducitur, & tamen ardeat, sordidarum animarum quoque erit receptaculum: id quod *Heclæ* propter niues in summo vertice & basin æstuantem, adscribere non dubitarunt. Vix autem mirum esse potest, quòd ignis montis radicibus latens, & nunquã, nisi rarissimè erumpens, excelsa montis cacumina, quæ niuibus obducuntur, non colliquefaciat. Nam & in *Caira*, altissima montis cacumina niuibus semper cãdentia esse perhibentur: & in *Beragua* quidem similiter, sed 5000 passuum in cœlum elata, quæ niuibus nunquam liberentur, cum tamen partibus tantum decem ab æquatore distent. Vtrãq; hanc prouinciam iuxta *Pariam* esse sitam accepimus. Quid? quod illa *Teneriffæ* (quæ una est ex insulis *Canarijs*, quæ & *Fortunatæ*) pyramis, secundum *Munsterum*, 8 aut 9 milliarium *Germanicorum* altitudine in aëra asurgens, atq; in *stær* *Ætne* iugiter conflagens, niues, quibus media cingitur, teste *Benzone* *Italo*, *Indiæ* occidentalis *Historico*, non resoluit. Quod ipsum in nostra *Hecla* quid est, quod magis miremur? Atque hæc ita breuiter de incendiis montanis.

Nunc illud quoque castigandum arbitramur, quod hos montes in cœlum vsq; attolli scribant. Habent enim nullã præ cæteris *Islandiæ* montibus notabilem altitudinem: Præcipuè tertius ille *Helga à Munstero* appellatus, nobis *Helgafel*, 1, Sacer mons, apud monasterium eiusdè nominis, nulla sui parte tempore æstiuo niuibus obductus, nec montis excelsi, sed potius collis humilis nomen meretur, nunquã, vt initio huius sectionis dixi, de incendio suspectus. Nec verò perpetuè niues *Heclæ*, vel paucis alijs adscribi debebant: Permutos enim habet eiusmodi môtos niueos *Islandia*, quos omnes vel toto anno, non facillè collegerit aut connumerarit, horum prædicatòr & admiratòr *Cosmographus*, Quin etiam id non negligendum, quod mons *Hecla* non occidentem versus, vt à *Munstero* & *Zieglero* annotatum est, sed inter meridiem & orientem positus sit. Nec promontorium est: sed mons ferè mediterraneus.

Incendia perpetua iugis, &c. Quicunq; perpetuam flammatarum eructationem *Heclæ* adscriperunt, toto cœlo errarunt, ad eò, vt quoties flammam eructãrit, nostrates in annales retulerint, viz. anno Christi 1104. 1157. 1222. 1300. 1341. 1362. & 1389. Neque enim ab illo de montis incendio audire licuit, vsque ad annum 1558. quæ vltima fuit in illo monte eruptio, Interea non nego, fieri posse, quin mons infernè latentes intus flammam & incendia alat, quæ videlicet stãtis interuallis, vt hæc *Ætne* annotatum est, eruperint, aut etiam forte posthac erumpant.

SECTIO SEPTIMA.

Prifius. Munst.

Montis Hecla flamma nec stuppam lucernarum luminibus aptissimam adurit, neque aqua extinguitur: Eoque impetu, quo apud nos machinis bellicis, globi eijcuntur, illinc lapides magni in aera emittuntur, ex frigoris & ignis & sulphuris commixtione. Is locus à quibusdam putatur carcer sordidarum animarum, siem Ziegletus. Is locus est carcer sordidarum animarum.

Nec stuppam adurit.) Vnde habeant Scriptores, non satis conijcitur. Hæc enim nostris hominibus prorsus ignota, nec hîc vnquam, nisi prodidissent illi, audita fuissent, Nemo enim est apud nos tam temerariæ curiositatis, vt huius rei periculum, ardente monte, facere aufit, vel quod scire licuit, vnquã ausus fuerit, Quod tamen *Munsterus* asserit. Qui inquit, naturam tanti incendiij contèplari cupiunt, & ob id ad montem propius accedunt, eos vna aliqua vorago viuos absorbet, &c. Quæ res, vt dixi, nostræ genti est ignota prorsus. Exstat tamen liber veteri *Norua*gorum lingua scriptus, in quo terrarum, aquarum, ignis, aëris, &c. miracula aliquot confusa

fula reperias, pauca vera, plurima vana & falsa. Vnde facile apparet, à Sophis quibudam, si dijs placer, in Papatu olim esse conscriptum: *Speculum Regale* nomen dederunt, propter vanissima mendacia, quibus totus, sed plarumque sub religionis & pietatis prætextu (quo difficilius est fucum agnoscere) scateret speculum minimè regale, sed *Anile & Irregulare*. In hoc speculo figmenta quædam de Heclæ incendio, his quæ nunc tractamus non multum dissimilia, habentur, nullo experimento magis quàm hæc stabilita, ideò que explodenda.

Speculum Regalè

Cæterum ne audaculus videar, qui speculum illud Regale mendacij acculem; nullum verò ex his quæ minus credibilia afferet, recenseam; Accipe horum pauca Lector, quæ fidem minimè mereri existimari.

1 De quadam Insula Hybernæ; quæ templum & Parochiam habet: Cuius incolæ decedentes non inhumantur: sed ad aggerem seu parietem cæmeterij, viuorum instar erecti, consistunt perpetuò: Nec vlli corruptioni, nec ruinæ, obnoxij: vt posterum quiuis suos maiores ibi quærere & conspiciere possit.

2 De altera Hybernæ Insula, vbi homines emori nequeant.

3 De omni terrâ & omnibus arboribus Hybernæ, quæ omnibus omnino venenis resistent, serpentes & alia venenata, vbiuis terrarum, solâ virtute & præsentia, etiam sine contactu, enecent.

4 De tertia Hybernæ Insula: Quòd hæc dimidia Diabolorum colonia facta sit. In diuidiam vero propter templum ibidem exstructum, iuris habeant nihil, licet & pastore (vt tota Insula incolis) & sacris perpetuò careat: idque per naturam ita esse.

5 De quarta Hybernæ Insula, quæ in lacu quodam satis vasto fluitet: cuius gramina, quibusuis morbis prætentissimum remedium existant: Insula verò ripam lacus statis temporibus accedat, idque vt plurimum, diebus Dominicis; vt tum quiuis facilè eam veluti nauim quandam, ingrediatur: id quod tamen pluribus simul, per fatum licere negat, Hanc vero Insulam septimo quoque anno ripæ adnasci tradit, vt à continente non discernas: In eius autem locum mox succedere alteram, priori, naturâ, magnitudine & virtute consimilem; quæ vnde veniat, nasci: idque cum quodam quasi tonitruo contingere.

6 De venatoribus Norvegiæ, qui lignum domare (sic enim loquitur, quantumuis impropiè: cum ligno vt non vita, ita nec domitura competat) adeò docti sint, vt asseres 8. vlnas longi, plantis pedum eorundem alligati, tanta eos celeritate, vel in excelsis montibus, promoueant, vt non modò canum venaticorum, aut caprearum cursu, sed etiam auium volatu superari nequeant: atque vnico cursu, vnico etiam hastæ ictu, nouem vel plures capreas feriant. Hæc & similia, de Hybernia, Norvegia, Islandia, Gronlandia, de aquæ & aëris etiam miraculis, centonum ille magister, in suum speculum collegit: Quibus, licet suis admirationem, vulgo stuporem, nobis tamen risum concitauit.

Gronlandia.

Sed Frisum audiamus, *Flamma*, inquit, *Montis Heclæ nec stupam, lucernarū luminibus apertissimam, adurit, nec aqua extinguitur*. At qui, inquam, ex Schola vestra Philosophica petitis rationibus hoc Paradoxon confirmari poterit. Docent enim Phisici, *commune esse validioribus flammis omnibus vt siccis extinguantur, alantur verò humidis: Vnde etiam fabri, aqua inperfa, ignem excitare solent. Cum enim, aiunt, ardentior fuerit ignis, à frigido incitatur, & ab humido alitur, quorum vtrumq; aqua inest. Item: Aqua solet vehementes accendere ignes: Quoniam humidum ipsum quod exhalat, pinguius redditur, nec à circumfuso fumo absorbitur, sed totum ignis ipse depascitur, quò purior inde factus, ac simul collectus, à frigido alacrior inde redditur. Vnde etiam ignes artificiosi aqua minimè extinguitur, Item: Sunt sulphure & bitumine loca abundantia, quæ sponte ardent, quorum flamma aqua minimè extinguitur. Prodidit etiam Philosophus, *Aqua ali ignem*. Arist. 3. de anim. Et Plin. lib. 2. Nat. Hiflor. cap. 110. Et Strabo lib. 7. *In Nymphæo exit è Petra flamma, que aquâ accenditur*. Idem, *Vires æternum contexens fontem igneum fraxinus*. Quin & repentinos ignes in aquis existere, vt Thrasumenum lacum in agro Perusino arfisse totum, idem autor est, Et anno 1226, & 1236, non procul à promontorio Islandiæ Reykianes, flamma ex ipso mari erupit. Etiam in corporibus humanis repentinos ignes emicuisse, vt Seruio Tullio dormienti, è capite flammam exsilijisse: Et L. Martium in Hispania, interfectis Scipionibus, concionem seu orationem ad milites habentem, atque ad vltionem exhortantem, conflagrasse, Valerius Antias narrat. Meminit etiam Plinius flammæ montanæ, quæ vt aqua accendatur, ita terra aut sceno extinguitur. Item, Alterius campestris, quæ frondem densi supra se nemoris non adurat. Quæ cum ita sint, mirum, homines id in solâ Heclâ mirari (ponam enim iam ita esse, cum non sit tamen, quòd à quoquam scire potuerim) quod multis aliarum terrarum partibus seu locis, tam montanis, quàm campestribus, cum ea commune esset.*

Chronica Islandig

Eo impetu quo apud nos globi. Sic enim Munsterus. *Mons ipse cum furit, inquit, horribilia tonitrua insonat, projicit ingentia Saxa, sulphur euomit, cineribus egestis, tam longè terram circumcirca operit,*

Fiflas.

operit, ut ad viceſimum lapidem coli non poſſit, &c. Cæterum oportuit potius cum Ætnâ, aut alijs montibus flammiumis, quos mox recitabo, comparaffe, cum non deeſſet, non modò ſimile, ſed prope idem: Niſi fortè quòd incendia rarius ex Heclâ erumpant, quàm alijs id genus montibus. Nam proximis 34. annis proriùs quieuit, facta videlicet vltima eruptione, An. 1558 ut ſuperius annotauimus. Et nihil tam magnificè dici poſſet de noſtra Hecla, quin idem, vel maius cæteris montibus flammiumis competat, ut mox apparebit. Quòd verò ſulphur eiacular, manifeſtum eſt commentum, nullo experimento apud noſtrates cognitum.

Iſ locus eſt carcer ſordidarum animarum. Hic præſandum eſſe mihi video, atque veniam à Lectore pctendam, quòd, cum initio propoſuerim, de terra & incolis diuiſim agere, in hac prima parte tamen, quæ ſunt meriò ſecundæ partis, miſcere cogar. Euenit hoc ſcriptorum culpa, qui Inſulâ ſitui ac miraculis, religionis incolarum particulam hanc, de opinione infernalis carceris, conſuderunt. Quare etiam ut hunc locum attingamus, quis non miretur iſthoc commentum ab homine cordato in Hiſtoria poſitum eſſe? Quis non miretur, viros ſapientes eò perduci, ut hæc vulgi deliramenta auſcultent, nedum ſequantur? Vulgus enim extraneorum & hominum colluuius nautica, (hic enim ſaniores omnes, tam inter nautas quam reliquos, excipio,) de hoc inſolito naturæ miraculo audiens, ingenito ſtupore ad iſtam, de carcere animarum, imaginationem ferrur: Si quidem incendio nullam ſubſterni materiam vider, quemadmodum in domeſticis focis fieri conſuevit. Atque hac perſuaſione vulgi fama inoleuit, dum (ut ad maledicta optimè afluſe factum eſt) vnus alteri huius montis incendium impreatur. Quafi verò ignis elementaris & materiatus ac viſibilis, animas, ſubſtantias ſpirituales comburat. Quis deniq; non miretur, cur eundem carcerè damnatorum, non in Ætnâ etiam, nihilo minus ignibus ac incendijs celebri, conſingant? At conſinxit, dices, Gregorius Pontifex. Purgatorium igitur eſt. Sit ſanè: Eadem igitur huius carceris veritas, quæ & purgatorij. Sed prius quâ longius procedamus, liber hic referre fabulam perlepidam, huius opinionis infernalis originem & fundamentum: Nempe cuidam extraneorum nauis Iſlandiam relinquenti, & turgidis velis, citiſſimo curſu iter ſuum rectâ legenti, factam obuiam alteram, ſimiliter impigro curſu, ſed contra vim tempeſtatum, velis & remis nitentem: cuius præfectus rogatus, quidnam eſſent? Reſpondiſe fertur: De Biſchop van Bremen. Iterum rogatus quo tenderent? ait. Thom Wetkefeldt tho, Thom Wetkefeldt tho. Hæc videns Lector vereor, ne peluim poſtulet dari: Eſt enim mendacium adeo deteſtandum, ut facilè nauſeam pariat. Abeat igitur ad Cynofarges & ranas paluſtres: illud enim eiufdè facimus atq; illarû coax, coax. Nec verò dignum eſt hoc commentum, quod rideatur, nedum refutetur. Sed nolo cum inſanis Papiſtis nugari: Quin potius ad ſcriptores noſtros conuertamur.

Atque in primis neque hic, clariffimi viri, D. Caſparis Peuceri, illud præterire. *Eſt in Iſlandia, inquit, mons Hecla, qui immanis barabri, vel inferni potius profunditate terribilis, eiulantium miſerabili & lamentabili ploratu perſonat, ut voces plorantium circumquaq; ad internallum magni milliaris, audiantur. Circumvolitant hunc coruorum & vulturum nigerrima agmina, quæ nidulari ibidè ab incolis exiſtimantur. Vulgus incolarum deſcenſum eſſe per voraginem illam ad inferos perſuaſum habet: Inde, cum prælia committuntur alibi in quacunq; parte orbis terrarum, aut cades ſunt cruenta, commoueri horrendos circumcircat tumultus, & excitari clamores, atq; eiulatus ingentes longâ experientia didicerunt.* Quis verò rem tam incredibilem ad te vir doctiſſime perſerre auſus fuit? Nec enim voluit eſſe Iſlandia, ſed genus aquilarum ſecundum, quod ab albicante caudâ Plinius notauit, & Pygarſum appellauit. Nec vlli ſunt huius ſpectaculi apud nos teſtes: Nec deniq; ibidem coruus aut aquilas nidificare probabile eſt, quæ, igni & fumo ſemper inimiciſſimo, potius à focis vel incendijs arceantur. Et nihilominus in huius rei teſtimonium, (ut & exauditi per voraginem montis tumultus extranei,) experientiam incolarum allegant, quæ certè contraria omnia teſtatur, Vnde verò foramen vel fenestra illa montana, per quam clamores, ſtrepitus & tumultus apud antipodes, peræcos & antæcos factos exaudiremus? De quâ te multa eſſent, quæ authorem iſtius mendacij, interrogarum haberem, modò quid de illo nobis conſtaret: qui vt inam veriora narrare diſcat, nec tam perfrictâ fronte ſimilia, incomperta, atq; adeò incredibilia, clariffimo viro Peucero, aut alijs referre præſumat.

Aſt verò Munſterus cum incendiij tanti & tam incredulis cauſas in famoſiſſimâ Ætna inueſtigare conatus ſit, quam rem illic naturalem facit, hic verò præternaturalè imò infernalem faciat, an non monſtri ſimile eſt? Cæterum de Ætnâ quid dico? Quin potius videamus quid de Heclâ incendio aliàs ſentiat Munſterus.

Dubium non eſt, inquit, montes olim & campos arſiſſe in orbe terrarum: Et noſtra quidem ætate ardent. Verbi gratia: In Iſlandia mons Hecla ſtatis temporibus foras proyicit ingentia Saxa, enomni ſulphur ſpargit cineres, tam longè circumcirca, ut terra ad viceſimum lapidem coli non poſſit. Vbi autem montiùs incendia perpetua ſunt, intelligimus nullam eſſe obſtructionem meatuum, per quos modo, quafi

quasi fluum quendam, ignes modo flammæ, nunc verò fumum tantum euomunt. Sin per temporum intervalla increscunt, internis meatibus obturatis, eius viscera nihilominus ardent. Superioris autem partis incendia, propter fomitis inopiam, non nihil remittunt ad tempus. Ast ubi spiritus vehementior, rursus reclusis meatibus isdem vel alijs, ex carcere magnâ vi erumpit, cineres, arenam, sulphur, pumices, massas, quæ habent speciem ferri, saxa, aliâsq; materias foras projicit, plerunq; non sine detrimento regionis adiacentis. Hæc Munsterus. Vbi videas quæso Lector, quomodo iuove iugulet gladio, videas inquam hîc eâdem de incendio Heclæ & Aetnæ opinionem & sententiam, quæ tamen lib. 4. eiusdem, admodum est dispar, vt illic ad causas infernales confugiat.

Habet profectò Indiæ occidentalis mons quidam flammiumus æquiores multò, quàm hic nos, censores & historicos, minimè illic barathrum exadificantes: Cuius historiam, quia & brevis est, & non illepidâ, subiiciam, ab Hieronimo Benzone Italo in Historiar. noui orbis, lib. 2. his verbis descriptam.

Triginta quinq; inquit, milliariam intervallo abest Legionem flammiumus, qui per ingentem craterem tantos sape flammiarum globos eructat, vt noctu latissimè ultra 10000. passuum incendia reluceant. Nonnullus fuit opinio, intus liquefactum aurum esse, perpetuam ignibus materiam. Itaq; Dominicanus quidam monachus, cum eius rei periculum facere vellet, abenum & catenam ferream fabricari curat, moxq; in montis iugum cum quatuor alijs Hispanis ascendens, catenam cum abeno ad centum quadraginta vlnas in caminum demittit. Ibi ignis feruore, abenum cum parte catenæ liquefactum est. Monachus non leuiter iratus Legionem recurrit, fabrum incusat, quòd catenam tenuiorem multò, quàm iussisset ipse, esset fabricatus. Faber aliam multo crassiorẽ excudit. Monachus montem repetit: Catenam & lebetem demittit. Res priori incæpto similem exitum habuit. Nec tantum resolutus lebes euannit, verù etiã flammæ globus repente è profundo exsiliens, propemodùm & Fratrem & socios absumpsit. Omnes quidem adeo perculsi in urbem reuersi sunt, vt de eorũ incæpto exequendo nunquam deinceps cogitent, &c.

O quam censura dispar? In montano Indiæ occidentalis camino aurum: Islandiæ verò, infernum quærunt. Sed hoc vt nimis recens, ac veteribus ignotum fortasse reijcient: Cur igitur eundẽ, quem in Heclâ Islandiæ, animarũ carcerẽ, in Chimæra, Lyciæ monte, cuius noctu diuq; flamma immortalis perhibetur, non sunt imaginati scriptores? Cur nõ in Ephesi montibus, quos tædâ flãmante tactos, tantũ ignis cõcipere accepimus, vt lapides quoq; & arenæ in ipsiis aquis ardeat, & ex quibus accenso baculo, si quis sulcũ traxerit, riuos igniũ sequi narratur à Plinio? Cur non in Cophanorũ Bætrorum monte, noctu semper confligente? Cur non in Hiera Insula, in medio mari ardente? Cur non in Acolia, similiter in ipso mari olim dies aliquot aliquot accensæ? Cur non in Babyloniorum campo, interdium flagrante? Cur non in Aethiopum campis, Stellarum modo, noctu semper nitentibus? Cur non in illo Liparæ tumulo, ampla & profunda voragine hiante, teste Aristotele, ad quẽ non tantò noctu accedatur: ex quo Cymbalorũ sonitus, crotalorum boatus, cum insolitis & inconditis cachinnis exaudiantur? Cur non in Neapolitanorum agro ad Puteolos? Cur nõ in illa superius cõmemorata Teneriffæ pyramide montana, instar Aetnæ, iugiter ardente, & lapides, vt ex Munstero videre est, in aëra expuente? Cur non in illo Aethiopum iugo, quod Plinius testatur, horum omnium maximo aduri incendio? Cur non denique in Vesuuio monte, non sine insigni viciniæ clade, & C. Plinij exitiali detrimẽto, dum insueti incendij causas perferutatus venit, nubium tenuis flammæ cum saxis euomẽte, pumicum & cinerum ineffabili copiã aëra replente, & solem meridianum per toram viciniam densissimis tenebris interceptante? Dicam, & dicam quod res est: Quia scilicet illis, vtpote notioribus, fidem, etsi inferni esse incendia finxissent, minimè adhiberi præuidebant: Heclæ verò æstum, cuius rumor tardius ad eorum aures peruenit, huic commento vanissimo stabiliendo, magis inservire putabant. Sed facecite: Deprehensa fraus est: Definite posthac illam de inferno Hekleni opinionem cuiquam velle persuadere, Docuit enim & nos, & alios, vobis inuitis, confimilibus incendijs, operationes suas Natura, non Infernus, Sed videamus iam plura eiusdem fatinæ vulgi mendacia, quæ Historicis & Cosmographis nostris ad eò malè imposituerunt,

SECTIO OCTAVA,

In iuxta hos montes (tres prædictos Heclam, &c.) sunt tres hiatus immanes, quorum altitudinem apud montem Heclam potissimum, ne Lynceus quidem perspicere queat: Sed apparent ipsum insipientibus, homines primum submersi, adhuc spiritum exhalantes, qui amicis suis, vt ad propria redeant, hortantibus, magnis suspirijs se ad montem Heclam proficisci debere respondent: Sicque subito euanescent.

Frifius Zieglerus,
Olaus Magus.

AD confirmandum superius mendacium de Inferno terrestri ac visibili, commentum hoc, non minus calumniosum (etsi faciliè largiar, Frifium non tam calumniandi, quàm noua & inaudita

inaudita prædicandi animo ista scripsisse) quàm falsum ac gerris Siculis longè vanius ac de-
testabilis, excogitarunt homines ignaui, nec cœlū nec infernū scientes. Quos scriptores isti, viri
alioqui præclarissimi & optimè de Repub. literaria meriti, nimium preproprio iudicio securi sunt.

Cæterum optandum esset, nullos tanto nouitatis studio Historias scribere, vt non vereantur
aniles qualuis nugas ijs inserere, atq; ita aurum purū cœno aspergere. Qui verò demū sunt ho-
mines illi submersi, in lacu infernali natitantes, & nihilominus cum notis & amicis confabu-
lantes? Anne nobis vererem Orphea, cum sua Euridice, in Stygias relabente vndas, colloquen-
tem, & in his extremi orbis partibus, tanquam ad Tanaim Hebrumque niuaeni, cantus exer-
centem lyricos, rediuuium dabitis? Certè, etsi nolint alij futilem huiusmodi ineptiarum leuita-
tem ac mendacium agnoscere, agnouit tamen rerum omnium haud negligens æstimator Car-
danus, lib. 18. subtil. cuius hæc sunt verba.

*Est Hecla mons in Islandia, ardet q̄ non aliter ac Ætna in Sicilia per internalla, ideog. persuaso-
ne longa (vulgi) concepta, quod ibi expientur anima. Alij, ne vani sint, affingunt inania fabula, vt
consona videantur. Quæ sunt autem illa inania? Quòd spectra comminiscuntur, se ad montem He-
clam ire respondentia, ait idem. Et addit. Nec in Islandia solum, sed vbiq; licet rarò, talia contin-
gunt: Subditq; de larua homicida Historiam, quæ sic habet. Efferebatur, inquit, anno præterito,
fanus viri plebeij Mediolani, orientali in porta iuxta templum maius foro venali, quod à caulium
frequentia nomen caulis nostræ lingua sonat. Occurrit mihi notus: Peto, vt medicorum moris est,
quo morbo excefferit? Respondet ille: consuesse hunc virum hora noctis tertia à labore redire domum:
Vidi lemurem nocte quadam insequentem: Quam cum effugere conaretur, oculus citato pede abibat:
Sed à spectro captus atq; in terram proiectus videbatur. Exclamare nitetur: Non poterat. Tandem,
cum diu in terra cum larua volutus esset, inuentus à prætereuntibus quibusdam, semivivus
domum relatus, cum respirasset, interrogatus, hæc quæ minus expectabantur, retulit. Ob id animam
despondens, cum nec ab amicis, nec medicis, nec sacerdotibus persuaderi potuisset, inania esse hæc, octo
inde diebus perijt. Audini post modum & ab alijs, qui vicini essent illi, neminem ab inimico vulnera-
tum tam constanter de illo testatum, vt hic, quod à mortuo fuisset in terram pronolutus. Cum quidam
quererent, quid ille postquam in terram volutus etur ageret? Conatum, inquit, mortuum adhibitis gule
manibus, vt eum strangularet: Nec obstiit, quicquam, nisi quòd se ipsam tueretur manibus. Cum
alij dubitarent, ne forte hæc à vino passus esset, interrogarentq; in quo mortuum a vino discernere potu-
isset? Causam reddidit satis probabilem, dicens se tanquam cottum attréclasse, nec pondus habuisse, ni-
si vt premebatur. Et paulò post addit. Eadem verò ratione, qua in Islandia, in arena solitudinibus
Ægypti & Æthiopiæ, Indiæq; ubi Sol ardet, eadem imagines, eadem spectra viatores ludificare so-
lent. Hactenus Cardanus. Inde tamen nemo conclusit, sicut de Islandia scriptores nostri
faciunt, in illis Ægypti & Æthiopiæ, Indiæq; locis, carcerem existere damnatorum.*

Hæc ex Cardano adscribere libuit, vt etiam extraneorum testimonium pro nobis, contra fig-
menta tanta afferamus. Conuincit autè præsens Cardani locus hæc duo, scilicet: nec esse Islandiæ
propriæ spectrorū apparitiones: (quod etiã omnes norunt, nisi eius rei ignorantia nimis af-
fectent) nec illud mortuorū cū viuus, in hiatu Heclensi, colloquium, nisi ementitis hominum fa-
bulis, quavis ampulla vanioribus, nisi quibus beluz vulgares, ad confirmandā de animarū crui-
ciatibus opinio, vsq; fuerant. Et quisquã est, qui illis scriptorū hiatiibus, mortuorū miraculis ad
summum vsque referis, adduci potest vt credat? Quisquam, qui vanitatem tantam non cotēnat?
Certè. Nam & hinc conuicia in gentem nostram rectè sumi aiunt: Nihil scilicet hac proiectus
ac deterius esse vsquã, quæ intra limites Orcum habeat. Scilicet hoc cōmodi nobis peperit Hi-
storiorum ad res nouas diuulgandas auditas, Verum illa è vulgi dementia nata opinio, vt
stulta ac inanis, & in opprobrium nostræ gentis conficta, hæctenus, vt spero, satis labefactata est.
Quare iam perge Lector, vterius hanc de secretis infernalibus Philosophiam cognoscere.

SECTIO NONA.

*Frñus & Munst. Circum verò Insulam, per septem aut octo menses fluctuat glacies, miserabilem quandam gemium,
& ab humana voce non alienum, ex collisione edens. Putant incolæ, & in monte Hecla, & in glaci-
e loca esse, in quibus anima suorum crucientur.*

EGregium scilicet Historiæ augmentum, de Orco Islandico in vnus montis basin, haud sanè
vastam, coactò: Et interdum (statis forsan temporibus) loca commutante. Vbi scilicet do-
mi in foco morano delitescere piget, & exire, pelagusq; sed sine rate, tentare iuuat, seseq; in
glacii frustella colligere. Audite porò, huius secreti admiratores: En porrigã Historicis aliud Hi-
storiarū auctarium nequaquam contemnendum. Scribant igitur, quotquot his scriptorū cōmen-
tis adherent, Islandos non solum infernum intra limites habere, sed & scientes volentes ingre-
di, atq; intactos eodē die egredi, Quid ita? Quia peructus est Insulæ cōsuetudo, vt maritimi in
hanc

hanc glaciem, ab Historicis infernalem factam, manè phocas, seu vitulos marinos captum eant, ac vesperi incolumes redeant. Adde etiam, in scrinijs & alijs vasis ab Islandis carcerem damnatorum asseruari, vt paulò post ex Frisio audiemus.

Sed maturè prævidendum erit vobis, ne Islandi fortitudinis & constantiæ laudem vestris nationibus præripiant: Quippe qui tormenta (vt historicis vestris placet) barathri sustinuisse & velint & possint, illaq; sine vilo grauiore damno perrumpere atq; effugere valeant, quod quidem ipsum ex iam dictis efficitur: Et multos nostratium enumerare possum, qui in ipso venationis actu longiusculè à litoribus digressi, glaciè à Zephyris dissipata, multa milliaria glaciè in sidetes, tempestatis violentia profligati, & aliquot dies ac noctes continuas crudelissimi pelagi fluctibus iactati, sicque (id enim, inquam, ex præsentis Historicorum problemate consequitur) tormenta & cruciatus barathri glacialis experti sunt: Qui tandem murata tempestate, atq; à Borea spirantibus ventis, ad littora, cum hoc suo glaciali nauigio rursus adacti, incolumes domum perueniunt: Quorum aliqui etiam hodie viuunt. Quare hoc nouitatis auidi arripiant, indeque, si placet, iustum volumen conficiant, atque ad Historiam suam apponant. Nec enim vanissima illa commenta aliter, quàm eiusmodi iocularibus excipienda & confundenda videntur. Ceterum, ioco seposito, vnde digressi sumus, reuertamur.

Primum igitur ex sectione secunda satis constat, glaciem, neque septem, neque octo mensibus circa ipsam Insulam fluitare: Deinde etiam, glaciem hanc, etsi interdum ex collisione grandes sonitus & fragores edit, interdum propter vndarum alluionem, raucum murmur personat, quicquam tamen humanæ voci simile resonare aut eiulare minimè fatemur.

Quod autem dicunt, nos & in glaciè, & in monte Hecla loca statuerè, in quibus animæ nostrorū cruciantur, Id verò seriò pernegamus, Deòq; ac Domino nostro Iesu Christo, qui nos à morte & inferno eripuit, & regni cœlestis ianuam nobis reserauit, gratias ex animo agimus, quod nos de loco, in quem animæ nostrorum defunctorum commigrent, rectius, quàm dicunt isti Historici, instituerit, Scimus & tenemus animas piorum non in Purgatorium Pontificiorum, aut campos Elysijs, sed in sinu Abrahæ, in manu Dei, in Paradisum cœlestem, mox è corporis ergastulo transferri. Scimus & tenemus de impiorum animabus, non in montanos focos & cineres, vel glaciem nostris oculis expositam, deflectere, sed in extremas mox abripi tenebras, vbi est sletus & stridor dentiū, vbi est frigus, vbi est ignis ille, non vulgaris, sed extrā nostrā scientiā & subtilem disputationem positus. Vbi non modò corpora, sed animæ etiam, i. substantiæ spirituales, cruciantur. Huic extremo & tenebricoso carceri non Islandos viciniore, quàm Germanos, Danos, Gallos, Italos, aut quamvis aliam gentem, quoad loci situm, statuiamus. Nec de huius carceris loco sitūue quicquā disputare attinet: Sufficit nobis abundè, quòd illius tenebricosum fœtorem & reliqua tormēta, dante & iuuante Domino nostro Iesu Christo, cuius precioso sanguine redempti sumus, nunquam sumus visuri aut sensuri. Atque hic de orco Islandico disputationis colophon esto.

SECTIO DECIMA.

Quod si quis ex hac glaciè magnam partem ceperit, eamque vasi aut scrinio inclusam, quàm diligentissime asseruarit, illa tempore glaciè, quæ circum insulam est, degelantis, evanescit, vt neque minima eius particula vel guttula aquæ reperiatur.

Frisius, Zieglerus Saxo teste sinijlter.

Id profecto necessariò addendum fuit: Hanc scilicet glaciem, voces humanas, secundum Historicos, representatam, & damnatorum receptaculum existentem, non esse, vt reliqua in vastissima hac vniuersitate omnia, ex Elementi alicuius materia conflata. Siquidem cum corpus esse videatur, corpus tamen non sit, (quod ex Frisij paradoxo rectè deducitur) cum etiam corpora dura & solida perrumpat, non secus ac spectra & genij: Restat igitur cum non sit elementaris naturæ, vt vel spiritualement habeat materiam, vel cœlestem, vel quod ipsi forsitan largiantur, infernalement. Infernalement esse non assentimur, quia ad aures nostras peruenit frigus infernale longè esse intractabilius, quàm est hæc glaciè, humanis manibus in scrinio reposita, nec quicquā suo contactu, vel nudatam carnem lædere valens. Nec profectò spiritualement esse dabimus; accepimus enim à Physicis, substantias spirituales nec cerni, nec tangi, nec ijs quicquam decedere posse: Quæ tamen omnia in hanc historicorum glaciem, quantumuis, secundum illos, hyperphysicam, cadere certum & manifestum est. Præterea & hoc verissimum est, eam calore solis resolutam, ac in superficie sua stagnantem, sicut piscatorum restinguendæ, nō secus ac riuos terrestres, inseruire: Id quod substantiæ spirituali denegatū est. Non est igitur spiritualis, vt nec infernalis. Iam verò cœlestem habere materiam, nemo audebit dicere: Ne forte inde aliquis suspicetur, glaciem hanc barathrum, quod illi Historici affingūt, secum è cœlo traxisse: Vel id cœlo, quippe eiusdem materiæ cum glaciè, commune esse, atq; ita carcer damnatorum cum Paradiso cœlesti loca commutasse, Historicorum culpa putetur.

Quare

Quare cum glacies hæc Historica nec sit elementaris, vt ex præfenti loco Frisij optimè sequi iam toties monuimus: nec spiritalis, nec infernalis, quod vtrumq; breuibus, solidis tamen rationibus demonstrauimus: nec cœlestis materiæ, quod opinari religio vetat: relinquitur omnino, vt secundum eisdem Historicos nulla sit, quam tamè illi tam eum stupendâ admiratione prædicant, & nos videri ac tangi putamus. Est igitur, & non est: Quod axioma vbi secundum idem, & ad idem, & eodem tempore, vt eum esse poterit, nos demum miraculis istis glacialibus credemus. Itaq; iam vides Lector, ad hæc refellenda nullo alio esse opus, quam môlstrari quomodo secum dissideant, Sed haud mirum, cum qui semel vulgi fabulosis rumoribus se permisit, sapius errare. Cuiusmodi etiam prodidit quidam de glaciæ huius Sympathiâ; quod videlicet molis, cuius pars esset, discessum insequeretur, vt omnem obseruationis diligentiam ineuicabili fugâ necessitate deciperet. Atqui sæpe vidimus eiusmodi solitariam molem post abactam reliquam glaciem, nullis vectibus, nullis machinis detentam, ad litus multis septimanis consistere. Palam est igitur; illud de glaciæ miraculum fundamento niti, quàm est ipsa glaciæ, magis lubrico.

SECTIO VNDECIMA.

Non procul ab his montibus, (tribus prædictis) ad maritimas oras vergentibus, sunt quatuor fontes diuersissima natura. Vnus suo perpetuo ardore omne corpus sibi immissum raptim conuertit in saxum, manente tamen priorè formâ. Alter est algoris intolerabilis. Tertius vel melle dulcior, & restinguendæ sitis incurdissimus. Quartus plane exitialis, pestilens, & virulentus.

Etiam hæc fontium topographia satis apertè monstrat, quàm ex impuro fonte has suas narrationes omnes miraculosas haulerit Geographus: Id enim dicere videtur: Montes hos tres prædictos ferè cõtinguos esse: Si quidè tribus montibus quatuor fontes indiseretè adscribit. Alioqui si non vicinos statuisset, vni alicui horum duos fontes adscripsisset. Sed neque hi montes contigui sunt (quippe multis milliaribus inuicem distiti) neque iuxta hos fontes illi quatuor reperiuntur: quod, qui credere nolit, experiarur. Cæterum ad hæc confundenda sufficit, credo, ipsorum historicorû contrarietas: Nam de duobus fontibus quidam Frisio his verbis contradicit. *Erumpunt ex eodem monte (Heclâ) fontes duo, quorum alter aquarum frigiditate, alter feruore intolerabili exedit omnem elementarem vim.* Hi duo sunt primi illi Frisij fontes, nisi quod hic miraculum indurandi corpora, alteri fontium attributum, omissum sit. At qui non simul possunt ex ipso monte, & iuxta montem erumpere.

Hic vero libenter quæsierim, quâ ratione quisquam ex Peripateticis dicat, aliquid ipso elemento aquæ frigidius, aut igne calidius? Vnde demum, scriptores, ista frigiditas? Vnde iste feruor? Nonne è Schola vestra accepimus aquam esse elementum frigidissimum & humidum, atque ad eò frigidissimum, vt ad constituendas qualitates secundas, remitti sit necesse, nec simplicem vsibus humanis inseruire? (Hæc ego nunc Physicorum oracula fundo; vera an falsa, nescio.) Testis est vnus omnium, & pro omnibus, Iohannes Fernelius lib. 2. Physiologiæ, cap. 4. *Sic, inquit, qualitates hæc (quatuor primæ) quatuor rerum naturis summa obtigerunt, vt quemadmodum puro igne nihil calidius, nihilque lenius: Sic terra nihil siccius, nihil grauius: Aquam sinceram, nullius medicamenti vis gelida enuncit, vt nec aërem, vilius humor. Summe præterea sic illis insunt, vt ne minimum quidem possint auferre, remitti vero possint.* Nolo huc rationes seu argumenta Physicorum aggregare. Vnum profecto hic cauendum est, ne dum fontium miracula prædicant scriptores, vt glaciem Islandorum, ita etiam fontes creatorum numero eximant. Nos fontium adiuncta, quæ huc scriptores pertraxerunt, ordine persequemur. *Primus suo perpetuo calore* Plurimæ sunt in Islandia thermæ seu fontes calidi: Pauciores ardentes: quos neque cuiquam miraculo esse debere existimamus, cum huiusmodi, vt a scriptoribus didici, passim abundet Germania, præcipuè in ijs locis, quæ non sunt procul ab Alpium radicibus. Nota est fama thermarum Badenium, Gebarfuiensium, Calbensium, in ducatu Wirtëbergensi, & multarum aliarum quatum meminit Fuchsius in lib. de arte medendi. Et non solum Germania, sed etiam Gallia, & longè magis omnium bonorum parens Italia, inquit Cardanus. Et Aristoteles narrat, circa Epytium calidas aquas scaturire, vnde locus Pyriphlegeton appellatur. Atq; inquam, hæc ideo minus miranda, quod vt incendij montani, ita feruoris aquæ causas indagant Naturæ speculatores: Aquam scilicet per terræ venas sulphureas, aut aluminosas labi, indeq; non calorem solum, sed saporem etiam & virtutes alienas concipere. Docuit hoc Aristoteles libro de mundo. *Continet, inquit, terra in se multos fontes, vt aqua, ita & spiritus & ignis: Quidam annuum more fluunt, & vel ignescens eiciunt ferrum: Nunc tepida aquæ erumpunt, nunc feruentissima, nunc temperata.* Et Seneca: *Empedocles existimabat ignibus, quos multis locis operios tegit terra, aquam calefcere, si subiecti sint solo, per quod aqua transitus est.* Et scitè de thermis Baianis Pontanus,

Baiano sed ne fumare in litore thermas.

Mirere, aut liquidis fluitare incendia venis:

Vulcani fora sulphureis incensa caminis

Ipsa nonent, late multum tellure sub ima

Debacchari ignem, camposq; exurere opertos.

Inde fluit, calidum referens ex igne vaporem,

Vnda fugax, tellus feruent & balnea flammis.

Hoc loco attingendum duxi quod tradit Saxo Grammaticus, Danorum celebratissimus historicus, *Islandia fontes quosdam nunc ad summum excrescere, & exudare: Nunc adeo subsidere, ut vix fontes agnoscat.* Qui etsi rariores apud nos inveniuntur, adscribam tamen similes, etiam a libi à natura productos, ne quis hic monstri quippiam imaginetur. Hos autem recitat Plinius. In Tenedo Insula vnum, qui semper à tertia noctis hora, in sextam solstitio æstiuo exundet. In agro Picinate, trans Apenninum montem, fluuium esse, qui omnibus Solstitijs æstiuus exundet, brumali tempore siccat. Refert etiam de fonte quodã satis largo, qui singulis horis intumescat & residat. Nec id magis negligendum: subire terras flumina, rursusque redire: vt Lycus in Asia, Erasinus in Argolica, Tigris in Mesopotamia, quibus Cardanus addit Tanaim in Moscouia: Et quæ in Æculapij fonte Athenis immersa sunt, in Phaetico reddi. Et Seneca scribit esse flumina, quæ in specum aliquem subterraneum demissa, ex hominum oculis se subducunt, quæ cõsumi paulatim & intercidere constet: Eademq; post interuallum reuerti, recipereq; & nomen & cursum priorem, Et iterum Plinius; fluuium in Atinate campo mersum, post 20 milia passuum exire. Quæ omnia, & his similia, Islandiæ fontes, miraculo nullo, præ cæteris esse debere, ostendunt.

Omne corpus immissum continuo conuertit in saxum. His duobus adiunctis, seruiore nempe, seu ardore vehementissimo, & virtute indurandi corpora, primum suũ fontem describit Frisius, Et fama quidem accipi, ipse non sum expertus, existere similem fontem in Islandia, non procul à sede Episcopali Schalholt, apud villam nomine Haukadal. Habet simile Seneca, dicens, *fontem quendam esse, qui ligna in lapides conuertat, hominumq; viscera indurescere, qui aquam eius biberint:* Et addit eiusmodi fontes in quibusdam Italiæ locis inueniri: quod Ouidius Ciconum flumini tribuit I 5. Metamorph.

Flumen habent Cicones, quod potum saxea reddit

Viscera, quod tactis inducit marmora rebus.

Et Cardanus: *Georgius Agricola, inquit, in Elbogano tractu iuxta oppidum à falconibus cognominatum, integras cum corpore abietes in lapidem conuersas esse, atq; quod maris est, in rimis etiam Pyritidem lapidem continere.* Et *Domitius Brussonius, in Sylare amne, qui radices montis eius, qui est in agro vrbis Vrsentinerum olim, nunc Contursy, lambit, folia & arborum ramos in lapides transire, non sive aliorum, sed propria, vt qui incola sit regionis, (cui rei etiam Plinius aspiculatur) narrat, cortices autẽ lapidẽ, annos numero ostendere.* Sic (si scriptoribus credimus) guttæ Gotici fontis sparset lapidescunt. Et in Vngaria, Cepusij aqua, in vrceos infusa, lapidescit, Plinius refert etiam, vt in Ciconum flumine, & in Piceno lacu velino, lignum deiectum, lapideo corrice obduci,

Secundus algoris intolerabilis. Quantum ad secundum fontem attinet, nullus hic est quod quisquã sciat, algoris intolerabilis, sed plurimi bene frigidi, ita vt vulgaribus riuis æstiuo sole tepescentibus, non sine voluptate ex frigidioribus illis aquam hauriamus. Sunt & longè frigidiores fortè alibi: Nam & Cardanus in agro Corinthio è montis vertice fluentem riuum commemorat, niue frigidiorum: Et intra primum à Culma lapidem, Insanam vocatum: quæ aqua cũ feruere videatur, sit tamen longè frigidissima, &c.

Tertius vel melle dulcior. Neq; id profus verum est. Non enim est vllus apud nos, qui vel minima ex parte cum mellis dulcedine conferri possit. Rectius igitur Saxo, qui fontes (quoniam plures sunt) in Islandia dicit inueniri *Cerealem referentes liquorem, vt etiam ibidem non diuersi saporis solum, sed diuersi etiam coloris fontes & flumina reperiuntur.*

Etsi autem tradunt Phisici aquam naturaliter ex se neq; saporem neq; odorem habere, tamen, vt superius attigimus, verisimile est, quod alij per accidens vocant, eam sæpe referre qualitatem terræ, in qua generatur, & per cuius vcnas transitum atq; excursum habet: Atq; hinc aquarum odores, colores, sapes, alios atq; alios existere. Cuiusmodi sunt, de quibus narrat Seneca, quorum alij famem excitent, alij bibentẽs inebrient, alij memoriæ officiant, alij iuuent eandem, alij vini saporem & virtutem repræsentent: Vt ille apud Plinium in Andro Insula fons, in templo Liberi, qui Nonis Ian: vini sapore fluat. Et apud Aristotelem fons in agro Carthaginensi, qui oleũ præbeat, & guttulas Cedri odore repræsentet. Item, Orcus fluuius Theffaliæ, influens in Peneum, olei instar supernatans: Cuiusmodi etiam narrat Cardanus in Saxonia esse, iuxta Brunonis oppidum, fontem oleo perfusum: Et in Sueuia, iuxta Cœnobium,

Lib. de mirab. auscultat.

Lib. 2. de Element.

cui Tergensche nomen est. Itē, in valle montis Iurassi. Causam huius rei putat esse bitumen valde pingue, quod oleum sine dubio contineat. Idem, famam esse ait, in Cardia, iuxta locū Dasylyi, in campo albo aquam esse lacte dulciorem, Aliā quoq; iuxta pontem, qua Valbeburgum itur, Jam aquarū vini saporem referentium meminit his verbis Propertius, 3. lib. Elegiar.

*En tibi per mediam bene olentia flumina Naxon,
Vnde innum pota Naxia turba merum.*

Est autem Naxius Insula una ex Cycladibus, in mari Aegeo. Causam huius assignat Cardanus, quod hydromel vetustate transeat in vinum. Aristoteles commemorat Siciliae fontem, quo incolae loco aceti vtantur. Idem saporum aquae causam in calorem reulit, quod terra excocta mutet & præbeat saporem aquae.

Iam de aquae coloribus ita Cardanus. *Eadem est ratio colorum aquae, ait, quae & saporum: videlicet à terra originem trahere. Nam Candida est aqua, ad secundum lapidem à Glauca, Misena oppido: Rubra, vt in Radera Misena fluuiio, iuxta Radeburgum: Et olim in Indaa iuxta Ioppen: Viridis, in Carpatomonte, iuxta Neusolam: Cerulea aut blava, inter Feltrium & Taruisium, & in Thermopylis etiam talem fuisse referunt: Nigerrima in Allera fluuiio Saxoniae, vbi in Visingimise exonerat. Causae sunt argilla colores, sed tenuiores. Item Aristoteles: circa Iapygiam promontoriū, esse fontem, qui sanguinem fundat, addens, eam maris partem suo foetore nauigantes procul arcere. Aiunt præterea in Idumaea fontem esse, qui quater in anno colorem mutet, cum sit colore nunc viridi, nunc albo, nunc sanguineo, nunc lutulento.*

Et de aquarum odore sic Cardanus. *Similis ratio differentiae est in odoribus. Plerumq; tamen aquarum odores iniuncti sunt, quòd raro terra bene oleat. Pessimè olim foetabat in Aelide, Anigri fluminis aqua, vsq; ad perniciosam, non solum piscium, sed etiam hominum. Iuxta Metonem in Messania, in puteo quodam optimè olens aqua hauriebatur. Hæc ideo recito, vt nullus magis in Islandia quàm alibi, aquarum, colores odores, sapes, miretur.*

Quartus plane exitialis. Autor est Isidorus, esse fontem quendam, cuius aqua pota vitam extinguat: Et Plinius: Iuxta Nonarim, inquit, Arcadiae, Styx (iuxta Cyllenem montem, ait Cardan. Sola equi vngula continebatur: referunt ea sublatum Alexandrum magnū) nec odore differens, nec colore, epota illico necat. Idem, In Berofo Taurorum colle sunt tres fontes sine remedio, sine dolore mortiferi: Et quod longè maximum est, quod Seneca flagnum esse dicat, in quod prospicientes statim moriantur. Nos verò Islandi etiam hunc quartum Frisij fontē, cuius etiam Saxo meminit, vt antehac semper, itidem etiam nobis hodie penitus ignotum testamur: Hocq; igitur nomine, Deo immortales gratias agimus, quòd ab eiusmodi fontibus & serpētib; insectis venenatis, ac alijs pestiferis & contagiosis, esse nos immunes voluerit.

Præterea est apud prædictos fontes tanta sulphuris copia. Montes tres à Munstero & Frisio igniuomi dicti, omnes longissimo interuallo à nostris fodinis distant. Quare cum iuxta hos montes, fontibus quatuor, quos tantopere miraculis celebrant, locum & situm faciant, necesse est eos fontes pari ferè interuallo à fodinis sulphureis remotos esse. Nec verò apud montem Heclam, vt Munsterus, nec apud hos Frisij fontes (quorum rumor quàm verus sit, hæctenus ostensum est) sulphur effoditur: Nec patrum nostrorum memoria effossum esse arbitramur, Neq; verum est, quod de sulphuris copia tradit Munsterus, esse videlicet penè vnicum Insulae mercimonium & vectigal. Nam cum insula in quatuor partes diuisa sit, quarta pars, nempe borealis, tantum dimidia, hoc vtitur mercimonio, nec sulphuris mica in vectigal Insulae penditur.

SECTIO DVODECIMA.

Munsta.

Piscium tanta est copia in hac Insula, vt ad altitudinem domorū sub aperto caelo vendēdi exponantur.

S*ub aperto caelo. Id quidem facere vidimus mercatores extraneos, donec naues mercibus extraneis exonerarint, incipiātq; easdem rursus piscibus & reliquis nostratum mercibus onerare. An verò nostri homines id aliquando fecerint, non satis liquet. Certè copiosa illa & vetus piscium abundantia iam desijt, Islandis & istius boni, & aliorum penuria laborare incipientibus, Domino Deo meritum impietatis nostrae flagellum, quod vitam ritè agnoscamus, immitte.*

SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.

Prifus.

Equos habent velocissimos, qui sine intermissione 30. millaria continuo cursu conficiunt.

Q*uidam in sua mappa Islandiae, 20. millaria continuo cursu assequi tradit cuiusdam parociae equos. Sed vtrumque impossibile ducimus, Nam maximae celeritatis & roboris bestias (Rangiferos appellant) scribit Munsterus non nisi 30. millaria 24. horarum spacio conficere.*

SECTIO DECIMA QVARTA.

Cete grandia instar montium prope Islandiam aliquando conspiciuntur, quæ naues evertunt, nisi tibi- Munsf. barum sono absterreantur, aut missis in mare rotundis & vacuis vasis, quorum lusu delectantur, ludificantur. Est aliquando, ut naue in dorsa cetorum, quæ Insulas esse putant, anchoras figentes, sæpe periclitentur, vocantur autem eorum lingua Trollwal, Tuffelwalen. i. Diabolica cete.

Instar montium: En tibi iterum, Lector, Munsteri Telenicia Echo, & cæcum, ut dici solet, in somnium, Deformat, me Hercule, adeò mendax & absurda hyperbole historiam, idque tantò magis quantò minus est necessaria. Nam quorsum attinet mentiri Historicum, si historia est rei veræ narratio? Quorsum tropicas hyperboles assuet? Quid conabitur persuadere, aut quo pertrahere Lectorem, siquidem nihil nisi simplicem rerum expositionem sibi proponit?

Pictoribus atq; Poëtis,

Quodlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas:

Non itidem Historicis.

Dorsa cetorum, quæ Insulas putant: Nata est hæc fabula, ut & reliquæ, ex mendacio quodam, ut antiquò, ita ridiculo & vano, cuius ego fidem titiulitio non emam. Est autem tale: Misos fuisse olim Legatos cum sodalicio monastico, ab Episcopo Bremensi (Brandanus veteribus Noruagis, Krantzio, ni fallor, Alebrandus appellatur) ad fidem Papiisticam, quæ tum Christiana putabatur, in Septentrione prædicandam & diuulgandam: eosque, ubi immensum iter Septentrionem versus nauigando consumpsissent, ad insulam quendam peruenisse: ibique iacta anchora descensum in Insulam fecisse, focos accendisse: (Nam verisimile est nautas in ipso mari glaciali frigore non parum esse vexatos) & comineatum naualem ad reliquum iter expediuisse. At ubi bene ignibus accensis incaluerant foci, Insulam hanc submersam citò euanuisse, nautas autem per præsentem scapham vix seruatos fuisse, Habes huius rei fundamentum, Lector, sed quàm incredibile, ipse vides, Quid verò tandem est animi nautis, qui in mari procelloso videntes scopulum, vel, ut Munsterus, Insulam per exiguam emergere, non vident potius omni studio, allisionem & naufragium metuentes, quàm ut in portu parum tuto quiescerent? Sed ubi anchora figenda? Solent enim, ut plurimum, deesse nautis tam immensi funes, ut in altissimo æquore anchoram demittant: Igitur in dorsis cetorum, responderi Munsterus. Oportet igitur, vestigiū vnci prius effodiant, O stultos nautas, balenarum carnem, à terræ cespitibus, inter fodiendum, non dignoscetes, nec lubricam cetorum cutem, à terrestri superficie internoscetes. Digni profectò, quibuscum ipse Munsterus, nauclerus transfretaret. Equidem hoc loco, ut & superius, de miraculis Islandiæ terrestribus agens, è Tantalii, ut aiunt, horto fructus colligit, id est, ea confectatur, quæ nunquam reperiuntur, nec vsquam sunt, dum miracula hinc inde conquirere, terram & pelagus verrere, ad Historiæ suæ supplementum studet: Vbi tamen nihil nisi commentitia tantum venari potest.

Vocantur autem lingua eorum Trollwal. Ne ultra peram, Munstere: Nullam siquidem es linguæ nostræ cognitionem adeptus: Quare meritò puderet tantum virum, rem ignotam alios velle docere: Est enim eiusmodi inceptum erroribus obnoxium complurimis, ut vel hoc tuo exemplo docebitur. Dum enim vis alijs autor esse, quomodo nostra lingua balenæ vel cete appellentur, detracta, per inscitiam, aspiratione, quæ penè sola vocis significationem facit, quod minimè verum est, affers: Non enim val nostra lingua balenam, sed electionem siue delectum significat, à verbo, *Ex* vel *i.* eligo, vel deligo: vnde val, &c. At balena dicitur nobis vocatur: Vnde tu Trollwalatur scribere debebas. Nec vero Troll Diabolum, ut tu interpretaris, sed Gigantes quosdam montanos significat. Vides igitur, quomodo in toto vocabulo turpiter, quod haud tamen mirum, errès. Leuis quidem illa in linguam nostram iniuria, in vnicâ tantum voce: quoniam plures, haud dubiè, non noras.

Idem alijs vsu venit: Non enim probandum est, quòd quidam, dum Islandiæ descriptionem, ab Islandis acceptam, ederet, maluerit omnia, aut certè plurima promontiorum, sinuum, montium, fontium, fluminum, rursuorum, vallium, collium, pagorum nomina deprauare (quòd nostræ linguæ ignarus, non sciret à nostratibus accepta satis exactè legere) atque corrumpere, quàm prius ab ipsis Islandis, qui tum temporis, id est, Anno 1585. 1585. in Academia Hassniensi vixerunt; quomodo singula legi ac scribi deberent, edicere: Ipsum certè hac natiuorum nominum & appellationum voluntaria deprauatione, (qua factum est, ut ipsi ea legentes, paucissima nostra agnoscamus) in linguam nostram, alioqui puram & auitani penè elegantiam retinentem, non leuiter peccasse reputamus.

Cæterum iam plurima Islandiæ miracula, quæ quidè scriptores nostri attigerunt, sic utcumq; examinauimus. Sed tamen priusquàm alio diuertamus, in hac parte attingendum videtur, quòd

idem ille in mappa Islandiæ, quam sub suo nomine, prædicto anno edi fecerat, de quobus, præter supra dictos, fontibus Islandiæ prodidit: quorum alter lanas albas colore nigro, alter nigras albo, inficiat. Quod quidem ubi acceperit, aut vnde habeat, scire equidem non possumus: Nec enim apud nostros, nec apud extraneos scriptores, reperire licuit. Sed vnde cumq; est, fabula est, nec veritatis micam habet. Quamuis autem sit incredibile, *Lanas nigras albo inficere colore*, cum traditum sit à Plinio, Lanarum nigras nullum imbibere colorem: Tamen simile quiddam narratur à Theophrasto: Flumen esse in Macedonia, quod oves nigras, albas reddat. Et illa, cuius etiam superius memini, rapsodia Noruagica, speculum scilicet illud Regale, hos ipsos fontes, Islandiæ, quæ hodie Hybernia, non Islandiæ esse affirmat. Quod forsàn Lectori imposuit, in lingua peregrina, pro R, S, legenti.

Non maiorem fidem meretur, quod Historicus quidam habet: *Esse in Islandia saxum, quod montium prærupta non extrinseca agitatione, sed propria nativag, motione peruolitet*: Id qui credere volat, quid incredibile ducet? Est enim commentum tam inauditum, vt nullum eius simile, fabulatos fuisse Epicuræos (qui tamen multa incredibilia excogitasse Luciano visi sunt) cõstet: Nisi fortè hominem, qui Islandis proprio nomine Stein dicitur, sentit Historicus rupes quasdam circuisse, vel circumreptasse, Quod, etsi ridiculum est in Historiâ miraculosam referre, hominem scilicet moueri vel ambulare, tamen ad saluandam Historici fidem, simulandum: ne figmentum illud, per se satis absurdum, nec dignum quod legatur, durius perstringamus.

Eodem crimine tenentur, quicumq; Islandiæ, coruos albos, picas, lepores, & vultures adscripterunt: Perrarò enim vultures, cum glacie marina, sicut etiam vrios (sed hos sæpius quàm vultures) & cornicum quoddam genus, Islandis Islakrakur, aduenire obseruatum est. Picas verò & lepores, vt & coruos albos, nunquam Islandia habuit.

At quæ hæc ferè sunt, quæ de prima commentarij nostri parte per quotidianas occupationes, in præsentia, afferre licuit. Quæ in hunc finem à me scripta sunt, (quod etiã prius testatus sum,) vt scriptorum de terra ignota errores, & quorundam etiam affectata vanitas, patefierent: Neq; enim eorum famæ quicquam detractum cupio: Sed quod veritati & patriæ, operam meam consecraram, illa, quæ hæctenus dicta sunt à multis, de Insula, fidem valde exitigam mereri, necesse habui ostendere: ac ita mihi viam ad sequentia de Incolis sternere.

Commentary prima partis Finis.

Commentarij de Islandia pars secunda: quæ est de incolis.

Absolutis hæctenus miraculis Islandiæ, (cum nonnullis alijs, primæ parti annexis) quæ dum scriptores, velut Agamemnonios quosdam fontes, imò, vt quiddam præter & contra omnem naturam, mirantur, nec non variè deprædicant, minus veritati ipsi, & authoritati suæ consulunt: monet propositæ orationis series, vt ad alteram commentarij partem nos conferamus, quæ est de incolis: Vbi quid primùm dicam, aut vnde initium sumam, non satis tenco. Tanta enim sunt in nos vltimos Islandos, & tot quorundam ludibria, tot opprobria, tot scommata, tot diçteria, (Atque inter hæc etiam nonnulla eorum, qui simplicissimam veritatem profiteri volunt, nempe historicorum) vt si singula recensere velim, non aliud quàm

Icaria numerum dicere coner aqua. Sed, vt dixi initio, non cum omnibus æquè stricto iure agemus. Nam licet Kranizius, Munsterus, Frisius, & alij, nimis audacter multa de gente nostra scripserint: Tamen suis monumentis de studijs liberalibus alioqui benè meriti, etiam apud nos eo erunt in precio, quo merentur. Verum interea, etsi quis velit eos à calumniandi nota liberare, tamen non leue est, eos res quasdam tam absurdas, impossibiles & ridiculas proposuisse, cuiusmodi illa fuerunt, quæ hæctenus exposuimus, tum impias, & atrocitate mendaciorum horrendas, cuiusmodi iam sequentur aliquot, in historias reuulisse. Ast alijs, quicumq; sunt, qui quotidianis conuicijs nationem Islandorum incessunt, respõsio, quam merentur, parata esse debet: Ex quorum numero, scurra ille fuit, qui rhythmis aliquot, in gentis nostræ contumeliam, Germanica lingua editis, nomen suum immortali de decoro consecrauit.

Quapropter, vt instituti nostri ratio exigit, dum scriptorum de hac re monumenta persequimur, etsi quædam in eis occurrant, quæ contumeliæ parum habent, nos tamen paratq; excutiemus, & errores, vt hæctenus, annotabimus: tum si quid veri in erea attulerint, id nequaquam dissimulabimus. Ac eo modo, primùm Munsterum, Kranziũ, Frisium, & si qui sunt alij, audiemus, Graculo illo, cum suis rhythmis Germanicis, dira calumnia infectis in postremum, vt dignus est, reiecto locum. In hunc igitur modum, primùm de fide seu Religione Islandorum: Deinde de ipsorum moribus, institutis seu viuendi ratione, authores isti scribunt.

Secundæ partis distributio.

1. Capituli huius partis diuisio.

SECTIO PRIMA.

Adalbertus Metropolitanus Hamburgensis, Anno Christi 1070. vidit ad Christum conuersos Islandos: licet ante susceptam Christi fidem, lege Naturali viuentes, non multum à lege nostra discrepantes: itaque, petentibus illis, ordinauit quendam virum sanctum, primum Episcopum, nomine Iseif.

KRantzius his verbis, & Munsterus alibi, fidei seu Religionis Christianæ dignitatem Islandis videntur adscribere: Facerentq; & se, & veritate dignum, nisi eandem aliàs nobis adimerent, Nam (vt de Krantzio infra) Munsterus, quæ supra prodidit, de fide nostra, seu opinione circa Inferni locum situmque, omnino est à Christiana pietate alienum: Velle scilicet scrutari arcana, quæ Deus sibi soli reseruauit, ouæq; voluit nostrum captum excedere: Non enim reperitur de hac re quicquam in literis sacris, vbi locus vel situs inferni seu ignis æterni, Diabolo & Angelis ipsius, adeoq; damnatis omnibus animabus destinati, determinetur, aut circumscribatur; Nullum inquam, infra terram, seu in ea, aut vlla alia huius mundi parte, corporalem seu localem situm illi damnatorum carceri pagina sacra assignat: quinimo, terram hanc interituram, & terram nouam & cœlos nouos, iustorum & sanctorum habitacula, creanda affirmat: Apoc. 2. 2. Petri 3, Esa. 65. Quare Christianus rerum adeò abstrusarum inquisitionem libenter præterit: tum dogmata nullis apertis & illustribus scripturæ sacræ testimonijs stabilita, velut certa & vera recipere, aut alijs tradere, nefas esse ducit. Deut. 4. & 12. Esa. 8. Matth. 17. 2. Timoth. 3.

Deinde etiam pugnat acriter cum Religione Christiana, quo Munsterus & Krantzius Islandos ornant, encomium: Eos videlicet, catulos ac pueros suos æquo habere in precio. De quo infra, section. 7. Sic igitur secum diffidet Munst. dum quos Christianos asserit, inferni architectos aliàs facit: Item, Krantzius & Munsterus, dū quos fide Christo infercos affirmant, eisdem omni pietatis & honestatis sensu exuunt: quòd scribant filios ab his, non maiore cura, quàm catulos diligi.

Sed vt ad rem: De Religione equidè nostra, quæ qualisue fuerit, cū Ethnicismus primùm surgari cæpit, nihil magnificè dicere possumus: quemadmodum nec alia Septentrionis Regna vicina, vt existimo, de suis fidei initijs. Fatendū enim est, & cum serijs genitibus deplorandum vsq; ad illam nunquã fatis prædicatam diem, quæ nobis velut immortalitatis initiū illuxit & repurgati Euangelij doctrinam attulit; tenebras plusquã Cimmeras, etiã nostris hominibus, vt reliquis Septentrionis Ecclesijs, offusas fuisse. Illud tamen piè nobis sentire liceat, apud nos, vt & in vicina Noruegia (nam nolo vltra septa vagari, & de populis ignotis quicquã pronunciare) eiecta primum Idololatria Ethnica, sincerioem longè & simplicioem fidem seu religionem Christianam viguisse; quippe veneno Papistico minus infectã, quã postea, vbi auctum Romanæ sedis fermentum pestiferum, & malum contagiosum maturuit, & per totum orbem virus situm diffudit; Nam vt postea apparebit, multis annis antequã noua Pontificiorum Idololatria vires & incrementum cepit, Islandia Christum amplexa est: & vt laudatissimi duo illi Noruegiæ Reges, quibus vt commune nomen, ita commune nominis Christi propagandi studium & professio, nihil nisi fidem in Deum Patrem, Filium, & spiritum Sanctum, sonabat. Dico autem illum Olauum Thyrgonis F. qui Anno Christi 968, natus, Anno ætatis 27. imperium Noruegiæ adeptus est, & primus, & accepimus, Noruegis Christum obrulit: quibus imperitabat annis 5. Et huic cognominem, Olauum nuncupatum Sanctū, Harald F. Qui anno Christi 1013. aut circiter, imperij habenas arctius in primis obtinuit: Per annos fere 17. Christi doctrinam audacter tradidit, Anno Christi 1030. ab improbis patricidis nefariè interfectus, in pago Noruegiæ Stickle Stodum, pro Christi nomine cruorem fudit.

Habuit etiam nostra patria inter multos alios quendam insignem pietate virum; cui Nialus nomen erat, qui circa annum Christi: 1000 vixit in prædio seu villa Berthoys Iyul, sita in Parochia Islandiæ, Landenium: Quiq; rerum humanarum experientia, circumspecta animi prudentia, sagacitate & consilio, habebatur insignis. Cum enim, eius seculo, indomitis Islandia moribus fluctuaret, incolis à nullo ferè superiore magistratu repressis, nullis se factionibus immiscuit: Plurimas cauta animi virtute ac industria composuit: Nunquam vim fecit, nec passus est, si vltimum tantum in vita diem excipias, Adeò studiosè seditiones & turbas vitauit: aliosq; vitare aut euadere cupientes optimè iuuuit: Nec quisquam eius consilio, nisi maximo suo commodo est vnquam vsus: nec quisquam ab eo, nisi cum vitæ & fortunarum periculo deflexit. Tam certum ab eo oraculum petebatur, vt valde mirandum sit, vnde homini tanta futurorum euentuum, & tam certa cõiectura & consilium esse potuerit, quanta in ipso deprehensa est. Vnde ipsius cauta, prouidens & consilij plena sapientia; apud nostros in prouerbum abiit: Nialus bitta raden: quasi dicas, Niali consilium; vel, Niali consilio res geritur, aut succedit: cum quid prudenter & admirando cum consilio gestum est.

Hic cum domi suæ à 100. viris coniuratus ob eedem à filio ipsius, ipso tamen iulcio patriam cingeretur, & inimicis domum vndiq; igni succendentibus, sibi videret supremum fatum instare, ait tandem. Hæc quidem fato, hoc est, voluntate diuina accidunt. Cæteru spem & fiduciam in Christo sitam habeo, nos (de se & vxore loquens) licet corpus hoc nostrum caducum, inimicorum flammis, mortalitatis corruptionem subeat, ab æternis tamen flammis liberatum iri. Sicq; inter has voces, & flammarum sæuitiam, vitam, An, Christo 1010. cum vxore & filio homicida, finiuit. Vox profectò filijs Dei non indigna, animæ, cum mortis acerbitate iustantis luminum solatium arguens.

Hæc ideo addidi, vt ostendam, quâ coniectura adducar ad existimandum mox initio Christianismi (vt sic loquar) apud nos recepti, non fuisse tam deceptas & errorum tenebris immerfas hominum mentes, quàm nunc, paulò ante hæc nostra tempora fuerunt.

At verò iam postquam Dominus Deus per Lutherum, & Lutheri in vinea Domini collegas, & pios successores, salutis doctrinam illustriorem reddidit, mentiumq; nostrarum graui vterno & densa caligine excussis, dextræ suæ digito, hoc est, spiritu Sancto, (Math. 12. vers. 28.) cordis nostri auriculas vellicauit, ac oculos, quibus saluificam ipsius veritatem cerneremus, nobis aperuit: Nos omnes & singuli credimus & confitemur Deum esse Spiritum, (Iohan. 4. vers. 24. æternum Esai 40. vers. 28.) Infinitum (Ierem. 23. vers. 24. Psalm. 136. vers. 7. 8. 9.) cœptinum (Math. 19. 17.) omnipotentem (Gene. 17. 1. Apocal. 1. 8.) Vnum essentia & natura: Vnum prouidentia: vnum efficientia rerum & administratione (Deut. 6. 5. Ephes. 4. 5.) At personis diuinitatis, proprietatibusque distinctum, Patrem, Filium & spiritum Sanctum (Math. 28. 19. & 3. 17.) Deum Patrem quidem, primam diuinitatis personam, cœli terræ & omnium rerum creatorem (Gene. 1. vers. 1. & sequent.) Sustentatorem & gubernatorem (Psal. 115. 3. Heb. 1. 3.) Patrem Domini nostri Iesu Christi (Psalm. 2. 7. & sequent.) & nostrum per eundem Patrem (Rom. 8. 15.) Animæ & corporis curatorem (Luc. 12. 12.) Tum Iesum Christum, secundam diuinitatis personam, filium Deipatris (Iohan. 1. 18. &c.) Vnigenitum (Iohan. 1. 29. Heb. 1. 2.) æqualem patri (1. Paral. 17. 13. Iohan. 1. 1.) Deum verum (Iohan. 1. 2 &c.) ante omnia creata præordinatū (1. Pet. 1. 20. Apocal. 13. 8. &c.) & statim post lapsum, promissum Messiam (Gen. 3. 15.) Sanctis Patriarchis identidem pronuntiatum, vt Abraham (Gen. 12. 3 &c.) Isaac, Gen. 26. 4.) Iacob, (Gen. 28. 14.) & promissionibus confirmatum (Genes. 49. 9. Esa. 11. 1. 10.) Sacrificijs Mosaicis (Leuit. 1. 2. &c.) Et alijs typis præfiguratum: immolatione Isaac (Gen. 22.) Exaltatione anei serpentis, (Num. 21.) Iona (Ion. 2. &c.) Prophetarum testimonio proclamatum (Esa. 7. 14. &c.) ac tandem in plenitudine temporis verè exhibitum: hominem verum (Iohan. 1. 14. &c. Paul. Galat. 4.) mortuum pro peccatis nostris: resuscitatum propter iustificationem nostri (Rom. 4. 25. &c.) Ascendentem in cœlum (Act. 1. 9. &c.) ac pro nobis ad dexteram patris sine intermissione interpellantem (1. Iohan. 2. 1. &c.) per spiritum Sanctum suum (qui terra est diuinitatis persona patri & filio compar & consubstantialis, (Actor. 5. 4.) Ecclesiam sibi verbo & Sacramentis colligentem (Math. 16. 18. Roman. 10. 14. &c.) Et ad vitam æternam sanctificatam (Actor. 9. 31. &c.) Ac tandem consummatis seculis è cœlo venturum (Actor. 1. 11.) Iudicare viuos & mortuos (1. Thess. 4. 15.) redditurum impijs secundum opera sua, eosq; pœnis æternis adiudicaturū (Mat. 13. 42. & 25. 41.) credentes verò in nomine ipsius æterna vita donaturū. (Mat. 25. 34. &c.) Huic, inquam, Iesum Christum redemptorem (Mat. 1. 21.) Caput (1. Corinth. 12. 27.) & Dominum nostrum (Ephes. 4. 5.) agnoscimus: Nosq; illi nomen in sacro baptismo dare ac dedisse (Actor. 2. 38.) Et per baptismū illi infernos esse (1. Cor. 12. 13.) aperte, ingenuè, liberè ac libenter fatemur ac contestamur: omnesque alios, quicumq; aliud nomē sub cœlo datum esse hominibus, per quod salui fiant, comminiscuntur, seriò detestamur, execramur & damnamus. (Actor. 4. 12.) Verbum ipsius sanctissimum vnicam salutis normam statuimus, illudque tantummodò, omnibus humanis commentis abiectis & speris, infallibilem fidei nostræ regulam & amissim nobis proponimus: (Galat. 1. 8. Esa. 29. 13. Ezech. 20.) Quod duplicis Testamenti, veteris & noui appellatione complectimur. (Hebr. 8.) traditum per Prophetas & Apostolos (Ephes. 2. 20.) singulari & immensa Dei bonitate in hunc vsque diem semper in Ecclesia conseruatum & conseruandum in posterum. (Math. 28. vlt. Psalm. 71. 18. 1. Cor. 11. 26.)

Deo igitur optimo maximo gratias ex animo & toto pectore agimus, quòd etiam ad nos, vastissimo interuallo à reliquo Ecclesiæ corpore diuissos & vltimas mundi partes habitantes, lumen hoc suum, concessum ad reuelationem gentium, & paratum ante faciem omnium populorum, olim pio Simeoni benigne ostensum (Nsm in Christo omnes thesauri sapientiæ reconditi) quod nunc totam nostram gentem radijs suis saluificis illuminat ac fouet, pertingere voluerit. Hæc ita breuiter, ipsam summam perstringendo, fides nostra est, & nostra religio, quam môstrante spiritu Sæcto, & ipsius in vinea Christi ministris, hausimus; idq; ex fontibus Israël.

Anno Domini 1070. videt ad Christum conuersos Islandos.

Krantzius.

DVbium nobis est, vtrum hi verbis dicere voluerit *Krantzius*, Islandos primùm Anno Domini 1070. ad Christum esse conuersos: an verò, prius quidem esse conuersos non neget, sed eo primùm anno id *Adalberto* innotuisse dicat. Vtrumuis autem afferret, tamen fidei in ipsi hoc loco suspectam reddunt annales & Chronologiæ nostræ gentis antiquissimæ, quæ contrarium testantur: quibus vtrum malis, de rebus nostris proprijs & domesticis & intra nostræ insulæ limites gestis credere, an verò *Krantzio*, aut cuius alteri in nostratum rerum historia peregrino, sit penes tuum, candide Lector, arbitrium. Ego profectò multis adducor vt nostris potius assentiar. Nostrates enim nota tantùm & ferè domestica afferunt; ille peregrina & ignota. Hi suas Chronologias sine aliarum omnium nationum labe, macula & fugillatione cõtexerunt tantùm modò, vt rebus gestis suum verù tenip^o seu æram assignarent; ille quædam cum re & veritate pugnantia in contumeliâ gentis nostræ ignotissimæ, historiae suæ admiscuit, vt paulò post apparebit: hi omnium episcoporù Islandiæ nomina, annos, ordinem & successum describunt: ille vnus tantùm mentionē facit, idq; longè secus quàm res habet. Porò vt his fidem faciam, pauca, quæ in vetustissimis nostris annalibus de Islandia ad Christum conuersa, & de Episcoporum in nostris Ecclesijs successione reperi, quorum etiam fides apud nos publicè recepta est, cum extraneis communicabo. Quæ tametsi leuiuscula, nec omnia prorsus digna quæ scribantur, scribenda tamen omninò sunt ad nostratum rerum veritatem, aduersus *Krantzium* & alios afferendam: Sic igitur habent.

Chronologiæ Islandicæ gentis antiquissimæ.

Vetustissimi annales.

Anno Christi 874. prius quidem, vt ante commemorauimus, inuenta, sed tunc primùm à Noruagis (quorum princeps fuit Ingulphus quidam, è cuius nomine promontorium Islandiæ orientalis Ingulphs hofst appellacionem traxit) occupata est Islandia. Hi plures quam 400. cum cognatis & agnatis & præterea numerosa familia nominatim in annalibus nostris recensentur: nec illorum tantùm numerus describitur, sed quas oras, quæ littora, & quæ loca mediterranea, singuli occupauerint & incoluerint, & quomodo primi inhabitatores, fretis, sinibus, portibus, Isthmis, porthmis, promontorijs, rupibus, scopulis, môtibus, collibus, vallibus, telquis, fontibus, fluminibus, riujs, ac deniq; villis seu domicilijs suis nomina dederint, quorum hodiè plæraq; retinentur & in vsu sunt, apertè narratur. Itaq; Noruagi occupatæ iam Islandiæ 60. annorum spaciò, aut circiter, habitabiles partes sua multitudine implent: Centum verò propemodum annis Ethnici manserunt, si paucissimos, qui in *Noruagia* fortè sacro fonte abluti fuerant, excipias. Annis autem vix centum à primo ingressu elapsis, mox de religione Christiana agi cœptum est, nempe circa annum Domini 974. quæ res non sine insigni rebellionè plusquam 20. annis variè à multis tentata est. Commemorantur autem duo Episcopi extranei, qui cum alijs, in conuertenda ad fidem Christi insula, diligenter laborarint: Prior *Fridericus*, Saxo natione, qui anno 981. ad Islandos venit, atque docendi munere strenuè functus est, ac tantum fecit, vt Anno 984. sacra ædes Islandis in vsu fuerint.

874

Islandia primùm inhabitata.

974

Fridericus Saxo.

Alter verò ille extraneus Episcopus siue concionator, quem *Thangbrandt* nuncupauer, anno 997. in Islandiam primùm venit.

Hinc post 26. annorum disceptationem de religione, tandem Anno 1000. in conuentu generali omnium incolarum decretum est, vniuersali eorundem consensu, vt Ethnicorum numinum cultu seposito, religionem sectarentur Christianam.

Anno dom. 1000.

Rursus in solenni incolarum conuentu Anno 1050. sancitum est, vt leges seculares seu politicae (quarum constitutiones allatas ex *Noruagia* quidam *Vlfrutus*, Anno 926. Islandis communicat) vbique cederent iuri Canonico seu diuino.

Anno 1056. abijt peregrè ex Islandia *Iseifus* quidam, in Episcopum Islandiæ ordinandus.

Redit ordinatus in Islandiam, & Cathedram Scalholtensem adijt Anno 1057. Morit^o 1080. Etatis 74.4. Kalendas Iulias.

Videbuntur forsitan hæc minuta, concisa, vilia, nec narrationē satis digna, cum multis fortè quæ sequuntur: Sed nec historiam Romanam conteximus, nec tam minuta erunt, quin contra *Krantz.* & aliorum errores conuincendos, prout nostrum est institutum, valeant. Et certè, quantum ad fidem nostratum Chronologiarum, constat Saxonem Grammaticum non parum illis tribuisse: Cuius, in præfatione suæ *Daniæ*, hæc sunt verba. *Nec Thylensum* inquit, (sic enim Islandos appellat) *industria silentio obliteranda: qui cum ob natiuam soli sterilitatem, luxuriæ nutritiis carētes, officia continuè sobrietatis exerceant, omniãq; vitæ momenta ad alienorum operum notitiam conferre soleant, inoptam ingenio pensant. Cunctarum quippe nationum res gestas cognosse, memoriaq; mandare, voluptatis loco reputant, non minoris gloriæ indicantes, alienas virtutes asserere, quam proprias exhibere. Quorum thesuros Historicarum rerum pignoribus refertos curiosus consulens, haud parnam præsentis operis partem ex eorum relationis imitatione contexni: nec arbitros habere contempsit, quos tanta vetustatis peritia callere nomi.* Hæc Saxo. Quare lubet Episcoporù Islandiæ Catalogum

Catalogum persequi, ut ex annalibus nostris continuata diligenter, quoad eius fieri potest, omnium series, his quæ de primo Illeiso contra *Krantzinum* artulimus, fidem faciat,

ANNO Christi.	EPISCOPI <i>Schalholtenses.</i>	EPISCOPI <i>Holenses.</i>	ANNO Christi.
	II Gyfferus.	I Ionas Augmundi F. Illeisi discipulus.	
1082	<i>Ordinatur peregrè.</i>	<i>Ordinatur peregrè: anno at. 64. cognomen tum illi, sanctus: cuius memorie dies 3. Marty, apud Islandos est antiquius dicatur.</i>	1106
1083	<i>Redit in Islandiam cum Episcopatu.</i>		
1118	<i>Moritur 5. Kalend. Maias qui fuit dies Martis.</i>	<i>Moritur 11. Kalend. Maias.</i>	1121
	III Thorlacus Runolphi. F.	II. Ketillus sine Catullus.	
Anno ætatis 2:	<i>Ordinatur eodẽ anno, quo prædecessor Gyfferus vita excessit, sed tamen ante illius obitum 30. die.</i>	<i>Ordinatur.</i>	1122
1133	<i>Moritur.</i>	<i>Moritur.</i>	1145
	IIII Magnus.	III Biono.	
1134	<i>Ordinatur.</i>	<i>Ordinatus venit in Islandiam.</i>	1147
1148	<i>Postridè festi omnium Sanctorũ in villa sacerdotali Þittardal cõuinans, cænaculo fulmine percussus, cum viris 70. flammis absumptus est.</i>	<i>Moritur.</i>	1162
	V Klaingus.	IIII Brandus.	
1151	<i>Eligitur.</i>	<i>Ordinatur.</i>	1163
1152	<i>Cathedram adit.</i>	<i>Cathedram adit.</i>	1165
1176	<i>Moritur.</i>	<i>Moritur.</i>	1201
	VI Thorlacus.	V Gudmundus, cognomento Bonus.	
1178	<i>Eligitur biennio ante obit. prædecessoris</i>	<i>Eligitur & ordinatur.</i>	1203
1193	<i>Ordinatur.</i>	<i>Moritur.</i>	1237
	VII Paulus.	VI Botolphus.	
1195	<i>Ordinatur.</i>	<i>Redit ordinatus.</i>	1239
1211.	<i>Moritur.</i>	<i>Moritur.</i>	1246
	VIII Magnus.	VII. Henricus.	
1216	<i>Ordinatur.</i>	<i>Cathedram adit.</i>	1247
	IX Siguardus.	<i>Moritur.</i>	1260
1239	<i>Cathedram adit.</i>	VIII Brandus.	
1268	<i>Moritur.</i>	<i>Abbas peregrè abit.</i>	1262
	X Arnerus.	<i>Cathedram adit.</i>	1263
1269	<i>Cathedram adit.</i>	<i>Moritur.</i>	1264
1298	<i>Moritur.</i>	IX. Iorundus.	
	XI Arnerus Helgonis F.	<i>Cathedram adit.</i>	1267
1304	<i>Ordinatur.</i>	<i>Moritur.</i>	1313
1305	<i>Cathedram adit.</i>	X Audunnus.	
1309	<i>In Nornagiã abit ligna à rege Nornagiæ petiturus, quibus templũ Schalholtense re adificaretur, quod eodem anno fulmine tactum conflagravit.</i>	<i>Cathedram adit.</i>	1314
1310	<i>Redit ex itinere.</i>	<i>Moritur.</i>	1322
1320	<i>Moritur.</i>	XI Laurentius.	
		<i>Eligitur & ordinatur.</i>	1324
		<i>Moritur Idib. April.</i>	1331
		XII Egillus.	
		<i>Cathedram adit.</i>	1332
		<i>Moritur.</i>	1341
	Ionas	XIII	

ANNO Christi.	Episcopi Schalholt.	Episcopi Holenses.	ANNO Christi.
	XII Jonas Haldorus,	XIII Ormus,	
1321	<i>Eligitur.</i>	<i>Cathedram adit.</i>	1343
1322	<i>Ordinatur Kal. Augusti.</i>	<i>Moritur in festo omnium Sanctorum.</i>	1355
1323	<i>Cathedram adit.</i>	XIIII	
1338	<i>Moritur.</i>	Jonas Erici F. cognomento Skalle.	
	XIII Jonas Indridi F. Noruagus.	<i>Cathedram Holensem aditurn.</i>	1358
1339	<i>Cathedram adit.</i>	<i>venit in Islandiam. Hic Jonas, olim in Episcopum Gronlandiæ ordinatus, à Pontifice Romano imperavit, ut liceret sibi Episcopatum Holensem adire, qui tunc temporis vacabat. Unde cum confirmationem huius dignitatis ac muneris, à Pontifice acceptam, veniens non proferret, apud Presbyteros diœcesis Holensis, suspecta fidei esse cepit. Quare ab iisdem in Noruagiam relegatus est, ut ea res arbitrio Regis componeretur. Rege igitur ipsius partibus fauente Cathedram Holensem obtinuit.</i>	Gronlandic Episcopus.
1341	<i>Moritur.</i>	<i>Moritur.</i>	1356
	XIIII Jonas Siguardi F,	XV Petrus,	
1343	<i>Cathedram adit.</i>	<i>Ordinatur, quo anno predecessoribus mortalium exemptus est.</i>	
1348	<i>Moritur pridie Diui Magni.</i>	<i>Cathedram adit Holensem.</i>	1392
	XV Gyrthus.	<i>Moritur.</i>	1391
1349	<i>Ordinatus Assiæ Noruagorum, ab Episcopo Alloensi Salomone.</i>	XVI Jonas Wilhelmus, Angius, sine genere, siue cognomine, presuit Ecclesiæ Holensi.	
1356	<i>Abiens peregrè fluctibus vitam finit.</i>	XVII Godschalcus.	
	XVI Thorarinus.	<i>Moritur.</i>	1457
1362	<i>Cathedram adit.</i>	XVIII Olaus Rogwaldi F. predicti Godschalchi ex sorore nepos, uterq; Noruagus, eligitur.	1458
1364	<i>Moritur.</i>	<i>Moritur.</i>	1497
	XVII Oddgeirus,	XIX Godschalcus.	
1366	<i>Cathedram adit.</i>	<i>Demortui Olai nepos ex fratre, & ille Noruagus, eligitur eodem anno quo patrum decessit.</i>	
1381	<i>Moritur in Assumpt. beatæ virginis, in portu Noruagiæ Bergensi, è mercium aceruo in immum navis delapsus, Sepultus Bergis in ade Saluatoris.</i>	<i>Cathedram adit, ac per totos 20. annos multos ex subditis duriter exercuisse fertur.</i>	1500
	XVIII Michaël Danus.	<i>Anno 1520. cum inter pocula & voluptates conuales versaretur audiret, obiisse Ionam Sigismundum, quem cum uxore & liberis multos annos crudelissime vexauerat, in subitum morbum repente incidit, & sic paulo post, eam, qua in tota vita in miferis subditis.</i>	
1385	<i>Cathedram adit.</i>		
1388	<i>Resignat profectus in Daniam.</i>		
	XIX Wilhelmus Danus,		
1394	<i>Cathedram adit. Moritur.</i>		
	XX Arnerus.		
	<i>Hic cognomento fuit Willbur .i. liberalis. Gessit una præfecturam Islandiæ totius: Episcopatum Schalholtens, & vice Episcopatum Holensæ.</i>		
1420	<i>Obijt.</i>		
	XXI Jonas Gerickson,		
1433	<i>Suecus sine cognomento sine natione præest Ecclesiæ Schalholtensi: ac postea à quodam Thorualdo de Modrnollum (ut fama est) captus, & alligato ad collum saxo in amne Schalholtensi, qui à ponte nomē habet, vivus submersus & stragulatus est.</i>		
	XXII Gofuinus.		
1445	<i>Præest Ecclesiæ Schalholtensi.</i>		
	XXIII Sueno.		
1472	<i>Dicitur sapiens præest.</i>		
	XXIIII		

ANNO Christi.	Episcopi Schalholt.	Episcopi Holenses.	ANNO Christi.
	XXIII Magnus Eiolphi F. <i>Praest.</i>	<i>subditos usus est, vim cum miserabili morte commutavit.</i>	
1489	XXV. Stephanus.	XX Ionas Aræfonius.	
1494	<i>Cathedram adit.</i> Deinde Godtschalco episcopo Holensi, qui crudelis nomen meritis esse videtur, Synchronos similem cum illo clementia & iusticia laudem reportavit.	<i>Cathedram adit. etiam hic Papisticarum superstitionum ultimus & acerrimus assertor. Qui cum Gysicro & Martino episcopis Scalholtiae acriter resisteret, a pientiss. Rege Christiano tertio iubetur sub poena exilij protinus in Daniam advenare. Sed hoc neglecto, captum Martinum Schalholtiae Episcopum custodia mandavit. Tandem & ipse a viro quodam magni nominis, quem prius ut fertur, laccessuerat, captus, ac Schalholtiam adductus, ibidem cum filiis duobus, autoritate regis praefecti, capitis supplicio affectus est. In cuius ultionem, non multo post praefectus ille regis, cum socijs aliquot, a quibusdam sicarijs, decollatorum olim famulis, nefarie occisus est.</i>	1525
1519	<i>Moritur: aut circiter.</i> XXVI Augmundus.	protinus in Daniam advenare. Sed hoc neglecto, captum Martinum Schalholtiae Episcopum custodia mandavit. Tandem & ipse a viro quodam magni nominis, quem prius ut fertur, laccessuerat, captus, ac Schalholtiam adductus, ibidem cum filiis duobus, autoritate regis praefecti, capitis supplicio affectus est. In cuius ultionem, non multo post praefectus ille regis, cum socijs aliquot, a quibusdam sicarijs, decollatorum olim famulis, nefarie occisus est.	1548
1522	<i>Eligitur anno obitus Stephani.</i> <i>Cathedram adit.</i> Hoc episcopo, praefectus regis cum comitibus aliquot Scalholtiam inuitatus, in ipso continuo a coniratis quibusdam interfectus est, eo quod impie passim in incolos & bona ipsorum grassatus esset. Augmundus vero tanquam istius caedis author, quanquam se iuramento purgarat, in Daniam transuectus, Obijt.	XXI Olaus Hialterus.	1550
1540	<i>Eligitur vivente Augmundo.</i>	<i>Abit patria.</i>	
1541	<i>Cathedram adit, Papisticarum traditionum abrogator circa coniugium sacerdotum:</i>	<i>Cathedram adit.</i>	1552
1544	<i>Eius nuptia Schalholtiae celebrata.</i> XXVIII. Martinus.	<i>Hic primus sincerioris doctrinae apud Holenses amorem in multorum animis, etiam adhuc praedecessoris sui collega, accendit: Deinde eandem doctrinam Episcopus apertius docuit & propugnavit.</i>	1553
1547	<i>Praest. & sequentibus.</i> XXIX Gislaus Ionas.	<i>Moritur.</i> XXII Gudbrandus Thorlecius.	
	<i>Hic statim, Augmundo episcopo, cepit inuenis verae pietatis & purioris doctrinae Evangelicae studio, & amore flagrare, eandemq; pastor ecclesiae Selardalensis diligenter propagare, qua ratione Pontificiorum odium adeo in se derinavit, ut illorum insidijs ac rabiei cedere coactus, Hamburgum se contulerit, unde Hassniam Danorum profectus, in caepto vere Theologiae studio strenue pergens, in multorum, praecipue vero in summa D. D. Petri Palladij tempore Episcopi, familiaritate & gratia vivebat.</i>	<i>Ille non modo suae aetatis, sed & posteritatis ornamentum. Qui praeterquam quod inchoatum opus a praedecessore Olao sibi relictum ducente S. S. optime ad eam, quam dedit Deus perfectionem, deduxit: (Dico labores & diligentiam in asserenda veritate Evangelica, & papisticis superstitionibus abrogandis) etiam in hac patria sua officinam Typographicam primus Islandorum aperuit. Cui idcirco patria inter libros complures in linguam vernaculam translato, etiam sacrosanctae Bibliae elegantissimis typis Islandica lingua in officina ipsius excusa, in aeternum debebit.</i>	1568
1556	<i>Postea, inde in patriam reverso, Martinus sponte cessit. Moritur & hic 31. annos plus minus Evangelium Iesu Christi professus: nec tantum viva voce, sed & quocumq; demum potuit modo, docendo, dicendo, scribendo, re & consilio Ecclesiam Dei inuit & promovit.</i>	<i>Hic inquam Episcopus praesens, officium suscepturus.</i>	
1587	XXX Otto Enerus, vir gravis, pius & eruditus.	<i>Abit:</i>	
1588	<i>Electus abit patria.</i>	<i>Redit & Cathedram Holensem ingreditur.</i>	1570
1589	<i>Ordinatur:</i> <i>Redit & cathedram adit, susceptiq; muneris labores aggreditur.</i>		1571

Circa hæc igitur tempora mentibus nostris è cælo reddita lux est, & regni cælestis ianua per sinceriores doctrinæ Christianæ expositionem reſerata. Nam & Schola triualis in vtraque ſede Episcopali, laudatiſſimi Regis Daniæ Christiani tertij munificentia & pietate, circa annum 1553, fundata est: ac ſubinde patris Christianiſſimi eximiam pietatem imitante filio, Diuo *Frideric*o ſecundo rege noſtro ſanctiſſimo, Anno 1588, ad cœleſtem patriam euocato, aucta & promotæ: quæ etiam hodiè, clementiſſimi regis & principis noſtri, Christiani 4. fauore & nutu viget florèſque: in qua iuuentus noſtræ Inſulæ, artium dicendi & ſacræ Theologiæ rudimentis imbuta, ad ſcientiam & veram pietatem formatur, vt hinc miniſtri Eccleſiarum petantur.

Peruenimus tandem ad hodiernum vſq; diem in Episcoporum Inſandiæ catalogo: quo prædicti viri clariſſimi Dom. *Gudbrandus Thorlacius*, & Dom. *Otto Enerus* ille Holis, hic *Schalholme* Eccleſiarum ſunt antiſtites: quorum virumque, vt Deus opt. max. Eccleſiæ ſuæ ſaluam & ſuperſtitem, propter gloriam nominis ſui ſanctiſſimi, diu conſeruare velit, omnes ſeriò & ardentibus votis flagitamus.

SECTIO SECVNDA.

Specus habitant plerumq; aut ad montium latera in excavatis mansuiculis. Et mox: Templâ habent multa & domos ex offibus piſcium & balenarum conſtructas. Item: Multi etiam ad pellendam frigoris aſperitatem in cauernis latitant, quemadmodum Africani ad ſolis æſtum vitandum. Item Muſterus, Multi in Inſandia hodiè coſtis & offibus balenarum, domos ſuas conſtruunt, &c.

Munſt. Krantz.
Eriſius.

Hic membrum ſecundum initium ſumit, de incolarum viuendi ratione & moribus. Et primum, quibus vtantur ædificijs ſeu domibus: nempe ſecundû *Muſterum*, *Krantzium*, *Eriſium*, &c. *Specus* & *montium cauernis*. Quamuis autem in ſplendidis ædificijs, alijsq; id genus mundani ornatus pretioſis rebus parum ineſt, quod ad verè beatam vitam conferre queat, tamen nec hîc veritatem tacere poſſumus: dicimusq; omnino *Cosmographos* & *Historicos* in errore etiam hîc verſari. Etenim, cuiuſmodi gentis publica domicilia eſſe ſcribunt, ea ſunt tantum in paucis locis, tum magalia, vt opilionum, tum piſcatorum caſæ & receptacula, eo tantum anni tempore quo piſcaturæ operam dare, aut propter gregem excubare opus habent. At ipſas domus, ſeu ipſa hominum domicilia, antiquitûs quidem ſatis magnificè & ſumptuoſè, quoad huius terræ fert conditio, ligno, ceſpite & ſaxis habuerunt Inſandi conſtructa, vſq; ad illud tempus, quo illis cum *Norugijs*, qui ligna ſufficiebant, negociatio, & mercium commutatio eſſe deſijt, quæ inde paulatim collabi incipiunt: Cùm nec ſyluas ædificijs aptas habeamus, nec fluctuum maris beneficio iam vt olim ad littora, quod minima ex parte ſufficiat, adferatur: Nec mercatores extranei inopiæ noſtræ ſuccurrant. Vnde plurima rura ignobiliora ab antiqua illa integritate multum declinarunt, & iam quædam collapsa ſunt, quædam ruinam minantur. Nihilominus multa ſunt prædia, multæ villæ, quas haud facîle recenſuero, quarum ædificia veterem illam excellentiam imitantur, & quarum domus ſunt maximæ, & latæ & longæ, tum plarumque benè altæ. Vt exempli gratia, Prædia ſeu villæ, quæ cubilia habent pluſquam 50, cubitos longa, 10, lata, alta 20. Tum reliquas domus, vt cœnaculum, hypocaustum, penurarium &c. huius ſua proportione reſpondentes. Poſſum multa noſtratum ædificia ampla & vaſta, nec in ſpèciem deformia, nec ob artis ſtructuram & ſumptuoſam firmitudinem, ſeu robur, contemnenda cum aliquot delubris, ſiue ſacris ædibus, ſolis lignis, antiqua & operoſa grauitate & pulchritudine exſtructis commemorare: Cuiuſmodi eſt templum *Cathedrale Holenſe* atrium habens, cuius columnæ vtrinque quinque, vlnas 14, altæ, 5. circiter craſſæ: tum trabes ac tigna, & reliquum culmen, huic ſubſtructioni proportionaliter reſpondens. Ligna ad hoc ipſum atrium Anno 1584, horrenda tempeſtate collapsum, clementiſſimus Rex noſter *D. Fridericus*, cuius nobis ſacraſſima eſt memoria, Anno 1588, benigniſſimè largitus eſt. Ipſum verò templû atrium ſuum omni quantitate manifeſtè excedit: tum templi intima pars quæ chorus appellari ſolet, & templi mediuſtillio, & atrio magnitudine non nihil cedit. Erat autem hoc longè maius olim, vt accepi *Schalholtensè*, quod iam bis concrematum, ad inferiorem magnitudinem redactum eſt. Prætereà aliquot alia templâ noſtræ Inſulæ, horum antiquam magnificentiam imitantia licet non æquantia. Sed hîc nequaquam res exigere videtur, vt in prolixiorem eius rei deſcriptionem euager. Vt enim Domus & ædificia noſtra nihil de prædicamus: ita eorundem nos nihil pudet, quod contenti paupertate noſtra Chriſto gratias immortales agamus, qui à nobis viſitæto nõ dedignatur recipi, quòdque templâ & domus noſtras, quas *Muſterus*, *Krantzium*, & *Eriſius* piſcium & balenarum offibus non verè dicunt exſtructas, non aſpernetur magis, quàm illa extraneorum culmina matmorea, parietes vermiculatos, pauimenta teſſelata, reliquumque id genus ornamenti.

Negotiatio cum
Norugijs deſijt.
Syluæ fluctibus
maris delatæ.

SECTIO TERTIA.

Munsterus.
Krantzius.

Communi telto, victu, statu, (hic Krantzius habet, strato) gaudent cum iumentis. Item: Solo pastu peccorum & nunc captura piscium villicant.

HAec sunt & sequentia, quæ *Krantzius* suo *Munsterio* præmansa, in os ingressit, ad eò vt *Munsterio* non opus fuerit ea vel semel masticare, quod ex collatione vtriusq; patet. *Munsterus* enim hæc opprobria, vt ex *Krantzij* in suam *Noruegiam* præfatione hausta deglutierat, ita eadem cruda lib. 4. *Cosmographiæ* capit 8. in gentem nostram euomit. Quæ hæctenus fuerunt, etsi satis graua sunt, tolerabiliora tamen erant. Hoc verò commentum malignissimum, & quæ sequentur, non faciliè est sine stomacho præterire. Nostrium igitur est, etiam hic veritatem asserere, & mendacium in Authoris caput retorquere.

Telto: Primum igitur quod de communi telto, (vti etiam de victu & statu) cum iumentis dicunt, falsum & erroneum clamamus, teste non modò re ipsa, si quis id hodiè perquirere volet: Sed etiam multorum extraneorum, qui aliquot apud nos annos egerant, & veritati plus quam gentem nostram calumniandi affectui tribuunt, experientia; qui ipsi domos & habitationes nostras viderunt, & norunt in singulis prædijs seu villis, multas esse distinctas domus: nempe in abiectissimis & vilissimis 7. vel 8. in maioribus, nunc decem, nunc 20. In maximis, nunc 40. nunc 50; quæ vt plurimum, & telto & parietibus distinctæ, vni possessori vel domino, raro duobus aut tribus, rarissimè pluribus inseruiunt, ac vsibus quotidianis & domesticis sufficiunt. Vnde faciliè intelligis, Lector, quàm verè eodem telto cum iumentis vtantur Islandi, cum singuli rustici in hac domuum varietate, pecularia bouilia, ouilia, equilia, agnilia, debitis interuallis disticta habeant, quæ serui, quoties opus est, petunt, vnde rusus habitationem subinde repetunt.

Quòd autem quidam in mappa Islandiæ de prouincia *Skagethio* annotauit, *sub eodem telto homines, canes, sues & oves, viuere*, partim falsum, partim minimè mirandum est. De ouibus quidem, vt iam dictum est, & præcipuè suis (cum illa prouincia sues non habeat) falsum: De canibus haud mirum, cum illis nec regum aula caruerint nec hodiè careant, vt nimis omnibus est notum. Sed de canibus paulò post. Sect. 7. huius.

Victu. An iumentorum pabula possint commodè victus appellatione contineri, meritiò dubitauerim: Cum *Doletus*, *Ciceronis* interpretem agens, dicat: Victum, inquit, cum iureconsultis, ita exponemus, vt victus verbo contineantur, quæ esui, potui, cultuiq; corporis, quæque ad viuendum homini sunt necessaria, Et *Vlpianus*, de verborum significat. Isdem verbis victum definit. Hoc loco verò Authores illi, etiam iumentorum pabula, victum appellant.

Cæterum videamus quomodo hic eluceat veritatis & candoris præstantia. Iumenta non habemus præterquam equos & boues: His gramina & scænum (nisi vbi scæni inopia obrepit) pabulum, aqua potum præbet. At hi ipsi scriptores fatentur, Islandos piscibus, butyro, carnibus, tum bubulis, tum ouillis, etiam frumento, licet pauco & aduentitio, viuere. Non igitur cibum habent cum brutis communem, quod tamen iisdem his verbis asserunt: *Communi victu gaudent cum iumentis*: Quod quid sit *Munsterio*, ipse paulò superius haud obscure docuit, *Islandia*, inquit, *populos multos continet, solo pecorum pastu, & nunc captura piscium villicantes*. Quid autem est pecorum pastus, aliud, quàm pecorum cibus? ait *Doletus*: nisi *Munsterus* fortè pecorum pastum, ipsa pecora ad pastum hominum inactata appellet: cui, vt existimo, vsus Romanorum refragatur, qui, vt homines vesci, ita pecora pasci docuit: hominumque victum, pecorum autem, pastum & pabulum vocari iussit. An verò existimem tam dementes fuisse *Munsterum* & *Krantzium*, vt senserint Islandos graminibus & scæno viuere? Quo miseræ *Nabuchodonozor*, diuinæ vltionis iugum subiens, redactus est, *Dani*. 4. 30. Facile dabimus multa, quibus homines, non modò nostrates, sed vestrates quoque vescuntur, iumenta & pecora fortè non rejicere, si familiari pabulo destituantur. Vt equi frumento & panibus hordeaceis pascuntur: iisdem lac (quem admodum etiam vituli & agni) & cercuisiam, si offeratur, bibunt, & quidem auidè. Sed & canes quæuis ferula & cibaria deuorant. An idcirco quisquam dicet, homines communi victu cum canibus & iumentis gaudere?

Iam quæcunq; famis grassantis tempore contingere, pro vniuersali gentis alicuius consuetudine in historiam referri non debent. Vt non licet nobis de extraneis scribere, huius aut illius terræ populos canum, murium aut felium vsu victitare solitos, etsi fortè fame, siue obsidioue, siue alioqui annonæ charitate inualescente immissa, id factitarint.

Potum autem interdum esse multis cum iumentis communem non magnoperè contraibimus: nenipè aquam lympidissimam, naturalem illum potum, omnibus animantibus à Deo creatum: quem etiam ex parte, medicinæ consulti comendant, imò nec patres Hebræi, nec ipse Seruator noster fastidiebat.

Ad amictum verò quod attinet, (Nam & amictum *victus* vocabulo comprehendimus) nequaquam

quaquam hic cum iumentis communis est. Illa enim pilis & villis natura (quod *Munsterum* & *Krantzium* nouisse iuram) vestiuit: homines, alioqui nudi, pannis corpus induere necesse habent. Hæc indumenta, quæ quidem *Islandia* suppeditat, ex lanis ouium conficiuntur. Sed non cogitaram ideò rectè dici, amictum esse nobis cum ouibus communem, siue eundem. Utuntur etiam extranei pannis ex ouilla lana confectis, licet artificio subtiliore. Sed de indumentis nihil: Stultum enim est, ex eolaudem vel superbam æstimationem quærere, quod naturæ nostræ infirmitatem arguit.

Statu. Restat ille status, quem cum brutis habere communem dicimus. Qui qualis aut cuiusmodi sit, aut eum esse velint nostri scriptores, certè non facile assequor. Status, inquit *Doletus*, est vel corporis, vel causarum, vel ordinis & conditionis. Certè alium esse statum nostri corporis, quàm iumentorum (nam præter duos pedes etiam manus habemus, & corpore ac vultu sursum erecto incedimus) alium item ordinem & conditionem nostram ducimus. Illi boni viri, si id de se aut alijs cognitum habent, fateantur. Nos hæc tam vana & in Deum creatorem nostrum tam contempnibilia iridemus, nec prolixiore tractatu dignamur.

Cæterum quia nostrum est, nec amoris patriæ, nec vili rei tantum tribuere, quin plus semper & vbique veritati largiamur: Dicam quid sit, quod huic infami scriptorum conuicio occasione fortè dederit.

Occasio harum
fabularum.

Sunt in vicinia *Schalholtie*, ad littus *Islandie* australe, paræchiolæ tres, inter duos rapidissimos amnes *Chiozsa* & *Diffuis* a interceptæ; quæ & *lyluis* & *cespitibus*, consueto gentis ad focos alendos fomite, ferè destituuntur. In istis paræchijs habitantes, & si qui sint vicini, quamuis plures eorum, vt de omnibus rebus, ad rem familiarem pertinentibus, ita etiam de his, quæ ad focos & balnea opus habent, sibi opportunè prospiciunt: Tamen sunt inter eos quidam, sed infimæ tantum fortis colonij, qui quoniam istis rebus domi destituuntur, nec aliunde petere eas valeant, in culinis scæno ad coquendos cibos vtuntur: Ast vbi hyemis niuosæ sequitia horrida ingruit, coloni isti miseri ad suum bœuile refugiunt, illic scilicet exstructis tabulatis interdium operas domesticas exercentes, à bobus, cum focos habere nequeant, calorem miruantur, quemadmodum mihi ab alijs narratum est. Sicq; illi tantum, qui sanè paucissimi sunt, communi cum bobus recto, in bruma, vti quidem non gaudent, sed coguntur. Verum victum & statum longè alium habent, de qua re hæcenus. Hæc est in istis Paræchiolis quorundam fors & inopia, quorum conditio idcirco etiam apud nos fabula vulgi effecta est, quamuis non satis iustè. Vbi, quo iure toti genti tribuatur, quod vix ac ne vix quidem de istis paucis colonis verum est, libenter quæserim? Tædet de his pluribus agere: Tantum quia mihi cum Theologis res est, illud *Salomonis* ijs reponam, Qui calumniatur egenum, deridet factorem eius,

Proverb. 14.

Equidem quia gens hæc nostra pauper & egena est & fuit, ac veuti quidam mendicus inter diuites, tot extraneorum probra & scommata tulit, Sed videant cui exprobrent. Certè, si aliud nihil nobis cum illis commune est, tamen omnes ex iisdem constamus elementis, & vnus & idem omnium Pater, Deus.

SECTIO QVARTA.

In simplicitate sancta vitam agunt, cum nihil amplius quærant, quàm natura concedit. Beata gens, cuius paupertati nullus inuidet. Sed mercatores Anglici & Dani quiescere gentem non sinunt, qui ob piscaturam euehendam terram illam frequentantes cum mercibus omnigenis vitia quoq; nostra inuexerunt. Nam & fruges aquæ miscere in potum didicerunt, & simplicis aquæ haustus oderunt. Nunc aurum & argentum cum nostris admirantur.

Krantzium,
Munster.

Simplicitate. Equidem sanctæ simplicitatis laudem nobis attribui, meritò gaudemus: Sed id *Idolemus*, quòd reperiat etiam apud nos iustitiæ ac legum ingens deprauatio, ac magna anarchia, quam multorum scelerum myriades consequuntur; quòd pij & boni omnes quotidie deplorant. Id mali autè nequaquam supremi Magistratus, hoc est, Regis nostri clementissimi, sed verius nostræ culpa accidit: qui hæc quæ clàm ipso præposterè geruntur & quæ in inferiore magistratu desiderantur, ad maiestatem ipsius non deferimus.

Mercatores. Mercatores porò, non solùm Angli & Dani, sed maximè Germani, vt nunc, ita olim terram nostram, non ob piscaturam sed pisces auhendos frequentantes, nequaquam artem illam, miscendarum stugum aquæ, *Islandos* docuerunt. Quippe ipsi Nouagi primi, quòd nobis constat, terræ nostræ incolæ, à quibus oriundi sunt *Islandi*, artem illam, sicut etiam aureos argenteosq; nummos, secum ex *Noruegia* attulerunt, vt initio non fuerit minor argenti & auri vsus apud nos, quàm est hodiè.

Et quidem ante Danorum, Germanorum, Anglorum uè frequentes ad nos nauigationes, terra nostra multò, quàm nunc, senescens mundi incommoda, cælo solòq; perficiens, ferillior,

in delectissimis quibusque locis, Cereris munera produxit.

Munsterus,
Krantzius.

SECTIO QUINTA.

Rex Dania qui & Noruagia quotannis prefectum immittit genti.

858

ANno Domini 846. natus est *Haraldus* *Harfagre* (quod auricomum vel pulchricomum dixeris) Qui deinde Anno 858. Rex *Noruagia* designatus, ubi ætas virilique iustum incrementum acceperunt, formam imperij *Noruagici* mutauit. Nam antea in minutas prouincias diuisum (quas *fylki* vocabant, & qui his præerant regulos, *fylkis* *konga*) ad Monarchiam armis potentibus redegit. Id cum & genete & potentia valentes aliquot regni incolæ ægrè ferrent, patria exulare, quam ipsius Tyrannidis iugum non detrectare maluerunt. Vnde hi in *Islandiam*, antea quidem à quibusdam visam & inuentam, at desertam tamen, colonias, dicto superius Anno 874. transtulerunt: Atque sic genti nostræ originem præbentes, se *Islandos* nuncuparunt, quod nomen hodiè posteri retinent. Vixerunt itaque *Islandi* diu, nullius imperium agnoscentes, annis scilicet 386. plus minus. Et quamuis Rex *Noruagiæ* *Haquinus* ille conatus, qui omnium regum *Noruagiæ* diutissimè, nempe plusquam 66. annos imperium gerebat, sæpè per legatos tentarat tributarios sibi facere *Islandos*, constanter tamen semper restiterunt, donec tandem circa annum Domini 1260. homagium ipsi præstarent. Atque postea semper in data fide persistentes, & regibus *Noruagiæ* parentes, translato per *Margaretam*, *Daniæ*, *Sueciæ*, & *Noruagiæ* reginam, *Noruagorum* imperio, ad *Danos*, vnà cum reliquis imperij *Noruagici* *Insulis*, *Srenissimum* *Daniæ* regem; *Dominum* & *Regem* suum hodiè salutant.

1260

Margareta.

SECTIO SEXTA.

Omnia inter eos communia sunt, præter uxores.

Krantzius.
Munsterus.

HOc loco præmittit *Krantzius* talem Ironiam. *Multa insignia in moribus illorum, &c.* Porrò etiam hîc fidem vestram eleuat ingenium, ad asserendum res incompertas nimis procliue, cupidinem nouitatis, & nominis ac famæ, imò veritatis curam præposteram arguit, omnium & rerum personarumq; & temporum experientia: O scriptores suspiciendi.

Testes sunt leges politicæ, quibus inde ab initio cum *Noruagis* vsi sunt eisdem *Islandi*: De Rege & subditis: De foro, & his quæ in forensẽ disceptationem cadere possunt: De hæreditatibus: adoptionibus, nuptijs, furto, rapinis, mutuo, contractibus & cæteris: Quæ omnia, quorsum illis, quibus res omnes sunt communes? Testes sunt, tot de bonis mobilibus & immobilibus contentiones, turbæ & certamina, in foris ac iudicijs *Islandorum*: Testes sunt Reges nunc *Daniæ* & olim *Noruagiæ*, qui tot libellis supplicibus *Islandorum*, ad componendas istas de possessionibus controuersias, olim & nunc interpellati sæpè fuerant. Testis contra seipsum *Krantzius*, cuius verba distinction. i. huius, hæc fuerunt. *Ante susceptam Christi fidem* (*Islandi*) *lege naturæ ali* viuentes parum à lege nostra discrepabant, &c. Si lege naturæ, certè lege illa iustitiæ, quæ tribuit viuicuique suum: Si lege iustitiæ, certè proprietatum & dominiorum distinctiones in nostra gente locum habuisse oportet: Quamquam autem in hanc ipsam legem etiam in Ecclesia, & quidem satis atrociter, sæpè delinquitur: tamen & Ecclesia & Ethnici iustissimam & optimam esse semper fassi sunt.

SECTIO SEPTIMA.

Catulos suos & pueros æquo habent in precio: Nisi quod à pauperioribus facilius impetrabis filium quam catulum, &c.

Quamuis principio huius commentarioli censuerim, *Munsterum* & alios magni nominis viros, in ijs, quæ de *Islandia* scripta reliquerunt, esse à calumniæ nota liberandos: num tamen id hîc, etiam à candidissimo & maximè sincero quocunque fieri possit, non satis video, Quid enim mouit tantos viros, vt *Nautarum* maleuolas nugas & mendacia secuti, tam atroci & contumelioso opprobrio gentem nostram diffamarent, commacularentque? Nihil profectò, nisi secura ridendi & contemnendi gentem pauperem & ignotam, licentia, & si quæ sunt huic vicia confinia.

Cæterum nõrnt omnes non tam *Islandis*, quam ipsi Authoribus, incommodare hoc mendacium. Cum enim illud, & plurima etiam alia in historiam suam accumulans, efficiunt vnà, vt alibi quoque suspectæ fidei habeantur. Illudq; quod ait *Aristoteles*, *lucrantur, vt cum vera dixerint, illis sine substitutione non credatur.*

Sed age Lector, subsiste paulisper, mecumq; grauitatem & sapientiam tantorum virorum expende:

expende: Ne tantum Islandiæ Elogium intactum prætereamus, Docuerunt hactenus *Krantzium* & *Munsterus*: Islandos esse Christianos. Item: Islandos ante susceptam Christi fidem lege naturali vixisse. Item: Islandos vixisse lege quadam non multum à lege Germanorum discrepante. Item: Vixisse eos in sancta simplicitate. Ad eundem igitur Lectorem, & quas Christianissimi, Legis naturalis, legis Germanorum, sanctæ simplicitatis notas Auctores illi requirant, & in Islandis monstrant ac depingant, perpende. Vna fuit supra, quod infernum siue carcerem damnatorum montis Heclæ voragine & radicibus circumscribant Islandi; de quo vide Sect. 1, huius: & sect. 7. prior. part. Altera nota, quod, cum Anabaptistis, proprietatum & dominiorum distinctiones tollant: de quo Sect. præced. Tertia eaque longè excellentissima hæc est: illi præclari affectus naturales, amor, cura, & animus tam pius & paternus Islandorum in liberos, quod videlicet eiuſdem precij sint apud illos canes & filij, aut hi etiam vilioris. Siccine nobis *Munstere* & *Krantzi* Legem Christi, naturæ, Germanorum, & sanctam simplicitatem depingitis? O picturam præclaram & excellentem, quamuis nõ proſus *Apellam*: O Inuentum acutum & admirandum, si benè authenticum: O scientiam plusquam humanam, etsi non proſus diuinam.

Nos verò Islandi, quamuis vltimi & gelidam conclusi ad Arcton, longè alias Christianissimi notas requirimus. Nam & præceptum Dei habemus, vt quilibet proximū diligat velut seipsum. Iam nemo est, puto, qui seipsum non plus diligat, aut pluriſ faciat, quam canem. Quod si tantus esse debet proximū cuiuslibet fauor, tanta æstimatio, tantus amor, quantus quæſo erit in liberos? Quorum arctissimum amorem, præterquam quod ipsa parens natura nobis firmisimè cõciliauit, etiam Lex diuina curam summam in enutriendo habere iussit, (Exo. 12, 24. Ephe. 6, 4.) vt scilicet sint in sancto coniugio, Ecclesiæ quædam seminatia, omnis pietatis & honestatis exercitia: Prout vates ille pulcherrimè cecinit.

Vni Ecclesiolam quamlibet esse domum.

Item:

Coniugium humane quadam est Academia vite.

Vt iam satis constat, apud Christianos longè pluriſ faciendos & curandos filios, quàm canes: Et, si qui non aliter curent, Christianos non esse.

Sed & hic in prolem dulcissimam affectus naturalis in Ethnicis etiam satis apertè conspicitur: vt si quos hoc penitus exueris, eosdem etiam homines esse negaueris. Monstrant id matres Carthagenenses, cum tertio bello Punico adolescentes quicq; lectissimi obsides in Siciliam mitterentur, quos illæ fletu & lamentatione miserabili ad naues comitata, & ex his quædam à filiorum complexibus ægrè diuulsæ, cum ventris pandi vela cernerent, nauésq; è portu egredi, dolore stimulante, in subiectos fluctus dissiluerunt; *Sabellico auctore*. Monstrat *Ægens*, qui nauem filij *Theſi*, cum velis atricoloris, ex Creta redeuntem cerneret, perijsse filium ratus, vitam in proximis vndis finiuit, *Sabellico*, lib. 3, cap. 4. Monstrat *Gordianus* senior, Africæ proconsul, qui similiter, ob rumores de morte filij, vitam suspendio clausit, *Campofulgus* lib. 5, cap. 7. Monstrant idem *Iocasta* *Creontis* filia, *Antifolia* *Simonis* F. *Anius* Tuscorum Rex, *Orodes* Rex Parthorum, & alij numero in numero: De quibus vide stat, lib. 2, *Plutarchum*, & alios, &c. Huc illud, *Amor descendit*, &c. Ad eò, vt videas non minus esse homini proprium, sobolem intimè diligere, & summo amore prosequi, quàm aui volare; vt si iam aliquando homines esse Islandos, nedum Christianos scriptores nostri fassi sint, hunc amorem & affectum in filios ijsdem, quantumuis inuiti & repugnantes, adscribant: sin minus, non modò hominis titulum & dignitatem illis detrahant, sed etiam infrà bruta & quæuis bestias, quæ ipsæ, stimulante natura, maximo prolis suæ & arctissimo amore tenentur, deprimant.

Non addam contra hoc impudens mendacium exempla etiam nostratium satis illustria: Tacebo leges nostras plagiaras ipsiſ Islandis antiquiores, quippe à Noruagis acceptas, quæ existant in codice legum nostrarum, titulo *Spanhelge*: cap. 5. Si quis hominem liberum (quemuis, nedum filium) extraneis vendat, &c.

Iam verò si quis eò fortunæ deueniat, vt proprium filium, siue incolæ, siue extranei alicuius potestati, vel fame vel extrema quacunq; urgente necessitate, aut periculo, permittat, ne famelicum inedia deficientem aspiciere cogatur, canem verò in proprias dapes referuet, Is minimè dicendus est filium æquo aut inferiore loco habere quàm canem, siue id faciant Islandi, siue extranei quilibet.

Offenderant fortè Germanorū vel Danorum nauet apud nos mendicos quosdã, liberis onustos, quorū hic maximus est numerus, qui iocando, vt sunt nugis scurrilibus addicti, dixerint: Da mihi aut vende hoc vel illud: Cùmq; rogarint extranei: Quid tu mihi vicissim? Responderint mēdici. Habeo liberos 10. vel 14, dabo ex eis vnū vel plures, &c. Solet enim ista mendicorum colluies istiusmodi scurriles dialogismos cum extraneis institvere, Quod si tum quispiam bonus vir, misertus stoliditatis & inopiæ mendicorum, vno illos filio leuauerit, eique propter

Deum in alijs terris, aliquo tandem modo bene protulerit, num mendicus, qui alioqui cum filio, fame & paupertate moriturus, filium miseri permittit & committit; filium istum suum minoris facit quam canem? Prestitum est à multis tam Islandis quam extraneis huiusmodi beneuolentiæ & commiserationis opus: ex quibus fuit vir nobilissimus *Accius Iulius* à serenissimo rege *Daniae* olim missus ad Islandos, Anno Domini 1552. Qui vt audiui, 15. pueros pauperulos assumpsit & secum in *Daniam* auexit: Vbi postea ipsius beneficio singulos suo vitæ generi addictos, in viros bonos & frugi euasisse, mihi narratum est.

Quid si quis in extrema constitutus angustia, filium non modò vendat; sed si emptorem nõ habet, ipse maectet & comedat? Nota sunt huius rei exempla: Parentum videlicet inuitæ crudelitaris in filios, simulante nõ odio vel astorgia, sed inuitabili necessitate compellente. Num quis inde vniuersale gentis alicuius cõuicium extruxerit? Legimus, in obsidione *Samaritæ* matres duas filios suos maectasse, & coctos comedisse: 4. Reg. C. 6. Legimus in obsidione *Ierolymitana*, quam flebilis fuerit vox miserimæ matris, filium misellum iam maectaturæ, *Infans*, ait, (referam enim *Eusebij* verba de hac re, etsi notissima, vt miseræ matris affectus appareat, *miselle & infelix, cuius in hoc belli, famis, & seditionis tumultu, te commodè referuem? Si Romanorum subiiciamur imperio, illic seruitutis ingopressi, vitam infelicitèr exigemus. Sed feruitutem credo famas anteneret. Accedit factiosorum prædonum turba, his viris q̄, miseris toleratum multo asperior. Age igitur mi gnate, sis matri cibus, sis prædonibus furia, sis communi hominum vitæ fabula, quæ res vna ad *Iudæorum calamitates deesse videtur. Quæ cum dixisset, natum trucidat, assatum q̄, dimidium mox comedit, dimidium reseruat, &c.* *Eusebius libro 3. capite 6.* Iam quis est, qui non credat miserimam hanc matrem filium hunc suum, domini alicuius, si se obtulisset, apud quem credidisset seruitutem iri, aut emptoris possessioni fuisse permitturam? Nota est famas, *Calagurium*, *Hispaniæ* urbem, olim à *Cneo Pompeio* obsessam opprimens (*Val. libro septimo cap. 7.*) cuius ciuibus, vxores & liberi in vsum extremæ dapis conuersi sunt, quos profectò, pro cibarijs & alijs dapibus haud inuiti vendidissent. Nota est quoque famas, quæ Anno Domini 851. (*Vincent. libro 25. cap. 36.*) *Germaniam* attriuit, vt etiam pater filium suum deuorare voluerit. Notum etiam est, post mortem *Henrici septimi Imperat.* fame per triennium continuata, quomodo parentes liberos, vel liberi parentes deuorarint, & præcipuè quidem in *Polonia & Bohemia*. Et ne exempla tantum antiqua petamus, accepimus tantam annonæ sæuitiam, Anno 1586, & 1587, in *Hungaria* grassatam fuisse, vt quidam alimentorum inopia adacti immanissimo Christianorum hosti proprios liberos vendiderint, & in perpetuum seruitutis iugum manciparint: quidam paruulos suos, quos vltèrius tolerare non sustinebant, crudeli misericordia in Danubium proiecisse, & suffocasse dicantur. Sed, num hæc & similia exempla quempiam eò insanix adigent, vt dicat hanc vel illam nationem, liberos in escam propriam maectare consueuisse, Turcis libenter vendere, aut aquis submergere & suffocare solitæ esse? Non opinor. Sic neq; quòd mendici apud Islandos, extrema vrgente necessitate, cuius durissimi sunt morsus, filios suos libenter amittant, toti genti, & quidem probri loco, communiter adscribendū est à quoquam, nisi apud eundè omnis pudor, candor, humanitas, veritas exulent.*

Cæterum optarim ego, parcius Islandis canum curam exprobrare illos populos, quorum matronæ, & præcipuè nobiles, canes in maximis delicijs habent, vt eos vel in plateis, ne dicam in sacris concionibus, sinu gestent, quem morem in peregrinis quibusdam, quos Romæ catulos siniarum & canum in gremio circumferre *Cæsar* conspexit, hac quæstione reprehendit, dum quæreret: Numquid apud ipsos mulieres liberos non parerent? Monens errare eos, qui à natura inditos sibi affectus, quibus in amorem hominum ac præcipuè sobolis incitarentur, in bestias transferunt, quarum deliciarum voluptas, Islandorum gentem, nunquam cepit aut habuit. Quare iam *Munsteri* & *Krantzi*, alias nobis Christianitatis, (vt sic dicam) legis naturæ, legis item Germanorum, & sanctæ simplicitatis notas quærite,

SECTIO OCTAVA.

Episcopum suum colunt pro Rege: ad cuius nutum respicit totus populus. Quicquid ex lege scripturis, & ex consuetudine aliarum gentium constituit, quam sanctè obseruant.

Krantzius.
Munsterus.

FVit equidem initio ferè ad repurgatam Euangelij doctrinam maxima Episcopi obseruantia; sed nunquam tanta vt exteris legibus aut consuetudinini cederent nostræ leges politicæ, ex nutu Episcopi. Nec tempore *Alberti Krantzi*, multò minùs *Munsteri* (quorum ille 1517, hic 1552, post partum salutiferum decessit) Episcopi Islandorum regiam obrinuerunt auctoritatem, cum scilicet multi ex ijs, qui diuitijs paulò plus valebant, aduersus ipsos confurgere non dubitarint; quæ res apud nostrates liquidò constar. Interim tamen Episcopi, anathematis fulmine terribiles, alios in suam potestatem redegerunt, alios furibunda sæuitia id temporis persecuti sunt.

Porro

Portò etſi cum fuit magna, imò maxinia Epifcopi obſeruantia, tamè nunc diſpullis tenebris Papiſticiſ, alia ratione homines Satan aggreditur, eorumq; mentes contemptus libertate & refractaria contumacia, aduerſus *Deum* & ſacrum miniſterium, etiam hîc armare non negligit.

SECTIO NONA,

Illic viſitant plerumq; piſcibus, propter magnam penuriam frumenti, quod aliunde à maritimis civitatibus inferitur: & qui inde cum magno lucro piſces exportant. Item Munſterus, Illic piſcibus induratis viuntur loco panis qui illic non creſcit. Munſter.

Vlde Lector, quàm *Munſterum* iuuet, eadem oberrare chorda: vt cum de gente ignota nihil ſcribere poſſit, quod coloris aliquid habeat, vel falſa afferre, vel eadem ſæpius repetere, ſicque cramben eandem recoquerè ſuſtineat: Dixerat enim paulò ante, *Iſlandos piſcibus vinere*. Verba ipſius ſuperiùs etiam recitata, hæc ſunt. *Iſlandia populos continet multos, ſolo peccorum paſtu & nunc captura piſcium viſitantes, &c.* Et vt cætera tranſeam in quibus leue quiddam notari poterat; Illud ſanè, *panem in Iſlandia non creſcere*, perquam verum eſt. Quod etiam illi cum Germania commune eſſe crediderim, quòd videlicet nec illic panis creſcat, niſi forte in *Munſteri* agro, vbi etiam acetum naturale optimè creſcit. Sed hæc, troporum indulgentia, ſcilicet, ſalua erunt. Ad conuicia autem, quæ ex victu Iſlandorum petunt extranei, infra paucis reſpondebitur, Sect. 15.

SECTIO DECIMA.

Incole res maiorum & ſui temporis celebrant cantibus & inſculpunt ſcopulis, atque promontorijs, vt nulla, niſi cum nativæ inſuria, intercedant apud poſteritatem. Munſter. Krantzius.

Cythaæ ad, & qui teſtitudine ludunt, apud eos reperiuntur quàm plerimi, qui prædulci modulamine & volucres & piſces irretiant & capiant. Friſus.

QVin veterum geſta aliquot cantibus & poëmatis noſtratum, vt & ſoluta oratione, apud nos conſeruentur, non negamus. Quòd verò à nobis aut maioribus noſtris eadem ſcopulis vel promontorijs inſculpta ſunt, eam non licet nobis, vt neque illam tantam *Citharæ* dorum, aues aut piſces demulcentium, laudem accipere. Statuimus enim animi eſſe generoſi ac veracis, vt crimina falſa reſellere, ita laudem immeritam ſibi haud vindicare, nec, etſi quis tribuat, agnoſcere.

SECTIO VNDECIMA.

Sed cum ſcriptoribus iam dictis, viſis alioqui ſpectatæ eruditionis & præclari nominis, qui tamen hæc ita inconfideratè ſcriptis ſuis interſeruerunt, actionis finis eſto.

Et iam magna mei pars eſt exhausta laboris:

Sed teſtat tamen ſcetus ille vipereus Germanicus, quem idcirco anonymum ſecundo partu mater edi voluit, vt venenatis aculeis nomen Iſlandorum tantò liberiùs pungeret.

Porro licet aduerſus hanc beſtiam in arenam deſcendere non dubitem, omnibus tamen conſtare volo, quoniam hoc animo faciam, videlicet, non vt cum illius peſtifera virulentia, conuicijs aut maledicentia certem. (Nam vt eſt in triuiali perœmia,

Hoc ſcio pro certo, quod ſi cum ſtercore certo, Vinco, ſeu vincor, ſemper ego maculor:)

Sed vt bonis & cordatis omnibus, etiam extraneis, ſatiſfaciam, qui maledicentiam iſtam Germanicam lecturi vel audieturi ſunt, aut olim audierint, ne & hi nos meritò calumniam tantam ſuſtinere credant: Tum etiam vt alios qui iſtis virulentis rhythmis Germanicis, in gentis noſtræ opprobrium vtuntur, & inde dictoria & contumelioſas ſubſannationes ad deſpiciendos Iſlandos petunt, ab illa mordendi licentia in poſterum, ſi fieri poſſit, abducamus.

Ergò, ne longis ambagibus Lectori ſatiſtidium oratio noſtra pariat, ad ea narranda accedam, quæ maledicus ille Germanus in ſuum paſquillum congeſſit: Quem etiam ſua de Iſlandis carmina Encomiaſtica recitantem in his pagellis introducerem, niſi præuiderem ſcærum illum probroſum, tot & tam varijs maledictis turgidum, omnibus bonis nauſeam mouere poſſe, ac ſua ſpurcitie ab ijs legendis abſtertere.

Referam igitur præcipua, (ijs ſcilicet omiſſis quæ cum alijs communia habet, atque hæctenus ventilata ſunt) ſed, quàm ille, longè mitius; ne, vt dixi, linguæ ipſius obſcœna petulantia, aures bonæ & eruditæ offenſantur: Qui ipſum videre aut audire volet, quærat apud propolas. Nobis inquam, non eſt in animo putida ipſius calumnia & conuiciorum ſentina, has chartas inquinare. Primum igitur obijcit Germanicus hic noſter, ſi Dijs placet, Historicus: *Multos ex paſtoribus Iſlandiæ toto biennio ſacram concionem ad populum nullam habere: Vt in priore editione,*

1. Obiectio ſeu conuicium.

huius pasquilli legitur, quod tamen posterior editio eiusdem refutat: Dicens, eosdem pastores in integro anno tantū quinque concionari solitos: quæ duo quàm ritè sibi consentiant, videas bone Lector, cum constet Authorem mox à prima editione vix vidisse Islandiam, Ita scilicet plerumq; mendacium mendacio proditur, iuxta illud: *Verum vero consentit: Falsum nec vero, nec falso.*

Sed cum nostrum non sit veritatem vsipiam dissimulare, nos haud negandum ducimus conciones sacras circa id tempus, quo iste Sycophanta in Islandia vixit, nempe anno 1554, aut circiter multò fuisse rariores, quàm sunt hodiè, tum scilicet tenebris Papisticis vix dum discussis. Quod etiam de Psalmis Dauidicis à vulgo latinè demurmuratis, vt idè nostratibus exprobrat, intelligere est: Papistæ enim totam spem salutis in sua Missa collocantes, de concione aut doctrina parùm suere solliciti. Postquam verò caligine illa exempti sumus, aliter se rem habere, Deo inprimis gratias agimus: Licet quorundà pastorum nostrorum tardam stupiditatem, segnitiam & curam præposteram non possimus omni modo excusare. Quod vtrum in nullos suorum popularium etiam competat, aliæ quoque nationes viderint.

SECTIO DVODECIMA.

2. Coniutium.

Secundò calumniatur vitiligator: Adulteria & scortationes non modò publica esse & frequentia scelera inter Islandos: sed ab ijs pro scelere ne haberi quidem.

ET si autem scèdissimæ istæ turpitudines etiam in nostra repub. non prorsus inusitatæ sunt: Et tamen cum omnibus constet in alijs quoque nationibus longè etiam frequentiores esse, cum ibi quoque populi frequentia maior: immeritò & malignè hoc nomine magis Islandos, quàm populos & gentes reliquas, quarum, vt dixi, nomen etiam plus nostratibus hoc crimine malè audit, notauit.

Et licet ex animo optarim longè minus ad scelera, & turpitudines in nostra patria conuiuari, quàm passim hic fieri videmus: tamen etiam innata illa mordendi libidine, hoc veterator in presenti conuitio attextit: videlicet, quòd scelera ista ab Islandis pro scelere non habeantur. Nam in quâ demum repub. id impudens ille asserere audeat? Illâne; quæ in legem codicis II. titulo *Danhelge*: cap. 28. iurauit; quæ statuit, vt iterum adulterium qui cum coniuge alterius commiserit, confiscatis suis bonis, capite etiam plectatur? Illâne, quæ pro adulterio, à famulo cum vxore domini commissio, non ita dudum 80. thalerorum multam irrogauit? Illâne, quæ eundem, si ad statutum tempus non soluerit vel vades dederit, in exilium præscribendum decreuit? Illâne: cuius leges politicæ, quemuis in adulterio cum vxore, à viro legitime deprehensum, si euaserit, homicidij multam expendere iubent? Illâne, cuius itidem leges politicæ, in complexu matris, filia aut sororis, à filio, patre, vel fratre deprehensum, vitam suam dimidio eius, quod quis si eundem in fontem interfecisset, expendere teneretur, redimere iubent? Illâne, cuius leges politicæ adulterium sceleris infandi nomine notarunt & damnarunt? Et in eo tercio deprehensum, capite plectendum seuerè mandant?

Cernis igitur, Lector benigne, quàm iniurium habeamus notarium, dicentem: Adulterium & scortationes in Islandia peccati aut sceleris nomen non mereri. Nam licet politici quidam hoc vel illud scelus impunitum omittant, non debet tota gens, non leges, non boni & pij omnes, eo nomine in ius vocari, aut malè audire,

SECTIO DECIMATERTIA.

3. Coniutium.

Tertium conuiutium est, quo fraudis & perfidie erga Germanos Islandis notam inurit. Fuit autem proculdubio famosus huius libelli author, cerdo & propola circumforaneus, multosq; Islandiæ angulos, sordidæ mercaturæ gratia, ostiatim adierat: quod ipse de se in præclaris illis suis rhythmis testatur, *maximè Islandiæ partem sibi peragrata esse*. Vnde cum ipse mala fide cū multis egerit (plerumq; enim fraus & mendacia coniunguntur, & mendacem se fuisse, hac ingenijs sui experientia satis probauit) etiam fortè à se deceptorum fraudem esse expertus. Hinc illa in totam gentem criminatio extitit: Dissimulato interea, quia fide quidam Germanorum, quibus annua est nauigatio ad Islandos, cum nostris hominibus agant. Ea autem querela, cum non alios conuiuari, sed aliorum in gentem nostram immerita conuicia monstrare instituerim, consultò supersedeo.

SECTIO DECIMA QVARTA.

4, 5, 6, & 7. Coniutia.

Quarto: negat in conuiuijs quemquam discumbentium à mensa surgere: sed matres familias singulis conuiuijs quoties opus fuerit matellæ porrigere. Præterea variam conuiuiorum edendi bibendiq; rusticitatem notat.

5

Cubandi & prandendi ritus obijcit: quod decem plus minus in eodem lecto promiscuè viri cum feminis

minis pernolent, inque lecto cibum capiant: atq; interea se non nisi alea aut latrancolorum ludo exercent.

Sexto. Calumniatur eosdem faciem & os urina proluere.

6

Septimo. Nuptiarum, sponsalium, natalitiorum celebritatem & funerum ritus contemptuosè extenuat.

7

HÆc & huiusmodi plurima in gentem insontem, imò de se & suis optimè meritam, impurus calumniator euomit. Quæ quidem eius generis sunt, vt illi de his respondere profusus dedignemur. Nam vt demus (quod tamen non damus) aliquid huiusmodi apud homines fordidos, & ex ipsa vulgi colluue infimos, quibuscû longè sapius, quàm bonis & honestis conuersabatur, animaduertisse præclauum hunc notarium Germanicû (vixerat enim, vt eius rhythmi testantur, diuisculè in locis maritimis Islandiæ, quo ferè promiscuum vulgus, tempore piscaturæ annuatim confluit, & tam extraneorû nauatarum, quàm sua nequitia corruptum, sapius inhonestè mores & vitam instituit) Tamen manifestiorem etiam hoc loco iniuriam nobis facit, vitius nebulonis & desperati Sycophantæ turpitudine, totâ gentè (vt ferè solent etiâ alij) aspergendo, quàm vt refutatione vlla indigeat. Cuius rei etiam ipsi extranei in nostra Insula non parum versari, locupletissimi testes esse possunt.

Possem multas eius farinæ fecunditates, rusticitates & obscenitates, etiam in ipsius natione deprehensas colligere. Sed odi faciundiam caninam, nec in aliorum opprobriû disertû esse iuuat: nec tam tener esse volo, vt verbulis transuerberer. Id tantû viderint boni & pij omnes, cuius sit animi, pessima quæq; ab vno aut altero designata, toti genti obijcere. Si quis Germanicæ aut alterius nationes vrbes & pagos omnes peragret, & scelera ac mores pessimos, furta, homicidia, particidia, scortationes, adulteria, incestus, luxuriam, rapinas & reliquas impietates & obscenitates in vnum coactas, omnibus Germanis, aut alioqui alteri cuius toti nationi communes esse asserat, atq; hæc omnia insigniter mentiendo, exaggeret, sine optimæ rei studiosus habebitur?

Sed quid mirum, licet verbero, & vt propriè notem, porcus impurus, iste, inquam, Rhythmistâ, naturam & ingenium suum eiusmodi loidorâ prodiderit?

Notum est enim porcus, cû hortos amænissimos intrat, nec hliû nec rosas aut flores alioqui pulcherrimos & suauissimos decerpere: Sed rostro in cœnum prono, quicquid est luti & stercoreis volutare, vertere & inuertere, donec impurissima, hoc est, suo genio apprimè congruentia eruant, vbi demum solida voluptate pascuntur.

Ad istum igitur modum hic porcus Rhythmistâ, optima, & quæ in nostra Repub. laudibilia esse possunt, sicco pede præterit, pessima quæq; atq; ea, vel à nullo, vel admodum paucis designata; hoc est, suæ naturæ, & ingenio aptissima, vt se esse, qui dicitur, re ipsa probaret, corrasit: vnde posthac porci nomen ex moribus & ingenio ipsius factum, sortitor.

SECTIO DECIMA QVINTA.

Nonum conuicium hic recensebimus, quod à victu, ac præcipuè cibo ac potu Islandorum 9. Conuicium. maledicus ille porcus, non vno aut paucis verbis, sed proluxa inuectiua petiuit: Nempe quòd *cibus vtantur vetustis, & insulsis, idq; sine panis usu: Tum etiam quòd varia & incognita extraneis piscium genera illis sint esui, & aquam ac serum lactis in potum misceant. Quæ omnia venenatus hic pasquillus diserta contumelia, & ingeniosa calumnia, pulchrè amplificauit.*

Cæterum ethi illum prolixiore responsione non dignemur: tamen propter alios, qui hodie hanc rem partim mirantur, partim haud leuiter nostræ genti obijciunt, pauca hoc loco addenda videbantur.

Primum igitur totam hanc gentem bipartitò secabimus: In mendicos, & hos qui & se & cum alijs etiam mendicos alunt. Mendicorum, & eorum qui ad hos proximè accedunt, omnia cibaria recensere aut examinare haud facile est, nec quòd illos edere, aut edisse, extrema aliquando coëgit necessitas, reliquæ genti cibariorû genera aut numerû præscribere fas est. Nam & de suffocatis quidem non comedendis legem habemus inter canones, quorum seruantissima videri voluit antiquitas.

Deinde etiam tempora distinguemus, vt nihil mirum sit, grassante annonæ scæuitia, multa à multis ad explendam famem adhiberi aut adhibita fuisse, quæ aliàs vix canes pascant. Vt nuperimè de Parisiensibus accepimus, Anno 1590. arctissima Henrici 4. Nauarræ obsidione pressis, & famem Saguntinam, vt P. Lindebergius loquitur, perpeffis; eos non modò equinam, sed morticinam quoque carnem ex mortuorum ossibus in mortariò contusis farinæ pugillo vno aut altero misto, confectam, in suas dapes conuertisse; & de alijs quoque populis notum est, qui simili urgente inopia, etiam murium, felium & canum esu victarint. Sic etiam Islandis aliquando vsu venit (quanquam à caninâ, murium & felium, vt & humana carne hæctenus;

nobis

nobis quantum constat, abstinerint) licet non ab hoste obsessis: Nam cum ad victum necessaria ex terra marisque petant, & ab extraneis nihil comæatus, aut parum admodum aduehatur, quoties terræ marisque munera DEVS præcluserit, horrendam annonæ caritatem ingruere & ingruisse, & dira fame vexari incolas, necesse est. Vnde fit, vt illos qui in diem viuere soliti fuerint, nec præcedentium annorum superantes comæatus habuerint, extrema tentasse, quoties egestas vrserit, credibile. Cæterum, vtrum hæc res publico & perpetuo opprobrio magis apud Islandos, quàm alias nationes, occasionem meritò præbere debeat, candidis & bonis animis iudicandum relinquo.

Potè quod de gentis nostræ proprijs & consuetis alimentis multi obijcere solent, potissimum de carne, piscibus, butyro, absque sale inueteratis, Item de lacticijs, siumenti inopia, potu aquæ, &c. & reliquis: id nos in plurimis Islandiæ locis (nam sunt multi quoque nostratum, qui Danorum & Germanorum more, quantum quidem castis & temperatis animis ad mediocritatem sufficere debet, licet magna condimentorum varietate, vt & ipsis Pharmacopolijs, delituimur, mensam instruere & frugaliter viuere sustineant) ita se habere haud multis refragabimur, videlicet prædicta victus genera, passim sine salis condimento vsitata esse. Et insuper addemus, hæc ipsa cibaria, quæ extranei quidam vel nominare horrent, ipsos tamen extraneos apud nos, non sine voluptate, manducare solitos. Nam etsi frumenti aut faris penè nihil vulgò habeamus, nec sal, gulæ irritamentum, ad cibaria condienda, omnibus suppetit: docuit tamen Deus, opt. max. etiam nostros homines rationem tractandi & conseruandi, quæ ad vitam sustentandam spectant, vt appareat, Deum in alendis Islandis non esse ad panem vel sale alligatum. Quòd verò sua omnia extranei iucundiora & salubriora clamant; negamus tamen satis causâ esse, cur nostra nobis exprobrant: Nec nos DEVM gulæ nostræ debitorem reputamus; quin potius toto pectore gratias agimus, quod sine opiparis illis delicijs & lautitijs, quæ tam iucundæ & salubres putantur, etiam nostræ gentis hominibus, annos & ætatem bonam, tum valerudinem etiam firmissimâ, robur ac vires validas (quæ omnia statuimus boni & conuenientis alimentis, *vt in supradictis esse indicia*) concedere dignetur, cum ingenio etiam non profus tam crasso ac sterili, quàm huic nostro aëri & alimentis assignare Philosophi videntur, quod re libentius, quàm verbis multi fortasse nostratum comprobare poterant,

Ni nos (vt inquit ille) paupertas inuida deprimeret.

Sed hîc vulgi iudicium, vt in alijs sæpè, etiam eos qui sapere volunt (iam omnes bonos & cordatos excipio) nimis apertè decipit: Videlicet hoc ipso, quòd omnia, quæ illorum vsus non admittit, aut quæ non videntur, aut experti sunt antea, continuò damnent. Veluti, si quis, qui mare nunquam vidit, mare mediterraneum esse aliquod, non possit adduci vt credat: Sic illi sensu suæ experientiæ omnia metiuntur, vt nihil sit bonum, nihil conducibile, nisi quo illi soli viuunt: At profectò nos, eò dementiæ non processimus, vt eos qui locustis vescuntur, quòd rum de alijs, tum Æthiopiæ quibusdam populis, ideo (autore Diodoro) Acridophagis appellatis, & Indiæ gente, cui Mandrorum nomen Clytharcus & Magestanes dederunt, teste Agararchide, didicimus; aut ranis, aut cancris marinis, aut squillis gibbis, quæ res hodiè nota est, vulgi propterea ludibrijs exponete præsumamus, à quibus tamen edulijs, in totum nostra consuetudo abhorret.

SECTIO DECIMASEXTA.

De Conuicijs.

Decimo. Hospitalitatem nostris hominibus inhumanissimus porcus obijcit, *Marsupium* inquit, *non circumferunt, nec hospitari aut conuiuari gratis pudor est. Nam si quis aliquid haberet, quòd cum alijs communicaret, id faceret sanè in primis ac libenter.* His quoq; annectamus, quòd *templa, seu sacras adiculas domi propria à multis Islandorum extractas velut pudenti quiddam commemorat: quodq; eas primùm omnium de manè oraturi petant, nec à quoquam prius interpellari patiantur.* Hæc ille velut insigne quoddam dedecus in Islandis notauit.

Scilicet, quia nihil cum Amaricino, sui:

Nec porci diuina vnquam amarum: quòd sanè metuo ne nimis verè de hoc conuiciatore dicatur, id quòd vel ex his vltimis duabus obiectionibus constare poterit.

Verùm enim uerò, cum ipse suarum virtutum sit testis locupletissimus, nos Lectorem eius rei cupidum ad ipsius hoc opus Poëticum remittimus, quòd is de Islandia composuit, & nos iam aliquot proximis distinctionibus examinauimus: cuius maledicentiæ & sceditatis nos hîc pro ipso puduit; ita, vt quæ is Satyrica, at quid Satyrica? Sathanica, inquam, mordacitate & maledicentia in nostram gentem scribere non erubuit, nos tamen referre pigeat: Tanta eius est & tam abominanda petulantia, tam arrox calumnia. DEVS BONE: Hoc conuiciorum plaustrum (paucissima namq; attigimus; Nolui enim laterem lauare, & stulto, vt inquit ille sapientissimus, secundum

secundum stultitiam suam respondere, cum in ipsius Rhythmis verbum non sit quod conuicio careat) qui viderit, nonne iudicabit pasquilli istius autorem hominem fuisse pessimum, imò facem hominum, tum virtutis ac veritatis contemptorem, sine pietate, sine humanitate?

Sed hinc merito dubitauerim, peiusne horum conuiciorum autor de Islandis meritis sit, an verò Typographus ille Ioachimus Leo (& quicumque sunt alij, qui in suis editionibus, nec suum nec vrbis suæ nomen profiteri ausi sunt) qui illa iam bis, si non sæpius, typis suis Hamburgi euulgauit. Hocce impune fieri sinitis, ó senatus populusque Hamburgensis? Hancine statuisis gratiam deberi Islandiæ, quæ vrbis vestræ iam plurimos annos, exportatis affatim nostratium quibusuis commodis, pecudum, pecorumque; carnibus, butyro & piscium copia quotannis, penè immo dica, quædam quasi cella penuria fuit? Sensere huius Insulæ commoda etiam Hollandiæ olim & Angliæ vrbes aliquor: Præterea Danis, Bremensibus, & Lubecensibus cum Islandis commercia diu fuerunt. Sed a nullis vnquam tale encomium, talem gratiam reportantur, qualis hæc est Gregoriana calumnia: In vestrà, vestrà inquam vrbe, nata, edita, iterata, si non terriata: quæ alias nationes, quibus Islandia vix, ac ne vix quidem, nomine tenus, alioqui innotuerat, ad huius gentis opprobrium & contemptum armauit: quam à ciue vestro acceptam iniuriam, iam 30. annos, & plus eò, Islandia sustinet. Sed etiam, in scio in magistratu, eiusmodi multa sæpè fiunt: Neque enim dubitamus, quin viri boni eiusmodi scripta famosa indignè ferant, & ne edantur, diligenter caueant: cum tales editiones pugnent cum iure naturali: *Ne alteri facias, quod tibi factum non velis: Et Casarco, de libellis famosis: in quo irrogatur pœna grauissima ijs, qui tales libellos componunt, scribunt, proferunt, emi venditue curant, aut non statim repertos discernunt.*

Urbes Angliæ
commercias olim
in Islandia exer-
centes.

Cæterum iam tandem receptui canamus: Nòsq; ad te, Islandia parens carissima, quam nec paupertas, nec frigora, nec id genus incommoda alia, quamdiu Christo hospitia cupidè & libenter exhibere non desistis, iniuriam facient, conuertamus: Vbi te primùm ad id quod modò diximus, nempe serium & ardens studium ac amorem DE I, & diuinæ scientiæ, nobis in Christo patefactæ, totis viribus hortamur: vt vni huic cuncta posthabeas, doctrinæ & verbi cupiditate flagres: Sacrum ministerium & ministros, non parum cures, non contempnas aut odio prosequare: sed reuerearis, foueas, ames. Contra facientes, pro impijs & profanis habeas: vt omnia ad pietatis & honestatis præscriptum geras, in vita priuata & communi, vt huic status & ordines Ecclesiastici & Politici, in vniuersum obtemperent: In vtroque vitæ genere, ab illa amussi seu norma æqui & boni dependeas, & cæteros qui pertinacia ac impietate ab ea deflectunt, auerferis, quos æquum est pœnis condignis affici, id quod magistratui curæ futurum non diffidimus. In primis verò nullis nisi spectatæ fidei & probitatis viros, quique ad istas virtutes, reliquas huc pertinentes coniungant, ad gubernacula admittas, quæ ratione reliquis incommodis ritè occurritur. Res ista enim, si probè curetur, vt videlicet, qui munus publicum gerunt, ex bonis omnibus optimi quique deligantur, improbi & huic rei inepti, procul inde arceantur; subditorum conditio, longè erit optatissima: vita & mores tantò magis laudabiles sequemur: pietas & honestas tantò erunt illustriores. At verò si secus fiat, si Pastores Ecclesiarum suo muneri, vel vita vel doctrina non respòdeant, si ad administrationem politicam promiscuè admittantur, quicumque eò propria leuitate, ambitione vel avaritia & contentione honoris, ruunt: si ijdem criminum aut improbitatis, vel suspecti vel conuicti sint, aut suspectorum & conuictorum protectores, vel ijdem illicitè indulgentes, quis tuus quæso demum futurus est status? quæ facies? quæ conditio? Certè longè omnium miserrima. Nec enim alio pacto citius ad ruinam & interitum tuum appropinquabis, quam si istis te regendam commiseris, qui quod in ijs est, licet sint & ipsi ex tuis, iugulum tuum, propter emolumenta priuata, & odia latentia, quotidie petere cõtendunt. Quamobrem (ne ista pluribus agam) quanti intersit, vt hæc probè curentur, faciliè, ó Patria, intelligis.

Sed dum hæc tuis auribus à me öccinuntur, utinam gemitus meos altissimos, qui sub hac ad te Apostrophe latent, Serenissimæ Regiæ Maiestatis aures exaudiant, apud quam ego pro te ita deploro damna publica, quæ ea de causa exoriuntur maximè, quòd patria nostra à regia sede, & conspectu, tantò interuallo sit remota, vt multi propterea tantò sibi maiorem fumant licentiam, & impunitatem securus promittant. Cæterum ista numini iustissimo, quod æquis omnia oculis aspicit, committenda ducimus,

Reliquum est, ó patria, vt studium in te nostrum, eo quo speramus animo. i. comi & benigno, suscipias: quod quamuis minimè tale est, quale optaremus, tamen cum VELLE SIT IN-STAR OMNIVM, nolui idcirco desistere, quod pro tuo nomine, tua dignitate, tua innocentia pugnare me satis strenuè diffiderem. Quin potius, quicquid id est (si modò quicquam est) & quantum cunctaque tandem, quod ad tui patrocinium, pro mea tenui parte afferre possèm, nequaquam supprimendum putavi, nec enim illos laudare soleo,

*Qui, quòd desperent innicti membra Glyconis,
Nodosa nolunt corpus probibere Chiragra.*

Me sanè, si hæc commentatiuncula non erit tibi aut mihi dedecori, operæ nequaquã pœnerebit. Quòd si ad laudem vel aliquale patrociniũ tui aliquid faciat, operam perdidisse haud videbor. Sin verò alios alumnos tuos, meos conterraneos, arte & industria superiores, ad causam tuam, vel nunc, vel in posterum suscipiendam, hoc conatu tenello excitauero, quid est cur operæ precium non fecisse dicar? quibus scribentibus, licet mea fama in obscuro futura est, tamen præstantia illorum, qui nomini officient meo, me consolabor: Nam etsi famæ & nominis cura summa esse debet, maior tamen patriæ; cuius dignitate salua & incolumni, nos quoq; saluos & incolumes reputabimus.

*Scripti Holis Hiatt. adalensium in Islandia, Æra Christiana
Anno 1592. 17. Kalendas Maias.*

A BRIEF COMMENTARIE

of *Island*: wherein the errors of such as haue written concerning this *Island*, are detected, and the slanders, and reproches of certaine strangers, which they haue vsed ouer-boldly against the people of *Island*, are confuted.

By *Arngrimus Ionas*, of *Island*.

To the most mighty Prince and Lord, Lord *Christian the 4. of Denmarke, Norway*, and of the *Vandals and Gothes*, King elect: of *Sleswic, Holste, Stormar, and Duhmarse* Duke: Earle of *Oldenburg*, and *Delmenhorst*: His most gracious Lord.

That heroicall attempt of *Anchurus*, sonne of King *Midas* (most gracious prince) and that pietie towards his country in maner peerelesse, deserueth highly to be renowned in histories: in that freely and couragiously he offered his owne person, for the stopping vp of an huge gulfe of earth, about *Celœna*, a towne in *Phrighia*, which daily swallowed multitudes of men, and what soeuer else came neere vnto it. For when his father *Midas* was aduertised by the Oracle, that the said gulfe should not be shut vp, before things most precious were cast into it: *Anchurus* deeming nothing to be more inualluable then life, plunged himselfe a liue downe headlong into that bottomeles hole; and that with so great vehemencie of mind, that neither by his fathers request, nor by the allurements and teares of his most amiable wife, he suffered himselfe to be drawne backe from this his enterprise.

Sperthius also and *Bulis*, two *Lacedemonians*, were not much inferiour to the former, who to turne away the reuenge of *Xerxes* that most puissant King of the *Persians*, entended against the *Lacedemonians*, for killing the ambassadors of his father *Darius*, hyed them vnto the sayd king, and that he might auenge the ambassadours death vpon them, not vpon their country, with bards, and constant mindes presented themselues before him.

The very same thing (most gracious prince) which moued them, and many others being enflamed with the loue of their country, to refuse for the benefite thereof, no danger, no trouble, no nor death it selfe, the same thing (I say) hath also enforced me, not indeed to vndergoe voluntarie death, or freely to offer my selfe vnto the slaughter, but yet to assay that which I am able for the good of my country: namely, that I may gather together and refuse the errors, and vaine reports of writers, concerning the same: and so take vpon me a thing very dangerous, and perhaps subiect to the sinister iudgement of many.

In this purpose the example of *Cneius Pompeius* hath likewise confirmed me: who being chosen procurator for corne among the *Romanes*, and in an extreme scarcetie and dearth of the citie, hauing taken up some store of graine in *Sicilia*, *Sardinia*, and *Africa*, is reported to haue had greater regard of his country, then of himselfe. For when he made haste towards *Rome*, and a mighty and dangerous tempest arising, he perceined the Pilots to tremble, and to be unwilling to commit themselues to the rigor of the stormie sea, himselfe first going on board, and commanding the anchors to be weighed, brake forth into these words: That we should sayle necessitie vrgeth: but that we should liue, it vrgeth not. In which words he seemeth wisely to inferre, that greater care is to be had of our country lying in danger, then of our owne priuate safetie.

This

This mandoe I thus imitate, } If small with great as equals may agree :
 } And Flie with Elephant compared bee.

Namely that gathering together and laying up in store those things which might be applied to succour the same and credit of our nation, having now this long time bene oppressed with strangers, through the ennie of certaine malicious persons, I boldly adventure to present these fewe meditations of mine vnto the viewe of the world, and so hoysing vp sailes to commit my selfe vnto a trouble some sea, and to breake forth into the like speeches with him : That I should write necessitie vrgeth : but that my writings in all places should satisfie euery delicate taste, or escape all peeuisshnes of carpers it vrgeth not. I doubt not but many will allow this my enterprise : the successe perhaps all men will not approve. Neuertheles, I thought that there was greater regard to be had of my countrey, sustaining so many mens mocks and reproches, then of mine owne praise or dispraise, redounding perhaps vnto me upon this occasion. For what cause should moue me to shunne the ennie and hate of some men, being ioyned with an indencour to benefite and gratifie my countrey?

But if I shall seeme somewhat too bold in censuring the errors of writers, or too seuer in reprehending the slanders of some men : yet I hope all they will iudge indifferently of me, who shall seriously consider, how intolerable the errors of writers are, concerning our nation : how many also and how grieuous be the reproches of some, against vs, wherewith they haue sundry wayes prouoked our nation, and as yet will not cease to prouoke. They ought also to haue me excused in regard of that in-bred affection rooted in the hearts of all men, towards their natine soile, and to pardon my iust grieffe for these iniuries offered vnto my countrey. And I in very deed, so much as lay in me, haue in all places moderated my selfe, and haue bene desirous to abstaine from reproches : but if any man thinke, we should haue used more temperance in our stile, I trust, the former reason will content him.

Sithens therefore, I am to vndergoe the same hazard, which I see is commonly incident to all men, that publish any writings : I must now haue especiall regarde of this one thing : namely, of seeking out some patron, and Meccenas for this my brieffe commentary, vnder whose name and protection it may more safely passe through the hands of all men.

But for this purpose I could not finde out, nor wish for any man more fit then your royal Maiestie, most gracious prince. For vnto him, who hath receiued vnder his power & tuition our liues and goods, vnto him (I say) doe we make humble sute, that he would haue respect also vnto the credit of our nation, so inuisiously disgraced.

Ye a verily (most gracious King) we are constrained to craue your Maiesties mercifull aide, not on-ly in this matter, but in many other things also which are wanting in our countrey, or which otherwise belong to the publique commoditie and welfare thereof : which not by me, but by the letters supplicatory of the chiefe men of our nation, are at this time declared, or will shortly be declared. For we doubt not but that your sacred Maiestie, after the example of your Christian predecessors, will vouchsafe vnto our countrey also, amongst other Islands of your Maiesties dominion, your kingly care and protection. For as the necessitie of seeing for redresse vnto your sacred Maiestie, is ours : so the glory of relieuing, regarding, and protecting vs, shall wholly redound vnto your sacred Maiestie : as also, there is layd up for you, in respect of your fostering and preserving of Gods church, vpon the extreme northerly parts almost of the whole earth, and in the vittermost bounds of your Maiesties dominion (which by the singular goodnes of God, enjoyeth at this present tranquillitie and quiet safetie) a reward and crowne of immortal life in the heauens.

But considering these things are not proper to this place, I will leaue them, and returne to my purpose which I haue in hand : most humbly beseeching your S. M. that you would of your clemencie vouchsafe to become a fauourer and patron vnto these my labours and studies, for the behalfe of my countrey.

It now remaineth (most gracious and mercifull souereigne) for vs to make our humble prayers vnto almighty God, that king of kings, and disposer of all humane affaires, that it would please him of his infinite goodnes, to aduance your Maiestie (yearely growing vp in wisdom & experience, and all other heroicall vertues) to the highest pitch of souereignie : and being aduanced, continually to blesse you with most prosperous successe in all your affaires : and being blessed, long to preferne you, as the chief ornament, defence and safegarde of these kingdomes, and as the shield and fortresse of his church : and here after in the life to come, to make you shine glorious like a starre, amongst the principall nurcing fathers of Gods Church, in the perfect ioy of his heauenly kingdome. The same most mercifull father likewise grant, that these prayers, the oftener they be dayly repeated and multiplied in euery corner of your Maiesties most ample territories & Islands, so much the more sure and certein they may remaine.

Amen. At Haffnia, or Copen Hagen 1593. in the moneth of March.

Y. S. M.

most humble subiect,

Arngimus Ionas, Islander.

To

The errors of the
 writers of Island
 intolerable.

To the courteous and Christian reader *Gudbrandus Thorlacius*,
Bishop of Holen in Island, wisheth health.

Here came to light about the yeate of Christ 1561, a very deformed impe, begotten by a certain Pedlar of *Germany*: namely a booke of German rimes, of al that euer were read the most filthy and most slanderous against the nation of *Island*. Neither did it suffice the base printer once to send abroad that base brat, but he must publish it also thrise or foute times ouer: that he might thereby, what lay in him, more deeply disgrace our innocent nation among the Germans, & Danes, and other neighbour countries, with shamefull, and euerlasting ignominie. So great was the malice of this printer, & his desire so greedy to get lucre, by a thing vnlawfull. And this he did without controlment, euen in that citie, which these many yeres hath trafficked with *Island* to the great gaine, and commodity of the citizens. His name is *Ioachimus Leo*, a man worthy to become lions foode.

Great errors grow
 vpon mariners
 fabulous reports.

Moreouer, there are many other writers found, who when they would seeme to describe the miracles of nature, which are thought to be very many in this *Island*, & the maners, & customs of the *Islanders*, haue altogether swarued from the matter and truth it selfe, following mariners fables more trifling then old wiues tales, & the most vain opinions of the common sort. These writers, although they haue not left behind them such filthy & reprochful stuffe as that base timer: yet there are many things in their writings that wil not suffer them to be excused, & altogether acquitted from causing an innocent nation to be had in derision by others. Wherefore marking, reading, & weighing these things with my selfe, & considering that there dayly spring vp new writers, which offer iniury to the fame & reputatiō of the *Islanders*, being such men also as do shamelesly siltch out of other mens labours, deluding their readers wth feined descriptions, & a new rehearal of monsters, I often wished that some one man would come forth, to make answer to the errors of historiographers & other vniust censurers: and by some writing, if not to free our innocent nation from so many reproches, yet at leastwise, in some sort to defend it, among christian & friendly readers. And for this cause I haue now procured an honest and learned young man one *Arngrimus Fitz-Ionas*, to peruse the works of authors, that haue written any thing concerning *Island*, and by sound reasons to detect their errors, & falsehoods. And albeit at the first he was very loth, yet at length my friendly admonition, & the common loue of his countrey preuailed with him so farre, that he compiled this briefe commentary, taking his proofes, not out of the vaine fables of the people, but from his owne experience, and many other mens also of sufficient credit.

Now, he that vndertooke this matter at my procurement, did againe as it were by his owne authority chalēge at my hands, that I should in two or three words at least, make a preface vnto his booke; thinking it might gaine some credit, and authority thereby. Wherefore to speake my minde in a word: for my part, I iudge him to haue taken both honest & necessary paines, who hath done his indeuour not onely to weigh the diuers opinions of wrighters concerning things vnknown, and to examine them by the censure of trueth, and experience, but also to defend his countrey from the venemous bitings of certaine sycophants. It is thy part therefore (gentle reader) to accept this small treatise of his, being as it were guarded with the sacred loue of truth, and of his countrey, against the peruerfines of carpers. Farewel, *Anno* 1592. *Intij* 29.

Here beginneth the Commentary of *Island*.

Even as in war, dayly experience teacheth vs, that some vpon no iust & lawfull grounds (being egged on by ambition, emule, and couetise) are induced to follow the armie, and on the contrary side, that others arme themselves vpon iust and necessary causes: namely such as go to battell for the defence and propagation of the Gospel, or such as being any way prouoked thereunto, doe withstand present violence and wrong, or at least (not being prouoked) by reason of the enemye approaching are constrained to be vp in armes: right so, they that fight vnder Apolloes banner. Amongst whom, a great part, not vpon any honest, philosophical, or indeede Christian intention, adzeffe themselves to wright: especially such as for desire of glory, for enuy and spight, or vpon malicious and affected ignorance, carpe at others: and, that they may be accompted superiours, sometimes whette their stiles against the person, name and fame of this or that particular man, sometimes inueighing against a whole countrey, and by shamelesse vntrueths disgracing innocent nations and people. Againe, others of an ingenuous minde, doe by great industry, search and bring to light things profitable:

namely,

namely, they that write of Diuinity, Philosophy, History and such like: and they who (taking use and experience for their guides) in the said Sciences haue brought things obscure to light, things maimed to perfection, and things confused to order: and they that haue faithfully commended to euerlasting posteritie, the stories of the whole world: that by their infinite labours haue aduanced the knowledge of tongues: to be short, that endeour themselves to repress the insolencie, confute the slanderers, and withstand the vniust violence of others, against themselves, their Nation or their Countrey.

And I for my part, hauing scarce attained the sight of good letters, and being the meane of all the followers of Minerua (that I may freely acknowledge mine owne wants) can do no lesse than become one of their number, who haue applied themselves to ridde their countrey from dishonour, to auouch the truth, and to shake off the yoke of railers & reuilers. My estate enabled me onely to write; howbeit the excellencie of truth, and the in-bred affection I beare to my countrey, enforceth me to do the best I can: sithens it hath pleased some strangers by false rumours to deface, and by manifold reproches to iniurie my sayd countrey, making it a by-word, and a laughing-stocke to all other nations. To meet with whose insolencie and false accusations, as also to detect the errors of certaine writers concerning this Island, vnto good and well affected men (for the common people will be alwayes like themselves, stubbournly mainteining that which is false and foolish, neither can I hope to remooue them from this accustomed and stale opinion) I haue penned the treatise following.

And albeit Island is not destitute of many excellent men, who, both in age, wit, and learning, are by many degrees my superiours, and therefore moze fit to take the defence of the countrey into their hands: not withstanding, being earnestly perswaded thereunto, by that godly & famous man Gudbrandus Thorlacius Bishop of Holar in Island, I thought good (to the utmost of mine ability) to be no whit wanting vnto the common cause: both that I might obey his most reasonable request, and also that I might encourage other of my countrey men, who haue bene better trained by in good learning, and indued with a greater measure of knowledge then I my selfe, to the defence of this our nation: so farre as I from hindring any man to vnder take the like enterprize.

But to returne to the matter, because they (whatsoeuer they be) that reproch and maligne our nation, make their boast that they vse the testimonies of writers: we are seriously to consider, what things, and how true, writers haue reported of Island, to the end that if they haue giuen (perhaps) any occasion to others of inueying against vs, their errors being layd open (for I will not speake moze sharply) all the world may see how iustly they do reproch vs. And albeit I nothing doubt to examine some ancient writers of this Island, by the rule of truth and experience: yet (otherwise) their memory is precious in our eyes, their dignity reuerend, their learning to be had in honour, and their zeale and affection towards the whole common wealth of learned men, highly to be commended: but as for nouices (if there be any such writers or rather pasquilles) when they shall heare and know truer matters concerning Island, then they themselves haue written, they shall seeme by their inconstancie and peruerse wit to haue gained nought else but a blacke marke of enuy and reproch.

And that this commentarie of mine may haue some order, it shall be diuided into two generall parts: the first of the Island, the second of the inhabitants: and of these two but so far-foorth as those writers which are come to our hands haue left recorded: because I am not determined to wander out of these lists, or to handle moze then these things and some other which pertaine vnto them: For I professe not my selfe an Historiographer, or Geographer; but onely a Disputer. Wherefore omitting a longer Preface, let vs come to the first part concerning the situation, the name, miracles, and certaine other adiuncts of this Island.

The first section.

The Isle of Island being seuered from other countreys an infinite distance, standeth farre into the Ocean, and is scarce knowen vnto Sailers.

Albeit a discourse of those things which concerne the land, and the adiuncts or properties thereof be of little moment to defend the nation or inhabitants from the biting of slanderers, yet seemeth it in no case to be omitted, but to be increased of in the first place, that the friendly reader perceiuing how truly those writers of Island haue reported in this respect, may thereby also easily iudge what credit is to be giuen vnto them in other matters which they haue left written concerning the inhabitants, and which others haue received from them as oracles, from whence (as they say) they haue borrowed scoffes and taunts against our nation.

First therefore, that the distance of Island from other countreys is not infinite, nor indeed so

great as men commonly imagine, it might easily be prouided, if one did but in some sort know the true longitude & latitude of the said Island, for I am of opinion that it cannot exactly be known any other way then this, whenas it is manifest how the Partiners course (be it neuer so direct, as they suppose) doth at all times swerue. In y^e meane while therfore I will set downe diuers opinions of authours, concerning y^e situation of Island, that from hence euery man may gather that of the distance which seemeth most probable; vntill perhaps my selfe being one day taught by mine owne experience, may if not inuide, yet at least aduoin, what I shal thinke true as touching this matter.

	Longit.	Latitud.		Longit.	Latitud.
	deg. min.	deg. min.		deg. min.	deg. min.
Munster placeth Island at most in	20	68	The promontorie of Hekkelzell	25	67
Gerardus Mercator	325	68	The promontorie of Madher	21	20 65 10
Gemina Frisius placeth the midst of Island	7	0 65 30	The inland cities of Island		
Hersee	7	40 60 42	Holen the seat of a bishop	28	0 67 50
Thirtes	5	50 64 44	Schalholten the seat of a bishop	22	63 30
Nadar	6	40 57 10	Reinholdus.		
Iacobus Zieglerus.			By Holen in Island		68
The West shoze of Island	20	0 63 0	Iohannes Miritius.		
The promontorie of Chos	22	46 63 0	By Mid-Island		69
The East shoze is extended Northward, and hath bounds of extension in	30	0 68 0	Neander.		
The North shoze is extended Westward, and hath bounds of extension in	28	0 69 0	Island stretcheth it selfe 3 degrees within the circle arctic from the equinoctial, inso much that y ^e said circle arctic doeth almost diuide it in the middl ^e &c.		
The description of y ^e West side.					

There be others also, who either in their maps, or writings haue noted the situation of Island: not withstanding it is to no purpose to set downe any more of their opinions, because the more you haue, the more contrary shall you finde them. For my part, albeit I haue probable coniectures perswading me not to beleue any of the former opinions, concerning the situation of Island, but to dissent from them all: yet had I rather leaue the matter in suspente then affirme an vncerteinty, vntill (as I haue sayd) I may be able perhappes one day not to gesse at the matter, but to bring forth mine owne obseruation, and experience.

A certaine writer hath put downe the distance betweene the mouth of Elbe & Batzende in the South part of Island to be 400 leagues: from whence if you shall account the difference of longitude to the meridian of Hamburg, Island must haue none of the fozenamed longitudes in that place, I am able to prouue by three sundry voyages of certaine Hamburgers, that it is but seven dayes sailing from Island to Hamburg. Besides all those Islands, which by reason of the abundance of sheepe, are called Fareyiar, or more rightly Faareyiar, as likewise the desert thozes of Norway, are distant from vs but two dayes sailing. We haue foure dayes sailing into habitable Gronland: and almost in the same quantitie of time we passe ouer to the prouince of Norway, called Stad, lying betweene the townes of Nidrosia or Trondon, and Bergen, as we finde in the ancient records of these nations.

The second section.

In this Island, at the Summer *solstitium*, the Sun passing thorow the signe of *Cancer*, there is no night, and therefore at the Winter *solstitium* there is no day. Also: *Vadianus*. But in that Island, which farre within the arctic circle is seated in the maine Ocean, at this day called *Island*, and next vnto the lands of the frozen sea, which they call *Engronland*, there be many moneths in the yere without nights.

At the *solstitium* of winter, that there is no day (that is to say, no time, wherein the Sunne is scene about the horizon) we confesse to be true onely in that angle of Island (if there be any such angle) where the pole is eleuated full 67 degrees. But at Holen (which is the bishops seat for the North part of Island, and lieth in a most deepe valley) the latitude is about 65 degrees and 44 minutes, as I am enformed by the reuerend father, Gudbrand, bishop of that place: and yet there, the shortest day in all the yere is at least two houres long, and in South-Island longer, as it appeareth by the tables of Mathematicians. Percehence it is manifest, first that Island is not situate

Seven dayes sailing from Island to Hamburg. Island but two dayes sailing distant from Faar-Islands, & from the desert thozes of Norway.

Munsterus, Olaus Magnus and others.

situate beyond the arctic circle : secondly, that in Island there are not wanting in Summer sol-
sticium many nights, nor in Winter solsticium many dayes.

Island is not
within the cir-
cle arctic.

The third section.

It is named of the ice which continually cleaueth vnto the North part thereof. Another writ-
teth : From the West part of *Norway* there lieth an Island which is named of the ice, enui-
roned with an huge sea, and being a countrey of ancient habitation, &c. *Zieglerus*. This is
Thyle, whereof most of the ancient writers haue made mention,

Munsterus.
Saxo.

IT is named of ice, &c. Island hath bene called by thre names, one after another. For one
Naddocus a *Mozuagian* boine, who is thought to be the first Discoverer of the same, as he was
sailing towards the *Faar*-Ilands, through a violent tempest did by chance arrive at the East shore
of Island; where staying with his whole company certaine weekes, he beheld abundance of snow
covering the tops of the mountaines, and thereupon, in regard of the snow, called this Island *Sne*-
land. After him one *Gardarus*, being mooued thereunto by the report which *Naddocus* gaue out
concerning Island, went to seeke the sayd Island; who, when he had found it, called it after his
owne name *Gardarf-holme*, that is to say, *Gardars* Isle. There were moze also desirous to visit
this new land. For after the two former, a certaine third *Mozuagian*, called *Flok*, went into
Island, and named it of the ice, where with he saw it enuironed.

Island first dis-
covered by
Naddocus in a
tempest.

Sneland.

Gardarfholme.

Island.

Of ancient habitation, &c. I gather not this opinion out of these wordes of *Saxo* (as some
men do) that Island hath bene inhabited from the beginning, or (to speake in one word) that the
people of Island were autochthones, that is, earth-bred, or bred out of their owne soile like vnto
trees and herbs; sithens it is eident, that this Island scarce began to be inhabited no longer agoe
then about 718 yeres since.

This is *Thyle*, &c. Grammaticians wangle about this name, and as yet the controuersie is not
decided. Which notwithstanding, I thinke might easily grow to composition, if men would vn-
derstand that this Island was first inhabited about the yeere of our Lord 874. Unless some man
will say that *Thule* King of *Aegypt* (who, as it is thought, gaue this name thereunto) passed so
farre vnto an Island, which was at that time vntilled, and destitute of inhabitants. Again, if any
man will denie this, he may for all me, that it may seeme to be but a dzeame, while they are di-
tracted into so many contrary opinions. One affirmes that it is Island: another, that it is a cer-
taine Island, where trees beare fruit twise in a yeere: the third, that it is one of the *Orcades*, or
the last Island of the *Scotish* dominion, as *Iohannes Myricius* and others, calling it by the name
of *Thylesey*, which *Virgil* also seemeth to haue meant by his *ultima Thyle*. If beyond the *Byz*-
tans (by which name the English men and Scots onely at this day are called) he imagined none
other nation to inhabit. Which is eident out of that verse of *Virgil* in his first *Elogue* :

And Britans whole from all the world diuided.

The fourth writeth, that it is one of the *Faar*-Ilands : the first, that it is *Telemark* in *Nor*-
way : the first, that it is *Schrichfinnia*.

Which continually cleaueth to the North part of the Island. That clause that ice continually
cleaueth &c. or as *Munster* affirmeth a little after, that it cleaueth for the space of eight whole
moneths, are neither of them both true, when as for the most part the ice is thawed in the mo-
neth of *April* or *May*, and is driuen towards the West: neither doth it returne before *Januarie*
or *Februarie*, nay often times it commeth later. What if a man should reckon by many yeeres,
wherein ice (the sharpe scourge of this our nation) hath not at all bene scene about Island? which
was found to be true this present yeere 1592. Whereupon it is manifest how cruely *Frisius* hath
written that navigation to this Island lieth open onely for foure moneths in a yeere, and no
longer, by reason of the ice and colde, whereby the passage is shut vp, when as English ships
euery yeere, sometimes in *March*, sometimes in *April*, and some of them in *May*; the *German*
and *Danes*, in *May* and *June*, doe usually returne vnto vs, and some of them depart not againe
from hence till *August*. But the last yeere, being 1591, there lay a certaine shippe of *Germanie*
laden with *Copper* within the haven of *Vopnashord* in the coast of Island about fourtene dayes
in the moneth of *November*, which time being expired, she fortunately set saile. Therefore, see-
ing that ice, neither continually, nor yet eight moneths cleaueth vnto Island, *Munster* and *Frisius*
are much deceived.

The ice of *Is*-
land set always
to the West.

The ice at all
some yeeres ut
Island.

Navigation
open to Island
from *March*
till the midst
of *November*.

The fourth section.

The Island is so great that it containeth many people. Item *Zieglerus* sayth : The situation of
the Island is extended betweene the South and the North almost 200 leagues in length.

Krantzius,
Munsterus.

SO great, &c. One *Wilstenius* schoolmaster of *Oldenburg*, in the yeere 1591, sent vnto mine
Uncle in *West*-Island, a short treatise which he had gathered out of the fragments of sundrie
writers,

Island 144 Ger-
maine miles in
compass.

writers, concerning Island. Where we found thus written: *Island* is twice as great as *Sicilie*, &c. But *Sicilie*, according to Munster, hath 150 Germaine miles in compass. As for the circuit of our Island, although it be not exactly known unto vs, yet the ancient, constant, and received opinion of the inhabitants accounteth it 144 leagues; namely by the 12 promontories of Island, which are commonly known, being distant one from another 12 leagues or thereabout, which two numbers being multiplied, produce the whole summe.

Many people, &c. One Gysserus about the yere of our Lord 1090, being bishop of Schalholten in Island, caused all the husbandmen, or countrey men of the Island, who, in regard of their possessions were bound to pay tribute to the king, to be numbred (omitting the poorer sort with women, and the meaner sort of the communitie) and he found in the East part of Island 700, in the South part 1000, in the West part 1100, in the North part 1200, to the number of 4000 inhabitants paying tribute. Now if any man will trie, he shall finde that more then halfe the Island was at that time vnpopled.

The fifth section.

Munster
Frisius,
Zieglerus.

The Island, most part thereof, is mountainous and vntilled. But that part which is plaine doth greatly abound with fodder, which is so ranke, that they are faine to driue their cattell from the pasture, least they surfet or be choaked.

That danger of surfetting or choaking was neuer heard tell of, in our fathers, grandfathers, great-grandfathers or any of our predecessors dayes, be they neuer so ancient.

The sixth section.

Munsterus,
Frisius.

There be in this Island mountaines lift vp to the skies, whose tops being white with perpetuall snowe, their roots boile with euerlasting fire. The first is towards the West, called *Hecla*: the other the mountaine of the crosse: and the third *Helga*. Item: *Zieglerus*. The rocke or promontorie of *Hecla* boileth with continuall fire. Item: *Saxo*. There is in this Island also a mountaine, which resembling the starrie firmament, with perpetuall flashings of fire, continueth alwayes burning, by vncessant belching out of flames.

Munster and Frisius being about to repozt the woonders of Island doe presently stumbe, as it were, vpon the threshold, to the great inconuenience of them both. For that which they heere affirme of mount *Hecla*, although it hath some shew of trueth: notwithstanding concerning the other two mountaines, that they should burne with perpetuall fire, it is a manifest errour. For there are no such mountaines to be found in Island, nor yet any thing els (so farre forth as wee can imagine) which might minister occasion of so great an errour vnto writers. Howbeit there was seene (yet very lately) in the yere 1581 out of a certaine mountaine of South Island lying neere the Sea, and couered ouer with continuall snow and frost, a maruelous eruption of smoake and fire, casting vp abundance of stones and ashes. But this mountaine is farre from the other three, which the sayd authours doe mention. Howbeit, suppose that these things be true which they repozt of fire mountaines: is it possible therefore that they should seeme strange, or monstrous, whenas they proceed from naturall causes? What? Doe they any whit preuaile to establish that opinion concerning the hell of Island, which followeth next after in Munster, Ziegler, and Frisius? For my part, I thinke it no way tollerable, that men should abuse these, and the like miracles of nature, to auouch absurdities, or, that they should with a kinde of impietie wonder at them, as at matters impossible. As though in these kindes of inflammations, there did not concurre causes of sufficient force for the same purpose. There is in the rootes of these mountaines a matter most apt to be set on fire, comming to neere as it doeth to the nature of brimstone and pitch. There is a yer also, which insinuating it selfe by passages, and holes, into the very bowels of the earth, doeth puffe vp the nourishment of so huge a fire, together with Salt-peter, by which puffing (as it were with certaine bellowes) a most ardent flame is kindled. For, all these thus concurring, fire hath those three things, which necessarily make it burne, that is to say, matter, motion, and force of making passage: matter which is fatic and moyst, and therefore nourisheth lasting flames: motion which the ayer doeth performe, being admitted into the caues of the earth: force of making passage, and that the inuincible might of fire it selfe (which can not be without inspiration of ayer, and can not but breake forth with an incredible strength) doeth bring to passe: and so (euen as in vndermining trenches, and engines or great warrelke ordnance, huge yron bullets are cast forth with monstrous roaring, and cracking, by the force of kindled brimstone, and Salt-peter, whereof Gunne-powder is compounded) chingle and great stones being skozched

Three naturall
causes of fire
mountainous.

in that fiery gulfe, as it were in a furnace, together with abundance of sande and ashes, are vomited by and discharged, and that for the most part not without an earthquake: which, if it cometh from the depth of the earth, (being called by Possidonius, Succussio) it must either be an opening of a quaking. Opening causeth the earth in some places to gape, and fall aunder. By quaking the earth is heaved up and swelleth, and sometimes (as Plinie saith) casteth out huge heaps: such an earth-quake was the same which I euen now mentioned, which in the yeere 1581 did so for trouble the South Hoze of Island. And this kinde of earth-quake is most clearly described by Pontanus in these verses:

The stirring breath runnes on with stealing steppes,
 vrged now vp, and now enforced downe:
 For freedome eke tries all, it skips, it leaps,
 to ridde it selfe from vacourth dungeon.
 Then quakes the earth as it would burst anon,
 The earth yquakes, and walled cities quiuer,
 Strong quarries cracke, and stones from hilles doe shiuer,

I thought good to adde these things, not that I suppose any man to be ignorant thereof: but least other men should thinke that we are ignorant, and therefore that we will runne after their fables; which they do from hence establish. But yet there is somewhat more in these three famous mountaines of Island, which causeth the sayd writers not a little to wonder, namely where-as they say that their foundations are alwayes burning, and yet for all that, their toppes be neuer destitute of snowe. Doubtless, it becometh not the authority and learning of such great clearks to maruile at this, who can not but well know the flames of mount Aetna, which (according to Plinie) being full of snowe all Winter, notwithstanding (as the same man witnesseth) it doth alwayes burne. Therefore, if we will giue credit vnto them, euen this mountaine also, sithens it is covered with snowe, and yet burneth, must be a prison of vncleane soules: which thing they haue not doubted to ascribe vnto Hecla, in regard of the frozen top, and the fire botome. And it is no maruile that fire lurking so deepe in the roots of a mountaine, and neuer breaking forth except it be very selborne, should not be able continually to melt the snowe couering the toppe of the sayd mountaine. For in Caïra (or Capira) also, the highest toppes of the mountaine are sayd continually to be white with snowe: and those in Veragua likewise, which are five miles high, and neuer without snowe, being distant notwithstanding but onely 10 degrees from the equinoctiall. We haue heard that either of the sayd Provinces standeth neere vnto Paria. What, if in Teneriffa (which is one of the Canarie or fortunate Islands) the Pike so called, arising into the ayre, according to Munster, eight or nine Germane miles in height, and continually flaming like Aetna: yet (as Benzo an Italian, and Historiographer of the West Indies witnesseth) is it not able to melt the girole of snowe embracing the middell thereof. Which thing, what reason haue we more to admire in the mountaine of Hecla? And thus much briefly concerning fire mountaines.

Now that also is to be amended, whereas they write that these mountaines are lifted by euen vnto the skies. For they haue no extraordinary height beyond the other mountaines of Island, but especially that third mountaine, called by Munster Helga, and by vs Helgafel, that is the holy mount, standing iust by a monastery of the same name, being covered with snowe, vpon no part thereof in Summer tyme, neither deserueth it the name of an high mountaine, but rather of an humble hill, neuer yet (as I sayd in the beginning of this section) so much as once suspected of burning. Neither yet ought perpetuall snowe to be ascribed to Hecla onely, or to a few others; for Island hath very many such snowy mountaines, all which the Cosmographer (who hath so extolled and admired these three) should not easily finde out, and reckon vpon in a whole yeere. And that also is not to be omitted, that mount Hecla standeth not towards the West, as Munster and Ziegler haue noted, but betweene the South and the East: neither is it an headland, but rather a mid-land hill.

Continueth alwayes burning &c. whosoever they be that haue ascribed vnto Hecla perpetuall belching out of flames, they are farre besides the marke: insomuch that as often as it hath bene enflamed, our countrey men haue recorded it in their yeerely Chronicles for a rare accident: namely in the yeeres of Christ 1104, 1157, 1222, 1300, 1341, 1362, and 1389: For from that yeere we neuer heard of the burning of this mountaine vntill the yeere 1558, which was the last breaking forth of fire in that mountaine. In the meane time I say not that is impossible, but that the botome of the hill may inwardly breed and nourish flames, which at certaine seasons (as hath bene heretofore obserued) haue burst out, and perhaps may do the like hereafter.

The seventh section.

The flame of mount *Hecla* will not burne towe (which is most apt for the wicke of a candle) neither is it quenched with water: and by the same force that bullets are discharged out of warlike engines with vs, from thence are great stones cast forth into the aire, by reason of the mixture of colde, and fire, and brimstone. This place is thought of some to be the prison of vncleane soules. Item: *Zieglerus*. This place is the prison of vncleane soules.

Will not burne towe. Where these wryters should finde such matters, it is not easie to conieecture. For our people are altogether ignorant of them, neither had they ever bene heard of heere among vs, if they had not brought them to light. For there is no man with vs so rashly and fondly curious, that dareth for his life, the hill being on fire, trie any such conclusions, or (to our knowledge) that cuer durst: which notwithstanding Munster affirmeth, saying: They that are desirous to contemplate the nature of so huge a fire, & for the same purpose approach vnto the mountaine, are by some gulfe swallowed vp aliuie, &c. which thing (as I sayd) is altogether vnknowne vnto our nation. Yet there is a booke extant, wrytten in the ancient language of the *Norwagians*, wherein you may finde some miracles of earth, water, fire, and aire, &c. confusedly wrytten, few of them true, and the most part vaine and false. Whereupon it easily appeareth that it was wrytten long since by some that were imagined to be great wise men in the time of Popery. They called it a royall looking glasse: howbeit, in regard of the fond fables, wherewith (but for the most part vnder the shew of religion and piety, whereby it is moze difficult to finde out the cousting) it doth all ouer swarme, it deserueth not the name of a looking glasse royall, but rather of a popular, and olde wiuies looking glasse. In this glasse there are found certaine figments of the burning of *Hecla*, not much vnlike these which we now entreat of, nor any whit moze grounded vpon experience, and for that cause to be reiected.

But that I may not seeme somewhat foolehardy, for accusing this royall looking glasse of falshood (not to mention any of those things which it reporteth as lesse credible) loe heere a few things (friendly reader) which I suppose deserue no credit at all.

1 Of a certaine Isle in Ireland, hauing a church and a parish in it, the inhabitants whereof deceasing are not buried in the earth, but like liuing men, do continually, against some banke or wall in the Churchyard, stand bolt-byright: neither are they subiect to any corruption or downefall: in somuch that any of the posteritie may therē seeke for, and beholde their ancestors.

2 Of another Isle of Ireland, where men are not mortall.

3 Of all the earth and trees of Ireland, being of force to resist all poisons, and to kill serpents, and other venomous things, in any countrey whatsoeuer, by the onely vertue and presence thereof, yea euen without touching.

4 Of a thirde Isle of Ireland, that the one halfe thereof became an habitation of deuils, but that the sayd deuils haue no iurisdiction ouer the other halfe, by reason of a Church there built, although, as the whole Isle is without inhabitants, so this part is continually destitute of a Pastor, and of diuine seruice: and that it is so by nature.

5 Of a fourth Isle of Ireland floating by and downe in an huge lake, the grasse whercof is a most present remedy for all kinde of diseases, and that the Island, at certaine seasons, especially on Sundayes, commeth to the banke of the lake, so that any man may then easily enter into it, as it were into a shippe: which notwithstanding (sayth he) destiny will not suffer any moze then one to enter at a time. Furthermoze, he reporteth that this Island euer seuenth yere groweth fast to the banke, so that you cannot discerne it from firme land: but that into the place thercof there succeedeth another, altogether like the former, in nature, quantitie, and vertue: which, from what place it commeth, no man can tell: and that all this happeneth with a kinde of thundering.

6 Of the hunters of Norway who are so expert to tame wood (for so he speaketh very improperly, whereas vnto wood neither life nor taming can be ascribed) that wooden pattens of eight elmes long being bound to the soles of their feet do carry them with so great celeritie euen vpon the mountaines, that they cannot be outrun, either by the swiftnesse of hounds and deere, or yet by the flying of birds. And that they will kill nine roes or moze at one course & with one stroke of a dart.

These and such like, concerning Ireland, Norway, Island, Gronland, of the miracles of water, and aire, this master of fragments hath gathered together into his looking glasse: whereby, although he hath made his owne followers wonder, and the common people to be astonish'd, yet hath he ministred vnto vs nothing but occasion of laughter.

But let vs heare *Frisius*. The flame of mount *Hecla* (sayth he) will not burne towe (which is most apt matter for the wicke of a candle) neither is it quenched with water. But I say that this strange opinion may be confirmed by many reasons borrowed out of your schoole of Philosophy.

Frisius.
Munsterus.

Speculum regale
wrytten in the
Norwagian
tongue.

Whence the
fables of Island
grew.

sophy. For the naturall Philosophers doe teach, That it is common to all forcible flames to be quenched with dry things, and nourished with moiste: whereupon, euen blacksmithes, by sprinkling on of water, vie to quicken and strengthen their fire. For (say they) when fire is more vehement, it is stirred vp by colde, and nourished by moisture, both which qualities doe concurre in water. Item, water is wont to kindle skorching fires: because the moisture it selfe, which ariseth, doth proue more fattie and grosse, neither is it consumed by the smoke enclosing it, but the fire it selfe feedeth vpon the whole substance thereof, whereby being made purer, and gathering round together, it becommeth then more vehement by reason of colde. And therefore also wild-fires cannot be quenched with water. Item, There be places abounding with brimstone and pitch, which burne of their owne accord, the flame whereof cannot be quenched with water. The graund Philosopher also hath affirmed, that fire is nourished by water. Arist. 3. de anim. And Plinie in the second booke of his naturall historie cap. 110. And Strabo in his 7. booke, In Nymphem there proceedeth a flame out of a rocke, which is kindled with water. The same authoꝝ sayth: The ashe continually flourisheth, covering a burning fountaine. And moꝛeouer that there are sudden fires at some times, euen vpon waters, as namely that the lake of Thrasumenus in the field of Perugi, was all on fire, as the same Strabo witnesseth. And in the yeares 1226, and 1236, not farre from the promontorie of Islande called Reykians, a flame of fire brake forth out of the sea, yea euen vpon mens bodies sudden fires haue glittered: as namely, there sprang a flame from the head of Scruius Tullius lying a sleepe: and also Lucius Marcius in Spaine after the death of the Scipions, making an oration to his souldiers, and exhorting them to reuenge, was all in a flame, as Valerius Ancias doth report. Plinie in like sort maketh mention of a flame in a certaine mountaine, which, as it is kindled with water, so is it quenched with earth or haye: also of another field which burneth not the leaues of shadie trees that growe directly ouer it. These things being thus, it is strange that men should accompt that a wonder in Hecla onely (for I will graunt it to be, for disputation sake, when indeede there is no such matter so farre forth as euer I could learne of any man) which is common to manie other parts or places in the world, both hilly and plaine, as well as to this.

And by the same force that bullets, &c. Munster saith the like also. This mountaine when it rageth, it soundeth like dreadfull thunder, casteth forth huge stones, disgorgeth brimstone, and with the cinders that are blown abroad, it couereth so much ground round about it, that no man can inhabite within 20. miles thereof, &c. Howbeit, they ought to haue compared it with Aetna, or with other fierie mountaines, whereof I will presently make mention, seeing there is to be found in them, not onely a like accident, but in a manner the very same. Unlesse perhaps this be the difference, that flames brake seldomer out of Hecla, then out of other mountaines of the same kinde. For it hath now rested these 34. yeares full out, the last fierie breach being made in the yeare 1558. as we haue befoze noted. And there can no such wonders be affirmed of our Hecla, but the same or greater are to be ascribed vnto other burning mountaines, as it shall by and by appeare.

But that bynustone should be sent forth it is a meere fable, and neuer knowne vnto our nation, by any experiment.

This place is the prison of vncleane soules. Here I am constrained to vse a pꝛeface, and to craue pardon of the Reader, because, whereas in the beginning I propounded vnto my selfe to treat of the land, and of the inhabitantes distinctly by themselves, I must of necessitie confusedly handle certaine matters in this first part, which do properly belong vnto the second. This is come to passe through the fault of these wꝛiters, who haue confounded this part of the inhabitants religion concerning the opinion of hell, or of the infernall prison, with the situation & miracles of the island. Wherefoze that we may come to this matter, who can but wonder, that wise men should be grown to this point, not onely to listen after, but euen to follow and embrace the doings of the rude people: For the common sort of strangers, and the off-skowring of mariners (here I do except them of better iudgement as well mariners as others) hearing of this rare miracle of nature, by an inbred and naturall blockishnesse are carried to this imagination of the prison of soules: and that because they see no wood nor any such fell laid vpon this fire as they haue in their owne chimneys at home. And by this pꝛsuasion of the grosse multitude, the report grew strong, especially (as they are too much accustomed to banning and cursing) while one would wish to another the fire torments of this mountaine. As though elementarie, materiall, and visible fire could consume mens soules being spirituall, bodiless, and invisible substances. And to be short, who can but wonder, why they should not saue the same prison of damned soules, as well in mount Aetna, being no lesse famous for fires and inflamations then this: But you will say, that Pope Gregorie famed it so to be. Therefore it is purgatorie, I am content it should be so: then there

is the same cruelty of this prison that there is of purgatorie. But before I proceede any further I thinke it not amisse to tell a merie tale, which was the originall and ground of this hellish opinion: namely that a ship of certaine strangers departing from Island, under full saile, a most swift pace, going directly on her course, met with another ship sailing against wind & weather, and the force of the tempest as swiftly as themselves, who hauling them off whence they were, another was given by their gouernour, *De Bischof van Bremen*: being the second time asked whether they were bound: he answered, *Thom Heckelfeld tho, Thom Heckelfeld tho*. I am assured lest the reader at the sight of these things should call for a balon: for it is such an abominable lie, that it would make a man cast his gorge to heare it. Away with it therefore to fenny frogs, for we esteeme no more of it, then of their croaking coar coar. Nay, it is so palpable that it is not worthy to be smiled at, much lesse to be refuted. But I will not trifle any longer with the fond Papists: let vs rather come vnto our owne wryters,

And first of all I cannot here omit a saying of that most worthy man Doctor Caspar Peucer. There is in Islande (quoth he) mount Hecla, being of as dreadfull a depth as any vaste gulfe, or as hell it selfe, which resoundeth with lamentable, & miserable yellings, that the noise of the cryers may be heard for the space of a great league round about. Great swarms of vgly blacke Rauens and Vultures lie hooouering about this place which are thought of the inhabitants to nestle there. The common people of that countrey are verily perswaded, that there is a descent downe into hell by this gulfe: and therefore when any battailes are foughten else where, in whatsoeuer part of the whole world, or any bloudie slaughters are committed, they haue learned by long experience, what horrible tumults and out-cries, what monstrous skritchies are heard round about this mountaine. Who durst be so bold (most learned Sir) to bring such an incredible report to your eares: Neither hath Island any Vultures, but that second kinde of Eagles, which Plinie noted by their white tayles, and called them Pygarsi: neither are there any with vs, that can heare witnesse of the foresaid spectacle: nor yet is it likely that Rauens and Eagles would nestle in that place, when as they should rather be driuen from thence by fire and smoke, being things most contrarie to their nature. And yet notwithstanding for prooffe of this matter, as also of a strange tumult heard within the hollow of the mountaine, they allege the experience of the inhabitants, which indeede testifieth all things to the contrarie. But whereabout should that hole or windowe of the mountaine be, by the which we may heare out-cries, noyse and tumults done among them, who inhabite the most contrarie, distant, and remote places of the earth from vs: Concerning which thing I would aske the authoz of this fable many questions, if I might but come to the knowledge of him: in the meane time I could wish that from henceforth he would learne to tell troth, & not presume wish so impudent a face to enforce excellent Peucer, or others, of such vnknown and incredible matters.

But to returne to Munster, who endeavouring to search out the causes of the great and strange fire of that famous hill Aetna, is it not monstrous that the very same thing which he there maketh natural, he should here imagine to be pternatural, yea infernal: But why do I speake of Aetna? Let vs rather consider what Munster in another place thinketh of the burning of Hecla.

It is without doubt (saith he) that some mountaines and fields burned in old time throughout the whole world: and in this our age do burne. As for example: mount Hecla in Island at certaine seasons casteth abroad great stones, spitteth out brimstone, and disperseth ashes, for such a distance round about, that the land cannot be inhabited within 20. miles thereof. But where mountaines do continually burne we vnderstand that there is no stopping of the passages, wherby they poure forth abundance of fire sometime flaming, & sometime smoaking as it were a streaming flood. But if betweene times the fire encrease, all secret passages being shut vp, the inner parts of the mountaine are notwithstanding enflamed. The fire in the vpper part, for want of matter, somewhat abateh for the time. But when a more vehement spirite (the same, or other passages being set open again) doth with great violence breake prison, it casteth forth ashes, sand, brimstone, pumistones, lumpes resembling iron, great stones, & much other matter, not without the damage of the whole region adioyning. Thus saith Munster. Where consider (good Reader) how he cutteth his throat with his owne sword, consider (I say) that in this place there is the very same opinion of the burning of Hecla, & the burning of Aetna, which notwithstanding in his 4. booke is very diuerse, for there he is faine to run to infernall causes. A certaine fierie mountaine of West India hath farre more friendly censurers, & historiographers then our Hecla, who make not an infernall gulfe therof. The Dilozp of which mountaine (because it is short & sweete) I will set downe, being wrytten by Hieronimus Benzo an Italian, in his history of the new world, lib. 2. These be the words. About 35. miles distant from Leon there is a mountaine which at a great hole belcheth out such mightie balles of flames, that in the night they

they shine farre and neare, about 100. miles. Some were of opinion that within it was molten gold ministering continuall matter & nourishment for the fire. Hereupon a certain Dominican Frier, determining to make trial of the matter, caused a brasse kettle, & an iró chain to be made: afterward ascending to the top of the hill with 4. other Spaniards, he letterd downe the chaine & the kettle 140. elnes into the fornace: there, by extreme heate of the fire, the kettle, & part of the chaine melted. The monke in a rage ran back to Leon, & chid the smith, because he had made the chaine far more slender then himselfe had cõmanded. The smith hammers out another of more substance & strength then the former. The Monke returns to the mountains, and lets downe the chaine & the cauldron: but with the like successe that he had before. Neither did the caldró only vanish & melt away: but also, vpon the sudden there came out of the depth a flame of fire, which had almost cõsumed the Frier, & his companions. Then they all returned so astonished, that they had small list afterward to prosecute that attempt, &c. What great difference is there betwene these two censures? In a fiery hill of West India they search for gold: but in mount Hecla of *Jfland* they seeke for hel. Howbeit they wil perhaps reiect this as a thing too new, & altogether vnknown to ancient writers. Why therefore haue not writers imagined the same prison of soules to be in Chimæra an hill in Lycia (which, by report, flameth continually day and night) that is in mount Hecla of *Jfland*? Why haue they not imagined the same to be in the mountaines of Ephesus, which being touched with a burning toych, are reported to conceiue so much fire, that the very stones & sand lying in the water are caused to burne, & from the which (a staffe being burnt vpon them, & trailed after a man on the ground) there procede whole riuers of fire, as Plinie testifieth: Why not in Cophanrus a mountaine of Bactria, alwayes burning in the night? Why not in the Isle of Hiera, flaming in the midst of the sea? Why not in Aeolia in old time likewise burning for certaine daies in the midst of the sea? Why not in the field of Babylon burning in the day season? Why not in the fields of Aethiopia glittering alwaies like stars in the night? Why not in the hill of Lipara opening with a wide and bottomlesse gulfe (as Aristotle beareth record) whereunto it is dangerous to approach in the night: frõ whence the sound of Cymbals and the noyse of rattles, with vnwonted and vncouth laughtes are heard? Why not in the field of Naples, neare vnto Puteoli? Why not in the Pike of Teneriffa before mentioned, like Aetna continually burning and casting vp stones into the aier, as Munster himselfe witnesseth? Why not in that Aethiopian hill, which Plinie affirmeth to burne more then all the former? And to conclude, why not in the mountaine of Vesuuius, which (to the great damage of al the countrey adjoining, & to the vtter destruction of Caius Plinius pping into y causes of so strange a fire) vomiting out flames as high as the clouds, filling the aier with great abundance of pumistones, and ashes, & with palpable darknesse intercepting the light of the sunne from al the region therabout? I wil speake, & yet speake no more then the truth: because in deede they foresaw, that men would yeeld no credite to those things as being too well knowne, though they should haue feined them to haue bene the flames of hell: but they thought the burning of Hecla (the ruinoz wherof came more slowly to their eares) to be fitter for the establishing of this fond fable. But get ye packing, your fraud is found out: leaue off for shame hereafter to perswade any simple man, y there is a hel in mount Hecla. For nature hath taught both vs & others (maugre your opinion) to acknowledge her operations in these fire workes, not the fury of hell. But now let vs examine a few more such fables of y cõmõ people, which haue so vn luckily misled our historiographers & cosmographers.

The eight section.

Neare vnto the mountaines (the 3. surnamed Hecla &c.) there be three vaste holes, the depth whereof, especially at mount Hecla, cannot be discerned by any man, be he neuer so sharpe sighted: but there appeare to the beholders thereof certaine men at that instant plunged in, & as yet drawing their breath, who answere their friends (exhorting them with deepe sighs to returne home) that they must depart to mount Hecla: and with that, they suddenly vanish away.

Frisius.
Zieglerus.
Olaus magnus.

TD confirme the former lie, of an earthly & visible hell (albeit I will easily grant that Frisius in writing these things did not intend to reproch any, but only to blaze abroad new & incredible matters) certaine idle companions knowing neither hell nor heauen haue inuented this fable, no lesse reprochfull then false, and more vaine & detestable then Sicilian scoffes. Which fellowes these writers (being other wise men of excellent parts, and to whom learning is much indebted) haue followed with an ouer haste iudgement.

But it were to be wished, that none would write Histories with so great a desire of setting forth nouelties & strange things, that they feare not, in that regard to hõch any fabulous & old-wiues toys, & so to defile pure gold with filthy mire. But I pray you, how might those drowned be swimming in the infernal lake, & yet for al that, parling with their acquaintance & friends? What:

What? Will you coniure, & raise vp vnto vs from death to life old Orpheus consering with his wife Euridice (drawen backe againe down to the Stigian flood) & in these parts of the world, as it were by the bankes of snowey Tanais, & Hebrus descanting vpon his harpe: But in very deed although others will not acknowledge the falshood, & vanity of these riddles, yet Cardane being a diligent considerer of all things in his 18. booke de subtilitate, doth acknowledge & find them out. Whose words be these. There is *Hecla* a mountaine in Island, which burneth like vnto *Aetna* at certain seasons, & hereupon the comon people haue conceived an opinion this long time, that soules are there purged: some, least they should seeme liars, heape vp more vanities to this fable, that it may appeare to be probable, & agreeable to reason. But what be those vanities? namely, they feine certaine ghosts answering the, that they are going to mount *Hecla*: as the same Cardane saith. And further he addeth, Neither in Island only, but euery where (albeit seldome) such things come to passe. And then he tels this storie following of a man-killing spright. There was (saith he) solemnized this last yeare the funerall of a comon citizen, in the gate neare vnto the great Church, by that markerplace, which in regard of the abundance of herbs, in our toong hath the name of the herbmarker. There meets with me one of mine acquaintance: I (according to the custome of Phisitians) presently aske of what disease the man died? he giueth me answer that this man vsed to come home from his labour 3. houres within night: one night among the rest he espied an hobgoblin pursuing him: which to auoid, he ran away with all speed: but being caught by the spright, he was throwne down vpon the ground. He would faine haue made a shour, & was not able. At length (when the spright & he had struggled together vpon the ground a good while) he was found by certain passengers, & carried home halfe dead. And when he was come to himselfe againe, being asked what was the matter, he vp and tolde this strange relation. Hereupon (being vtterly daunted, & discouraged, when neither by his friends, nor by Phisitians, nor by Priests, he could be perswaded, that these things were but his owne conceits, & that there was no such matter) 8. daies after he died, I heard also afterward of others which were his neighbors, that no man could more constantly affirme himselfe to be wounded of his enemy, then this man did, that he was cast vpon the ground by a ghost. And when some demanded what he did, after he was tumbled on the earth? The dead man (quoth he) laying his hands to my throat, went about to stragle me: neither was there any remedy, but by defending my selfe with mine own hands. When others doubted least he might suffer these things of a liuing man, they asked him how he could discerne a dead man fro a liuing? To this, he rendered a very probable reason, saying that he seemed in handling to be like Cotum, & that he had no weight, but held him down by maine force. And presently after he addeth, In like manner as in Island, so in the desert sands of *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, and *India*, where the sunne is hoat, the very same apparitions, the same sprights are wont to delude wayfaring men. Thus much Cardane. Dec from hence (I trow) no man will conclude as our writers of Island do, that in the places of *Egypt*, *Ethiopia*, and *India*, there is a prison of damned soules.

I thought good to write these things out of Cardane, that I may bring euen the testimony of strangers on our sides, against such monstrous fables. This place of Cardane implicth these two things, namely y apparitions of sprights are not proper to Island alone (which thing al mē know, if they do not maliciously feigne themselves to be ignorant) And secondly that that conference of the dead with the liuing in y gulfe of *Hecla* is not grounded vpon any certaintie, but only vpon fables coined by some idle persons, being more vaine then any bubble, which the brutish comon sort haue vsed, to confirme their opinion of the tormenting of soules. And is there any man so fantastical, that will be induced to beleue these gulfes, mentioned by writers, to be any where extant, although they be neuer so full of dead mens miracles? yea doubtlesse. If oz fro hence also they say, y reproches are iustly vsed against our nacion: namely, y there is nothing in all the world more base, & worthlesse then it, which conceineth hell within the bounds therof. This verely is the good that we haue gotten by those historiographers, who haue bin so greedy to publish nouelties. But this opinion, bred by the sottishnes of the comon people hath hitherto (as I hope) bene sufficiently ouerthrowen as a thing foolish & vaine, and as being deuised for the vphyping of our nation. Wherefore, proceede (friendly Reader) and be farther instructed in this philosophy of infernall secrets.

The ninth section.

But round about the Island, for the space of 7. or 8. moneths in a yere there floateth ise, making a miserable kind of mone, and not vniike to mans voice, by reason of the clashing together. The inhabitants are of opinion that in mount *Hecla* and in the ise, there are places wherein the soules of their countrey men are tormented.

NO doubt, a worthy augmentation of the history, concerning the hel of Island, but by within the botome of one mountaine, & that no great one: yea, at some times (by fits and seasons) changing

changing places: namely, whē it is weary of lurking at home by the fires side within y^e mountaine, it delighteth to be ranging abroad, & to venter to sea, but without a ship, & to gather it selfe round into mozels of yce. Come forth, & giue eare all ye y^e wonder at this secret. Lo, I will afforde these historiographers another addition of history very notable. Let them write therfore, that y^e Islanders haue not only hel within their iurisdiction, but also y^e they enter into it willingly & wittingly, & come forth againe vntouched y^e very same day. How can that be? Why: it is an ancient custome of the Island that they which inhabite neare the sea shoare do vsually go betimes in a mozning to catch Seales, euen vpon the very sameise which the historiographers make to be hel, & in the euening returne home safe and sound. Set downe also (if ye please) that the prison of the damned is kept in stoz by the Islanders in coffers and vessels, as we shall anon heare out of Frisus.

Taking of
Seales on
the ice.

But you had need wisely to forsee, lest y^e Islanders beguile all your countreies of the comendation of courage & constancy: namely, as they (for so it pleaseth your writers to report) who both can & will endure the tormentes of hell, & who are able to breake through & escape them, without any farther hurt: which thing is necessarily to be collected out of that, that hath bin before mentioned. And I am able to reckon by a great many of our countreimen, who in y^e very act of hunting, wandering somewhat farre from the shoare (the ice being dispersed by westerne winds) & for the space of many leagues resting vpon the ice, being chased with the violence of the tempest, & some whole daies & nights being tossed vp & downe in the waues of y^e raging sea, & so (for it followeth by good consequence out of this probleme of the historiographers) haue had experience of the tormentes, & paines of this hell of ice. Who at the last, the weahter being changed, & the winds blowing at the North, being transported againe to the shoare, in this their ship of ice, haue returned home in safety: some of which number are aliue at this day. Therfore let such as be desirous of newes snatch by this, & (if they please) let them frame a whole volume hereof, & adde it to their history. Rather do these vaine phantasies deserue other wise to be handled & cofuted, then with such like meriments, & sportings. But to lay aside all iesting, let vs returne to the matter from whence we are digressed. First of all therfore it is euident enough out of the second section, y^e ice floaterh not about this Island, neither 8. nor 7. months in a yere: when, that this ice (although at some times by shuffling together it maketh monstrous soundings & cracklings, & againe at some times with the beating of the water, it sendeth forth an hoarse kind of murmuring) doth any thing at all resound or lament, like vnto mans voice, we may in no case confesse. But whereas they say that, both in the Isle, and in mount Hecla we appoint certaine places, wherein the soules of our countreimen are tormented, we vtterly stand to the deniall of that: and we thanke God & our Lord Iesus Christ from the botome of our hearts (who hath deliuered vs from death & hell, & opened vnto vs the gate of the kingdomes of heauen) because he hath instructed vs moze truely concerning the place, whether the soules of our deceased countreimen depart, then these historiographers doe tell vs. We know and maintain that the soules of y^e godly are transported immediatly out of their bodily prisons, not into the Papists purgatory, nor into the Elysian fields, but into Abrahams bosome, into the hand of God, & into the heavenly paradise. We know & maintaine concerning the soules of the wicked, that they wander not into the fires & ashes of mountaines, or into visible ice, but immediatly are carried away into vnter darknesse, where is weeping & gnashing of teeth, where there is colde also, & fire not comon, but far beyond our knowledg & curious disputation. Where not onely bodies, but soules also, y^e is spirituall substances are tormented. And we do also hold, y^e the Islanders are no whit nearer vnto this extreame & darke prison, in regard of the situation of place, then the Germans, Danes, Frenchmen, Italians, or any other nation whatsoever. For: it is in any thing to the purpose, at all to dispute of the place or situation of this dungeon. It is sufficient for vs, that (by the grace and assistance of our Lord Iesus Christ, with whose pretious blood we are redeemed) we shall neuer see that vnter darknesse, nor feele the rest of the tormentes that be there. Now let vs here (but by the disputation concerning the hell of Island.

Westerne
winds dis-
perce the ice.

Ice floaterh
not 7. or 8.
months a-
bout Island.

The tenth section.

If any man shall take a great quantity of this ice, & shall keepe it neuer so warily enclosed in a coffer or vessel, it will at that time when the ice thaweth about the Island, vtterly vanish away, so that not the least part thereof, no nor a drop of water is to be found.

Frisus.
Zieglerus.
Saxo.

Surely, this was of necessity to be added: namely, y^e this ice, which according to historiographers representeth mans voice, & is the place of the damned, doth not as a l^l other things in this wide world, consist of y^e matter of some element. For: whereas it seemeth to be a body, when indeed it is no body: (which may directly be gathered out of Frisus absurd opinion) whereas also it peiretch through hard & solide bodies, no other wise then spirits & ghosts: therfore it remaineth, seeing it is not of an elementary nature, y^e it must haue either a spirituall, or a celestiall, or an infernall matter. But y^e it should be infernall, we can not be perswaded, because we haue heard that infernall cold is farre

farre moze vnſufferable then this iſe, which vſeth to be put into a bore with mens hands, & is not of force any whit to hurt euen naked fleſh, by touching therof. Now yet will we grant it to be ſpiritual: for we haue learned in naturall Philoſophy, that ſpiritual ſubſtances can neither be ſcene nor felt, & cannot haue any thing taken from them: all which things do not withſtanding moſt manifeſtly agree to this iſe of the Hiſtoriographers, howſoever according to them it be ſupernatural. Beſides alſo, it is moſt true, that the very ſame yle being melted with the heat of the ſunne, & reſolved into water, vpon the vpper part therof, ſtandeth fiſhermen in as good ſtead to quench their thirſt, as any land-river would do, which thing can no way be aſcribed to a ſpiritual ſubſtance. It is not therefore ſpiritual, nor yet infernall. Now none will be ſo bold to affirme, that it hath celeftiall matter, leaſt ſome man perhaps might hereupon imagine, y^t this iſe hath brought hell (which the hiſtoriographers annex vnto it) downe from heauen, together with it ſelfe: or that the ſame thing ſhould be common vnto heauen, being of one & the ſame matter with iſe, & ſo that the priſon of the damned may be thought to haue changed places with the heauely paradise, & all by the ouerſight of theſe Hiſtoriographers. Wherefore ſeeing the matter of this hiſtoricall iſe is neither elementar (as we haue ſo often proued by this place of Frifus) neither ſpiritual, nor infernall, both which we haue concluded evidently, in ſhort, yet found and ſubſtantiall reaſons: nor yet celeftiall matter, which, religion forbiddeth a man once to imagine: it is altogether manifeſt, y^t according to the ſaid hiſtoriographers, there is no ſuch thing at all, which not withſtanding they blaſe abroad with ſuch aſtoniſhing admiration, & which we thinke to be an ordinary matter commonly ſcene and felt. Therefore it is, and it is not: which propoſition when it ſhall fall out true, in the ſame reſpect, in the ſame part, and at the ſame time, then will we giue credite to theſe frozen miracles. Now therefore the Reader may eaſily iudge, that we need none other helpe to refute theſe things, but onely to ſhew how they diſagree one with another. But it is no matuell that he, which hath once enclined himſelfe to the fabulous reports of the common people, ſhould oftentimes fall into error. There was a like ſtrange thing inuented by another concerning the ſympathy or conioining of this iſe: namely, that it followeth the departure of that huge lumpe, whereof it is a part, ſo narrowly, & ſo ſwiftly, that a man by no diligence can obſerue it; by reaſon of the vnrchangeable neceſſitie of following. But we haue oftentimes ſcene ſuch a ſolitarie lumpe of iſe remaining (after the other parts thereof were diuicd away) and lying vpon the ſhoare for many weekeſ together, without any poſts or engines at all to ſtay it. Therefore it is plaine that theſe miracles of iſe are grounded vpon a moze ſlippery foundation then iſe it ſelfe.

The eleventh ſeſſion.

Frifus.

Not farre from theſe mountaines (the threeſorenamed) declining to the ſea ſhoare, there be foure fountaines of a moſt contrary nature betweene themſelues. The firſt, by reaſon of his continuall heat conuerteth into a ſtone any body caſt into it, the former ſhape only ſtill remaining. The ſecond is extremely cold. The third is ſweeter then hony, and moſt pleaſant to quench thirſt. The fourth is altogether deadly, peſtilent, and full of ranke poiſon.

Euen this deſcription of fountaines doth ſufficiently declare how impure that fountaine was, out of which the geographer drew all theſe miraculous ſtoories. For he ſeemeth to affirme, that the threeſoreſaid mountaines doe almoſt touch one another: for he aſcribeth foure fountaines indifferently vnto them all. Other wiſe, if he had not made them ſtand neare together, he would haue placed next vnto ſome one of theſe, two of the ſoreſaid fountaines. But neither doe theſe mountaines touch (being diſtant ſo many leagues a ſunder) neither are there any ſuch foure fountaines neare vnto them, which, he that wil not beleue, let him go try. But to confute theſe things, the very contrariety of writers is ſufficient. For another concerning two fountaines gainſayth Frifus in theſe words. There do burſt out of the lame hill *Hecla* two fountaines, the one whereof, by reaſon of the cold ſtreames, the other with intollerable heat exceedeth al the force of elements. Theſe be Frifus his two firſt fountaines, ſauiug that here is omitted the miracle of hardening bodies, being by him attributed to one of the ſaid fountaines. But they cannot at one time breake forth, both out of the mountaine it ſelfe, and neare vnto the mountaine.

But here I would willingly demaund, by what reaſon any of the Peripateticks can affirme, that there is ſome thing in nature colder then the element of water, or hotter then the element of fire, from whence (I pray you, learned writers) proceedeth this coldneſſe? & from whence cometh this heate? Haue we not learned out of your ſchole that water is an element moſt colde and ſome what moiſt: and in ſuch ſort moſt colde, that for the making of ſecundarie qualities, it muſt of neceſſitie be reinitted, & being ſimple, that it cannot be applyed to the vſes of mankind: I do here deliuer theſe Oracles of the naturall Philoſophers, not knowing whether they be true or falſe. *Dr. Iohn Fernellius*, lib. 2. *Phyſ.* cap. 4. may ſtand for one witneſſe amongſt all the reſt, & in ſtead of the all. So exceſſiue (ſaith he) be theſe foure firſt qualities in the foure elements, that as nothing

is hotter the pure fire, & nothing lighter: so nothing is drier then earth, & nothing heavier: and as for pure water, there is no qualitie of any medicine whatsoever exceedeth the coldnes thereof, nor the moisture of aire. Moreover, the said qualities be so extreme & surpassing in the, that they cannot be any while increased, but remitted they may be. I wil not heare heape by the reasons or arguments of the natural Philosophers: These writers had need be ware of one thing, lest while they too much magnifie the miracles of the fountains, they exempt them out of the number of things created, as wel as they did the ice of the *Islanders*. We wil prosecute in order the properties of these fountains set downe by the foresaid writers. The first by reason of his continuall heat. There be very many Baths or hote fountains in *Island*, but fewer vehemently hote, which we thinke dugh not to make any man wonder, when as I have learned out of authoys, that *Germanie* encrep where aboundeth with such hote Baths, especially neere the foot of the *Alpes*. The hote Baths of *Baden*, *Gebarsuil*, *Calben* in the duchy of *Wittenberg* and many other be very famous: also which *Fuchsius* doeth mention in his booke *de Arte medendi*. And not onely *Germanie*, but also *France*, & beyond all the rest *Italy* that mother of all commodities, saith *Cardan*. And *Aristotle* reporteth, that about *Epyrus* these hote waters doe much abound, whereupon the place is called *Pyripegethon*. And I say, these things should therefore be y^e lesse admired, because the searchers of nature have as wel found out causes of the heate in waters, as of the fire in mountaines: namely, that water runneth within the earth through certaine veines of *Pyrimstone* & *Allon*, and from thence taketh not onely heat, but taste also, & other strange qualities. *Aristotle* in his booke *de Mundo* hath taught this. The earth (saith he) containeth within it fountains not onely of water, but also of spirite & fire: some of them flowing like riuers, doe cast soorth red hote iron: from whence also doeth flow, sometimes luke-warme water, sometimes skalding hote, and sometimes temperate. And *Seneca*. *Empedocles* thought that Baths were made hote by fire, which the earth secretly containeth in many places, especially if the said fire bee vnder that ground where the water passeth. And *Pontanus* writeth very learnedly concerning the *Baian* Baths,

Spanne hots
Baths in
Island.

The causes of
hote Baths.

Lib. 3. nat. quæst.

No maruell though from banke of *Baian* shore
hote Baths, or veines of skalding licour flow:

For *Vulcans* forge incensed euermore
doeth teach vs plaine, that heart of earth below

And bowels burne, and fire enraged glow.

From hence the sitting flood sends smokie streames,

And Baths doe boile with secret burning gleames.

I thought good in this place to touch that which *Saxo Grammaticus* the most famous historiographer of the *Danes* reporteth. That certaine fountains of *Island* do sometime encrease & flow vp to the brinke: sometimes againe they fall so lowe that you can skarse discern them to be fountains. Which kind of fountains, albeit they bee very seldome found with vs, yet I will make mention of some like vnto them, produced by nature in other countries, lest any man should think it somewhat strange. *Plinie* maketh a great recitall of these. There is one (saith he) in the *Isle* of *Tenedos*, which at the *Solstitium* of sommer doth alwaies flow from the third houre of the night, till the sixt. In the field of *Picinas* beyond the *Apennine* mountaine, there is a riuer which in the midst of sommer alwaies encreaseth, and in winter is dried vp. We maketh mention also of a very large fontaine, which enery houre doeth encrease and fall. Neither is it to be omitted, that some riuers run vnder the ground, and after that fall againe into an open chanel: as *Lycus* in *Asia*, *Erasinus* in *Argolica*, *Tigris* in *Mesopotamia*, vnto which *Cardan* addeth *Tanais* in *Moscovia*: and those things which were thowen into *Aesculapius* fontaine at *Athens*, were cast vp againe in *Phaletico*. And *Seneca* writeth that there are certaine riuers which being let downe into some caue vnder ground, are withdrawen out of sight, seeming for the time to be utterly perished and taken away, and that after some distance the very same riuers returne, enioying their former name and their course. And againe *Plinie* reporteth that there is a riuer receiued vnder ground in the field of *Acinas* that issueth out twentie miles from that place. All which examples and the like, should teach vs that the fountains of *Island* are not to be made greater wonders then the rest.

Doth forthwith conuert into a stone any body cast into it. By these two properties, namely warmth or most vehement heat, & a vertue of hardening hodies doth *Frisius* describe his first fontaine. And I have heard reported (though I neuer had experience thereof myselfe) that there is such a fontaine in *Island* not far fro the bishops seat of *Schalholt*, in a village called *Haukadal*. *Seneca* reporteth of the like, saying: That there is a certain fountain which conuerteth wood into stone, hardening the bowels of those men which drinke thereof. And addeth further, that such

fountains are to bee found in certaine places of Italy: which thing Ouid in the 15. booke of his *Metamor.* ascribeth vnto the riuer of the Cicones,

Water drunke out of *Ciconian* flood,
fleshy bowels to flintie stone doeth change:
Ought else therewith besprink't, as earth or wood
becomneth marble streight: a thing most strange.

And Cardane. *Georgius Agricola* affirmeth, that in the territorie of *Elbogon*, about the town which is named of Falcons, that the whole bodies of Pine trees are conuerted into stone, and which is more wonderfull, that they containe, within certaine rifts, the stone called *Pyrites*, or the Flint. And *Domitius Brusonius* reporteth, that in the riuer of *Silar* (running by the foote of that mountain which standeth in the field of the citie in old time called *Vrsence*, but now *Conursia*) leaues and boughs of trees change into stones, & that, not vpon other mens credite, but vpon his own experience, being borne & brought vp in that country: which thing *Plinie* also auoucherh, saying, that the said stones doe shew the number of their yeeres, by the number of their Barks, or stony husks. So (if we may giue credite to authoz) drops of the *Gothes* fountain being dispersed abroad, become stones. And in Hungary, the water of *Cepusius* being poured into pitchers, is conuerted to stone. And *Plinie* reporteth, that wood being cast into the riuer of the Cicones, and into the *Velin* lake in the field of *Pice*, is enclosed in a barge of stone growing ouer it.

The second is extremely cold. As for the second fountaine, here is none to any mens knowledge so extremely cold: In deed there be very many that be indifferently coole, in somuch that (our common riuers in the Sommer time being luke-warme) we take delight to fetch water from those coole springs. It may be that there are some farre colder in other countries: for Cardane maketh mention of a riuer (streaming from the top of an hill in the field of *Corinth*) colder then snow: and within a mile of *Culma*, the riuer called *Insana* seeming to be very hote is most extremely cold, &c.

The third is sweeter then honie. Neither is this altogether true. For there is not any fountaine with vs, which may in the least respect be compared with the sweetness of honie. And therefore *Saxo* wrote more truly, saying, that certaine fountains (for there be very many) yeelding taste as good as beere: and also in the same place there are fountains & riuers not onely of diuers taste, but of diuers colours.

And albeit naturall Philosophers teach, that water naturally of it selfe hath neither taste nor smell, yet it is likely (as we haue touched before, which other call *per accidens*) that oftentimes it representeth the qualities of that earth wherein it is engendred, and through the veins whereof it hath passage and issue: and from hence proceed the diuers & sundry smells, colours and saouours of all waters. Of such waters doeth *Seneca* make mention, whereof some prouoke hunger, others make men drunken, some hurt the memory, & some helpe it, & some resemble the very qualitie and taste of wine, as that fountaine which *Plinie* speaketh of in the Isle of *Andros*, within the temple of *Bachus*, which in the *Rones* of *January* vsed to flow ouer with wine. And *Aristotle* reporteth, that in the field of *Carthage* there is a fountain which yeeldeth oile, & certaine drops smelling like Cedar. Also *Oreus* a riuer of *Thessalie* flowing into *Peneus*, swimneth aloft like oile. Cardane reporteth, that there is in *Saxonic*, neere vnto the town of *Brunswic*, a fountaine mixed with oile: and another in *Suzua* neere vnto the Abbey called *Tergensch*. Also in the valley of the mountain *Iurassus*. He supposeth the cause of this thing to be very fattie pitch, which cannot but containe oile in it. The same authoz saith: It is reported that in *Cardia* neere to the place of *Daschylus*, in the white field, there is water sweeter then milke. Another also neere vnto the bridge which we passe ouer going to the towne of *Valdeburg*. *Propertius* likewise in the third booke of his *Elegies* mentioneth certaine waters representing the saour of wine in these words,

Amidst the Isle of *Naxus* loe, with fragrant smells and fine
A fresher runs; ye *Naxians* goe fill cups, caroufe, there's wine.

This *Naxus* is one of the Islands called *Cyclades* lying in the *Egean* sea. Cardane giueth a reason hereof, namely, because *Hydromel* or water-hony, in long continuance will become wine. *Aristotle* nameth a fountain in *Sicilia*, which the inhabitants vse in stead of vineger. The same authoz maketh the cause of saouours in water to be heate, because the earth being hote changeth and giueth saour vnto the water.

Now concerning the colours of water so saith Cardane. There is the same reason (saith he) of the colours of water, that there is of the saouours thereof, for both haue their originall fro the earth. For there is white water within two miles of *Glanca* a town in *Misena*: red water in *Radera* a riuer of *Misena* not farre from *Radeburg*: & in old time neere vnto *Ioppa* in *Iudea*: greene water in the mountaine of *Carpathus* by *Neufola*: skie-coloured or blue water betweene the mounains

Riuers of
Island in som
inier season
like-warme.

In lib. de mirab.
aufcult.

mountains of *Feltrius* & *Tarvisius*: & it is reported that there was water of that colour in *Thermopyls*: cole-blacke water in *Alera* a river of *Saxonic*, at that place where it discharge thit self into the *Weser*. The causes of these colours are the colours of the soile. Also Aristotle saith, that about the promontorie of *Tapigia*, there is a fontaine which streameth blood: adding moreover, that *Hairines* are vnten farre from that place of the sea, by reason of the extreme stench therof. Furthermore, they say that in *Idamea* there is a fontaine which changeth color foure times in a yeere: for sometimes it is greene, sometime white, sometime bloodie, & sometimes muddy coloured.

Concerning the smells of waters, thus writeth *Cardane*. There is the like reason of difference in smells. But for the most part the steames of waters bee vnpleasent, because the earth doeth seldome times smell well. The water of the riuier *Anigris* in *Aelis* stanke, to the destruction, not onely of fishes, but also of men. About *Meton* in *Messenia*, out of a certaine pond there hath bene drawen most sweer smelling, and odoriferous water. I doe recite all these examples to the end that no man should make a greater wonder at the colours, smells, and sauours of waters that be in *Island*, then at those which are in other countreys.

The fourth is altogether deadly. *Isidore* affirmeth, that there is a certaine fontaine whose water being drunke, extinguisheth life. And *Plinie* saith, that about *Nonaris* in *Arcadia*, the riuier of *Stryx* (neere the mountaine of *Cillene*, saith *Cardane*: it would be contained in nothing but an horse-hoofe: and it is reported that *Alexander* the great was poisoned therewithal) not differing from other water, neither in smell nor colour, being drunke, is present death. In *Berosus* an hill of the people called *Tauri*, there are three fountains, euery one of them deadly without remedy, & yet without griefe. And (which is the strangest thing of all the rest) *Seneca* maketh mention of a poole, into which whoso euer looke, do presently die. But, as for this fourth fontaine of *Frisius*, which *Saxo* doth like wise mention, we *Islanders*, as alwayes heretofore, so euen at this day do testifie, that it is vterly vnknowne vnto vs: and therefore in this regard, we render vnto God immortall thanks, because he hath vouchsafed to preserve our nation from such fountains, from serpents and venomous wormes, & from al other pestiferous & contagious creatures.

The same Author saith.

Island free from snakes and other venomous beasts

Furthermore about the foresaid mountains there is such abundance of brimstone. The three mountains called by *Munster* and *Frisius*, fierie mountains, do all of them stand an huge distance from our *Shires*. Therefore, when as neere vnto these hills they haue found out a place for foure fountains, which they doe so mightily extoll for wonders, they must needs haue some *Brimstone Shires* also, standing a like distance from the said fountains. And assuredly, neither about mount *Hecla*, as *Munster* would haue it, nor by *Frisius* his fountains (the report whereof how true it is, hath bene hitherto declared) is *Brimstone* digged by at this day: nor I thinke euer was within the remembrance of our fathers. Neither is it true that *Munster* reporteth concerning the abundance of *Brimstone*: namely, that it is almost the onely merchandize and tribute of the *Island*. For whereas the *Island* is diuided into foure partes, the fourth part onely towards the North (nay, but euen the halfe thereof) doeth vse it for merchandize, and there is not one crunne of *Brimstone* paid for tribute of the *Island*.

Brimstone Shires onely in the North part of Island.

The twelfth Section.

There are so great store of fishes in this *Island*, that they are laid fourth on piles to be sold in the open aire, as high as the tops of houses.

Munster.

IN the open aire. In deed we haue seen other countrey merchants doe so, vntil they had vnladen their ships of ourlandish wares, & filled the againe with fishes & with other of our countrey merchandize. But whether our men haue done the like at any time, it is not manifest. Certainly, that plentiful and ancient abundance of fish is now decayed, and the *Islanders* now begin to be pinched with the want of these and other good things, the Lord laying the iust scourge of our impietie vpon vs, which I pray God we may duely acknowledge.

Abundance of fish about Island diminished.

The thirteenth Section.

They haue most swift horses, which wil run without ceasing a continual course for the space of 30. leagues.

Frisius.

A Certaine *Cosmographer* in his *Map* of *Island* reporteth concerning the horses of one parish, that they will run 20. leagues at once in a continued race. But we account both to be impossible. For *Munster* writeth that those beasts which excell all other in swiftnesse & strength of body, called *Rangiferi*, cannot run about 30. leagues in 24. houres.

Isaine Decree.

The foureteenth Section.

There be seen sometimes neere vnto *Island* huge Whales like vnto mountains, which ouerturne ships, vnlesse they be terrified away with the sound of trumpets, or beguiled with round

Munster.

and emptie yessels, which they delight to toss vp and downe . It sometimes falleth out that Mariners thinking these Whales to be Islands, and casting out ankers vpon their backs, are often in danger of drowning. They are called in their tongue *Trollwal Tuffelwaltn*, that is to say, the deuillish Whale.

Like vnto mountains. Loe here once againe (gentle Reader) Munsters falsifying eccho, and (as the prouerbe saith) his blind dreame. Such a false and sencelesse ouer-reaching doeth exceedingly disgrace an historie, and that by so much the more, by how much the lesse necessary it is. For to what purpose should an Historiographer make leasings, if history be a report of plaine truth? Why should he vse such strange lurnountings? What is it that he would perswade, or whither would he rauish the Reader, if he propoundeth vnto himselfe nothing but the simple declaration of things?

Poets and Painters had leaue of old,
To feigne, to blaze, in all things to be bold.

But not Historiographers.

The backs of Whales which they thinke to be Islands. This fable, like all the rest, was bred of an old, ridiculous and vaine tale, the credite and truth whereof is not woorth a strawe. And it is this that foloweth, namely, that the bishop of Breme (called by the ancient Norwales Brandan, and by Kranzius, if he be not deceiued, Alebrandus) in old time sent certaine Legats with a Couen of Friers to preach and publish in the North the popish faith, which was then thought to bee Christian: and when they had spent a long iourney in sailing towards the North, they came vnto an Island, and there casting their anker they went a shoze, and kindled fires, (for it is very likely that the Mariners were not a litle vexed with the nipping cold which they felt at sea) and so prouided victuals for the rest of their iourny. But when their fires grew very hote, this Island sanke, and suddenly vanished away, and the Mariners escaped drowning very narrowly with the boate that was present. This is the foundation of the matter, but how incredible it is, I appeale to the Reader. But what ailed these Mariners, or what meant they to doe, who in a tempestuous sea, seeing a rocke before their eyes, or (as Munster saith) a little Island, would not rather with all diligence haue auoided it for feare of running a shoze and shipwracke, then to rest in such a dangerous harbour? But in what ground should the anker be fastened? for Mariners for the most part are destitute of such long cables, wherby they may let downe an anker to the bottom of the maine sea, therefore vpon the backs of Whales, saith Munster. But then they had need first to bore a hole for the flouke to take hold in. Dilly Mariners, that in digging cannot discern Whales flesh fro lumps of earth, nor know the slippery skin of a Whale from the vpper part of the ground: without doubt they are woorthy to haue Munster for a Pilot. Verily in this place (as likewise before creating of the land-miracles of Island) he gathereth fruits as they say, out of Cantalus his garden, and foloweth hard after those things which will neuer and no where be found, while he endeavoureth to proule here and there for miracles, perusing sea and land to suffice by his history: where not withstanding he cannot hunt out ought but feigned things.

But they are called in their language *Trollwal*. So not farther then your skil, Munster, for I take it you cannot skil of our tongue: and therefore it may be a shame for a learned man to teach others that which he knoweth not himselfe: for such an attempt is subiect to manifold errors, as we will shew by this your example. For while you take in hand to schoole others, & to teach them by what name a Whale-fish is to be called in our tongue, leauing out through ignorance the letter H, which almost alone maketh by the signification of the worde, you deliuer that which is not true: for *val* in our language signifieth not a Whale, but chusing or choise of the verbe *Eg vel*, that is to say, I chuse, or I make choise, from whence *valis* is deriued, &c. But a Whale is called *Hwalur* with vs, & therefore you ought to haue written *Trollhwalur*. Neither doeth *Troll* signifie the deuil, as you interpret it, but certaine Giants that liue in mountaines. You see therefore (and no maruel) how you erre in the whole word. It is no great iniurie to our language being in one word onely: because (doubtlesse) you knew not more then que.

Others also do offend in the same fault, for it is not to be allowed that a certaine man being about to publish a Map of Island receiued from Islanders themselves, had rather marre the fashion of all, or in very deed of the most names of Capes, Bales, mountaines, springs, riuers, homocks, valleis, hills & towines (because that being ignorant of our language, he was not able to read those things aright, which he receiued from our countrey men) he had rather (I say) depraue & corrupt them all, then learne of the Islanders themselves, which at that time, namely in the yeere 1585, liued in the vniuersitie of Hafnia, or Copen Hagen, how euery thing ought to be read and written. And we esteeme him for this his wilfull marrying of our native names and words, (whereupon it came

Certain letters
sent by Brandan
bishop of
Breme, to
preach Chris-
tian faith in
the North.

came to passe that we reading the same, could acknowledge very few to be our owne) that he is no slight offender against our tongue, other wise retaining the pure and the ancient propriety.

But now we haue after some loze examined most of the myracles of *Island*, which our writers haue mentioned. Notwithstanding befoze we enter into any further matter, we thinke it good in this section to touch that which the last forenamed mā (in this Chap of *Island*, that he caused to be put forth in y^e foresaid yeere vnder his own name) hath giuen out concerning two other fountains besides the former: whereof the one should die white wooll black, & the other blacke wooll white. Which thing where he receited it, or whence he had it, we can by no means imagine: for it is not to be found in our own writers, nor in y^e writers of other countreies. But whence focuer it be, it is but a tale, & hath not one iote of truth in it. And although it be incredible That black wooll may be died of a white colour, seeing it is affirmed by Plinie, that blacke wooll (of all other) will receive no colour: nor withstanding there is some such thing reported by Theophrastus: namely, that there is a river in Macedonia which maketh blacke sheepe white. Also, that Norway pamphlet called the Roiall looking-glasse, which I mentioned befoze, doth attribute these fountains to Ireland, which is also called *Hybernia*, and not to *Island*. Which peradventure deceived the Reader, reading in a strange language S in stead of R.

What be the
Islandish writ-
ters?

Speculum regale.

That like wise deserueth no better credite which another Autho^r writeth: That there is a certaine great stone in *Island* which runneth vp and downe the crags and clifs of mountaines by no outward force, but by the owne proper and naturall motion. Wee that will beleue this, what will he not beleue? For it is such a rare deuise that the Epicures themselves (who yet seemed to Lucian to haue fained many incredible things) I am sure neuer intended the like: vntlesse perhaps the sayd Autho^r doeth imagine, that a man (who is called of the Islanders by the proper name of Stein) should compasse about, and chime by certaine rockes: which although it be ridiculous to put into a story of wonders, namely, that a man should mooue or walke, yet is it so to be supposed to saue the credite of the Autho^r, that we may not more seuerely condemne that fable, which is so senselesse of it selfe and not woorty to be read.

They are guiltie of the same crime also who haue found out rautens, pies, hares and vultures, all white in *Island*: for it is well known that vultures come very seldome, together with the Ise of the sea, vnto vs, as beares also, but they seldomer then vultures) and a certaine kind of crows called by the Islanders *Isakraker*. But as for white pies, hares, and rautens, *Island* neuer had any.

Vultures,
beares and
crows come
vpon the dyis
Ise into
Island.

And these in a manner be the things which, in regard of our daily busines, we were able at this present to afford, as touching the former part of our creatife, which were penned by me for this purpose (as in the beginning I did protest) that the errors of Autho^rs concerning an unknown land, and the affected vanitie also of some men might be disclosed, for I am not desirous to diminish any mans good name: but because I consecrated these my labours to truth and to my countrey, I could not chuse but shew, that those things which hitherto haue bene reported by many concerning our *Island* deserue very little credite: and so to addresse my selfe vnto the matters following concerning the Inhabitants.

Here endeth the first part of the Commentarie.

¶ Of *Island* the second part, concerning the Inhabitants.

¶ **I**uing hitherto finished the miracles of *Island* with certaine other particulars belonging to the first part, the which while writers doe wonder at, and diuersly extoll as it were the fountains of Agamemnon, yea, as things besides and against all nature, they haue bene very senselesse both of truth it selfe, & of their owne credite. Now the course of the present speach doeth admonish mee to make haste vnto the other part of the treatise concerning the Inhabitants: wherein what I should first say, or where I should begin, I am altogether ignorant. For there be such monstrous, and so many mocks, reproches, skoffes, and taunts of certaine men against vs poore Islanders dwelling in the vtmost parts of the world (and amongst these also, some things of chits who take vpon them to professe most simple truth, namely Historiographers) insomuch, that to reckon by the particulars were nothing els but to tell the drops of the Scarian sea. But as I said in the beginning, we will not deale alike seuerely with all. For although Krancius, Munsterus, Frisius & others haue written many things too boldly of our nation: yet hauing otherwise deserued well of learning by their monuments, they shalbe still in y^e same reputation to vs that they are woorty of. Howbeit in the meane time, although a man would free the from the marke of slanderers, yet is it no small matter that they should by such senselesse,

impossible & ridiculous things, such as those are which we have hitherto laid downe: as also that they should revoz in histories prophane and horrible vntruths, some of which kind shal now immediately be disculled. As for others, what soeuer they be, who vphzaid the nation of Islanders with daily reproches, they are to haue that answer in a readinesse which such men deserue. In the number of whom, that scoffer is to be accounted, who by a company of rimes published in the Germane tongue, to the disgrace of our countrey, hath bzought his name into euerlasting ignominie.

Wherefore as our present businesse requireth, while we are in hand with the writings of Authoꝝ concerning this matter, although we meet with some things containing little reproch, notwithstanding we will examine most of them, noting the errors as hitherto wee haue done: in the meane time also when they shall alleage any trueth, we will in no case dissemble it. And after this maner, first we will heare Munster, Kranzius and Frisius, and others also, if there be any moze, what they haue to say, reiecting that Parot and his Dutch rimes infected with fell slander, as he is woorthy, vnto the last place. First therefore the sayd Authoꝝ write concerning the faith or religion of the Islanders: and secondly, of their Maners, Customes, and course of life in maner following.

The first Section.

Adalbert Metropolitane of Hamburg in the yeere of Christ 1070. saw the Islanders couer-
ted vnto Christianitie: albeir, before the receiuing of Christian faith, they liued according to the lawe of nature, and did not much differ from our lawe: therefore at their humble request, he appointed a certaine holy man named *Istiefto* to be their first Bishop.

Kranzius in
prazatione Suez
Norwegia.

KRANZIUS in these words, and Munster other where, doe seeme to attribute vnto the Islanders the prerogative of Christian faith: and they should deale both beleeving themselves and the trueth, if they did not in other places depyiue vs of the same. For (to speake of Kranzius anone) that which Munster before reported concerning our faith or opinion about the place and situation of hell, is very farre from Christian pietie: namely, to be desirous to pryie into those secrets which God hath kept close vnto himselfe alone, and which his pleasure is, should exceed our capacitie: for there is not any thing found in the holy Scriptures of this matter, where the place and situation of hell, or of eternall fire prepared for the deuill and his angels, and so for all damned soules, is bounded or compassed about. The holy Bible (I say) assigneth no locall or bodily situation beneath the earth, or vpon the earth, or in any other place of this world, so that prison of the damned: but it affirmeth that this earth shall perishe, and that a new earth, and new heauens shall be created for the habitation of iust and holy men, Reuel. 2. 2. Pet. 3. and Esay 65. wherefore a Christian man willingly giueth ouer to search into such hidden secrets: and he accounteth it vnlawful to reueile or deliuer vnto others, opinions (grounded vpon no plaine and manifest places of Scripture) for certainties and truerhs, Deut. 4. and 12. Esay 8. Mat. 27. 2. Tim. 3.

Further also that commendation wherewith Munster and Kranzius doe grace the Islanders, is meerly contrary to Christian religion: namely, that they make all one reckoning of their whelpes and of their children. But moze of this matter anone in the 7. section. So therefore Munster dilagreath with himselfe, whereas those whom he affirmeth to be Christians, after ward he maketh to be master-builders of hell. Also Kranzius and Munster both together, when as these whom they affirme to be engrafted by faith into Christ, they exempt from all sense of pietie and honesty, in that they write that their soules are not dearer vnto them then their whelpes.

But to returne to the matter: In very deed we haue no great thing to say concerning our religion, what, or of what sort it was when Gentilisme was first put to flight. No moze (I thinke) haue other Northern nations neere vnto vs to say concerning y beginning of their faith. For (alas) we must needs confesse & bewaile with deepe sighes, that vntill that day which shined vnto vs like the beginning of immortalitie, & brought vnto vs the pure doctrine of the gospel, our countymen, as likewise other churches of the North, were ouer-spyed with moze then Cimmerician dar-
kenesse. But we may iustly and religiously thinke thus much, that among vs and our neighbors of Norway (for I wil not range out of my bounds, nor affirme any thing of vnknown people) after heathenish idolatry was rooted out, Christian faith & religion did flourish far moze sincere and simple, as being lesse infected with the poison of poperie at that time, then after ward, when as the pestiferous leauen of the see of Rome being augmented, & the contagious mischief growing ripe, the poison thereof was disperled through y whole world: for, as it shal afterward appeare, Island embraced Christ many yeeres before the new idolatry of the papists began to preuaile, and did sound forth nothing but faith in God the Father, the Sonne & the holy Ghost, like vnto those two most renowned kings of Norway, who as they had one common name, so had they one common
care

care and profeſſion to aduance the goſpel of Chriſt. I meane Olaus the ſonne of Thryggo, who was borne in the yeere of Chriſt 968, attaining to the kingdom of Norway in the 27. yeere of his age, and was the firſt, as we haue heard, that offered Chriſt vnto the Norwegians, other whom hee reigned ſiue yeeres: and anoother of that name called Olaus Sanctus the ſonne of Harald, who in the yeere of Chriſt 1013. or thereabout, gouerned with moze ſeueritie, & for the ſpace of 17. yeeres did boldly deliuer the doctrine of Chriſt. In the yeere of Chriſt 1030. being vniuſly ſlaine by wicked murderers, he ſhed his blood for y name of Chriſt in a town of Norway called *Sticſla Stodum*.

The firſt Chriſtian King of Norway.

Our countrey alſo had, among many other, one man of excellent pietie whoſe name was Nialus, who about the yeere of Chriſt 1000, liued in the village of *Berthorshuol* ſituate in the pariſh of Iſland called *Landebum*: who alſo for his experience in humane affaires, for his great wiſedome and ſage counſell was accompted famous. For whereas in his time Iſland was turmoiled with many ſierce mutinies, the inhabitants being in ſubiectiō to no ſuperiour magiſtrate, he intermeddled not in any quarrels, ſauiug that by his diſcreet vertue & diligence, hee ſet throught and brought to coinpoſition a great number: hee neuer did nor ſuffered violence, but onely vpon the laſt day of his life. So carefully auoyded he al ſeditious and ſtrifes: and gaue good aſſiſtance to others, who werē deſirous alſo to auoyd and eſcape them: neither did any man euer put in praſtiſe his counſel, but it turned to his eſpeciall good: nor euer any did ſwerue therefrom, but with the danger of his life and poſſeſſions. The wordes or rather the oracles that came from him were ſo certaine, that it was wonderful from whence any man ſhould haue ſo great and ſo iure ſorecaſt and counſell of things to come, as was found to be in him. Wherevpon his diſcreet and p̄ouident wiſedome ioyned with counſell became a p̄ouerbe amongſt vs *Nials bytaraden*: That is to ſay, the counſel of Nialus: or, the thing is done, or ſuccedeth by Nialus his counſel: when any buſineſs was atchieued prudently, and with admirable diſcretion. This man, when, for a ſlaughter committed by his ſonnie without his knowledge, he was in his owne houſe beſet with a 100. men, who had conſpired his death, and when his enemies began on all ſides to ſet his houſe on fire, ſeeing his ende appoach, at length he brake into theſe wordes. Doubteleſſe theſe things happen by fate, that is, by the will of God. Howbeit, I put my hope and confidence in Chriſt, that we (meaning his wife, and himſelſe) although this our fraile body ſhal vndergoe the corruption of death, in the fire of our enemies, yet, that it ſhal be deliuered from eternal flames. And ſo in the midſt of theſe voyces, and in the fury of the flames, he with his wife and the manſlayer his ſonnie, in the yeere of Chriſt 1010. ended his life. A voyce vndoubtedly full well beſecming the ſonnes of God, arguing the notable comfort of his ſoule amidſt the very pangs of death.

Nialus the firſt knowine profeſſour of Chriſtian faith in Iſland.

I therefore added thoſe things to ſhew by what reaſon I was moued to thinke, that in the very beginning of Chriſtianitie receiued amongſt vs, mens minds were not ſo beguiled and ouerwhelmed in the darkeneſs of errorz, as of late, a little befoze theſe our times, they haue bene.

But after the Lord God by Luther, and Luthers fellow-labourers in the vineyard of the Lord, and by his godly ſucceſſours, did make the doctrine of ſaluation moze manifeſt, and ſhaking off the heauie ſlothe, and thicke miſt of our minds by the finger of his right hand, that is by his holy Spirit *Matth. 1. 2. v. 28.* did plucke the eares of our hearts, and opened our eyes, that we might behold his ſauiug health: We all, and euery of vs do beleue and confeſſe, that God is a ſpirit (*Iohn 4. v. 24.*) eternal (*Eſay 40. v. 28.*) infinite (*Ierc. 23. v. 24. Pſal. 139. v. 7. 8. 9.*) moſt good (*Matth. 19. v. 17.*) almighty (*Gen. 17. 1. Reuel. 1. 8.*) one in being, and nature: one in p̄ouidence: one in the making and gouerning of all things (*Deut. 6. 5. Ephe. 4. 5.*) But diſtinguiſhed by the perſons of the Godhead and their properties, the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghoſt (*Matth. 28. 19. & 3. 17.*) God the Father the firſt perſon of the Godhead creator of heauen and earth, and all other things (*Gen. 1. v. 1. and in thoſe that ſolow*) the vpholder & gouernor of all (*Pſa. 115. 3. Heb. 1. 3.*) Father of our Lord Ieſus Chriſt (*Pſal. 2. 7. and verſes following*) and our Father throught him (*Rom. 8. 15.*) keeper of our ſoules and bodies (*Luke 12. 12.*) And that Ieſus Chriſt the ſecond perſon of the Godhead is the ſonne of God the Father (*Iohn 1. 18. &c.*) onely begotten (*Iohn 1. 29. Heb. 1. 2.*) equal to his Father (*1. Chro. 17. 13. Ioh. 1. 1.*) true God (*Iohn 1. 2. &c.*) ſoreappointed befoze the creation of all things (*1. Pet. 1. 20. Reuel. 1. 8. &c.*) and preſently after maus fall promiſed to be the Meſſias (*Gene. 3. 15. &c.*) publiſhed eſſoones vnto the holy Patriarches, as vnto Abraham (*Gen. 12. 3. &c.*) vnto Iſaac (*Gen 26. 4.*) vnto Iacob (*Gene. 28. 14.*) and confirmed by promiſes (*Gen. 49. 9. Eſa. 11. 1. 10.*) prefigured by y ſacrifices of Moſes (*Leu. 1. 2. &c.*) and by other types, as namely by the offering y of Iſaac (*Gen 22.*) by the liſting vp of the brazen ſerpent (*Num. 21.*) by Ionas (*Ionas 2. &c.*) proclaimed by the teſtimony of the Prophets (*Eſa. 7. 14. and at length in the fulneſſe of time truly exhibited: true man* (*Iohn 1. 14. &c. Gal. 4.*) that he died for our ſinnes, and was raiſed againe for our iuſtification (*Rom. 4. 25. &c.*) Aſcending into heauen (*Acts 1. 9. &c.*) and making interceſſion for vs at the right hand of his Father without cealing (*1. Iohn 2. 1. &c.*)

20 ſumme of the Iſlanders Religion.

by his holy Spirit (which is the thirde person of the Godhead, coequal, and consubstantial to the Father and the Sonne, Acts. 5. 4.) gathering the Church to himselfe by the Word, and Sacraments (Matth. 16. 18. Rom. 10. 14. &c. and sanctifying it to eternal life, Acts. 9. 31. &c. And that one day at the end of the world he will come from heauen (Acts. 1. 11.) to iudge the quicke and the dead (1. Thessal. 4. 15.) that he will render vnto the wicked according to their workes, and that he will iudge them to eternal paines (Matth. 13. 42. & 25. 4.) but that he will reward them with eternal life, who beleue in his Name (Matth. 25. 34.) This Iesus Christ (I say) we acknowledge to be our redeemer (Matth. 1. 21.) our head (1. Corin. 12. 27.) and our Lord (Eph. 4. 5.) And that we in our holy baptisme do giue, and haue giuen our names vnto him (Acts. 2. 38.) and that we are engrafted into him by baptisme (1. Corin. 12. 13.) And this we do plainly, ingenuously, freely, and willingly confesse, and witnesse: And as for all others who inuent any other name in heauen giuen vnto men by which they may be saued, we doe earnestly detest, curse, and condemne them (Acts. 4. 12.) We holde his most holy Word to be the onely rule of our saluation: And that alone (all mans deuises being cast away and contemned) we propound vnto our selues as an infallible rule, and leuel of our faith (Galat. 1. 8. Esai 29. 13. Ezech. 20.) which we containe vnder the name of the olde and newe Testament (Hebr. 8.) deliuered by the Prophets and Apostles (Eph. 2. 20.) by the singular and infinite goodnesse of God, preserved euer vnto this day and to be preserved hereafter alwayes in the Church (Matth. 28. last verse. Psal. 71. 18. 1. Cor. 11. 26.)

Therefore we render thanks vnto our most gracious and Almighty God from our soule, and from our whole heart, because that euen vnto vs being separated an huge distance from the rest of the body of his Church, and inhabiting the farthest parts of the world, hee would that this light graunted for the reuelation of the Gentiles, and prepared before the face of all people, and in olde time fauourably shewed to holy Simeon (for in Christ are all the treasures of wisdom hid) which now doeth enlighten and cherish with the sauing beames thereof our whole nation, that hee would (I say) this light should come vnto vs. This in brieffe (running ouer the very summe) is our faith, and our Religion, which by the direction of the holy Spirit, and of his Ministers in the vineyard of Christ, we haue drawn and that out of the fountaines of Israel.

In the yeere of our Lord 1070. saw the Islanders conuerted vnto Christ, &c.

IT is doubtful vnto vs whether in these words Kranzius would haue said, that y^e Islanders were first conuerted vnto Christ in the yeere of our Lord 1070: or whether he doth not deny that they were indeed before conuerted, but saith that it was knowne first vnto Adalbert that yeere. But whether soeuer of these he affirmeth: not withstanding the yeerly records, and most auncient Chronicles of our nation testifying the contrary do make his credit to be suspected in this place, vnto which records and Chronicles, whether you had rather giue assent concerning our owne proper and domestical affaires, done within the bounds of our Island, or to Kranzius or any other being ignozant in the story of our countrey, I appeale (friendly reader) vnto your owne discretion. For my part I am enforced by many reasons to agree rather vnto our owne writers. For our countrey men affirme those things onely that be knowne, and in a manner domestical: he writeth matters soe rare and vnknowne: they haue compiled their histories without the dissimulation, disgracing or reprehending of any other nations, onely that they might assigne vnto their owne acts and exploits the true time or age thereof: he hath intermedled in his historie certaine things contrary to the truth, and that to the vpholding of our nation being most vnknowne vnto him, as it shall immediately appaere: they describe the names, yeeres, order, succession of all the Bishops of Island: he mentioneth onely one, & that farre otherwise thyn the truth. Furthermore, that I may make good the credite of our Countrey men, I will impart with strangers a fewe things which I found in our most auncient records of the conuersion of Island vnto Christ, and of the succession of Bishops in our Churches. Which although they be of little moment, and not altogether worthy to be written, yet must they of necessitie bee set downe for the defence of the truth of our affaires against Kranzius and others: Thus therefore standeth the certaintie thereof.

In the yeere of Christ 874. Island (being indeed discovered before that time, as is aboue mentioned) was then first of all inhabited by certaine Noruagians. Their chiefe taine was one Ingulphus from whose name the East cape of Island is called *Ingulfsi hoffdi*. These planters are reckoned by by name in our records more then to the number of 400. together with those of their blood and kindred, and great families besides: neither onely is their number described, but it is also plainly set downe, what coasts, what shores, and what in-land places eche of them did occupie and inhabit, and what names the first inhabitants did giue vnto Streights, bays, harboroughs, necklands, creekes, capes, rocks, cragges, mountaines, hills, valleys, homocks, springs, floods, riuers. And to be short, what names they gaue vnto their graunges or houses, wheredof many at this day are retained and vsed. Therefore the Noruayes with their company peopled all the habitable

Krantzius.

The most auncient Chronicles of Island.

Island first inhabited.

habitable parts of *Island* now occupied by them for the space of 60. yeeres or thereabout: but they remained *Ethnickes* almost a 100. yeeres, except a very few which were baptised in *Norwaie*. But scarce a 100. yeeres from their first entrance being past, presently *Christian Religion* began to be considered upon, namely about the yeere of our Lord 974. Which thing about 20. yeeres together, was diversly attempted of many not without notable rebellion: amongst the rest there are mentioned two outlandish Bishops, who with others diligently laboured in converting the *Island* to *Christian faith*; the former was one *Fridericus* a *Saxon* boine, who in the yeere 981. came into *Island*, and behaved himselfe couragiously in the office of preaching, and prevailed so much, that in the yeere 984. Churches were bled in *Island*.

Fridericus Saxo the first preacher of the *Christian faith* in *Island*. Anno Domini 981.

But the other outlandish Bishop or preacher whom they called *Thangbrands* came first into *Island* in the yeere 997.

And then after 26. yeeres consulting about Religion, at length in the yeere 1000. it was decreed in a generall assembly of all the inhabitants by their whole consent, that the worship of heathenish Idoles being abandoned, they should embrace *Christian Religion*.

Anno Domini 1000.

Again, in the yeere 1050. it was decreed in a solemn assembly of the inhabitants, that temporall or politique lawes (the constitutions whereof being brought out of *Norwaie* were communicated unto the Islanders by one *Vffior* in the yeere 926.) should euery where giue place to the Canon or diuine Lawe.

In the yeere 1056. one *Iseif* went beyond the seas out of *Island* to be consecrated bishop of *Island*. He came home consecrated into *Island*, and entred into the bishopricke of *Schalholt* in the yeere 1057. He died 1080. in the yeere of his age 74. The 4. of the Kalends of July.

These things perhaps will seeme trifling, short and base, not sufficiently worthy to be mentioned, together with many other matters which follow: but neither doe wee compile the *Roman* history, neither yet shall these things be so trifling, but that they may be of sufficient force to convince the errours of *Kranzius* and others, according to our purpose. And vndoubtedly as touching the truth of our histories, it is euident that *Saxo Grammaticus* attributeth very much vnto them: whose words in his preface of *Denmarke* be these: Neither is the diligence of the *Thylenfes* (for so he calleth Islanders) to be smothered in silence: who when as by reason of the native barrennes of their soile, wanting nourishments of riot, they do exercise the duties of continuall sobrietie, and vse to bestow all the time of their life in the knowledge of other mens exploits, they supply their want by their wit. For they esteeme it a pleasure to know, and commit vnto memory the famous acts of other nations, reckoning it no lesse praiseworthy to discourse of other mens vertues, then to practise their owne. Whose treasures replenished with the monuments of historical matters, I more curiously searching into, haue compiled no smal part of this present worke by following of their relation: neither despised I to haue those men for my iudges, whom I knew to be skilfull in so great knowledge of antiquitie. Thus farre *Saxo*.

A notable testimonie of *Saxo* concerning the Islanders.

Wherefore I thinke it not amisse to proceede in the recitall of the Bishops of *Island*, that the order and descent of them all, being so farre forth as is possible, diligently put together out of our peere records, may make good that which we haue alledged against *Kranzius* concerning *Iseif* the first Bishop of *Island*.

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Bishops of <i>Schalholt</i> .	The Bishops of <i>Holen</i> .	In the yeere of CHRIST.
	I.	I.	
	<i>Iseif</i> .	<i>Ionas</i> sonne of <i>Augmundus</i> .	
1056.	Consecrated beyond the seas.	<i>Iseif</i> his disciple.	
1057.	Returneth and entereth the Bishops sea of <i>Schalholt</i> .	Consecrated beyonde the seas in the yeere of his age 64. his surname was <i>Sanctus</i> , vnto whose memozie the 3. of <i>March</i> was by the inhabitants in old time dedicated.	1106.
1080.	Dieth in the pere of his age 74. the 4. of the Kalends of July.	Dieth the 11. of the Kalends of <i>May</i> .	1121.
	II.	II.	
	<i>Gysserus</i> .	<i>Ketillus</i> or <i>Carullus</i> .	
1082.	Consecrated beyond the sea.	Consecrated.	1122.
1083.	Returneth into <i>Island</i> with his Bishopricke. Dieth the 5. of the Kal. of <i>May</i> being tuesday.	Dieth.	1145.
1118.		III.	
	III.	<i>Biozno</i> .	
	<i>Thorlacus</i> sonne of <i>Runulphus</i> .	Being consecrated came into <i>Island</i> .	1147.
In the part of his age 32.	Consecrated the same yeere, wherchin his	Dieth	

In the yeere
of CHRIST.

The Bishops of Schalholt.

The Bishops of Holen.

In the yeere
of CHRIST.

In the yeere of CHRIST.	The Bishops of Schalholt.	The Bishops of Holen.	In the yeere of CHRIST.
1133.	his predecessor Gylserus deceased, but yet 30. dayes before his death. Dieth. III. Magnus.	Dieth. III. Brandus.	1162.
1134.	Consecrated.	Consecrated.	1163.
1148.	On the morrowe after the feast of all Saints, in his parish towne of <i>Hiltar-</i> <i>dal</i> , the house being stricken with light- ning, hee, and 70. men with him were consumed with fire. V. Klaingus.	Entreth is Episcopall see. Dieth. V. Gudmundus surnamed Bonus, Elected and consecrated. Dieth. VI. Botolphus.	1165. 1201. 1203. 1237.
1151.	Chosen.	Returneth consecrated.	1239.
1152.	Entreth the see.	Dieth.	1246.
1176.	Dieth. VI. Thorlacus.	VII. Henricus.	1247.
1178.	Chosen two yeres before the death of his predecessor.	Entreth the see. Dieth.	1260.
1193.	Consecrated. Dieth.	VIII. Brandus an Abbat, Goeth beyond the seas.	1262.
1195.	Consecrated.	Entreth the Bishopricke.	1263.
1211.	Dieth. VII. Paulus.	Dieth. IX. Ierundus.	1264.
1216.	Consecrated. IX. Siguardus.	Entreth his see. Dieth.	1267. 1313.
1239.	Entreth his see.	X. Audunnus.	1314.
1268.	Dieth. X. Arnerus.	Dieth. XI. Laurentius.	1322.
1269.	Entreth his see.	Elected and consecrated.	1324.
1298.	Dieth. XI. Arnerus sonne of Helgo.	Dieth in the Ides of April.	1331.
1304.	Consecrated.	XII. Egillus.	1332.
1305.	Entreth the see.	Entreth his see. Dieth.	1341.
1309.	Walketh into Norwaie, to craue tim- ber of the king of Norway, where with the Church of Schalholt might be reed- ified, which the same yere being toucht with lightning, was burnt downe. Returneth home.	XIII. Ormus.	1343.
1310.	Returneth home.	Entreth his see. Dieth vpon the feast of all Saints.	1355.
1320.	Dieth. XII. Ionas Haldorus.	XIIII. Ionas sonne of Ericus, surnamed <i>Skalle</i> . Being to enter his sea of Holen came into Island. This Ionas being before time consecrated bishop of Gronland, obtained licence of the bishop of Rome to enter the See of Holen, which was at that time vacant. Whereupon com- ing and not bringing with him the confirmation of this dignitie and func- tion, receiued from the Pope, hee be- gan to be suspected among the priests of the diocesse of Holen. Wherefore he was	1358.
1321.	Elected.		1356.
1322.	Consecrated the first of August.		
1323.	Entreth his see.		
1338.	Dieth. XIII.		
1339.	Ionas sonne of Indrid a Noruagian borne. Entreth his see.		
1341.	Dieth. XIIII.		

In the yeere
of CHRIST.

The Bishops of Schalholt.

The Bishops of Holen.

In the yeere
of CHRIST.

XIIII.
Jonas Sonne of Siguardus.
1343. Entreth his see.
1348. Dieth on S. Magnus euen.
XV.
Gyrchus.
1349. Consecrated at Aslo in Norway by Sa-
lomon bishop of Aslo.
1356. Going beyond the seas he was drowned.
XVI.
Thorarinus.
1362. Entreth his see.
1364. Dieth.
XVII.
Oddgeirus.
1366. Entreth his see.
1381. Dieth upon the Assumption of the blessed
Virgin, in the port of Bergen in Norway,
falling downe from a packe of wares into
the botome of the ship. He was buried at
Bergen in the Church of our Saviour.
XVIII.
Michael a Dane.
1385. Entreth his see.
1388. Resigneth, and saileth into Denmarke.
XIX.
William a Dane,
1394. Entereth the Bishopricke.
Dieth.
XX.
Arnerus surnamed *Mildur*, that is to say,
Liberall. He was at one time Lord Presi-
dent of all Island, bishop of Schalholt, and
vicebishop of Holen. He died.
1420. XXI.
Jonas Gerickson Sueden, either surnamed
1432. of bozne, is made Bishop ouer the
Church of Schalholt: and afterward for
certaine bolde attempts being taken by
one Thorualdus de Modruuollum (as it is
reporced) and a great stone being bound to
his necke, hee was cast aliue into the riuer
of Schalholt, (which taketh name of the
bridge) and was there strangled.
XXII.
1445. Goswinus bishop of Schalholt.
XXIII.
1472. Sueno called *y* wise, bishop of Schalholt.
XXIIII.
1489. Magnus sonne of Eiolphus, Bishop, &c.
XXV.
Stephen.
1494. Entreth the see. Then (liuing at one
time with Godschalchus bishop of Holen,
who seemed worthy to be surnamed cruel
he had the same commendations for mercy
and iustice, that Godschalchus had.

was sent backe up th. in into Nor-
way, that the matter might bee set
through by the iudgement of the
king. The king therefore fauouring
his part, he obteneid the bishopricke
of Holen.
He dieth.
XV.
Peter.
Consecrated the same yere where
in his predeceffour departed out of
this present life.
Entreth the see of Holen.
Dieth.
XVI.
Jonas Wilhelmus English,
either bozne or surnamed,
Entred the see.
XVII.
Godschalchus.
Dieth.
XVIII.
Olaus son of Rogwaldus nephew
to the fornamed Godschalchus by
the sisters side, both of them being
Norwayes.
He was established.
He died.
XIX.
Godschalchus
The nephewe of Olaus deceased, by
the brothers side: also hee being a
Noruagian was elected the same
yere wherein his uncle deceased.
He entreth the see. And for the
space of 20. whole yeres is reported,
cruelly to haue entreated many of
the subiects. In the yere 1520.
whē he was in the midst of his cups,
and banqueting dishes, & heard that
Jonas Sigismundus was departed
out of this life (whom with his wife
and childzen, he had for many yeres
most cruelly oppressed, he presently
fell into a sudden disease, and so not
long after changed that violence for
miserable death, which in his whole
life he had vsed against his distressed
subiects.
XX.
Jonas Arasonius,
Entreth the see.
This man was the last & most ear-
nest mainteinee of Popish superstitions.
Who stoutely withstanding
Gyllerus and Martinus bishops of
Schalholt, was commanded by the
most

1391.

1392.

1432.

1457.

1458.

1497.

1500.

1525.

In Eng-
lish man
Bishop in
Island.

In the yeere
of CHRIST.The Bishops of *Schalholt.*The Bishops of *Holen.*In the yeere
of CHRIST.

1519.

He died: or there about.

XXVI.

Augmundus.

1522.

Chosen in the yeere wherein Stephen de-
ceased. Entred the see.

While he was Bishop, the kings Lieuten-
ant with some of his followers being in-
vited to Schalholt, in the time of the ban-
quet, was slaine by certaine conspirators:
because hee had in all places wickedly wa-
sted the inhabitants and their goods. But
Augmundus as the authour of that mur-
ther (although he purged himselfe with an
othe) being transpozted into Denmarke,
there ended his life.

XXVII.

Gyflerus.

1540.

Elected, Augmundus yet living.

1541.

Entred the see.

He was the abolisher of Popish traditions
about Priests marriages: his owne mari-
age being solemnized at Schalholt.

1544.

XXVIII.

Martinus.

1547.

Bishop, &c. And the yeeres folowing.

XXIX.

Gislaus Ionas.

This man presently, in the time of bishop
Augmund began in his youth to be enfla-
med with y^e loue of true pietie, & of the pure
doctrine of the Gospel, & being pastour of
the Church of Selardal, diligently to ad-
vance the same, by which meanes he did se-
procure vnto himselfe y^e hatred of Popists,
as being constrained to giue place vnto their
craft & crueltie, he departed ouer to Ham-
burg, from whence coming to Copen Ha-
gen in Denmarke, & painefully proceeding
in his former study of diuinitie, he liued in
the familiaritie, and fauour of many, but
specially of D.D. Peter Palladius: who was
at that time bishop there. Afterward re-
turning into his countrey, Martine gaue
place vnto him of his owne accord. This
man died also, hauing for the space of 31.
yeres or thereabouts, professed the Gospel
of Iesus Christ: neither did he helpe & fur-
ther the Church of God by the sound of his
voice onely, but by all other meanes to the
best of his abilitie, by teaching, prea-
ching, writing, by his wealch & his counsel.

1556.

1587.

XXX.

Otto Enerus, a graue, godly, and lear-
ned man. Being chosen he departeth his
country. Hee is consecrated, returneth,
and entred the sea, endeavouring himselfe
in the labours of his function.

1588.

1589.

most religious king Christian the 3.
under paine of banishment to come
with all speed into Denmarke. But
neglecting the kings commaund-
ment, hee tooke Martine bishop of
Schalholt, and committed him to
ward. At length he himselfe also be-
ing taken by a man of great name
(whom before that time, it is saide,
he had prouoked) and being brought
to Schalholt, was, together with
his two sonnes, by the authoritie of
the kings Lieutenant beheaded. In
reueuge wheresof not long after, the
saide Lieu-tenant with some of his
company, was villanously slaine by
certaine rapiers, which were once
seruants to the parties beheaded.

XXI.

Olaus Hialterus.

Departed his countrey.

Entred the see.

This man (being as yet in the life
time of his predecessour fellow-la-
bourer with him) was the first that
kindled the loue of sincere doctrine
at Holen in the hearts of many: and
then being bishop did openly teache
and defend the said doctrine.

He died.

XXII.

Gudbrandus Thorlacius.

The ornament, not onely of his age,
but of posteritie also: who besides
that, by the direction of the holy spi-
rit, he hath most notably brought the
worke begunne, and left vnto him
by his predecessour Olaus to that
perfectio which it hath pleased God
to bouchsafe: (namely his labours
and diligence in maintayning the
truetly of the Gospel, and in abolish-
ing of Popish superstitions) heuen in
this his countrey hee is the first that
hath established a Printing house.
For which cause his countrey (be-
sides, for many other books transla-
ted into our mocher tongue) shal be
eternally bounden vnto him, that the
sacred Bible also, by his meanes, is
fairly printed in the language of
Island. Hee (I say) being at this
present, Bishop, when he was about
to take his charge:

Departed his countrey.

Returned and entred the see of
Holen.

1548
15491550
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1575

In these times therefore light is restored unto our soules from heauen, and the gate of the kingdome of heauen is opened vnto vs by the sincere preaching of Christian doctrine. For in either of the Bishops seats there is a free schoole founded by the liberality and pietie of that most renowned King of Denmarke Christian the third: and afterward the some following the godly steppes of his most Christian father, the said Free schooles by Lord Friderick the second, our most religious King, being called by to his heauenly countrey in the yeare 1588, haue beene encreased and furthered: which at this day also doe prosper and flourish by the fauour and authoritie of the most gracious King and our Prince, Christian the fourth, wherein the youth of our *Fflandz* being instructed in the rudiments of liberall artes, and sacred diuinitie, are trained vp to knowledge and true godlinesse, that from hence ministers of Churches may proceede.

We are come at length in the register of the Bishops of *Ffland* downe to this present day, wherein the soynamed excellent men Gudbrandus Thorlacius, and Otto Enerus, the one at Hølen, and the other at Schalholt are Bishops of our Cathedral Churches: both of which men, that it would please God long to preferue vnto his Church in health and life, for the glorie of his most holy name, we all doe earnestly and with feruent prayers beseech him.

The second section.

They inhabite for the most part in caues, or hollowe places within the sides of mountaines. And againe, They haue many houses and Churches built with the bones of fishes, and Whales. Againe, Many of them also to auoide the extremitie of colde, doe keepe themselves close in their caues, euen as the people of Africa doe to auoyde the heate of the sunne. Also *Munster* sayth: Many in *Ffland* at this day build their houses with the ribbes and bones of Whales.

Munsterus, Kranzius, Frisius.

Here the second member taketh his beginning concerning the course of life, and the manners of the inhabitants. And first of all what buildings or houses they doe vse: namely according to *Munster*, *Kranzius*, *Frisius* &c. Holes and caues of mountaines. But although in gorgeous buildings, and such other worldly braueries there is very little helpe to the attayning of a life truly happie: notwithstanding, wee can not in this place conceale the truth: and we plainly affirme that Cosmographers and Historiographers also doe erre in this point. For such habitations as they write to be common vnto the whole nation, are but in verie fewe places, and are either sheepe-cots for shepherds, or cottages and receptacles for fishermen at that time of the yeere onely when they goe a fishing, and the others stande in neede to watch their flocke. But for their houses themselves, and the very dwelling places of men, the *Fflanders* haue had them built from auncient time stately and sumptuously enough, according to the condition of the Countrey, with timber, stones, and turfes, vntill such time as traffike and exchange of wares beganne to cease betweenc them and the *Norwegians*, who were wont to supply them with timber, and for that cause nowe our houses beginne to decay: whereas neither we haue woods conuenient for building, nor yet there are nowe a dayes, as there were in olde time, trees cast vpon our shores by the benefite of the sea, which may in any sort relieue vs: neither doe outlandish Merchants succour our necessities: whereupon many of our meanest countrey villages are much decayed from their auncient integritie, some wher of be fallen to the ground, and others bee very ruinous. Notwithstanding there be many farmes and villages which I cannot easily reckon vp, the buildings whereof doe resemble that auncient excellencie, the houses being very large, both in breadth and length, and for the most part in height also. As for example: farmes or granges which containe chambers in them, more then fiftie cubites in length, tenne in breadth, and twentie in height. And so other rooues, as a parler, a stoue, a buterie, &c. answering in proportion vnto the former. I could here name many of our countrey buildings both large and wide, neither illfaouered in shewe, nor base in regarde of their workmanship and costly firmenesse or strength, with certaine Churches also, or religious houses built of timber onely, according to auncient and artificiall seemliness and beautie: as the Cathedral Church of Hølen hauing a bodie the five pillars whereof on both sides be foure elnes high, and about five elnes thicke, as also beames and weather-bourdes, and the rest of the rooffe proportionally answering to this lower building. Our most gracious King Lord Friderick, whose memoery is most sacred vnto vs, in the yere 1588, did most liberally bestow timber for the reedifying of this body being cast downe in the yere 1584. by an horrible tempest. But the Church it selfe doch manifestly erreced the body thereof in all quantity: also the inner part of the Church, which is commonly called the quier is somewhat lesse, both then the middle part of the Church, and also then the bodie.

Traffike with the people of *Norway* ceased.

Wilt wood not so plentyfull now, as many times past.

The Church of Schalholt was farre greater as I haue heard in olde time, then this our

Cathedrall, which hauing now bene twice burnt, is brought to a lesser scantling. Likewise there be some other Churches of our Island, although not matching, yet resembling the ancient magnificence of these. But here the matter seemeth not to require that I should runne into a long description of these things. For as wee doe not greatly extoll our houses and buildings, so are we nothing ashamed of them: because being content with our pouertie, we render vnto Christ immortall prayse who despiseth not to be retained of vs vnder a bale roofe, and concerneth not our temples and houses, (which Munster, Kranzius and Frisius doe not truly affirme to be built of fishes and Whales bones) more then the marble vaults, the painted walles, the square pauementes, and such like ornamentes of Churches and houses in other countries.

The third section.

Kranzius,
Munsterus.

They and their cattell vse all one house, all one foode or victuals, all one state (here *Kranzius* hath it lodging.) Also. They liue onely by feeding of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes.

THese be the things together with those that followe, which *Kranzius* hath champed, and put into Munsters mouth, so that Munster shall not neede so much as once to chewe them, which may appeare by comparing them both together. For Munster, as hee swallowed these reproches, taking them out of *Kranzius* his preface vpon Norway, so he casteth by the verie same morsels vndigested and rawe against our nation, in his fourth booke of Cosinographie cap. 8. Those things which haue bene hitherto, although they haue sufficiently grieued vs, yet will we let them seeme moze tollerable: but this most malicious deuise, and those which followe we cannot easily brooke. It is our part therefore in this place also to auouch the truth, and to turne the leasing vpon the authoꝝ owne head.

House, &c. First, that which they say concerning the same common house (as also liuing, and state) with our cattell, we plainly affirme to be false and erroneous, not onely the truth it selfe being our witness, if any man would make triall, but also the experience of manie strangers, that haue liued some yeeres amongst vs, and haue moze minde to speake the truth then to reuile our nation: who haue scene our houses and habitations with their owne eyes, and knewe that in euery particular farme or graunge there were many severall roomes: namely, in those that were most simple and bale, seuen or eight: In others which were greater, sometimes tenne, and sometimes twentie. In the greatest sometimes fortie, and sometimes fiftie. Which for the most part being seuered, both by roofes and walles, doe serue for the dayly and household affaires of one owner or master, seldome of two or thre, but almost neuer of moze: whereupon the Reader may easily iudge, howe rue it is that the Islanders and their cattell haue all one house to lie in, when euery husbandman in this varietie of roomes hath severall ore-stalles, sheepe-cotes, stables, lames-cots separated indifferent spaces one from another, which the seruants goe vnto so oft as neede requireth, and from thence returne backe to the dwelling houses.

But wher eas one noted in his *Mappe of Island*, concerning the prouince of *Skagesford*, that vnder the same roofe, men, dogges, swine and sheepe liue all together, it is partly false, and partly no maruell: for sheepe, as it hath bene sayde, and specially for swine (when as that prouince hath no swine at all) it is vtterly false: for dogges it is no maruell, when as not kings courts were euer, or at this day are destitute of them, as it is well knowen to all men. But as touching dogges after ward in the seuenth section.

Victuals, &c. Whether beasts meate may fitly be termed by the name of *Victus*, a man may iustly doubt: when *Dolerus* interpreting a peece of *Tullie*, saith: As for *Victus* (sayth he) wee will so expound it with the *Ciuitians*, namely that we comprehend vnder the word of *Victus* all things necessarrie for the life of man, as meate, drinke, attire of the bodie, &c. And *Vlpianus de verborum significatione* defineth *Victus* in the very same wordes. But in this place the saide authoꝝ call beasts meate by the name of *Victus*.

But let vs see what truth and plaine dealing is to be found in these men. Wee haue no labouring cattell besides horses and oren: these haue grasse and hay (except where haye is wanting) for their fodder, and water to drinke. Now, the very same writers confesse, that the Islanders liue by fish, butter, flesh both beefe, and mutton, and coyne also, though it bee scarce, and brought out of other countries. Therefore they haue not the same foode with brute beasts, which notwithstanding the sayde writers affirme in these wordes:

They

They and their cattell vse all one victuals or food. What Munsters meaning is in this claufe, he himselfe a little befoze hath plainly taught.

Island (saith he) conreineeth many people liuing onely with the food of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes. But what else is the food of cattell, but the meat of cattell, saith Dolecus: Unless perhaps Munster calleth the food of cattell, cattell themselves slaine for the food of men: whom, as I thinke, the vse of the latine tongue doth gaine say, which hath taught vs that as men doe eate, so beastes do feede, and hath termed the victuals of men, and the food or fodder of cattell. But may I thinke that Munster and Kranzius were so mad as to imagine that the Islanders liue vpon grasse and hay? To this passe of miserie was Nabuchodonozor brought vndergoing the yoke of Gods vengeance: Daniel 4. vers. 30. We will easily graunt that beastes, and cattell will not perhaps refuse many things, which men not onely of our countrey but of yours also eate, if the saide beastes be destitute of their vsuall food: as horses are fedde with cozne and barley loaves: they will drinke milke also (like vnto caltes and lammes) and ale, if it be proffered them, and that greedily. And dogges in like manner will deuour any deinty dishes whatsoeuer. May any man therefore say that men vse the same common victuals with dogges and horses?

Now, whatsoeuer things haue happened in the time of grieuous famine ought not to be recozded in hystorie for the generall custome of any countrey. As it is not lawfull for vs to write concerning other nations, that the people of this or that countrey, doe vsuallly liue by eating of dogs, mife, cats, although perhaps in the time of famine or seige or dearth of cozne, they haue often bene constrained so to doe.

But that the same drinke is some times common to many men with beastes, we will not greatly gaine say: namely most pure water, that naturall drinke created by God for all liuing creatures: which also in some respect Philosophicians doe commend, yea, neither the Patriarkes themselves, nor our sauiour Christ despised it.

As touching apparell (for we comprehend apparell also vnder the name of Victus) it is no wise common to vs with beastes. If of nature hath clad them with haire and bristles (as I dare say Munster and Kranzius cannot be ignozant) men, being other wise naked, stande in neede of clothes to couer their bodies. But I had not thought it might therefore haue properly bene sayde, that sheepe and we haue all one apparell. Men of other countreies also wear cloth of sheepes wooll, although it be moze finely wrought. But no moze concerning the attire of the bodie. For it is a meere folly to seeke for praise, and ambitious reputation by that, which argueth the infirmitie of our nature.

Scare, &c. Now, it remaineth that we should speake of that state, which we are sayd to haue common with beastes: but of what kinde or maner it should be, or our writers would haue it to be, I cannot easily discern. State (saith Dolecus) is either of the body, or of causes, or of order and condition. Doubtlesse, that there is another state of our bodies then of beastes (for besides our two feet, we haue hands also, and go with our bodies, and countenances lift vpright) and that we be of another order and condition from them, we are verily perswaded. As for these good fellows, if they know any such matter by themselves or others, let them disclose it. We doe altogether scozne these, being so vaine things, and breeding so great contempt against the Paiesy of God our creator, neither do we vouchsafe them any larger discourse.

But because it is our duty not so highly to regard either the loue of our countrey, or of any other thing whatsoeuer, but that we may be ready at all times, and in all places, to giue trueth the preheminence: I will say in a word what that was which perhaps might minister occasion to this infamous reproch of writers.

There be nere vnto Schalholt, vpon the South shore of Island, three small parishes standing betweene two most swift riuers Thiorfaa, and Olfwis Aa, being in a maner destitute both of wood and turfe, which is the accustomed fuel of the countrey. And although most of the inhabitants of these parishes, and some of their neighbours, as they doe in time of yere prouide all things necessary for housholde, so especially those things which belong to fires and barbes: notwithstanding there be certaine among them of the basest sort of people, who, because they want those things at home, and are not able to prouide them from other places, are constrained to vse straw for the dressing of their meat. But when the sharpe rigo of snowy Winter commeth on, these poore people betake them to their ore stalles, & there setting by thees, & doing their necessary businesse in the day time, when they are not able to make fires, they borrow heat from their oven, as it hath bene reported to mee by others: And so they onely, being verie fewe in number, doe not willingly enioye, but are constrained to vse the same common house with their oven. But for their liuelihode and state it is farre otherwise. With them then with their oven, of which thing I haue entreated befoze. This is the lot, & pouertie of certaine men in those petty parishes,

the condition whereof is theretore made a common by-woorde of the people amongst vs, though somewhat iniuriously. Where I would willingly demaund with what honestie men can impute that vnto the whole nation, which is hard and thankly true of these fewe poore men: I am wearie to stay any longer in this matter: onely, because I haue to doe with Diuines, let that of Salomon suffice, Prouerbs 17. verse 5. Hee that mocketh the poore, reprocheth him that made him.

And in very deede, because this our nation is nowe, and heretofore hath bene poore and needie, and as it were a begger amongst many rich men, it hath sustained so many taunts and scoffes of strangers. But let them take heede whom they vpbyside. Verely if there were nothing else common vnto vs with them, yet we both consist of the same elements, and haue all one father and God,

The fourth section.

They leade their liues in holy simplicitie, nor seeking any more then nature doeth afforde.

A happie Nation, whose pouertie no man doth enuie. But the English and Danish merchants suffer not the nation to be at rest, who frequenting that countrey to transport fishing, haue conueighed thither our vices, together with their manifolde wares. For nowe, they haue learned to brew their water with corne, and beginne to despise, and loath the drinking of faire water. Now they couet golde and siluer like vnto our men,

Simplicitie, &c. I am exceedingly glad, that the commendation of holy simplicitie is giuen vnto vs. But it grieueth vs that there is found so great a decay of iustice, and good lawes; and so great want of gouernement amongst vs, which is the cause of many thousande haynous offences: which all honest and godly men doe continually bewaile. This inconuenience doth not happen through the negligence of the highest Magistrate, that is, of our most gracious King; but rather by our owne fault: who doe not present these thinges vnto his Maiestie, which are disorderly committed without his knowledge, and which are wanting in the inferior Magistrate.

Merchants, Moreover, Merchants, not onely of England and Denmarke, but especially of Germanie, as at this time, so heretofore frequenting our countrey, not to transport fishing, but fishes, taught not Islanders the arte of brewing corne with water. For the Danvagiens themselves, the first, to our knowledge, that inhabited this Island, fro whom the Islanders are lineally descended, brought with them out of Norway that arte, as also golde and siluer coine, so that in old time there was no lesse vse of siluer and golde with vs, then there is at this day.

And it is certaine that before the often navigations of Danes, Germans, and English men vnto vs, our land was much more fertile then nowe it is (feeling the inconueniences of the ages and decayed worlde, both from heauen and earth) and brought forth, in certalne choyle places, corne in abundance.

The fift section.

The King of Denmarke and Norway sendeth euery yeere a Lieutenant into the Countrey.

In the yeere of our Lord eight hundred fortie and sixe Harald *Harfagre* (which is to say, golden haire or faire clothes) was bozne. Who afterward in the yeere eight hundred fiftie and eight, being cholen king of Norway, when he was growen to age, and full strength, chaunged the forme of the Noruagian gouernment. For whereas before it was deuided into pettie Prouinces (which they called *Fylke*, and the pettie kings that gouerned them, *Fylkis konger*) he reduced it by force of armes vnto a Monarchie. But when some inhabitants of the countrey, being mightie, and descended of good parentages, could not well brooke this hard dealing, they chose rather to be banished their countrey, then not to shake off the yoke of tyranny. Whereupon, they in the yeere aboue named eight hundred seuentie and foure, transported colonies into Island being before discovered by some men and found out, but vnepeopled as yet: And so being the first founders of our nation, they called themselves Islanders, which name their posteritie receiue vnto this day. And therefore the Islanders liued a long time, namely, thre hundred eightie and sixe yeeres, more or lesse, acknowledging no submission to any other Nation. And although Haquinus that crowned King of Norway, who reigned longest of any Noruagian king, namely, aboue sixtie sixe yeares, did oftentimes attempt by Ambassadors to make the Islanders become tributaries vnto him, notwithstanding at all times they constantly withstood him, till at length about the yeere of our Lord 1260, they performed homage vnto him. And after-

ward

Kranzius.
Munsterus.

Cogne of old
time growing
in Island.

Munsterus.
Kranzius.

The occasion
of the first in-
habiting of
Island by the
people of Nor-
way.

Haquinus coro-
natus.

ward continued alwayes in their promised loyalty, being subiects to the king of Norway. But now at this day, since the Empire of the *Norwegians* was translated by Margaret Queene of Denmarke, Suedeland, and Norway vnto the Danes, they doe honour as their soueraigne Lord and King the most gracious king of Denmarke.

The sixt section.

All things are common among them except their wiues.

Krantzius.
Munsterus.

Here Krantzius in the first place beginneth with such a gybe. There be many notable things in their manners, &c. Moreover, your wit being too halie in affirming things vnknown, both here also deminish your credite. The experience as well of all things as of persons and times proueth your ouer greedie desire of noueltie, of fame and vaine-glozie, and argueth your great negligence in maintaining the truth. *O worthy writers.*

But whether the aforesayde things bee true or no, we call the lawes of our Countrey to witnesse, which the *Islanders* from the beginning haue vsed all one with the *Norweges*: of the King and his subiects: of the seate of iustice, and of law-cases which come to be decided there: of inheritances: of adoptions, marriages, theft, extortions, lending, bargaines, and the rest: all which, to what purpose should they be enioyned vnto them with whom all things are common? We call to witnesse so many byoples and contentions in our courts, and places of iudgement in *Island* concerning goods moouable, and immouable: we call to witnesse our kings, now of Denmarke, aforesayde of Norway, who by so many billes of supplication out of *Island* in old time, and of late haue bene often interrupted, for the setting through of controversies concerning possessions. We call Krantzius himselfe to witnesse against himselfe, whose words in the first section were these, Before the receiuing of Christian faith the *Islanders* liuing according to the lawe of nature did not much differ from our lawe, &c. If by the lawe of nature, then doubtlesse by that lawe of iustice, which giueth to euery man his owne: If by the lawe of iustice, then certainly distinctions of properties and possessions must needes haue taken place in our *Nation*: and although this very lawe is often transgressed, and that hapnously euen in the Church: notwithstanding both the Church, and also heathen men doe acknowledge it to be most iust and good.

The seuenth section.

They make all one reckoning of their whelpes, and of their children: except that of the poorer sort you shall easier obtaine their sonne then their shalke,

Although in the beginning of this Treatise I thought that Munster and other men of great name in those things which they haue left written concerning *Islande*, were not to bee charged with slander, yet whether that fauour may here be shewed by any man whatsoever (be he neuer so fauourable, and neuer so sincere) I doe not sufficiently conceiue. For what should moue such great men, following the despightfull lies, and fables of martiners, to defame and staine our nation with so horrible and so thamefull a reproch? Surely nothing else but a carelesse licentiousnesse to deride and contemne a pooze and vnknown *Nation*, and such other like vices.

But, be it known to all men that this vntrueth doth not so much hurt to the *Islanders*, as to the authozs themselues. For in heaping by this, and a great number of others into their Histories, they cause their credite in other places also to be suspected: And hereby they gaine thus much (as Aristotle sayth) that when they speake trueth no man will beleue them without suspicion.

But attend a while (Reader) and consider with me the grauitie and wisdom of these great Clarkes: that we may not let passe such a notable commendation of *Island*. Krantzius and Munster haue hitherto taught, that the *Islanders* are Christians. Also: that before the receiuing of Christian faith they liued according to the lawe of nature. Also: that the *Islanders* liued after a law not much differing from the lawe of the Germanes. Also, that they liued in holy simplicitie.

Attend I say (good Reader) and consider, what markes of Christianitie, of the law of nature, of the Germanes law, of holy simplicitie, these authozs require, and what markes they shew and describe in the *Islanders*. There was one of the sayd markes befoze: namely, that the *Islanders* doe place hell or the prison of the damned, within the gulfe and bottome of mount Hecla: concerning which, reade the first section of this part, and the seuenth section of the former. The seconde marke is, that with the Anabaptists they take away distinctions of properties

and possessions: in the section next going before. The third and most excellent is this: those singular & naturall affections, that loue and tender care, and that fatherly and godly minde of the Islanders towards their children, namely that they make the same account of them, or lesse then they doe of their dogges. What? Will Munster and Krantzius after this fashion picture our vnto vs the law of Christ, the lawe of nature, the lawe of the Germanes, and holy simplicitie? A rare and excellent picture, though not altogether matching the skill of Apelles: A sharpe and wonderfull inuention, if authenticall: A knowledge moze then humane, though not at all diuine.

But wee Islanders (albeit the farthest of all nations and inhabiting a frozen climate) require farre other notes of Christianitie. For we haue the commandment of God, that euery man should loue his neighbour as himselfe. Nowe there is none (I suppose) that doeth not loue or esteeme moze of himselfe then of his dogge. And if there ought to bee so great fauour, so great estimation, so great loue vnto our neighbour, then how great affection doe wee owe vnto our children? The most neare and inseparable loue of whom, besides that nature hath most friendly settled in our mindes; the loue of God also commandeth vs to haue speciall regard in crapping them by (Exod. 12. 24. Ephes. 6. 4.) namely, that there may be in holy marriage certaine seminaries of Gods Church, and exercises of all pietie and honestie: according to the excellent saying of the Poet.

God will haue each family,
a litle Church to be.

Also Of humane life or mans societie,
a Schole or Collegē is holy matrimonie.

That it may be manifest, that among Christians their sonnes are moze to be accounted of and regarded, then their dogges: and if any doe no otherwise esteeme of them, that they are no Christians.

But this naturall affection towards our most deare of-spring is plainly scene in the heathen themselves: that whomsoever you totally deprive of this, you denie them also to be men. The mothers of Carthage testifie this to be true, when as in the third Punic warre the most choise and gallant young men in all the Citie were sent as pledges into Sicilia; whom they followed vnto the shippes with most miserable weeping and lamentation, and some of them being with griefe separated from their deare sonnes, when they sawe the sayles hoisted, and the shippes departing out of the haven, for very anguish cast themselves headlong into the water: as Sabellicus witnesseth. Egzeus doth testifie this, who when hee sawe the shippe of his sonne Theseus, returning out of Creete with blacke sayles, thinking that his sonne had perished, ended his life in the next waters: Sabel. lib. 3. cap. 4. Gordianus the elder, Proconsul of Africa, doth testifie this, who likewise, vpon rumors of the death of his sonne, hanged himselfe. Campoful. lib. 5. cap. 7. Also Iocasta the daughter of Creon, Auctolia daughter of Simon, Anius King of the Thulcrans; Orodes King of the Parthians, and an infinite number of others. Concerning whom reade Plutarch star. lib. 2. and other authozs &c. To these may be added that sentence, Loue descendeth, &c. So that you see, it is no lesse proper to a man entirely to loue his children, then for a bird to flie: that if our writers at any time haue confessed the Islanders to be men (much lesse to be Christians) they must, will they nill they, ascribe vnto them this loue and affection towards their children: If not, they doe not onely take from them the title and dignitie of men, but also they debase them vnder euery brute beast, which euen by the instinct of nature are bound with exceeding great loue, and tender affection towards their young ones.

I will not adde against this shamelesse vnto truth most notable examples of our owne countrey men: I will omit our lawes of man-stealing, moze ancient then the Islanders themselves, being receiued from the Mozugiens, and are extant in our booke of lawes vnder the title Man-helge cap. 5. Whosoever selleth a freeman (any man much moze a sonne) vnto strangers &c.

Now if any man be diuinen to that hard fortune, that he must needs commit his owne sonne into the hands of some inhabitant or stranger, being vnged thereunto by famine, or any other extreme necessity, that he may not be constrained to see him hungerstarued for want of sustentance, but keepeth his dogge still for his owne eating, this man is not to be sayd, that he esteemeth equally or moze basely of his sonne then of his dogge: whether Islanders or any other countrey men do the same,

The occasion
of this slander.

The Germane or the Danish mariners might perhaps find amongst vs certayne beggars laden with children (for we haue here a great number of them) who in begging maner for they are much giuen

giuen to trifling talke, might say : Giue me this, or sell me that : and when the stranger should aske, What will you giue me for it : the begger might answer ; I haue ten or foure teene children, I will giue you some one or moze of them, &c. For this rabble of beggers vseth thus fondly to prate with strangers. Now if there be any well disposed man, who pitying the need and folly of these beggers, releaseth them of one sonne, and doth for Gods sake by some meanes prouide for him in another countrey : doth the begger therefore (who together with his sonne being ready to die for hunger and pouerty, yeeloth and committeth his sonne into the hands of a mercifull man) make lesse account of his sonne then of his dogge ? Such woorks of lotte and mercie haue bene performed by many, aswell *Iflanders* themselves as strangers : one of which number was that honourable man *Accilius Iulius*, being sent by the most gracious King of *Denmarke* into *Ifland* in the yere of our Lord 152, who, as I haue heard, tooke, and carried with him into *Denmarke* fiftene poore boyes : where after ward it was reported vnto me, that by his good meanes eury one of them being bound to a leuerall trade, proued good and thristie men.

What if some man be driuen to that passe, that he doth not onely sell his sonne, but not finding a chapman, his owne selfe killeth and eateth him ? Examples of this kinde be common, namely of the unwilling and forced cruelty of parents towards their children, not being picked on through hate, or want of naturall affection, but being compelled thereunto by vrgent necessity. Shall any man hereupon ground a generall reproch against a whole nation ? We reade that in the siege of *Samaria*, two mothers slew their sonnes, and eat them sodden : 4. King. chap. 6. We reade in the siege of *Ierusalem*, how lamentable the voice of that distressed mother was, being about to kill her tender child : My sweet babe, sayth she (for I will report *Eusebius* owne words, concerning this matter, though very common, that the affection of a mother may appeare) borne to miserie and mishap, for whom should I conueniently reserue thee in this tumult of famine, of warre, and sedition ? If we be subdued to the government of the Romans, we shall weare out our vnhappy dayes vnder the yoke of slavery. But I thinke famine will preuent captiuiy. Besides, there is a rout of seditious rebels much more intollerable then either of the former miseries. Come on therefore, my sonne, be thou meat vnto thy mother, a fury to these rebels, and a byword in the common life of men, which one thing onely is wanting to make vp the calamities of the Iewes. These sayings being ended, she killeth her sonne, roasting and eating one halfe, and reseruing the other, &c. *Eusebius lib. 3. cap. 6.* Now, what man will not beleue that this vnhappy mother would full gladly haue passed ouer this her sonne into the possession of some master or chapman, if she could haue happened vpon any such, with whom she thought he might haue bene preferred ? That famine is well known which oppressed *Calagurium*, a city of *Spain*, when in olde time *Cneius Pompeius* layed siege thereunto (*Valerius lib. 7. cap. 7.*) the citizens whereof conuerced their wiues and children into meat for the satisfiing of their extreme hunger, whom doubtlesse they would with all their hearts haue solde for ether victuals. That famine also is well known which in the yere of our Lord 851 (*Vincent. lib. 25. cap. 26.*) afflicted *Germany*, insomuch that the father was glad to deuoure his owne sonne. It is well known after the death of the Emperour *Henry the senenth*, in a famine continuing thre whole yeres, how the parents would deuoure their children, and the children their parents, and that especially in *Polonia* and *Bohemia*. And that we may not onely allege ancient examples : it is reported that there was such a grieuous dearth of cozne in the yeres 1586, and 1587, throughout *Hungary*, that some being compelled for want of food were faine to sell their children vnto the most bloody and barbarous enemy of *Christians*, and so to enthrall them to the perpetuall yoke of *Turkish* slavery : and some are sayd to haue taken their children, whom they could no longer sustaine, and with cruell mercy to haue cast them into *Danubius*, and drowned them. But should these stories and the like make any man so mad as to affirme that this or that nation accustometh to kill their children for their owne food, and to sell them willingly vnto the *Turks*, or to drowne and strangle them willingly in the water ? I cannot thinke it. So neither (because beggers in *Ifland* being enforced through extreme and biting necessitie, do willingly part with their sonnes) is this custome generally to be imputed vnto the whole nation, and that by way of disgrace, by any man, except it be such an one who hath taken his leaue of all modesty, plaine dealing, humanity, and truth.

But I could wish that the loue of dogges in *Iflanders* might be moze sparingly reprehended by those people, whose matrons, and specially their noble women, take so great delight in dogs, that they carry them in their bosomes thorow the open streetes : I will not say in Churches : which fashion *Cæsar* blamed in certaine strangers, whom he saw at *Rome* carrying about yong apes and whelpes in their armes, asking them this question : Whether women in their countrey brought forth children or no ? signifying heerby, that they do greatly offend, who bestow vpon beasts

heads these naturall affections, where with they should be invited to the loue of mankind, and specially of their owne offspring: which strange pleasure neuer ouerooke, nor possessed the nation of the Islanders. Wherefore now (Munster and Krantzius) you must finde vs out other marks of Christianity, of the law of nature, of the Germans law, and of holy simplicity.

The eighth section.

Krantzius.
Munsterus.

They honour their Bishop as their King: vnto whose command all the whole people haue respect. Whatsoeuer he prescribeth out of the law, the scriptures, or the customes of other nations, they do full holily obserue.

There was indeed at the beginning, about the time of the reformation of religion, great reuerence had vnto the bishop; but neuer so great, that our politike lawes at the bishops command should giue place to ourlandish lawes & customes. Neither in the time of Albertus Krantzius, much lesse of Munster (of which two the first deceased in the yere of our Lord 1517, and the second 1552) the bishops of Island had the authority of kings, when as many of the country which were of the richer sort, would not doubt to rebell against them; which thing is too well known in our countrey. Yet in the meane time, the bishops being terrible with their authority of excommunication, reduced some vnder their subiection, and others at that time they cruelly persecuted. Whereouer, albeit at that time the bishop was had in great, yea, in exceeding great reuerence; yet now adapes, the darknesse of popery being dispelled, the deuill allalterly men after another sort, and euen here amongst vs, he is not slacke to arme their minds with contempt, and peruerse stubburnesse against God, and his holy ministry.

The ninth section.

Munsterus.

They liue there for the most part vpon fishes, because of their great want of corne, which is brought in from the port townes of other countreys: who cary home fishes from thence with great gaine. Also *Munster* sayth, they do there vse stockefish in stead of bread, which groweth not in that countrey.

Consider (friendly reader) how Munster is delighted to harpe vpon one string, that when he can say nothing of an vnknown nation which may cary any shew with it, he is faine either to bring in fallshood, or often to repeat the same things, & so to become tedious vnto his reader: for he sayd a little before, that the Islanders liue vpon fish. His words aboue recited were these: Island containeth many people liuing onely with the food of cattell, and sometimes by taking of fishes. And that I may omit the rest in which some trifle might be noted: whereas he sayeth that bread groweth not in Island: it is most true: which I thinke is common therewith to Germany also, because bread groweth not there neither, except it be in Munsters field where naturall wineger also both marueilously encrease. But these topes, by the liberty of rithozicke foolishness, shall be out of danger. Howbeit, vnto these reproches, which strangers do gather from the meats and drincks of the Islanders, we will hereafter briefly answer, Sect. 15.

The tenth section.

Munsterus.
Krantzius.

The inhabitants do celebrate the actes of their ancestours, and of their times, with songs, and they graue them in rocks and promontories, that they may not decay with posterity, but onely by the defect of nature.

Frisius.

There be diuers found amongst them that be minstrels, and can play vpon the lute, who with their delectable musicke do ensnare and take both fowles and fishes.

The Islanders
presence
in writing the
acts of their
ancestors.

We denie not but that some woorthy actes of our forefathers be reserved in the songs and poems of our countrey men, as also in prose: but that the same things haue bene engrauen by vs, or by our ancestours; in rocks or promontories, we may in no case acknowledge that praise to be due vnto vs, nor yet the other of minstrels, and taking of birds and fishes. For we holde it to be the part of an honest and ingenuous mind, as to refute false crimes, so not to challenge vnderferued praise vnto himselfe, nor to accept it being offered.

The eleventh section.

But now, let this be the end of our controuersie with the authours aforesayd, being otherwise men of excellent learning, and of great renoume, who notwithstanding so inconsiderately haue entremedled these things in their writings. And now the better part of my labour is finished.

But

But yet there remains that viperous German brood, the mother whereof would haue it come to light, as it were at a second birch, without name, that it might so much the more freely wound the fame of the Islanders with venomous sting.

Howeuer, although I be not afraid to encounter with this beast, yet would I haue all men to know with what minde I undertake this enterprize, namely, not that I meane to contend with his pestiferous rancour, by reproches, and railing speeches (for as it is in the common prouerbe:

I know, that if I strive with dung most vile,
How ere it be, my selfe I shall defile)

but that I may sacrifice all honest and well affected men; euen strangers themselves, who shall hereafter reade or heare, or haue heretofore heard that Germane pasquill, least they also should thinke that we woorthily sustaine so monstrous a disgrace: and also that I may from henceforth, if it be possible, restraine others (who vse those venomous Germane rimes to the vphrasing of our nation, and from hence borrow their scoffes, and reprochfull taunts to the debasing of vs Islanders) from that libertie of backbiting.

Therefore, that I may not be tedious to the reader with long circumstances, I will come to the rehearsing of those things which that railing Germane hath heaped vpon in his lewd pasquill: whom also I could bring in, repeating his friendly verses of the Islanders, within the compasse of this my booke, but that I doe foresee that the sayd slanderous libell being stuffed with so many and diuers reproches, might breed offence to all honest men, and deterre them from reading it, with the filthinesse thereof.

I will therefore repeat the principall matters (omitting those things which he hath common with others, or that heretofore haue bene examined) but farre more modestly then he, least (as I sayd) I cause good and learned mens eares to tingle at his lewd and vnseemely times: they that are desirous to see or heare him, let them enquire at the Stationers. It is no part of our meaning (I say) to defile these papers with his stinking slanders, or with the filthy linke of his reproches.

First therefore, this our goodly Germane Historiographer objecteth that there be many Pastours in *Island*, which preach not to their people once in two yerres, as it is read in the former edition of this pasquill, which notwithstanding the latter edition doth refuse: saying that the sayd Pastours vse to preach but five times in an whole yeere: which two, how well they agree together, let the reader be iudge, seeing it is manifest that the authour himselfe, presently after the first edition, had scarce seene *Island*. So oftentimes one lie betrayeth another, according to that saying: Truth agreeth vnto truth; but falshood agreeth neither to truth nor to falshood.

The first objection of reproch.

But sith it is our part not to dissemble the truth in any place, we will not denie that holy sermons, about the time wherein this Synophant liued in *Island*, namely in the yere 1554, were seldom in vse then they are at this day, namely, the darkenesse of popery being scarcely at that time dispelled. Which also is to be vnderstood concerning the Psalmes of Dauid mumbled by the common people in Latine, as he cattereth vs in the teeth: for the Papists grounding all the hope of their saluation in the Masse, did little regard the sermon, or doctrine. But after we were freed from that mist, it hath bene (God be thanked) farre other wise with vs: although we cannot altogether excuse the dullnesse, slouth, and preposterous care of cereeme of our Pastours. Which, whether it agreeth to any of their countrey men or no, let other nations iudge.

The twelfth section.

Secondly, the trifler shamefully reporteth, that adulteries and whoredomes are not onely publique, and common vices amongst Islanders: but that they are not accounted by them for vices.

The second reproch.

Although indeed these most filthy abominations, euen in our common wealch, be not altogether vnusuall: notwithstanding, since all men know that they are farre more common in other nations, where be greater multitudes of people, he did vncleruedly, and maliciously noze the Islanders rather with this reproch, then other people and nations, who are more infamous with this crime then our countrey men.

And albeit I with all mine heart that vices and enormities were much lesse wincked at in our countrey, then we see they are, yet notwithstanding this iugler, by reason of his naturall inclination to backbiting, hath added this in his last reproch: namely, that these vices by the Islanders are not accounted for vice. For, in what common wealch dare the impudent companion affirme this to be true? What? in that common wealch which hath sworn to obserue the law contained in our statute booke vnder the title of Manhelge chap. 28, whereby it is enacted, that whosoever committeth adultery with another mans wife the second time, his goods being confiscated,

life, he shall be punished with death: Or in that common wealth, which not long since hath inflicted the penalty of 80 dalters upon a servant committing adultery with his masters wife: Or in that common wealth which hath decreed, that if he doth not pay, nor lay in sureties at the day appointed, he shall be banished the countrey: Or in that common wealth the politike lawes whereof doe streightly command that whosoever be according to law found in adultery with another mans wife, by her hus band, if he escape, he shall vndergoe the punishment of manslaughter: Or in that common wealth, the politike lawes whereof do also enioyne a man that is taken in carnall copulation with the mother, daughter, or sister, by the sonne, father, or brother, to redeme his life with the one halfe of that which he ought to haue payed, if he had shed the innocent blood of the sayd party: Or in that common wealth the politike lawes whereof haue noted and condemned adultery vnder the name of a most heinous offence: and do straightly command that he which is taken the third time in that beastly act shall be punished with death.

You see therefore (friendly readers) what an iniurious Notary we haue, affirming that adultery and whozesome in Island deserueth not the name of sinne and wickednesse: for although some officers let slip this or that vice unpunished, yet ought not the whole nation, nor the lawes, nor all good and godly men, in that regard, to be accused or euill spoken of.

The thirteenth section.

The third reproch.

The third reproch is, whereby he doth brand the Islanders with the marke of deceit and treachery toward the Germans.

Doubtles the authoz of this libell was some vagabond buttker or pedler, and had gone particularly into many corners of Island to vetter his trumpery wares, which he also testifieth of himselfe in his worthy rimes, that he had trauailed thorow the greatest part of Island, whereupon when he had played the coulsing mate with others (for often times deceit and lying are ioyned together, and he hath sufficiently proued himselfe to be a liar, by this triall of his wit) peradventure himselfe was beguiled by them whom he before time had defrauded.

From hence proceedeth this slander against our whole Nation: dissembing in the meane time with what honestie certaine Germans; making perely voyages into Island, deale with our men. But seeing by this complaint I haue not determined to repproch others, but to lay open the vnderferued reproches of others against our nation, I do here of purpose surcease.

The foureteenth section.

The 4, 5, 6, & 7 reproches.

Fourthly, he sayth that in bankets none of the ghests vse to rise from the table: but that the good wife of the house reacheth to euery one a chamber-pot, so oft as need requireth. Moreouer, he noteth much vnmanerlinesse of eating and drinking at bankets.

Fifily, he obiecteth customes of lying in bed, and of dining: namely that ten persons, more or lesse, men and women lie altogether in the same bed, and that they eat their meat lying in bed: and that in the meane time they do nothing but play at dice or at tables.

Sixtly, he reporteth that they wash their hands and their faces in pissle.

Seuenthly, he despihtfully abaseth our solemnizings of marriages, spoufals, birch-dayes, and our customes at burials.

These, and a number of such like reproches hath this impure slanderer spued forth against an innocent nation, yea and that nation which hath deserued right well of him and his countreymen. Which are of the same kind with these, in so much that we also gether disbeigne to make answer vnto them. For, that we may graunt (which notwithstanding we will in no case yeelde vnto) that this worthy Germane notarie obserued some such matter among base companions, and the very of-scouring of the common people, with whom he was much moze conuersant then with good and honest persons (for he had lined, as his rimes testifie, some what long upon the coast of Island, whither a confused rout of the meanest common people, in fishing time do perely resort, who being naught as well through their owne lewdnesse, as by the wicked behaviour of our laudish mariners, often times doe leade a badde and dishonest life) notwithstanding we are in this place moze manifestly wronged through the knauey of this one varlet, and desperate sycophant by his defaming of the whole nation (as others also vsually do) then that it should neede any refutation at all. Of which thing strangers themselves, who are not a little conuersant in our Island, may be most sufficient witnesses.

I could also gather together many such filthy, unmannerly, and baudie fashions noted by others euen in his own countrey. But I detest this dogged eloquence, neither take I any pleasure

to be witty in the disgracing of others: and yet I will not shew my selfe such a milke-soppe as to be daunted with light wordes. Onely, let all honest and good men consider, what disposition it argueth, for one to obiect against a whole nation certaine misdeameanours committed by some one or other particular man. If any man should trauell thozowout all the cities and towne of *Germanie* or any other nation, and heaping together the offences, and most lewd maners, the robberies, manslaughterers, murders, whoredomes, adulteries, incests, riots, extortions, and other prophane, and filthy acts, should affirme them to be common to all *Germanus*, or other wise to any other whole nation, and should exaggerate all these things with notozious lies, is he to be accounted one that spends his time in a good argument: But what marnaille is it, though a varlet, and, that I may giue him his true title, a filthy hogge, that rimer (I say) hath be wraped his nature and disposition in such like reproches: For it is well knowen that swine, when they enter into most pleasant gardens, do not plucke lillies, or roses, or any other most beautifull and sweet flowers; but thyrusting their snouts into the ground, doe tumble and rolle vp and downe whatsoeuer durt and dung they can finde, untill they haue rooted by most vnclene things, namely such as are best agreeable to their nature, wherewith they greedily glut themselves: Euen so this hoggish Rimer lightly passeth ouer the best and most commendable things of our Common wealth, but as for the woorst, and those which haue bene committed by none, or by very few, namely, such things as best fit his humour and disposition (that he might indeed shew himselfe to be the same which we haue termed him) those things (I say) hath he scraped by together: wherupon hereafter by my consent, for his maners and disposition let him enjoy the name of a swine.

The fifteenth section.

WE will heere rehearse the ninth reproch, which that slanderous hogge hath drawn from the maner of liuing, and specially from the meat and drinke of the *Fflanders*, and that not in one or a few wordes, but in a large inuectiue: namely, that they eate olde and vnflauoury meates, and that, without the vse of bread. Also, that they eate diuers kinds of fishes which are vnknown to strangers: and that they mingle water and whey together for drinke. All which this venemous palquill, with eloquent railing and wittie slander hath set out at the full.

The ninth reproch.

And albeit we doe scarce vouchsafe to stand longer about answering of him, yet in regard of others, who at this day partly wonder at the matter, and partly obiect it to our nation, we thought good to adde some few things in this place.

First therefore we will diuide this our nation into two parts: into beggers, and those that susteine both themselves, and, amongst others, beggers also. As touching all kinds of meats wherewith beggers and other poore men satisfie their hunger, it is no easie matter to rehearse and examine them: neither, because extreme necessity hath at some times compelled them to eate this or that, therefore is it meet to prescribe certeine kindes and number of meats to the rest of the nation. For we haue also a law among the canons apostolicall, which forbiddeth to eat things strangled: in the obseruing of which cautions, antiquity hath seemed to be very deuout.

Moreover, we will make a distinction of times also, that it may seeme no strange accident in the time of famine, though many things are, and haue bene used by a great number of men to satisfie their hunger, which at other times are scarce meat for dogges. As very lately in the yeere 1590 we heard concerning the citizens of Paris, being enuironed with the most streight siege of *Henrie the fourth*, King of *Nauarre*, suffering (as *Petrus Lindebergius* speaketh) the famine of *Saguntum*; insomuch that they did not onely eate their hozles, but also taking the flesh of dead men, and beating their bones to powder in a moztar, they mingled therewith a handfull or two of meale, esteeming it dainties. And it is well known also of other nations, who in the like urgent necessities haue liued by eating of mice, cats and dogs. In like maner sometimes are we *Fflanders* constrained to doe, not being besieged by our enemies (although hitherto we haue abstained from mans flesh, yea, and to our knowledge, from dogs, mice, and cats) for whereas we prouide things necessary for food out of the land and sea, & no sustenance, or very little, is brought vnto vs by strangers: so often as God withholdeth his gifts of land and sea, then must follow and ensue a dreaddfull scarcety of victuals, wherupon the inhabitants are sometimes vexed with grieuous famine. And therefore it is likely that they amongst vs which used to liue from hand to mouth, and had not some prouision of former yeeres remaining, haue bene diuen to great extremities, so often as need hath enforced them therunto. But whether this thing ought woorthily to minister occasion to a publique and perpetuall reproch against the *Fflanders*, moze then other nations, I referre it to the iudgement of indifferent and honest mindes.

Moreover,

Want of salt
in Island.

The Islanders
meanes of pre-
serving their
meates with
our salt.

Howeuer, whereas diuers vse to obiect concerning the proper & accustomed fare of our country, especially of flesh, fish, butter being long time kept without salt: also concerning white-meats, want of cozne, drinking of water, and such like: in most places of Island (for there be many of our countreinmen also, who, after the maner of the Danes and Germans so farre forth as ought in a meane to suffice chaste and temperate minds, although we haue not any great varietie of sauce, being destitute of Apothecaries shops, are of ability to furnish their table, and to liue moderately) we cōfesse it to be euen so: namely that the foresaid kinds of victuals are vsed in most places without the seasoning of salt. And I wil further adde, that the very same meates, which certaine strangers abhorre so much as to name, yet strangers themselves, when they are among vs do vse to eat them with delight. For albeit for the most part we haue no cozne, nor meale, nor yet salt the pro-uocation of gluttony, for the seasoning of our victuals, is common to vs all: yet notwithstanding almighty God of his goodnesse hath taught our men also the way, how they should handle, and keepe in store those things which belong to the sustentation of life, to the end it may appeare, that God in nourishing and sustaining of vs Islanders, is not tyed to bread and salt.

But whereas strangers boast that all their victuals are more pleasant and wholesome: yet we denie that to be a sufficient reason, why they should vpbraid vs in regard of ours: neither do we thinke God to be a debtor vnto our deinty mouthes; but rather we giue him thanks with our whole hearts, that he vouchsafeth without this delicate and nice fare, which is esteemed to be so pleasant and wholesome, to grant euen vnto the men of our countrey many yeeres, and a good age as also constant health, and flourishing strength of body; all which we account to be signes of wholesome and conuenient nourishment, and of a perfect constitution. Besides, our wits are not altogether so grosse and barren, as the philosophers seeme to assigne vnto this our aier, and these nourishments, which perhaps many of our countrey men could much rather vertifie in deeds then in words, if (as the Poet sayth) enuious pouerty did not holde vs downe.

But here the iudgement of the common people, as often in other matters, doth too plainly deceiue (I except all good and well experienced men) some of them which would seeme to be wise: namely, that whatsoeuer their vse doth not admit, or that they haue not scene, nor had trial of before time, they presently condemne. As for example, he that neuer saw the sea will not be persuaded that there is a mediterrane sea: so doe they measure all things by their owne experience and conceit, as though there were nothing good and profitable, but that onely where with they mainteine their liues. But we are not growen to that pitch of folly, that because we haue heard of certaine people of Aethiopia, which are fed with locusts, being therefore called by Diodorus, Acridophagi, and of a certaine nation of India also, whom Clearchus & Megastenes haue named Mandri, as Agararchides witnesseth, or of others that liue vpon frogs or sea-crabs, or round shrimps, which thing is at this day commonly knowen, that (I say) we should therefore presume to make them a laughing stocke to the common people, because we are not accustomed to such sustentance.

The sixteenth section.

The tenth re-
proch.

Tenthly, that vnciuill beast casteth our men in the teeth with their good hospitality. They do not (sayth he) carry about mony with them in their purses, neither is it any shame to be entertained in a strange place, and to haue meat and drinke bestowed of free cost. For if they had any thing which they might impart with others, they would very gladly. Howcourt, he maketh mention of certaine churches or holy chappels (as of a bafe thing) which many of the Islanders haue built in their owne houses: & that first of all in the morning, they haue recourse thither, to make their prayers, neither do they suffer any man before they haue done their deuotion, to interrupt them. These be the things which he hath set downe as some notable disgrace vnto the Islanders. And no maruell:

For filthy swine detest all cleanly ones,

And hogs vncleane regard not precious stones.

Which I feare, least it may be too cruelly affirmed of this slanderer, as it is manifest out of these two last obiections.

Howbeit, sithens he himselfe is a most sufficient witness of his owne vertues, we will referre the reader, who is desirous to know more of him vnto his booke of rimes against Island, which we haue now examined in our former sections: at whose railing & filthy speeches we haue bene ashamed on his behalfe: in somuch that those things which he with satyrical, satyrical: nay satirical biting and reuiling of our nation, hath not blushed to write, are irksome for vs to repeat: so great & abominable is his insolency, & his reproches so heinous. Good God! whosoever shall vie in this carllode of slanders (for we haue mentioned the least part thereof, because I was loth to lose my labour, or, as the wise man sayth, to answer a foole according to his foolishnesse, whereas in his

times there is not one word without a reproch) will he not iudge the authour of this pasquill to haue bene a most lewde man, yea the very dross of mankinde, without pietie, without humanitie:

But here I haue iust occasion to doubt whether the authour of these reuillings hath bene the moze iniurious to Islanders, or the Printer thereof Ioachimus Leo (and whatsoeuer else they be who in their editions bare neither professe their owne name, nor the name of their Citie) which Leo hath nowe twise; if not oftner, published the saide pamphlet at Hamburg. Doe you suffer this to goe vnapurished, O ye counsell and commons of Hamburg? What? Haue you determined with vs, and your transporting home of all our commodities, of our beeuies and muttons, and of an incredible deale of butter and fishes, hath bene vnto your Citie in stead of a storehouse? In times past also, certaine Citiees of England and of Holland haue reaped the commodities of this Isle: No; couer, there hath bene ancient traffique of Denmarke, Breme, and Lubeck with the Islanders. But they neuer gained by any of their chapmen such commendations, and such thanks, as are contained in this libell: It hath in your, in your Citie (I say) bene bred, brought forth, iterated, if not the thirde time published: which hath armed other people, vnto whom the name of Island was otherwise scarce knowne, to the disdain and contempt of this our Nation; and this iniurie offered by a Citizen of yours, hath Island sustained these 30. yeeres and moze, and doeth as yet succine. But many such accidents often come to passe without the knowledge of the magistrate, neither do we doubt but that good men are grieued at such infamous libells, and do take diligent heed that they be not published: for such editions are contrary to the lawe of nature: Doe not that to another which thou wouldest not haue done vnto thy selfe: and to the lawes Imperial of infamous libels: wherein is enioyned a most grieuous penaltie vnto those, who inuent, write, vtter, or cause such libels to be bought or sold, or do not presently vpon the finding thereof teare them in peeces.

The common
Duties of Island.

The ancient
traffique of
England with
Island.

Laws against
libels.

But now time bids vs to sound a retreat: and to returne home vnto thee Island (our most deare mother) whom neither pouertie, nor colde, nor any other such inconueniences shall make irksome vnto vs, so long as thou ceaseest not to giue heartie and willing entertainment vnto Christ: where, first we doe earnestly exhort thee to the serious and ardent affection, and loue of God, and of the heavenly knowledge reueiled vnto vs in Christ: that thou wouldest preferre this befoze all things, being enflamed with desire of doctrine, and of the worde: that thou wouldest not lightly esteeme; contemne or hate the holy ministrerie and ministers, but reuerence, cherish, and loue them. Accompanying those that practise the contrary as wicked and prophane; and managing all thine affaires both priuate and publique, according to the prescript rule of pietie and honestie, that vnto this, thy states and orders Ecclesiasticall and politique may in all things be conformed: and so in either kinde of life relying thy selfe vpon that leuell and line of equitie and iustice, and auoyding others, who vpon stubbernesse and impietie swerue therefrom. That thou wouldest also inflict iust punishments vpon offenders: All which we doubt not but the Magistrate will haue respect vnto. But especially that thou admittest none to be Magistrates, but men of approued fidelitie and honestie, and such as may adioyne vnto these vertues others hereto belonging, by which meanes inconueniences may fitly be preuented. For if this matter be well handled, namely that they which are the best of all good men be chosen to beare publique authoritie, wicked and vnfit men being altogether reiected; the condition of the subjects shalbe most prosperous: the liues and maners of all men shal proue by so much the moze commendable: godlinesse also and honestie shal become the moze glorious. But on the contrary, if pastours of Churches be not answerable to their function, either in life or doctrine; if all men without respect or difference be admitted to the gouernment of the common wealth, who aspire thereunto by their owne rashnesse, ambition, or auarice, and desire of honour, yea though they be suspected or convicted of crimes and dishonestie, or be protectours or vnjust fauourers of such persons as are suspected and convicted; then what will be thy state, oh Island? What wil be thy outward shew or condition? Doubtlesse most miserable. Neither shalt thou by any other meanes moze suddenly approach to thy ruine and destruction, then if thou committest thy selfe to the gouernment of such men, who to the vttermost of their power, although they be of thine owne blood, dayly seeke thine overthrow for their owne priuate aduantage and secret malice. Wherefoze (to be short) let these be to aduertise my deare Country, how behouefull it is that the matters aforesaid be put in practise.

But whilst I am speaking these things vnto thee (my Country) oh that my deepe and dolefull sighes, which lie hid in the former speech, might pierce the cares of our Kings most excellent Maiestie, befoze whom, on thy behalfe I doe bewaile the publique miseries, which in this respect especially doe arise, because wee are so farre distant from the seate and royall presence of our King, that many therefore take moze libertie, and promise moze securitie of offending vnto

themselves. But we will commit all these matters to the most iust Iudge of heauen and earth who beholdeeth all things in equitie.

Nowe it remaineth (my beloued Countrey) that thou wouldest take in good part these my labours enyolped in thy seruice, and accept them with that fauourable and courteous minde which I haue expected. And although they be not of such worth as I could wish, yet such a willing minde is worth all, I would not therefore giue ouer because I mistrusted my selfe as one insufficient to contend for thine innocencie, for thy reputation, and thine honour, my deare Countrey. But rather whatsoeuer it be (if it be ought) and how mickle-soeuer which for my slender abilitie I was able to affoord in thy defence, I thought good not to suppress it: for I esteeme not those men worthy of commendation, who despairing

To ouergrow the limmes of *Lycos* floute,
Neglect to cure their bodies of the gout,

And in very deed, it doeth no whit repent me of my labour, if this little treatise shall tend neither to thine, nor to mine owne disgrace. But if it shall any thing auaille to thine honour or defence, I will thinke my trauaile right well bestowed. Yea, if by this my slender attempt I may but onely excite other of thy children, and my native Countrey men, being farre my superiours both in learning and industrie to take thy cause in hand, either nowe or hereafter, what reason is there why any man should say that it is not worth my labour? Nowe, if they aduise themselves to write, howsoeuer my fame shall be obscured, yet will I comfort my selfe with their excellencie, who are like to impaire my credite: for albeit a man ought to haue speciall regard of his name and fame, yet is he to haue more of his Countrey, whose dignitie bring safe and sound, we also must needs esteeme our selues to be in safetie.

Written at *Holen Hialtedale* in *Island*, the yeere of our
Lord 1592, the 17. of the Kalends of May.

A letter written by the graue and learned *Gudbrandus Thorlacius*
Bishop of *Holen* in *Island*, concerning the ancient state of *Island* and *Gron-*
land, &c.

Reuerendissimo viro, eruditione & virtute conspicuo, *D. Hugoni*
Branham, *Ecclesiæ Hareuicensis* in *Anglia* pastori vigilantis-
simo, fratri & symmyltæ obseruando.



Irabar equidem (vt conijcis, reuerende domine pastor) primo literarum tua-
rum intuitu, ignotum me, ab ignoto, scriptis salutari. Cæterum, cum ulterius
progrederer, comperi me, si non aliter, certè nomine tenus, tibi (quæ tua est
humanitas) innotuisse: Simulq; quòd te nominis Islandorum studiosum ex-
perirer, ex animo gaudisus sum. Vnde etiam faciam, vt tua pietas, tuumque no-
men, de Euangelio Iesu Christi nobis congratulantis, deque gente nostra
tam benignè tamque honorificè sentientis & scribentis, apud nos ignotum esse definat.

Quòd verò ad antiquitatis monimèta attinet, quæ hic extare creduntur, nihil sanè est (præter
illa, quorum in Commentario isto de Islandia, quem vidisse te scribis, fit mentio) de hac nostra
insula lectu scriptuè dignum, quod cum humanitate tua communicem. De vicinis itidem ter-
ris pauca, præter historiam Regum Noruegiæ, seu veriùs eiusdem historiæ fragmenta; quæ alijs
aliter descripta sunt: sunt tamen talia, quæ Krantzius non attigerit, aut eorum certè pauca. De
vicina quoque Gronlandia, id veterum opinione habemus, eam magno circuitu ab extrema
Noruegia, vbi ß *Biarmlandia* nuncupatur, & à qua haud vasto interuallo sita sit, circum quasi
Islandiam exporrigi. Illic nostrates aliquando commercia exercuisse, & eam terram tempore *Ponti-*
ficiarum suos *Episcopos* habuisse *annales nostri testantur*. Cætera nobis incognita. At hodiè fama
est, vestris Britannis (quos ego propè maris dominos appellarim) quotannis esse in Gronlandia
negotiationes: de qua re, si me certiores feceris, non erit iniucundum. Etiam velim quæ-
cunque noua erunt de rebus vestrauum aut vicinorum regnorum, ea non omitas.

Vale foeliciter (reuerende Dom. pastor) Deo, musis, & commisso gregi quàm diutissime su-
perstes, Amen. Ex Islandia in festo visitationis *D. Mariæ* Anno 1595.

Human. tuè studiosus *Gudbrandus Thorlacius* Episcopus
Holensis in *Islandia*.

Commentarius
breuis de Islandia:
per Arngri-
mum Ionam
Islandum edi-
tus, 1593.

ß *Biarmania*.

Gronlandia olim
suos habuit
Episcopos.

The same in English.

To the reuerend, learned, and vertuous, Master *Hugh Branham* minister of the Church of *Harewich* in *England*, his brother and fellow-pastour, &c.

I Much maruiled (euen as your selfe, reuerend sir, coniectured that I would) at the first sight of your letters, that being a stranger I should be saluted in writing by one altogether unknown vnto mee. Howbeit, reading a litle further, I found my selfe, if not other wise, yet by name at least (which proceedeth of your coniecture) knotwen vnto you: And also, for that I sawe you desirous of the credite and honest report of vs Islanders, I greatly reioyced. Wherefore I my selfe will be a meane, that your vertue and good name (because you congratulate with vs for the Gospel of Christ here published, and doe thinke and write so louingly and honourably of our nation) may cease hereafter to be vnknown amongst vs.

As touching the monuments of antiquitie which are here thought to be extant, there is, in very deepe, nothing (except those particulars, whereof mention is made in the Commentary of Island, which you write vnto me that you haue seene) worthy to be read or written, which I may communicate with you. And as concerning our neighbour Countreys we haue litle to shewe, besides the history of the Kings of Norway, (or rather some fragments of the same history) which others haue other wise described: howbeit they are all in a manner such things as Cranzius neuer mentioned: vnlesse it be some fewe relations. Moreover, as touching Gronland, we holde this from the opinion of our auncetours; that, from the extreme part of Norway, which is called *Biarmlandia*, and from whence the saide Gronland is not farre distant, it fetcheth about the Northen coast of Island with an huge circuit in maner of an halfe Moone. Our Chronicles likewise doe testifie that our owne countrey men in times past resorted thither for traffique, and also that the very same countrey of Gronland had certaine Bishops in the dayes of Poperie. Howe then this we cannot aouoch. But now it is reported that your Englishmen (whom I may almost call the lordes of the Ocean sea) make yearly voyages vnto Gronland: concerning which matter if you please to giue me further aduertisement, you shall doe me an especial fauour. Moreover, whatsoeuer newes you heare concerning the affaires of England or of other Countreys thereabout, I pray you make vs acquainted therewith. Thus (reuerend sir) wishing you long life, for the seruice of God, for the increase of learning, and the benefit of the people committed to your charge, I bid you fare wel. From Island vpon the feast of the visitation of the blessed Virgine Mary, Anno Dom. 1595.

This is the briefe Commentary of Io: nas Arngimus immediately going before.

Diarmia.

Gronland in old time had Christian Bishops.

Yours *Gudbrandus Thorlacius* Bishop of *Hola* in Island.

The miraculous victory atchieued by the *English* Fleete,

vnder the discreet and happy conduct of the right honourable, right prudent, and valiant lord, the *L. Charles Howard*, L. high Admirall of England, &c. Vpon the *Spanish* huge *Armada* sent in the yeere 1588, for the inuasion of *England*, together with the wofull and miserable successe of the saide *Armada* afterward, vpon the coasts of *Norway*, of the *Scottish* Westerne Isles, of *Ireland*, of *Spaine*, of *France*, and of *England*, &c. Recorded in Latine by *Emanuel van Meteran* in the 15. booke of his history of the low Countreys.



Quing in part declared the strange and wonderfull euents of the yeere rightie eight, which hath bene so long time foretold by ancient prophesies; we will now make relation of the most notable and great enterprise of all others which were in the foresaid yeere atchieued, in order as it was done. Which exploit (although in very deed it was not performed in any part of the low Countreys) was intended for their ruine and destruction. And it was the expedition which the *Spanish* king, hauing a long time determined the same in his minde, and hauing consulted thereabout with the Pope, set forth and vnderooke against *England* and the low Countreys. To the end that he might subdue the Realme of *England*, and reduce it vnto his catholique Religion, and by that meanes might be sufficiently reuenged for the disgrace, contempt and dishonour, which hee (hauing 34. yeeres before enforced them to the Popes obedience) had endured of the *English* nation, and for diuers other iniuries which had taken deepe impression in his thoughts. And also for that hee deemed this to be the most readie and direct course, whereby hee might recouer his hereditarie possession of the low Countreys, hauing restrained the inhabitants from sayling vpon the coast of *England*.

Which verily, upon most weighty arguments and evident reasons, was thought would undoubtedly come to passe, considering the great aboundance and store of all things necessary where-with those men were furnished, which had the managing of that action committed vnto them. But now let vs describe the matter moze particularly.

The preparation of the Spanish King to invade England and the Iowe Countreys.

The Spanish King hauing with small fruite and commoditie, for aboute twentie yeeres together, waged warre against the Netherlanders, after deliberation with his counsellors thereabout, thought it most conuenient to assault them once againe by Sea, which had bene attempted sundry times heretofore; but not with forces sufficient. Vnto the which expedition it stood him now in hand to ioyne great puissance, as hauing the English people his professed enemies; whose Island is so situate, that it may either greatly helpe or hinder all such as saile into those parts. For which cause hee thought good first of all to inuade England, being perswaded by his Secretary Escouedo, and by diuers other well experienced Spaniards and Dutchmen; and by many English fugitiues, that the conquest of that Island was lesse difficult then the conquest of Holland and Zeland. Whereouer the Spaniards were of opinion, that it would bee farre more behouefull for their King to conuere England and the Iowe Countreys all at once, then to be constrained continually to maintaine a warlike Trauie to defend his East and West Indie Fleetes, from the English Drake, and from such like valiant enemies.

And for the same purpose the king Catholique had giuen commandement long befoze in Italy and Spaine, that a great quantitie of timber should be felled for the building of shippes; and had besides made great preparation of things and furniture requisite for such an expedition; as namely in founding of bzaen Ordnance, in storing vp of copie and victuals, in trayning of men to vse warlike weapons, in leauyng and mustering of souldiers: insomuch that about the beginning of the yeere 1588. he had finished such a mightie Trauie, and brought it into Lisbon hauen, as neuer the like had befoze that time sailed vpon the Ocean Sea.

A very large and particular description of this Trauie was put in print and published by the Spaniards; wherein were set downe the number, names, and burthens of the shippes, the number of Mariners and souldiers throughout the whole Fleete; likewise the quantitie of their Ordnance, of their armour, of bullets, of match, of gun-powder, of victuals, and of all their Trauall furniture was in the saide description particularized. Vnto all these were added the names of the Gouernours, Captaines, Noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries, of whom there was so great a multitude, that scarce was there any family of account, or any one principall man throughout all Spaine, that had not a brother, sonne or kinsman in that Fleete: who all of them were in good hope to purchase vnto themselves in that Trauie (as they termed it) inuincible, endlesse glory and renowne, and to possesse themselves of great Seigniories and riches in England, and in the Iowe Countreys. But because the said description was translated and published out of Spanish into diuers other languages, we will here onely make an abridgement or brieffe rehearfall thereof.

The number and quantitie of the ships in the Spanish Fleete, with the souldiers, Mariners, and pieces of Ordnance.

Portugal furnished and set forth vnder the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia generall of the Fleete, ten Galeons, two Zabzaes, 1300. Mariners, 3300. souldiers, 300. great pieces, with all requisite furniture.

Biscay, vnder the conduct of Iohn Martines de Ricalde Admiral of the whole Fleete, set forth tenne Galeons, 4. Bataches, 700. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 250. great pieces, &c.

Guipulco, vnder the conduct of Michael de Oquendo, tenne Galeons, 4. Bataches, 700. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 310. great pieces.

Italy with the Leuant Islands, vnder Marinne de Vertendona, 10. Galeons, 800. mariners, 2000. souldiers, 310. great pieces, &c.

Castile, vnder Diego Flores de Valdez, 14. Galeons, two Bataches, 1700. mariners, 2400. souldiers, and 380. great pieces, &c.

Andaluzia, vnder the conduct of Petro de Valdez, 10. Galeons, one Batache, 800. mariners, 2400. souldiers, 280. great pieces, &c.

Item, vnder the conduct of Iohn Lopez de Medina, 23. great Flemish hulkes, with 700. mariners, 3200. souldiers, and 400. great pieces.

Item, vnder Hugo de Moncada, foure Galliasles containing 1200. gally-slaues, 460. mariners, 870. souldiers, 200. great pieces, &c.

Item, vnder Diego de Mandrana, foure Gallies of Portugall, with 888. gally-slaues, 360. mariners, 20. great pieces, and other requisite furniture.

Item, vnder Anthonie de Mendoza, 22. Bataches and Zabzaes, with 574. mariners, 488. souldiers, and 193. great pieces.

Besides the ships afozementioned there were 20. carauels rowed with oares, being appointed to performe necessary seruices vnto the greater ships: insomuch that all the ships appertaining

to this *Naue* amounted vnto the summe of 150, eche one being sufficiently prouided of furniture and victuals.

The number of *Hariners* in the saide *Fleete* were about 8000. of slaues 2088. of souldiers 20000. (besides noblemen and gentlemen voluntaries) of great cast pieces 2650. The foresaid ships were of an huge and incredible capacitie and receipt. For the whole *Fleete* was large enough to containe the burthen of 60. thousand tunnes.

The *Galeons* were 64. in number, being of an huge bignesse, and very stately built, being of maruellous force also, and so high, that they resembled great castles, most fit to defend themselves and to withstand any assault, but ingtuing any other ships the encounter farre inferiour vnto the English and Dutch ships, which can with great dexterity weild and turne themselves at all assaies. The vpper worke of the saide *Galeons* was of thickeesse and strength sufficient to beare off musket-shot. The lower worke and the timbers thereof were out of measure strong, being framed of planks and ribs foure or five foote in thickeesse, insonmuch that no bullets could pierce them, but such as were discharged hard at hand: which afterwarde proued true, for a great number of bullets were founde to sticke fast within the massie substance of those thicke planks. Great and well pitched *Cables* were twined about the masts of their shippes, to strengthen them against the batterry of shot.

A description of the Galeons.

The *Gallialles* were of such bignesse, that they contained within them chambers, chapels, turrets, pulpits, and other commodities of great houses. The *Gallialles* were rowed with great oares, there being in eche one of them 300. slaues for the same purpose, and were able to do great seruice with the force of their *Drumance*. All these together with the residue aforesaid were furnished and beautified with trumpets, streamers, banners, warlike ensignes, and other such like ornaments.

A description of the Gallialles.

Their pieces of brazen ordnance were 1600. and of yron 1000.

The bullets thereto belonging were 120. thousand.

Item of gun-powder 5600. quintals. Of matche 1200. quintals.

Of muskets and calciturs 7000. Of halberds and partisans 10000.

Moreouer they had great store of canons, double-canons, culuerings and field-pieces for land seruices.

The great Drumance, bullets, gun-powder, and other furniture.

Likewise they were prouided of all instruments necessary on land to conueigh and transport their furniture from place to place; as namely of carts, wheeles, wagons, &c. Also they had spades, mattocks and balckets to set ptoners on worke. They had in like sort great store of mules and horses, and whatsoeuer else was requisite for a land-armie. They were so well storied of biscuit, that for the space of halfe a yeere, they might allow eche person in the whole *Fleete* halfe a quintall euery moneth; whereof the whole summe amounteth vnto an hundredth thousand quintals.

Their provision of victuals and other things necessary.

Likewise of wine they had 147. thousand pipes, sufficient also for halfe a yeeres expedition. Of bacon 6500. quintals. Of cheese thzee thousand quintals. Besides aly, rife, beanes, pease, oyle, vineger, &c.

Moreouer they had 12000. pipes of fresh-water, and all other necessary provision, as namely candles, lanternes, lampes, sailes, hempe, ore-hides and lead to stop holes that should be made with the batterry of gunshot. To be shote, they brought all things expedient either for a *Fleete* by sea, or for an armie by land.

This *Naue* (as Diego Pimentelli afterwarde confessed) was esteemed by the King himselfe to containe 32000. persons, and to cost him euery day 30. thousand ducates.

There were in the saide *Naue* five *terzaes* of Spaniards, (which *terzaes* the Frenchmen call *Regiments*) vnder the command of five gouernours termed by the Spaniards, *Maisters* of the field, and amongst the rest there were many olde and expert souldiers chosen out of the garisons of Sicilie, Naples, and *Terçera*. Their Captaines or Colonels were Diego Pimentelli, Don Francisco de Toledo, Don Alonso de Luçon, Don Nicolas de Isla, Don Augustin de Mexia; who had eche of them 2. companies vnder their conduct. Besides the which companies there were many bands also of Castilians and Portugals, euery one of which had their peculiar gouernours, captaines, officers, colours and weapons.

A Spanish terza consisteth of 3200. souldiers.

It was not lawfull for any man, vnder grieuous penaltie, to cary any women or harlots in the *Fleete*: for which cause the women hired certaine shippes, wherein they sailed after the *Naue*: some of the which being driuen by tempest arriued vpon the coast of France.

The generall of this mightie *Naue*, was Don Alonso Perez de Guzman duke of Medina Sidonia, Lord of S. Lucar, and knight of the golden fleece: by reason that the Marques of Santa Cruz appointed for the same dignitie, deceased befoze the time.

John Martines de Ricalde was Admirall of the *Fleete*.

Francis Bouadilla was chiefe Marshall: who all of them had their officers fit and requisite for the guiding and managing of such a multitude. Likewise Martin Alorcon was appointed Vice general of the Inquisition, being accompanied with more then a hundred Honkes, to wit, Iesuites, Capuchines, and friers mendicant. Besides whom also there were Physicians, Chirurgians, Apothecaries, and whatsoeuer else pertained vnto the hospitall.

ouer and besides the forenamed gouernours and officers being men of chiefe note, there were 124. very noble and worthy Gentlemen, which went voluntarily of their owne costs and charges, to the ende they might see fashions, learne experience, and attaine vnto glozy. Amongst whom was the prince of Ascoli, Alonzo de Leiu, the marques de Pennafiel, the marques de Ganes, the marques de Barlango, count de Paredes, count de Yeluas, and diuers other marqueses and earles of the honourable families of Mendoza, of Toledo, of Pachicco, of Cordoua, of Guzman, of Manriques, and a great number of others.

The preparation of the duke of Parma to aide the Spaniards.

While the Spaniards were furnishing this their Raue, the duke of Parma, at the direction of king Philip, made great preparation in the low Countreys, to giue ayd & assistance vnto the Spaniards; building ships for the same purpose, and sending for Pilots and ship-wrights out of Italy.

In Flanders hee caused certaine deepe chanel to be made, and among the rest the chanel of Yper commonly called Yper-lee, employing some thousands of workemen about that seruice: to the end that by the said chanel he might transport ships from Antwerp and Ghend to Bruges, where hee had assembled aboue a hundred small ships called hopes being well stozed with victuals, which hopes hee was determined to haue brought into the sea by the way of Sluys, or else to haue conueyed them by the saide Yper-lee being now of greater depth, into any port of Flanders whatsoeuer.

In the riuer of Waten hee caused 70. ships with flat bottomes to be built, euery one of which should serue to cary 30. horses, hauing eche of them bridges like wise for the horses to come on boord, or to goe forth on land. Of the same fashion he had provided 200. other vessels at Neiuport, but not so great. And at Dunkerk hee procured 28. ships of warre, such as were there to be had, and caused a sufficient number of Mariners to be leued at Hamburg, Breme, Emden, and at other places. Hee put in the ballast of the said ships, great stozes of beames of thicke planks, being hollow and beset with iron pikes beneath, but on eche side full of clasps and hookes, to ioyne them together.

Hee had likewise at Greueling provided 20. thousand of calke, which in a short space might be compact and ioyned together with nailes and cords, and reduced into the forme of a bridge. To be short, whatsoeuer things were requisite for the making of bridges, and for the barring and stopping vp of haucens mouthes with stakes, posts, and other meanes, he commanded to be made ready. Moreover not farre from Neiuport haue, he had caused a great pile of wooden fagots to be layd, and other furniture to be brought for the rearing vp of a mount. The most part of his ships contained two ordens a peece to make head in, with a great number of sables, bieldes, and such other like apparrell for horses. They had horses likewise, which after their landing should serue to conuey, and draw engines, field-pieces, and other warlike prouisions.

Neere vnto Neiuport he had assembled an armie, ouer the which he had ordained Camillo de Monte to be Camp-master. This armie consisted of 30. bands or ensignes of Italians, of tenne bands of Wallons, eight of Scots, and eight of Burgundians, all which together amount vnto 56. bands, euery band containing a hundred persons. Neere vnto Dixmud there were mustered 80. bands of Dutch men, sixtie of Spaniards, sixe of high Germans, and seuen bands of English fugitiues, vnder the conduct of sir William Stanlie an English knight.

In the suburbs of Correight there were 4000. horsemen together with their horses in a readinesse: and at Waten 900. horses, with the troupe of the Marques del Gwasto Captaine general of the horsemen.

Vnto this famous expedition and presupposed victorie, many potentates, princes, and honourable personages hied themselues: out of Spaine the prince of Melico called the duke of Pastrana and taken to be the sonne of one Ruygomes de Silua, but in very deed accounted among the number of king Philips base sonnes. Also the Marques of Burgrauc, one of the sonnes of Archduke Ferdinand and Philippa Welfera. Vespasian Gonsaga of the family of Mantua, being for chivalry a man of great renowne, and heretofore Vice-roy in Spaine. Item Iohn Medices base sonne vnto the duke of Florence. And Amadas of Sauoy, the duke of Sauoy his base sonne, with many others of inferiour degrees.

The Popes furtherance to the conquest of England, and of the low Countreys.

Likewise Pope Sixtus quintus for the setting forth of the foresaid expedition, as they vse to do against Turkes & infidels, published a Cruzado, with most ample indulgences which were printed in great numbers. These baine buls the English and Dutchmen deriding, sayd that the deuil at

all passages lay in ambush like a chiefe, no whit regarding such letters of safe conduct. Some there be which affirme that the Pope had bestowed the realme of England with the title of *Defensor fidei*, vpon the king of Spaine, giuing him charge to inuade it vpon this condition, that hee should enioy the conquered realme, as a vassall and tributarie, in that regard, vnto the sea of Rome. To this purpose the said Pope proffered a million of gold, the one halfe thereof to be paid in ready money, and the other halfe when the realme of England or any famous port thereof were subdued. And for the greater furtherance of the whole businesse, he dispatched one D. Allen an English man (whom hee had made Cardinall for the same ende and purpose) into the Low countries, vnto whom he committed the administration of all matters ecclesiasticall throughout England. This Allen being enraged against his owne native countrey, caused the Popes bull to be translated into English, meaning vpon the arrival of the Spanish fleet, to haue it so published in England. By which Bull the excommunications of the two former Popes were confirmed, and the Queenes most sacred Maiestie was by them most vniuilly deppriued of all princely titles and dignities, her subiects being enioined to performe obedience vnto the duke of Parma, and vnto the Popes Legate.

But that all matters might be performed with greater secrecie, and that the whole expedition might seeme rather to be intended against the Low countries, then against England, and that the English people might be perswaded that all was but bare words & threatenings, and that nought would come to effect, there was a solenne meeting appointed at Borborch in Flanders for a treatie of peacc betwene her maiestie and the Spanish king.

Against which treatie the vniued prouinces making open protestation, vsed all meanes possible to hinder it, alleaging that it was more requisite to consult how the enimie now pressing vpon them might be repelled from off their frontiers. Howbeit some there were in England that greatly urged and prosecuted this league, saying, that it would be very commodious vnto the state of the realme, as well in regard of traffique and nauigation, as for the auoiding of great expenses to maintaine the warres, affirming also, that at the same time peace might easily and vpon reasonable conditions be obtained of the Spaniard. Others thought by this meanes to diuert some other way, or to keepe backe the navy now comming vpon them, and so to escape the danger of that tempest. Howsoeuer it was, the duke of Parma by these wiles enchanted and dazzled the eyes of many English & Dutch men that were desirous of peace: whereupon it came to passe, that England and the vniued prouinces prepared in deed some defence to withstand that dreadfull expedition and huge Armada, but nothing in comparison of the great danger which was to be feared, albeit the constant report of the whole expedition had continued rise among them for a long time before. Howbeit they gaue care vnto the relation of certaine that sayd, that this nauie was prouided to conduct and waite ouer the Indian fleets: which seemed the more probable because the Spaniards were deemed not to be men of so small discretions as to aduenture those huge and monstrous ships vpon the shallow and dangerous chanel of England.

At length when as the French king about the end of May signified vnto her Maiestie in plaine termes that he should stand vpon her guard, because he was now most certainly enioined, that there was so dangerous an inuasion imminent vpon her realme, that he feared much least all her land and sea-fozces would be sufficient to withstand it, &c. then began the Queenes Maiestie more carefully to gather her fozces together, & to furnish her own ships of warre, & the principall ships of her subiects with souldiers, weapons, and other necessary prouision. The greatest and strongest ships of the whole navy she sent vnto Plimmouth vnder the conduct of the right honorable Lord Charles Howard, lord high Admirall of England, &c. Under whom the renowned Knight Sir Francis Drake was appointed Vice-admirall. The number of these ships was about an hundredeth, The lesser ships being 30. or 40. in number, and vnder the conduct of the lord Henry Seimer were commanded to lie between Douer and Calcis.

On land likewise throughout the whole realme, souldiers were mustered and trained in all places, and were committed vnto the most resolute and faithfull captaines. And whereas it was commonly giuen out that the Spaniard hauing once vniued himselfe vnto the duke of Parma, ment to inuade by the riuier of Thames, there was at Tilburie in Essex ouer-against Gratesend, a mightie army encamped, and on both sides of the riuier fortifications were erected, according to the prescription of Frederike Genebelli an Italian enginier. Likewise there were certaine ships brought to make a bridge, though it were very late first. Vnto the sayd army came in proper person the Queenes most rotall Maiestie, representing Tomyris that Scythian warlike princeesse, or rather diuine Pallas her selfe. Also there were other such armies leuied in England.

The principall catholique Recusants (least they should stirre by any tumult in the time of the Spanish inuasion) were sent to remaine at certaine conuenient places, as namely in the Isle of Ely

20 treatie of
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sion.

Her maiesties
warlike prepa-
ration by sea.

Her Maiesties
land-fozces.

Ely and at Wisbich. And some of them were sent vnto other places, to wit, vnto sundry bishops and noblemen, where they were kept from endangering the state of the common wealth, and of her sacred Maictie, who of her most gracious clemencie gaue expresse commandement, that they should be intreated with all humanitie and friendship.

The preparation of the vnted prouinces.

The prouinces of Holland and Zeland, &c. giuing credite vnto their intelligence out of Spain, made preparation to defend themselves: but because the Spanish ships were described vnto them to be so huge, they relied partly vpon the shallow and dangerous seas all along their coasts. Wherefoze they stood most in doubt of the duke of Parma his small and flat-bottomed ships. Howbeit they had all their ships of warre to the number of 90. and aboue, in a readinesse for all assayes: the greater part whereof were of a small burthen, as being moze meete to saile vpon their riuers and shallow seas: and with these ships they besieged all the hauens in Flanders, beginning at the mouth of Scheld, or from the towne of Lillo, and holding on to Greueling and almost vnto Calcis, & fortified all their sea-townes with strong garrisons.

Against the Spanish fleets arrivall, they had provided 25. or 30. good ships, committing the gouernment of them vnto Admirall Lonck, whom they commanded to ioinz himselfe vnto the lord Henry Seymer, lying betweene Douer and Cales. And when as the foresaid ships, (whereof the greater part besieged the hauen of Dunkerke) were diuinen by tempest into Zeland, Iustin of Nassau the Admirall of Zeland supplied that Squadron with 35. ships being of no great burthen, but excellently furnished with gunnes, mariners and souldiers in great abundance, and especially with 1200. haue Musquetiers, hauing bene accustomed vnto sea-fights, and being chosen out of all their companies for the same purpose: and so the said Iustin of Nassau kept such diligent ward in that Station that the duke of Parma could not issue forth with his nauy into the sea out of any part of Flanders.

The Spanish fleet set saile vpon the 19. of May.

In the meane while the Spanish Armada set saile out of the hauen of Lisbon vpon the 19. of May, *An. Dom.* 1588. vnder the conduct of the duke of Medina Sidonia, directing their course for the Baie of Corunna, *alias* the Groine in Galicia, where they tooke in souldiers and warlike prouision, this port being in Spaine the neereest vnto England. As they were sailing along, there arose such a mightie tempest, that the whole fleet was disperfed, so that when the duke was returned vnto his company, he could not scry aboue 80. ships in all, whereunto the residue by litle and litle ioyned themselves, except eight which had their mastes blown ouer-board. One of the foure gallies of Portingal escaped very hardly, retiring her selfe into the hauen. The other three were vpon the coast of Baion in France, by the assistance and courage of one David Gwin an English captiue (whom the French and Turkish slaues aided in the same enterprize) utterly disabled and vanquished: one of the three being first overcome, which conquered the two other, with the slaughter of their gouernours and souldiers, and among the rest of Don Diego de Mandrana with sundry others: and so those slaues arriving in France with the three Gallies, set themselves at libertie.

The fleet set saile from the Groine vpon the 11. of July.

The Spaniards come within kenning of England. Captaine Fleming.

The nauy hauing refreshed themselves at the Groine, & receiuing daily commandement from the king to hasten their iourney, hoised up sailes the 11. day of July, and so holding on their course till the 19. of the same month, they came then vnto the mouth of the narrow seas or English chanel. From whence (striking their sailes in the meane season) they dispatched certaine of their final ships vnto the duke of Parma. At the same time the Spanish fleet was escried by an English pinnace, captaine whereof was M. Thomas Fleming, after they had bene aduertised of the Spaniards expedition by their scouters and espials, which hauing ranged along the coast of Spaine, were lately returned home into Plymouth for a new supply of victuals and other necessaries, who considering the foresayd tempest, were of opinion that the nauy being of late disperfed and tossed by and downe the maine Ocean, was by no means able to performe their intended voiage.

Howeouer, the L. Charles Howard high admirall of England had receiued letters from the court, signifying vnto him that her Maictie was aduertised that the Spanish fleet would not come forth, nor was to be any longer expected for, and therefore, that vpon her Maiesties commandement he must send backe foure of her tallest and strongest ships vnto Chartam.

The L. Admirall set forth warning vpon the 19. of July.

The lord high Admirall of England being thus on the sudden, namely vpon the 19. of July about foure of the clocke in the afternoone, enformed by the pinnace of captaine Fleming aforesaid, of the Spaniards appproch, with all speed and diligence possible he warped his ships, and caused his mariners and souldiers (the greater part of whom was absent for the cause aforesayd) to come on board, and that with great trouble and difficultie, insomuch that the lord Admirall himselfe was faine to lie without in the road with sixe ships onely all that night, after the which many others came forth of the hauen. The very next day being the 20. of July about high noone, was the Spanish fleet escried by the English, which with a Southwest wind came sailing along, and passed

The 20. of July.

passed by Plimmouth: in which regard (according to the judgement of many skillful navigators) they greatly overthot themselves, where as it had bene more commodious for them to haue staied themselves there, considering that the English men being as yet vnproouided, greatly relied vpon their owne forces, and knew not the estate of the Spanish nauy. Moreover, this was the most conuenient port of all others, where they might with greater securitie haue bene aduertised of the English forces, and how the commons of the land stood affected, and might haue stirred by some mutinie, so that hither they should haue bent all their puillance, and from hence the duke of Parma might more easily haue conued his ships.

But this they were prohibited to doe by the king and his counsell, and were expressely commanded to write themselves vnto the souldiers and ships of the said duke of Parma, and so to bring their purpose to effect. Which was thought to be the most easie and direct course, for that they imagined that the English and Dutch men would be veterly daunted and dismaied thereat, and would each man of them retire vnto his owne Prouince and Port for the defence thereof, and transporting the armie of the duke vnder the protection of their huge nauy, they might inuade England.

It is reported that the chiefe commanders in the nauy, and those which were more skillfull in navigation, to wit, Iohn Martines de Ricalde, Diego Flores de Valdez, and diuers others found fault that they were bound vnto so strict directions and instructions, because that in such a case many particular accidents ought to concurre and to be respected at one and the same instant, that is to say, the opportunity of the wind, weather, time, tide, and ebbe, wherein they might faile from Flanders to England. Oftentimes also the darkenesse and light, the situation of places, the depths and shoals were to be considered: all which especially depended vpon the conueniencie of the windes, and were by so much the more dangerous.

But it seemeth that they were enjoined by their commission to ancre neere vnto, or about Calais, whither the duke of Parma with his ships and all his warrelike prouision was to resort, and while the English and Spanish great ships were in the midst of their conflict, to passe by, and to land his souldiers vpon the Downes.

The Spanish captiues reported that they were determined first to haue entred the riuer of Thames, and thereupon to haue passed with small ships by to London, supposing that they might easily winne that rich and flourishing Citie being but meanely fortified and inhabited with Citizens not accustomed to the warres, who durst not withstand their first encounter, hoping moreover to finde many rebels against her Maiestie and popish catholiques, or some fauourers of the Scottish queene (which was not long before most iustly beheaded) who might be instruments of sedition.

Thus often aduertising the duke of Parma of their approach, the 20. of Iuly they passed by Plimmouth, which the English ships pursuing and getting the wind of them, gaue them the chase and the encounter, and so both Fleets frankly exchanged their bullets.

The day following which was the 21. of Iuly, the English ships approached within musquet shot of the Spanish: at what time the lord Charles Howard most hotly and valiantly discharged his Ordnance vpon the Spanish Vice-admirall. The Spaniards then well perceiving the nimblenesse of the English ships in discharging vpon the enimie on all sides, gathered themselves close into the foyme of an halfe moone, and slackened their sailes, least they should outgoe any of their companie. And while they were proceeding on in this maner, one of their great Gallies was so furiously battered with shot, that the whole nauy was faine to come by rounder together for the safegard thereof: whereby it came to passe that the principall Gallie of Siuill (wherein Don Pedro de Valdez, Valques de Silua, Alonzo de Sayas, and other noble men were imbarqued) falling soule of another shippe, had her fore-mast broken, and by that meanes was not able to keepe way with the Spanish Fleete, neither would the sayde Fleete stay to succour it, but left the distressed Gallie behind. The lord Admirall of England when he saw this ship of Valdez, & thought he had bene voyd of Hariners and Souldiers, taking with him as many shippes as he could, passed by it, that he might not loose sight of the Spanish Fleet that night. For Sir Francis Drake (who was notwithstanding appointed to beare out his lantern that night) was giuing of chase vnto five great hulkes which had separated themselves from the Spanish Fleete: but finding them to be Easterlings, he dismissed them. The lord Admirall all that night following the Spanish lantern in stead of the English, found himselfe in the morning to be in the midst of his enimies Fleete, but when he perceiued it, hee cleanly conueyed himselfe out of that great danger.

The day following, which was the two and twentieth of Iuly, Sir Francis Drake espied Valdez his shippe, whereunto hee sent forth his pinnasse, and being aduertised that Valdez him-

The 21. of Iuly.

The 22. of Iuly.

selfe

selfe was there, and 450. persons with him, he sent him word that he should yeeld himselfe. Valdez for his honours sake caused certaine conditions to be propounded vnto Drake: who answered Valdez that he was not now at leisure to make any long parle, but if he would yeeld himselfe, he should find him friendly and tractable: howbeit if he had resolued to die in fight, he should prooue Drake to be no dastard.

Upon which answer Valdez and his company vnderstanding that they were fallen into the hands of fortunate Drake, being moued with the renoume and celebrytie of his name, with one consent yeelded themselues, and found him very fauourable vnto them. Then Valdez with 40. or 50. noblemen and gentlemen pertaining vnto him, came on boord sir Francis Drakes ship. The residue of his company were carried vnto Plimmouth, where they were detained a yere & an halfe for their ranfome.

Don Pedro de Valdez with his ship & company taken.

Valdez comming vnto Drake and humbly kissing his hand protested vnto him, that he and his had resolued to die in battell, had they not by good fortune fallen into his power, whom they knew to be right courteous and gentle, and whom they had heard by generall report to be most fauourable vnto his vanquished foe: insomuch that he sayd it was to be doubted whether his enemies had more cause to admire and loue him for his great, valiant, and prosperous exploitcs, or to dread him for his singular felicitie and wisdom, which euer attended vpon him in the warres, and by the which hee had attained vnto so great honour. With that Drake embraced him and gaue him very honourable entertainment, feeding him at his owne table, and lodging him in his cabbitt.

Here Valdez began to recount vnto Drake the fortunes of all the Spanish Fleet, and how foure mightie Gallies were separated by tempest from them: and also how they were determined first to haue put into Plimmouth hauent, not expecting to be repelled thence by the English ships which they thought could by no meanes withstand their impregnable forces, perswading themselues that by means of their huge Fleet, they were become lords and commaunders of the maine Ocean, for which cause they marueled much how the English men in their small ships durst appoach within mulket shot of the Spaniards mightie woooden castles, gathering the wind of them with many other such like attempts.

Immediately after, Valdez and his company, being a man of principal authoritie in the Spanish Fleet, and being descended of one and the same familie with that Valdez, which in the yere 1574. besieged Leiden in Holland, were sent captiues into England. There were in the sayd ship 55. thousand ducates in ready money of the Spanish kings gold, which the souldiers merily shared among themselues.

The same day was set on fire one of their greatest shippes, being Admirall of the Squadron of Guipusco, and being the shippe of Michael de Oquendo Vice-admirall of the whole Fleet, which contained great store of gunnepowder and other warrelke prouision. The vpper part onely of this shippe was burnt, and all the persons therein contained (except a very few) were consumed with fire. And thereupon it was taken by the English, and brought into England with a number of miserable burnt and scorched Spaniards. Howbeit the gunpowder (to the great admiration of all men) remained whole and unconsumed.

A great Ship taken by the English.

In the meane season the lord Admirall of England in his ship called the Arke-royall, all that night pursued the Spaniards so neere, that in the morning hee was almost left alone in the enemies Fleet, and it was foure of the clocke at afternoone before the residue of the English Fleet could ouertake him.

At the same time Hugo de Moncada gouernour of the foure Galliasles, made humble sute vnto the Duke of Medina that he might be licenced to encounter the Admirall of England: which libertie the duke thought not good to permit vnto him, because hee was loth to exceed the limites of his commission and charge.

The 23. of July.

Upon Tuesday which was the thre and twentieth of July, the navy being come ouer against Portland, the wind began to turne Northerly, insomuch that the Spaniards had a fortunate and fit gale to inuade the English. But the Englishmen hauing lesser and nimbler Ships, recoouered againe the vantage of the winde from the Spaniards, whereat the Spaniards seemed to be more incensed to fight then before. But when the English Fleet had continually and without intermission from morning to night, beaten and battered them with all their shot both great and small: the Spaniardes uniting themselues, gathered their whole Fleet close together into a roundell, so that it was apparant that they ment not as yet to inuade others, but onely to defend themselues and to make halt vnto the place prescribed vnto them, which was neere vnto Dunkerk, that they might toine forces with the duke of Parma, who was determined to haue proceeded secretly with his small shippes vnder the shadow

and protection of the great ones, and so had intended circumspectly to performe the whole expedition.

This was the most furious and bloodie skirmish of all, in which the lord Admirall of England continued fighting amidst his enemies Fleet, and seeing one of his Captaines start off, hee spake unto him in these wordes: Oh George what doest thou? Wilt thou now frustrate my hope and intion conceived of thee? Wilt thou forsake mee now? With which wordes hee being enflamed, approached forthwith, encountered the enemy, and did the part of a most valiant Captaine. His name was George Fenner, a man that had bene conversant in many Sea-fights.

In this conflict there was a certaine great Venetian ship with other small ships surprized and taken by the English.

A great Venetian ship and other small ships taken by the English.

The English naue in the meane while increased, whereunto out of all Havens of the Realme resorted ships and men: for they all with one accord came flocking thither as unto a set field, where immortall fame and glory was to be attained, and faithfull service to bee performed unto their prince and country.

In which number there were many great and honourable personages, as namely, the Eries of Oxford, of Northumberland, of Cumberland, &c. with many Knights and Gentlemen: to wit, Sir Thomas Cecill, Sir Robert Cecill, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Hatton, Sir Horatio Palauicini, Sir Henry Brooke, Sir Robert Carew, Sir Charles Blunt, Master Ambrose Willoughbie, Master Henry Nowell, Master Thomas Gerard, Master Henry Dudley, Master Edward Darcie, Master Arthur Gorge, Master Thomas Woodhouse, Master William Harwic, &c. And so it came to passe that the number of the English shippes amounted unto an hundred: which when they were come before Douer, were increased to an hundred and thirtie, being notwithstanding of no proportionable bignesse to encounter with the Spaniards, except two or three and twentie of the Quenes greater shippes, which onely, by reason of their presence, bred an opinion in the Spaniards mindes concerning the power of the English Fleet: the mariners and souldiers whereof were esteemed to be twelue thousand.

The foure and twentie of July when as the sea was calme, and no winde stirring, the fight was onely betweene the foure great Gallies and the English shippes, which being rowed with Oares, had great vantage of the sayde English shippes, which notwithstanding for all that would not bee forced to yeeld, but discharged their chaine-shot to cut asunder their Cables and Tordage of the Gallies, with many other such Stratagemes. They were now constrained to send their men on land for a newe supplie of Gunne-powder, whereof they were in great scarcitie, by reason they had so frankly spent the greater part in the former conflicts.

The 24. of July.

The same day, a Counsell being assembled, it was decreed that the English Fleet should bee divided into foure Squadrons: the principall whereof was committed unto the lord Admirall: the second, to Sir Francis Drake: the third, to Captaine Hawkins: the fourth, to Captaine Frobisher.

The Spaniards in their sailing obserued very diligent and good order, sailing three and foure, and sometimes more ships in a ranke, and following close by one after another, and the stronger and greater ships protecting the lesser.

The five and twentie of July when the Spaniards were come ouer-against the Ile of Wight, the lord Admirall of England being accompanied with his best ships, (namely the Lion, Captaine whereof was the lord Thomas Howard: The Elizabeth Ionas under the commandement of Sir Robert Southwel Sonne in lawe unto the lord Admirall: the Beare under the lord Sheffield nephew unto the lord Admirall: the Victorie under Captaine Barker: and the Galeon Leicester under the forenamed Captaine George Fenner) with great valour and dreadfull thundering of shot, encountered the Spanish Admiral being in the very midst of all his fleet. Which when the Spaniard perceiued, being assisted with his strongest ships, he came forth and entered a terrible combate with the English: for they bestowed each on other the broad sides, and mutually discharged all their Ordnance, being within one hundred, or an hundred and twentie yards one of another.

The 25. of July.

At length the Spaniards hoisted by their sayles, and againe gathered themselves up close into the forme of a roundel. In the meane while Captaine Frobisher had engaged himselfe into a most dangerous conflict. Whereupon the lord Admirall comming to succour him, found that hee had valiantly and discreetly behaued himselfe, and that hee had wisely and in good time

given

The 26. of
July.

ouer the sight, because that after so great a batterie he had sustained no damage.

For which cause the day following, being the five and twentieth of July, the lord Admirall rewarded him with the order of knight-hood, together with the lord Thomas Howard, the lord Sheffield, Sir John Hawkins and others.

The same day the lord Admirall received intelligence from Newhaucn in France, by certaine of his Minnasses, that all things were quiet in France, and that there was no preparation of sending aide vnto the Spaniards, which was greatly feared from the Guisian faction, and from the Leaguers: but there was a false rumour spread all about, that the Spaniards had conquered England.

The 27. of
July.
The Spaniards
ancie be-
foze Caleis.

The tenen and twentieth of July, the Spaniards about the sunne-setting were come over-against Douer, and rode at ancre within the sight of Caleis, intending to hold on for Dunkerk, expecting there to ioyne with the duke of Parma his forces, without which they were able to doe litle or nothing.

Likewise the English flecte following by hard vpon them, ancred lust by them within culuring-shot. And here the lord Henry Seymer vniued himselfe vnto the lord Admirall with his flecte of 30. ships which rood befoze the mouth of Thames.

As the Spanish nauie therfore lay at ancre, the duke of Medina sent certaine messengers vnto the duke of Parma, with whom vpon that occasion many Noblemen and Gentlemen went to refresh themselves on land: and amongst the rest the prince of Ascoli, being accounted the kings base soune, and a very proper and towardly yong gentleman, to his great good, went on hoze, who was by so much the moze fortunat, in that hee had not opportunitye to returne on boord the same ship, out of which he was departed, because that in returning home it was cast away vpon the Irish coast, with all the persons contained therein.

The duke of Parma being aduertised of the Spanish flectes arriuall vpon the coast of England, made all the haste hee could to bee present himselfe in this expedition for the performance of his charge: vainely perswading himselfe that now by the means of Cardinall Allen, hee should be crowned king of England, and for that cause hee had resigned the gouernement of the Lowe countries vnto Count Mansfeld the elder. And hauing made his bowes vnto S. Mary of Hall in Henauld (whom he went to visite for his blind deuotions sake) hee returned toward Bruges the 28. of July.

The 28. of
July.
The 29. of
July.

The next day traueilling to Dunkerk hee heard the thundering Ordinance of either flect: and the same euening being come to Dixmud, hee was giuen to understand the hard successe of the Spanish flecte.

The 30. of
July.

Vpon Tuesday which was the thirtieth of July, about high moone, hee came to Dunkerk, when as all the Spanish flecte was now passed by: neither durst any of his ships in the meane space come forth to assist the sayd Spanish flecte for feare of fire and thirtie warrelike ships of Holland and Zeland, which there kept watch and warde vnder the conduct of the Admirall Iustin of Nassau.

The fozesayd fire and thirtie shippes were furnished with most cunning mariners and olde expert souldiers, amongst the which were twelue hundred Musketers, whom the States had chosen out of all their garisons, and whom thry knew to haue bene heretofore experienced in sea-fights.

This nauie was giuen especially in charge not to suffer any shippe to come out of the Hauen, nor to permit any Zabraes, Pataches or other small vessels of the Spanish flecte (which were moze likely to aide the Dunkerkers) to enter therein, for the greater ships were not to be feared by reason of the shallow sea in that place. Howbeit the prince of Parma his forces being as yet vnreadie, were not come on boord his shippes, onely the English fugitiues being tenen hundred in number vnder the conduct of Sir William Stanley, came in fit time to haue bene embarked, because they hoped to giue the first assault against England. The residue thewed themselves vnwilling and loath to depart, because they sawe but a few mariners, who were by constraint drawne into this expedition, and also because they had very bare prouision of bread, drinke, and other necessary victuals.

Howeouer, the shippes of Holland and Zeland stood continually in their sight, threatening shot and powder, and many inconueniences vnto them: for feare of which shippes, the Spaniards and Sea-men secretly withhoze themselves both day and night, lest that the duke of Parma his souldiers should compell them by maine force to goe on boord, and to breake through the Hollanders flecte, which all of them iudged to bee impossible by reason of the straightnesse of the Hauen.

But

But it seemeth that the Duke of Parma and the Spaniards grounded upon a baine and presumptuous expectation, that all the ships of England and of the Low countreys would at the first sight of the Spanish and Dunkerk flauie haue betaken themselves to flight, yeeleing their sea roome, and endeavouring onely to defend themselves, their haucens, and sea coasts from inuasion. Wherefore their intent and purpose was, that the Duke of Parma in his small and flat-bottomed shippes, should as it were vnder the shadow and wings of the Spanish fleet, conuey ouer all his troups, armour, and warlike prouision, and with their forces so united, should inuade England; or while the English fleet were busied in fight against the Spanish, should enter vpon any part of the coast, which he thought to be most conuenient. Which inuasion (as the captiues afterward confessed) the Duke of Parma thought first to haue attempted by the riuer of Thames; vpon the banks whereof hauing at his first arriual landed twenty or thirtie thousand of his principall souldiers, he supposed that he might easily haue woonne the Citie of London; both because his small shippes should haue followed and assisted his land-forces, and also for that the Citie it-selfe was but meanely fortified and easie to ouercome, by reason of the Citizens delicacie and discontinuance from the warres, who with continuall and constant labour might be vanquished, if they yeeleed not at the first assault. They were in good hope also to haue mette with some rebels against her Maiestie, and such as were discontented with the present state, as Papists, and others. Likewise they looked for ayoe from the fauourers of the Scottish Queene, who was not long before put to death; all which they thought would haue stirred vp seditious and factions.

Whenas therefore the Spanish fleet rode at anker before Caleis, to the end they might consult with the Duke of Parma what was best to be done according to the Kings commandement, and the present estate of their affaires, and had now (as we will afterward declare) purposed vpon the second of August being Friday, with one power and consent to haue put their intended businesse in practise; the L. Admirall of England being admonished by her Maiesties letters from the Court, thought it most expedient either to driue the Spanish fleet from that place, or at leastwise to giue them the encounter: and for that cause (according to her Maiesties prescription) he tooke forthwith eight of his woollst & balest ships which came next to hand, & disburthening them of all things which seemed to be of any value, filled them with gun-powder, pitch, brimstone, and with other combustible and fry matter; and charging all their ordnance with powder, bullets, and stones, he sent the sayd ships vpon the 28 of July being Sunday, about two of the clocke after midnight, with the winde and tide against the Spanish fleet: which when they had proceeded a good space, being forsaken of the Pilots, and set on fire, were directly carried vpon the King of Spaines flauie: which fire in the dead of the night put the Spaniards into such perplexity and horrour (for they feared lest they were like vnto those terrible ships, which Frederic Ienebelli three yeeres before, at the siege of Antwerpe, had furnished with gun-powder, stones, and dreadfull engines, for the dissolution of the Duke of Parma his bridge, built vpon the riuer of Scheld) that cutting their cables whereton their ankers were fastened, and hoisting vp their sailes, they betooke themselves very confusedly vnto the maine sea.

In this sudden confusion, the principall and greatest of the foure galliasses falling fowle of another ship, lost her rudder: for which cause when she could not be guided any longer, she was by the force of the tide cast into a certaine howld vpon the shore of Caleis, where she was immediatly assaulted by diuers English pinasses, houpes, and drumblers.

And as they lay battering of her with their ordnance, and durst not boord her, the L. Admirall sent thither his long boat with an hundred choise souldiers vnder the command of Captaine Amias Preston. Upon whose approach their fellowes being more emboldened, did offer to boord the galliasse: against whom the gouernour thereof and Captaine of all the foure galliasses, Hugo de Moncada, stoutly opposed himselfe, fighting by so much the more valiantly, in that he hoped presently to be succoured by the Duke of Parma. In the meane season, Moncada, after he had endured the conflict a good while, being hitte on the head with a bullet, fell downe sturke dead, and a great number of Spaniards also were slaine in his company. The greater part of the residue leaping ouer-boord into the sea, to saue themselves by swimming, were most of them drowned. Howbeit there escaped among others Don Anthonio de Manriques, a principall officer in the Spanish fleet (called by them their Veador general) together with a few Spaniards besides: which Anthonio was the first man that carried certaine newes of the successe of their fleet into Spaine.

This huge and monstrous galliasse, wherein were contained thre hundred slaues to lug at the oares, and foure hundred souldiers, was in the space of thre houres rised in the same place; and there were found amongst diuers other comodities 50000 ducats of the Spanish kings treasure.

The Spaniards baine or punishment concerning their own fleet.

The 28 of July.

The galliasse of Hugo de Moncada cast vpon the howld before Caleis.

99. Amias Preston valiantly boordeth the galliasse.

At length when the slaues were releas'd out of their fetters, the English men would haue set the sayd ship on fire, which Monsieur Gourdon the gouernoz of Caleis, for feare of the damage which might thereupon ensue to the Towne and Hauens, would not permit them to do, but draue them from thence with his great ordnance.

The great
fight before
Greueling the
29 of July.

Upon the 29 of July in the morning, the Spanish Fleet after the foresayd tumult, hauing arranged themselves againe into order, were, within sight of Greueling, most brauely and furiously encountered by the English; where they once againe got the winde of the Spaniards: who suffered themselves to be deprived of the commodity of the place in Caleis rode, and of the advantage of the winde neere vnto Dunkerk, rather then they would change their array or separate their forces now conioyned and vnited together, standing onely vpon their defence.

And albeit there were many excellent and warlike ships in the English fleet, yet scarce were there 22 or 23 among them all which match'd 90 of the Spanish ships in bignesse, or could conveniently assault them. Wherefore the English shippes vsing their prerogatiue of nimble strage, whereby they could turne and wield themselves with the winde which way they list'd, came often times very neere vpon the Spaniards, and charged them so soze, that now and then they were but a pikcs length asunder: & so continually giuing them one broad side after another, they discharged all their shot both great and small vpon them, spending one whole day from morning till night in that violent kinde of conflict, vntill such time as powder and bullets failed them. In regard of which want they thought it conuenient not to pursue the Spaniards any longer, because they had many great vantages of the English, namely for the extraordinary bignesse of their ships, and also for that they were so neerely conioyned, and kept together in so good array, that they could by no meanes be fought withall one to one. The English thought therefore, that they had right well acquitted themselves, in chasing the Spaniards first from Caleis, and then from Dunkerk, and by that meanes to haue hindered them from loyning with the Duke of Parma his forces, and getting the winde of them, to haue vnien them from their owne coasts.

The Spaniards that day sustained great losse and damage hauing many of their shippes shot thorow and thorow, and they discharged likewise great soze of ordnance against the English; who indeed sustained some hinderance, but not comparable to the Spaniards losse: for they lost not any one shippe or person of account. For very diligent inquisition being made, the English men all that time wherein the Spanish Navy sayled vpon their seas, are not found to haue wanted aboute one hundreth of their people: albeit Sir Francis Drakes shippe was pierced with shot aboute forty times, and his very cabben was twice shot thorow, and about the conclusion of the fight, the bedde of a certaine gentleman lying weary thereupon, was taken quite from vnder him with the force of a bullet. Likewise, as the Earle of Northumberland and Sir Charles Blunt were at dinner vpon a time, the bullet of a demi-culuering brake thorow the middell of their cabbin, touched their feet, and strooke downe two of the standers by, with many such accidents befalling the English shippes, which it were tedious to rehearse. Whereupon it is most apparant, that God miraculously preferred the English nation. For the L. Admirall wrote vnto her Maestie that in all humane reason, and according to the iudgement of all men (euery circumstance being duly considered) the English men were not of any such force, whereby they might, without a miracle, dare once to approach within sight of the Spanish Fleet: in so much that they freely ascribed all the honour of their victorie vnto God, who had confounded the enemy, and had brought his counsels to none effect.

Three Spanish
shippes
suncke in the
fight.

The same day the Spanish ships were so battered with English shot, that that very night and the day following, two or three of them suncke right downe: and among the rest a certaine great ship of Bicay, which Captaine Crosse assaulted, which perished euen in the time of the conflict, so that very few therein escaped drowning; who reported that the gouernours of the same shippe slew one another vpon the occasion following: one of them which would haue yielded the shippe was suddenly slaine; the brother of the slaine party in reuenge of his death slew the murderer, and in the meane while the ship suncke.

Two galeons
taken and car-
ried into Ze-
land.

The same night two Portugall galeons of the burthen of seuen or eight hundreth tunnes a piece, to wit the Saint Philip and the Saint Marthew, were forsaken of the Spanish Fleet, for they were so tozned with shotte, that the water entered into them on all sides. In the galeon of Saint Philip was Francis de Toledo, brother vnto the Count de Orgas, being Colonell ouer two and thirty hands: besides other gentlemen; who seeing their mast broken with shotte, they shaped their course, as well as they could, for the coast of Flanders: whither when they could not attaine, the principall men in the ship committing themselves to their skiffe, arriued at the next towne, which was Ostend; and the ship it selfe being left behinde with the residue of their company, was taken by the Dutchingers.

In the other galeon, called the S. Marchew, was embarked Don Diego Pimentelli another camp-maister and colonell of 32 bands, being brother vnto the marques of Tannares, with many other gentlemen and captaines. Their ship was not very great, but exceeding strong, for a great number of bullets which had battered her, there were scarce 20 wherewith she was pierced or hurt: her upper worke was of force sufficient to beare off a musket shot: this shippe was shot thorow and pierced in the sight before Greueling; insomuch that the leakage of the water could not be stopped: whereupon the duke of Medina sent his great skiffe vnto the gouernour thereof, that he might saue himselfe and the pzinicipal persons that were in his ship: which he, vpon a haile courage, refused to do: wherefore the Duke charged him to saile nere vnto himselfe: which the night following he could not performe, by reason of the great abundance of water which entered his ship on all sides; for the auoiting wherof, and to saue his ship from sinking, he caused 50 men continually to labor at the pumpe, though it were to small purpose. And seeing himselfe thus forsaken & separated from his admirall, he endeouored what he could to attaine vnto the coast of Flanders: where, being espied by 4 or 5 men of warre, which had their station assigned them vpon the same coast, he was admonished to yeeld himselfe vnto them, which he refusing to do, was strongly assaulted by them altogether, and his ship being pierced with many bullets, was brought into farre worse case then before, and 40 of his souldiers were slaine. By which extremity he was enforced at length to yeeld himselfe vnto Peter Banderduels & other captaines, which brought him and his ship into Zeland; and that other ship also last before mentioned: which both of them, immediately after the greater and better part of their goods were vnladen, suncke right downe.

For the memoery of this exploit, the foresayd captaine Banderduels caused the banner of one of these shippes to be set vp in the great Church of Leiden in Holland, which is of so great a length, that being fastened to the very roofoe, it reached downe to the ground.

About the same time another small ship being by necessity driuen vpon the coast of Flanders, about Blankenberg, was cast away vpon the sands, the people therein being saued. Thus almighty God would haue the Spaniards huge ships to be presented, not onely to the view of the English, but also of the Zelanders; that at the sight of them they might acknowledge of what small ability they had bene to resist such impregnable forces, had not God endued them with courage, prouidence, and fortitude, yea, and sought for them in many places with his owne arme.

The 29 of Iuly the Spanish fleet being encountered by the English (as is aforesayd) and lying close together under their fighting sailes, with a South-west winde sailed past Dunkerk, the English ships still following the chase. Of whom the day following when the Spaniards had got sea room, they cut their maine sailes; whereby they sufficiently declared that they meant no longer to fight but to flee. For which cause the L. Admirall of England dispatched the L. Henrie Seymer with his Squadron of small ships vnto the coast of Flanders, where, with the helpe of the Dutch ships, he might stop the pzinice of Parma his passage, if perhaps he should attempt to issue forth with his army. And he himselfe in the meane space pursued the Spanish fleet vntill the second of August, because he thought they had set saile for Scotland. And albeit he followed them very neere, yet did he not assault them any more, for want of powder and bullets. But vpon the fourth of August, the winde arising, when as the Spaniards had spread all their sailes, betaking themselves wholly to flight, and leauing Scotland on the left hand, trended toward Norway, (whereby they sufficiently declared that their whole intent was to saue themselves by flight, attempting for that purpose, with their battered and crazed ships, the most dangerous navigation of the Northzen seas) the English seeing that they were now proceeded vnto the latitude of 57 degrees, and being unwilling to participate that danger wherein the Spaniards plunged themselves, and because they wanted things necessary, and especially powder & shot, returned backe for England; leauing behinde them certaine pzinasses onely, which they enioyned to follow the Spaniards aloofe, and to obserue their course. And so it came to passe that the fourth of August, with great danger and industry, the English arriued at Harwich: for they had bene tossed vp and downe with a mighty tempest for the space of two or thre dayes together, which it is likely did great hurt vnto the Spanish fleet, being (as I sayd before) so maimed and battered. The English now going on shore, provided themselves forthwith of victuals, gunne-powder, and other things expedient, that they might be ready at all assaies to entertaine the Spanish fleet, if it chanced any more to returne. But being afterward more certainly informed of the Spaniards course, they thought it best to leaue them vnto those boisterous and uncouth Northzen seas, and not there to hunt after them.

The Spaniards seeing now that they wanted foure or five thousand of their people and hauing diuers maimed and sicke persons, and like wise hauing lost 10 or 12 of their principall ships, they consulted among themselves, what they were best to doe, being now escaped out of the hands of

A small shippe cast away about Blankenberg.

The dishonorable flight of the Spanish navy: and the prudent aduice of the L. Admirall.

The English returne home from the pursuit of the Spaniards the 4 of August.

The Spaniards consult to saile round about Scotland and Ireland, and so to returne home.

the English, because their victuals failed them in like sort, and they began also to want cables, cordage, anchors, masts, sails, and other naual furniture, and vntely despaired of the Duke of Parma his assistance (who verily hoping and vndoubtedly expecting the returne of the Spanish Fleet, was continually occupied about his great preparation, commanding abundance of anchors to be made, & other necessary furniture for a Flauy to be prouided) they thought it good at length, so soone as the winde should serue them, to fetch a compasse about Scotland and Ireland, and so to returne for Spaine.

For they well vnderstood, that commandement was giuen throughout all Scotland, that they should not haue any succour or assistance there. Neither yet could they in Norway supply their wants. Wherefore, hauing taken certaine Scottish and other fisher boats, they brought the men on board their owne ships, to the end they might be their guides and Pilots. Fearing also least their fresh water should faile them, they cast all their horses and mules ouer-board: and so touching no where vpon the coast of Scotland, but being carried with a fresh gale betweene the Orcaes and Faar-Iles, they proceeded farre North, euen vnto 61 degrees of latitude, being distant from any land at the least 40 leagues. Where the Duke of Medina generall of the Fleet commanded all his followers to shape their course for Biscay: and he himselfe with twenty or five and twenty of his ships which were best prouided of fresh water and other necessaries, holding on his course ouer the maine Ocean, returned safely home. The residue of his ships being about forty in number, and committed vnto his Vice-admirall, fell neerer with the coast of Ireland, intending their course for Cape Clare, because they hoped there to get fresh water, and to refresh themselves on land. But after they were diuened with many contrary windes, at length, vpon the second of September, they were cast by a tempest arising from the Southwest vpon diuers parts of Ireland, where many of their ships perished. And amongst others, the shippe of Michael de Oquendo, which was one of the great Galliasles: and two great ships of Venice also, namely, la Racta and Belanzara, with other 36 or 38 ships more, which perished in sundry tempests, together with most of the persons contained in them.

Likewise some of the Spanish ships were the second time carried with a strong West winde into the chanell of England, whereof some were taken by the English vpon their coast, and others by the men of Rochel vpon the coast of France.

Moreover, there arriued at Newhauen in Normandy, being by tempest inforced so to doe, one of the foure great Galliasles, where they found the ships with the Spanish women which followed the Fleet at their setting forth. Two ships also were cast away vpon the coast of Norway, one of them being of a great burthen; howbeit all the persons in the sayd great ship were saued: insomuch that of 134 ships, which set saile out of Portugall, there returned home 53 onely small and great: namely of the foure galliasles but one, and but one of the foure gallics. Of the 91 great galleons and hulks there were missing 58, and 33 returned: of the pataches and zabzaes 17 were missing, and 18 returned home. In briefe, there were missing 81 ships, in which number were galliasles, gallies, galeons, and other vessels both great and small. And amongst the 53 ships remaining, those also are reckoned which returned home before they came into the English chanell. Two galeons of those which were returned, were by misfortune burnt as they rode in the haucn; and such like mishaps did many others vndergo. Of 30000 persons which went in this expedition, there perished (according to the number and proportion of the ships) the greater and better part; and many of them which came home, by reason of the toiles and inconueniences which they sustained in this voyage, died not long after their arriual. The Duke of Medina immediately vpon his returne was deposed from his authority, commanded to his priuate house, and forbidden to repaire vnto the Court; where he could hardly satisfie or peece a reason vnto his malicious enemies and backbiters. Many honourable personages and men of great renowne deceased soone after their returne; as namely John Martines de Ricalde, with diuers others. A great part also of the Spanish Nobility and Gentry employes in this expedition perished either by sight, diseases, or drowning, before their arriual; & among the rest Thomas Perenor of Granduell a Dutchman, being earle of Cantebroi, and sonne vnto Cardinall Granduell his brother.

Vpon the coast of Zeland Don Diego de Pimentell, brother vnto the Marques de Tarnares, and kinsman vnto the earle of Beneuentum & Calna, and Colonell ouer 32 bands with many other in the same ship was taken and detained as prisoner in Zeland.

Into England (as we sayd before) Don Pedro de Valdez, a man of singular experience, and greatly honoured in his countrey, was led captiue, being accompanied with Don Vasquez de Silua, Don Alonzo de Sayas, and others.

Likewise vpon the Scottish Westerne Isles of Lewis, and Ila, and about Cape Cantyre vpon the maine land, there were cast away certaine Spanish shippes, out of which were saued di-

The shippes wreake of the Spaniards vpon the Irish coast.

Of 134 ships of the Spanish fleet, there returned home but 53.

uers Captaines and Gentlemen, and almost foure hundred souldiers, who for the most part, after their shipwracke, were brought vnto Edenborough in Scotland, and being miserably needy and naked, were there clothed at the liberality of the King and the Marchants, and afterwards were secretly shipped for Spaine; but the Scottish fleet wherein they passed touching at Yarmouth on the coast of Norfolk, were there stayed for a time vntill the Councils pleasure was knowne; who in regard of their manifolde miseries, though they were enemies, wincked at their passage.

Vpon the Irish coast many of their Noblemen and Gentlemen were drowned; and diuers slaine by the barbarous and wilde Irish. Howbeit there was brought prisoner out of Ireland, Don Alonzo de Lucón, Colonell of two and thirtie bandes, commonly called a terza of Naples; together with Rodrigo de Lasso, and two others of the family of Cordoua, who were committed vnto the custodie of Sir Horatio Palauicini, that Monsieur de Teligny the sonne of Monsieur de la Nouë (who being taken in fight neere Antwerpe, was detained prisoner in the Castle of Turney) might be rauallomed for them by way of exchange. To conclude, there was no famous nor woorthy family in all Spaine, which in this expedition lost not a sonne, a brother, or a kinsman.

For the perpetuall memorie of this matter, the Zelanders caused newe coine of Silver and brasse to be stamped: which on the one side contained the armes of Zeland, with this inscription: G L O R Y T O G O D O N E L Y: and on the other side, the pictures of certaine great ships, with these words: THE SPANISH FLEET: and in the circumference about the ships: I T C A M E, W E N T, A N D W A S. Anno 1588. That is to say, the Spanish fleet came, went, and was vanquished this yere; for which, glory be giuen to God onely.

Newe coines stamped for the memorie of the Spaniards overthrow.

Likewise they coined another kinde of money; vpon the one side whereof was represented a ship fleeing, and a ship sincking: on the other side foure men making prayers and giuing thanks vnto God vpon their knees; with this sentence: Man purposeth; God disposeth. 1588. Also, for the lasting memorie of the same matter, they haue stamped in Holland diuers such like coines, according to the custome of the ancient Romans.

While this wonderfull and puissant Raute was sayling along the English coastes, and all men did now plainly see and heare that which before they would not be perswaded of, all people throughout England prostrated themselves with humble prayers and supplications vnto God: but especially the oulandish Churches (who had greatest cause to feare, and against whom by name, the Spaniards had threatened most grievous torments) enioyned to their people continuall fastings and supplications, that they might turne away Gods wrath and fury now imminent vpon them for their sinnes: knowing right well, that prayer was the onely refuge against all enemies, calamities, and necessities, and that it was the onely solace and reliefe for mankinde, being visited with affliction and misery. Like wise such solemn dayes of supplication were obserued throughout the vniued Provinces.

The people of England and of the vniued Provinces, pray, fast, and giue thanks vnto God.

Also a while after the Spanish Fleet was departed, there was in England, by the commandement of her Maiestie, and in the vniued Provinces, by the direction of the States, a solempne festiuall day publickly appointed, wherein all persons were enioyned to resort vnto the Church, and there to render thanks and praises vnto God: and the Preachers were commanded to exhort the people thereunto. The foresayd solempnity was obserued vpon the 29 of Nouember; which day was wholly spent in fasting, prayer, and giuing of thanks.

Like wise, the Queenes Maiestie herselfe, imitating the ancient Romans, rode into London in triumph, in regard of her owne and her Subjects glorious deliuerance. For being attended vpon very solempnely by all the principall estates and officers of her Realme, she was carried throughout her sayd City of London in a triumphanc chariot, and in robes of triumph, from her Palace vnto the Cathedrall Church of Saint Paul, out of the which the ensignes and colours of the vanquished Spaniards being displayed. And all the Citizens of London in their Liuries stood on either side the street, by their seuerall Companies, with their ensignes and banners: and the streets were hanged on both sides with Blew cloth, which, together with the foresayd banners, yielded a very stately and gallant prospect. Her Maiestie being entered into the Church, together with her Clergie and Nobles gaue thanks vnto God, and caused a publicke Sermon to be preached before her at Pauls crosse; wherein none other argument was handled, but that praise, honour, and glory might be rendered vnto God; and that Gods name might be extolled by thanksgiving. And with her owne princely voice she most Christianly exhorted the people to doe the same: whereupon the people with a loud acclamation wished her a most long and happy life, to the confusion of her foes.

Thus the magnificent, huge, and mighty fleet of the Spaniards (which themselves termed in all places invincible) such as sayled not vpon the Ocean sea many hundred yeeres befoze, in the yeere 1588 vanished into smoake; to the great confusion and discouragement of the aurbours thereof. In regard of which her Maiesties happy successe all her neighbours and friends congratulated with her, and many verses were penned to the honour of her Maiesty by learned men, whereof some which came to our hands we will here annere,

AD SERENISSIMAM ELIZABETHAM ANGLIÆ REGINAM
THEODOR. BEZA.

(* * *)

S Trauerat innumeris Hispanus nauibus æquor,
Regnis iuncturus sceptrâ Britanna suis.
Tanti huius, rogitas, quæ motus causa? superbos
Impulit Ambitio, vexit Auaritia.
Quàm bene te ambitio inersit vanissima ventus?
Et tumidos tumida, vos superastis aqua!
Quàm bene totius raptores orbis auaros,
Hauit inexhausti iusta vorago maris!
Actu, cui venti, cui totum militat æquor,
Regina, ô mundi totius vna, decus,
Sic regnare Deo perge, ambitione remota,
Prodiga sic opibus perge iuuare pios,
Vt te Angli longum, longum Anglis ipsa fruatis,
Quàm dilecta bonis, tam metuenda malis.

The same in English.

The Spanish Fleet did flote in narrow Seas,
And bend her ships against the English shore,
With so great rage as nothing could appeale,
And with such strength as neuer seene befoze:
And all to ioyne the kingdome of that land
Unto the kingdomes that he had in hand,
Now if you aske what set this king on fire,
To practise warre when he of peace did treat,
It was his Pride, and neuer quencht desire,
To spoile that Islands wealth, by peace made great:
His Pride which farre about the heauens did swell,
And his desire as vnstuffed as hell.
But well haue windes his proud blasts ouerblowen,
And swelling waues alayd his swelling heart,
Well hath the Sea with greedie gulfs vnknownen,
Deuoured the deuourer to his smart:
And made his ships a pray vnto the sand,
That meane to pray vpon anothers land.
And now, O Queene, about all others blest,
For whom both windes and waues are prest to fight,
So rule your owne, so succour friends oppressed,
(As farre from pride, as ready to do right)
That England you, you England long enjoy,
No lesse your friends delight, then foes annoy.

A briefe and true report of the Honorable voyage vnto
 Cadiz, 1596. of the ouerthrow of the kings Fleet, and of the winning,
 sacking, and burning of the Citie, with all other accidents of
 moment, thereunto appertaining,



After that the two most Noble and Renowned Lords Generals: The L. Robert Earle of Essex, and the L. Charles Howard L. High Admirall of England, were come vnto Plymmouth (which was about the beginning of May last, 1596.) being there accompanied with diuers other noble Peeres, as the Earle of Suffex, the L. Thomas Howard, the L. Harbert, the L. Warden Sir Walter Raleigh: the L. Marshall Sir Francis Vere: the L. Burk, Don Christopher young Prince of Portugall, young Count Lodouick of Naslaw, and the Admirall of the Hollanders, Sir Iohn Vanderfoord: besides many other most worthy Knights and Gentlemen of great woorth attending vpon this most honorable Action: It pleased them, there to make their abode for the time of that moneth, as well for the new furnishing and reuictualing of her Maiesties Royall Maie: as also for the expecting of some other ships, which were to come from diuers places of the Realme, and were as yet wanting: making that place as it should seeme the Rendeuous for all the whole Fleet, there to compleate the full number of all such companies both for sea and land: as was in their noble and deepe wisebomes thought meete and agreed vpon.

All the time of this their abode there, there was a most zealous and diligent care had for the holy seruice of God, dayly and reuerently to be frequented: and also for other good and ciuill orders of militarie discipline to be obserued, to the exceeding great comfourt and reioycing of all the hearts of the godly and well disposed.

And for that it might the better appeare, that there was small hope of pardon to be expected of the offenders, if they did at any time neglect their duties, about due obseruation of matters of importance: Their orders, lawes, and decrees being once published: about the 8, or 9, of the same moneth, there were two offenders executed a litle without the towne, in a very sayre pleasant greene, called the Ho: the one for beginning of a muteny in his company, the other for running away from his Colours.

And about the same time in the Dutch Regiment, an other for murthering of one of his companions, about a quarrell betweene themselves, rising as it was supposed, vpon their drinke, was by order of Martiall law, presently tyed to the partie so murthered, and forthwith both of them so cast into the sea.

Moreover, about the 28. of the same moneth, a certaine Lieutenant (whose name I will forbear) was by sound of Drumme publikely in all the streets disgraced, or rather after a sorte disgraced, and cashiered for bearing any farther Office at that time, for the taking of money by way of corruption, of certaine prest souldiers in the Countrey, and for placing of others in their roomes, moze unfit for seruice, and of lesse sufficiency and abilltie. This severe executing of iustice at the very first did breed such a deepe terroz in the hearts of the whole armie, that it seemed to cut off all occasion of the like disorder for euer afterwards to be attempted.

And here before their departure fro Plymmouth, it pleased their Lordships to publish in print, and make knowne to all the world, especially to such as whom it concerned, and that both in the Latine, French, Dutch, English and Spanishe tongue, what were the true, iust, and vrgent causes, that at this time prouoked her Maiestie, to vndertake the preparing and setting forth of this to great a Maie, annexing thereunto a full declatation, what was their good will and pleasure should be done and performed of all them that ment not to incurre their owne priuate present daungers, or else were willing to auoyse her Maiesties future indignation and displeasure.

Likewise now, at the same instant, their owne most prouident and godly decrees, which they had deuised for the honest cariage of euery particular person in their degrees and vocation, were made knowne to all men, and published in sundry writings, with diuers great punishments, set downe and appointed for the wilfull offenders and breakers of the same.

Thus then, all things being in very good order and well appointed, the most holy name of our Omnipotent God being most religiously and deuoutly called vpon, and his blessed and sacred Communion being diuers times most reuerently and publikely celebrated: These two most noble personages, with all their honorable Afforats, and most famous worthy Knights, Gentlemen, Captaines, Leaders, and very willing and expert Souldiers, and Mariners, being furnished with 150. good sayle of shippes or thereabout: In the name of the most High & everliuing God,

God, and with all true and faithful obedience, to her sacred Majesty, to the infinite good and tranquillitie of our Countrey, and to the perpetuall glory, and triumphant renoume of the eternall memory of their honorable names to all posterity, the first day of June embarked themselves, weighed Ancre, and hoysed by sayle, and put to sea onward their iourney from the Sownds of Plymmouth.

The winde, at the first setting forth, seemed very favourable: but yet in the evening growing very scant, and all that night falling moze and moze against vs, and we hauing sayled no further then to a certaine place called Dodman head: we were constrained the next day, to make our returne to the road of Plymmouth againe, and there in the Sownds to lie at ancre for that night.

About this time, and in this very place, by good fortune there came to my handes a prayer in English, touching this present Action, and made by her Maiestie, as it was voyced: The prayer seemed to me to be most excellent, as well for the matter, as also for the manner, and therefore for certaine diuers good motiues which then presently came to my minde, and where of here after in his moze conuenient time and place, I will make farther mention, I presumed at that very instant to translate it into Latine.

The Prayer is thus.

Most Omnipotent maker and guide of all our worlds masse, that onely searchest and fastest the bottome of all our hearts conceits, and in them seest the true originals of all our actions intended: thou that by thy foresight doest truly discern, how no malice of reuenge, nor quittance of iniury, nor desire of bloodshed, nor greedynesse of lucre hath bred the resolution of our now set out Army, but a heedfull care, & wary watch, that no neglect of foes, nor ouer-surety of harme might breed either daunger to vs, or glory to them: these being the grounds where-with thou doest enspire the mind, we humbly beseech thee with bended knees, prosper the worke, and with best forewindes guide the iourney, speed the victozy, and make the returne the aduancement of thy glory, the tryumph of their fame, and surety to the Realme, with the least losse of the English blood. To these deuout petitions Lord giue thou thy blessed grant.

My homely translation is thus.

Summè præpotens Deus, immensæ huius totius nostri mundi molis fabricator & Rector, qui solus perscrutaris intimos cordis nostri sensus, & ad fundum vsq; nostrarum cogitationum explorando penetras, ac in eis, quid verè, & ex animo cogitemus, & quæ sint actionum nostrarum rationes, ac fundamenta, cognoscis: Tu, qui ea, quæ in te est, ab omni aternitate præscientia, vides, quòd nec aliqua vlciscendi malitiosa cupiditas, nec iniuriarum referendarum desiderium, nec sanguinis effundendi sitis, nec alicuius lucri, quæstusue auiditas ad istam classem præparandam, & emittendam nos commouerit: sed potius, quòd prouida quædam cura, solersque vigilantia huc nos impulerit: ne vel inimicorum nostrorum neglectus, vel status nostri firmitatis nimium secura cogitatio, aut illis gloriam & honorem, aut nobis damnû & periculum pariat: Cum, inquam, hæc sint nostri, quicquid attentatur, negotii fundamenta: cumque tu hunc nobis animum, mentemq; inieceris, vt istud aggredieremur: curuatis genibus a te humillimè petimus, vt velis hoc nostrum inceptum secundissimè fortunare: totum iter prosperimis flatibus dirigere, celerem & expeditâ victoriam nobis concedere, reditumq; talem nostris militibus elargiri, qualis & nomini tuo incrementum gloriæ, & illis famæ, laudisque triumphum, & Regno nostro firmam tranquillitatem possit apportare: idque cumminimo Anglorum sanguinis dispendio. His nostris religiosis petitionibus concede, Domine, sacrosanctam & annuentem voluntatem tuam.

After that we had anchored at Plymmouth that night, as I haue said, the third of June very early in the morning, hauing a reasonable fresh gale of winde, we set sayle, and kept our course againe, and the ninth of the same moneth comming something neere to the North cape, in a maner in the same altitude, or not much differing, which was about xliiii. degrees, and something moze, yet bearing so, as it was impossible to bee descried from the land: There it pleased the Lozds to call a select Councell, which was alwayes done by hanging out of a flagge of the armes of England, and shooting off of a great warning peece. Of this select or priuie Councell, were no moe then these: The two Lozds Generall, the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lozde Warden Sir Walter Raleigh, the Lord Partiaall Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Cary master of the Ordnance, Sir Coniers Clifford, and Sir Anthony Ashley, Clarke of the sayde Councell.

Counsell. And when it pleased the Lords Generall to call a common Counsell (as often times they did upon weightie matters best known to their honours) then they would cause an other kinde of flagge to be hanged out, which was the Redcrosse of S. George, and was very easie to be discerned from the other that appertained onely to the select Counsell; and so often as this flagge of Saint George was hanged out; then came all the Masters and Captaines of all the ships, whose opinions were to be demaunded, in such matters as appertayned vnto this sayd select Counsell: It was presently concluded, that our course in sayling should sooze with be altered, and that we should beare moze into the West, for some purposes to them best known.

At that very instant many letters of instructions were addressed and sent to euery particular Master and Captaine of the Ships: That the contentes of those letters of instructions were it was not as yet knowne vnto any, neither was it held meet to be enquired of known of any of vs. But vnder the titles and superscriptions of euery mans particuler letter these wordes were endozed. Open not these letters on pain of your liues, vnles we chance to be scattered by tempest, and in that case open them, and execute the contentis thereof: but if by mishap you fall into your enemies hand, then in any case cast them into the sea, sealed as they are. It should seeme that these letters did containe in them the principall place and meaning of this intended action, which was hitherto by their deepe foresights kept so secret, as no man to my knowledge either did, or coulde so much as suspect it, moze then themselves, who had the onely managing thereof. A conceite in my iudgement of greatest moment in the world, to effect any matter of impoztance. I meane, to entertaine those two vertues, Fidem, & Taciturnitatem: so much commended by the old writers. And if there was euer any great designement, in this our age, and in memorie, discretely, faithfully, and closely caried, I assure my selfe it was this, and though it were but in respect of that popyt onely: yet for such faithfull secretie, it deserueth immoztall praise.

All this while, our ships, God be thanked, kept in a most excellent good order, being deuided into five squadrons: that is to say, The Earle of Essex, the Lord Admirall, the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Warden Sir Walter Raleigh, and the Admirall of the Hollanders. All which squadrons; albeit they did euery day separate themselves of purpose, by the distance of certaine leagues, as well to looke out for such shippes as were happily vnder sayle, as also for the better procuring of sea-roome: yet alwayes commonly eether that day, or the next day, toward evening, they came all together, with friendly salutations and gratulations one to another: which they terme by the name of Dayling: a ceremonie done solemnly, and in verie good order, with sound of Trumpets and noyle of cheerefull voyces: and in such sort performed as was no small encouragement one to the other, beside a true report of all such accidents, as had happened in their squadrons.

Hitherto, as I sayde, our journey was most prosperous, and all our shippes in very good plight, moze then that the Mary Rose, by some mishance, either sprang or spent her fore-parde; and two dayes after Sir Robert Crosle had in a maner the like mishance.

Naue being thus betwene the North cape, and cape S. Vincent; and yet keeping such a course a loofe, that by no meanes, those from the shoare might be able to descric vs: The tenth of Iune, a French Barke, and a Fleming coming from the coast of Barbarie were brought in by some of our companie: but they were both of them very honourably and well bled by the Lords Generall: and so after a few dayes tarrying, were peaceably sent away, after that they had conferred with them about such matters, as was thought good in their honozable wisdomes.

The twelfth of the same moneth, Sir Richard Leuison Knight, assisted with Sir Christopher Blunt, fought with threie Hamburgers; and in that fight. Awe two of them; and hure eleuen, and in the ende brought them all threie in: and this was the very first handell and maddenhead (as it were) of any matter of impoztance, or exployt woortly obseruation that was done in the way outward of this honozable voyage, and was so well performed of those most woortly Gentlemen, as euery man highly commended them for their great valure, and discretion, and no lesse reioyced at this their fortunat successe.

The next day after, Sir Richard Weston meeting with a Fleming, who refused to vake his foretoppe, with the like good courage and resolution, attempted to bring him in: The fight continued very hot betwene them, for a good space: in the end the Swan, wherein the sayd Sir Richard was, had her forebeake strooken off: and hauing spent befoze in fight the one side of her side of Ordnance, while she prepared a cast about, and to bestow on him the other side, in the meane time the Fleming taking this oppoztunity, did get almost halfe a league from him: and so for that time made his escape. And yet the next day after, the sayd Fleming being in a maner got to the very mouth of the Riuer by to Lisboue, was taken, and brought in by P. Dorrell;

being

being Captaine of the John and Francis of London. Thus by deviding their Squadrons, and spreading the whole sea ouer a mighty way, there could not so much as the least pinke passe but she was elped and brought in.

The 13. 14. and 15. dayes, certaine little Tragling Carauels were taken by certaine of the Fleete, and in one of them a young beggarly Fryer vterly vnderlearned, with a great packet of letters for Lisbon: the pooze wretches were maruellously well vsed by the Loyds Generall, and that Carauel, and the like still as they were taken were commaunded to giue their attendaunce, and their Honor did vnderstand what they might of these pooze men, of the estate of Spaine for that present,

About this time and in this place it was, that first in all my life time I did see the flying fishes, who when they are hardly pinched and chased by the Bonitoes and other great fishes, then to auoyde the daunger, they presently mount vp, and forsake the water, and betake themselves to the benefite of their winges and make their flight, which commonly is not aboue five or sixe scoze, or there about, and then they are constrained to fall downe into the water againe, and it is the Mariners opinion that they can fly no longer then their wings be wet. The fishie selfe is about the bignesse of a Hackrell or a great white Pearing, and much of that colour and making, with two large wings shaped of nature very cunningly, and with great delight to behold, in all the world much like to our Gentlewomens dutch Fans, that are made either of paper, or parchment, or silke, or other stufte, which will with certaine pleighs easily ruine and fold themselves together. One of these flying fishes was presented to my L. Admirall by a fisher man, and newly taken in his L. returne from Cadiz, and then I had good leasure and opportunity to view it.

The 18. day early in the morning wee tooke an Irish man, and he came directly from Cadiz, hauing bene there but the day before at twelue of the clocke at high noone. This man being examined, told truly that there was now great store of shipping at Cadiz, and with them xviii. or xix. gallies in a readinesse; and that among those ships there were diuers of the kings best: and namely, that the Philip of Spaine was amongst them, but what their intent was, hee could not tell. This man was commaunded also to giue his attendaunce.

The 20. of June being Sunday, we came before Cadiz very early in the morning, and in all this time as yet, the whole May had not lost either by sicknesse or by any other manner of wayes sixe men to my knowledge: as for the Dutch company, I am not able precisely to say what happened there, for that they were no part of our charge to be looked vnto, but were a regiment entire of themselves, and by themselves to be prouided for, either for their diet, or for the preservation of their healths by phisicke.

Thus then I lay, being all in good plight and strong, the 20. of June wee came to Cadiz, and there very early in the morning presented our selues before the Towne, ryding about a league or something lesse, from it. The sea at that instant went maruelous high, and the winde was exceeding large. Notwithstanding, a Councell being called, our Loyds Generall tooke with attempted with all expedition to land some certaine companies of their men at the West side of the Towne, by certaine long boats, light bozemen, pynelles, and barges made for the purpose, but could not compasse it, and in the attempting thereof, they chanced to sinke one of their Barges, with some foure scoze good souldiers well appointed in her, and yet by good hap and great care, the men were all saued excepting viii. And therefore they were constrained to put off their landing till an other more conuenient time.

That morning very timely, there lighted a very faire doue vpon the maine part of the L. Admirals ship, and there she sat very quietly for the space of 3. or 4. houres, being nothing distuayed all that while, euery man gazed and looked much vpon her, and spake their minds and opinions, yet all concluding by no means to disquiet her: I for my part, tooke it for a very good omen and boading, as in cruetly (God be thanked) there fell out nothing in the end to the contrary. And as at our very first comming to Cadiz this chanced, so likewise on the very last day of our departing from the same towne, another Doue presented her selfe in the selfe same order into the same ship, and presently grew wonderfull came and familiar to vs all, and did so still keepe vs company, euen till our arriual here in England.

We no sooner presented our selues, but presently a goodly sort of tall Spanish ships came out of the mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, the Gallies accompanying them in such good order, and so placed as all of them might well succour each other, and there withall kept themselves very close to their towne, the castle, and the forts, for their better guard and defence, abiding there still, and expecting our farther determination. All that day passed, being very rough and boisterous, and little or nothing could be done, more then that about the euening there passed some friendly and kinde

salutations sent one from the other in warlike maner, by discharging certain great peeces, but to my knowledge no hurt done at all, or else very little.

A carefull and diligent watch was had all that night thorough out the whole armie, and on monday morning being the 21. day, the winde and weather being become moderate and favourable, betweene five and sixe of the clocke in the morning, our ships in the name of almighty God, and in defence of the honour of England, without any farther delay, with all speed, courage, and alacritie, did set vpon the Spanish ships, being then vnder sayle, and making out of the mouth of the Bay of Cadiz, by toward Puente de Suaco on Granada side, being in number thirteen tall ships, with xix. or xx. Gallies attending vpon them, sorted in such good order, and reasonable distance as they might still annoy vs, and alwayes relieue themselves interchangeably: hauing likewise the Castle, Forts, and Towne, continually to assist them and theirs, and alwayes ready to play vpon vs and ours.

In most mens opinions it seemed that the enemy had a wonderful auantage of vs, all circumstances being well weighed, but especially the straightnesse of the place, and the naturall forme and situation of the Bay it selfe, being rightly considered, for albeit the very Bay it selfe is very large and exceeding beautifull, so that from Cadiz to Port S. Mary, is some vi. or vii. English miles ouer or there abouts, yet be there many rockes, shelues, sands and shallows in it, so that the very chanel & place for sea room, is not aboue 2. or 3. miles, yea and in some places, not so much, for the ships of any great burthen, to make way in, but that they must either be set on ground or else constrained to run fowle one on another. All this notwithstanding, with great and inuincible courage, the Loyds generall presently set vpon them, and sorting out some such conuenient ships, as to their honorable wisdomes seemed fittest for that times seruice, they were driuen to take some other course then befoze had beene by them intended. Wherefoze vpon a graue consultation had by a select Counsell, what great dangers might ensue vpon so mightie a disadvantage as appeared in all probability, if it were not by good and sound iudgement prevented, & therewithall in their singular wisdomes foreseeing that some great stratagem might be practised by the enemy, either by fire-wozke, or some other subtil politike deuise, for the hazarding of her Maesties ships of honoz in so narrow a place, thus with al expedition they concluded that the Vice-admirall, the L. Thomas Howard, that most noble L. Howard (whose exceeding great magnanimity, courage, & wisdom, toynd with such an honozable kind of sweet courtelie, bountie, and liberaltie, as is not able by me & my weakenes to be exprested, hath wonne him all the faithfull louing hearts of as many as euer haue had any maner of dealing with him) This L. Thomas, I say, in y Non Pareille for that time, & the Reare Admirall Sir Walter Raleigh (a man of maruelous great worth & regard, for many his exceeding singular great vertues, right fortitude & great resolution in all matters of importance) in the Warspight afforiated with diuers most famous wozy knightes, namely, Sir Francis Vere the L. Partiaill in the Rainbow, Sir George Cary D. of the Ordinance, in the Mary rose, Sir Robert Southwell in the Lyon, gentlemen for all laudable good vertues, and for perfect courage & discretion in all military actions, of as great praise & good desert as any gentlemen of their degree whoso euer, hauing with them some of y ships of London, and some of the Dutch Squadron of reasonable burthen, should leade the dance, & giue the onset, and that the two most noble Loyds generall with some others of their companies, should in their conuenient time & order, second the maine battell. The fight being begunne and growen very hot, the L. Generall the Earle of Essex, (whose infinite princely vertues, with triumphant fame, deserue to be immortalized) being on Port S. Mary side, vpon a sudden & vnlooked for of others, thrust himselfe among the foremost into the maine battell. The other most honozable L. Generall (whose singular vertues in all respects are of such an excellencie & perfection, as neither can my praise in any part increase them, nor any mans enuy any whit blenish or diminish the) vnderstanding, the most noble Earle to be in fight among them, & perceiuing by the D. of his ship, the Arke royall, that for lacke of water, it was not possible, that he might put any neerer, without farther delay, called presently for his Pynnelle, and in the same Pynnelle put himselfe, and his honozable son L. William Howard that now is, aboord the Honor de la mer, & there remained in the fight till the battell was ended. The fight was very terrible, and most hideous to the beholder by the continuall discharging of those roaring thundering great peeces, on all sides, and so continued doubtful till about one or two of the clocke in the afternoone: about which time the Philip, whom in very truth, they had all most fancie vnto, began to peele and giue ouer, her men that remained aliuelying for themselves as they were able, and swimming and running a shoare with all the hast that they could possibly, & therewithall, at the very same instant themselves fired their ship, and so left her, & presently thereupon a great Argolie, with an other mighty great ship, fired themselves in y like maner. Immediately hereupon, the residue of the ships, ran themselves on ground,

as farre from vs as they could, and thereby purchas'd their owne safety, or rather breathing space for the time. Of them all two faire ships only were boord'd and taken by our men with most part of their furniture in them, the one called *S. Marthy*, a ship by estimation of some 200. hundred tunne, and the other *S. Andrew*, being a ship of not much lesser burthen. The Gallies, seeing this suddaine great victorizous ouerthrow, made all the hast they could toward the Bridge called *Puente de Suaço*, and there shew'd themselves in such sort as our shippes could not by any meanes possible come nigh them for lacke of water.

The Spanish ships in all were lix. & as is say'd, all tall ships & very richly furnished and well appointed, wherof some of them were bound for the Indies, and other freighted and furnished for Lisbon, as themselves affirme: and had we not come that very time that we did, (which for my part, I do not attribute so much vnto meere chance, as to some secret deepe insight and foreknowledge of the two most worthy Lords generall, who no doubt spared for no cost or labour for true intelligence) we had certainly mist of them all.

Of what great wealth and riches these ships were, that I leaue to other mens iudgement and report, but sure I am, that themselves offer'd two millions and a halfe of ducats for the redemption of the goods and riches that were in them: which offer of theirs, albeit it was accepted of the Lords Generall, and should haue bene receiued, yet we were defeated of it, as hereafter shall be moze at large declar'd.

What maner of fight this was, & with what courage perform'd, and with what terror to the beholder continued, where so many thundering tearing peeces were for so long a time discharged, I leaue it to the Reader to thinke & imagine. Yet such was the great mercy & goodnes of our liuing God, that in all this cruell terrible fight, in the end, there were not either slaine or hurt by any maner of meanes (excepting one mischance that happened, wherof I will by & by make mention) many aboute the number of 100. of our men: notwithstanding diuers of our shippes were many times shot thorow and thorow: yea and some of them nolesse then two and twentie times, as I was enform'd by credible report of the Captaines and Masters themselves. I knowe not of any other hurt done, sauing onely that *Sir Robert Southwell*, who alwayes shew'd himselfe a most valiant resolute knight in all this action, making a little too much haste with his Pinnesse to boord the Philip, had there his said Pinnesse burnt with the Philip at the same instant, and yet by good care and diligence his men were saued.

One other mischance (as I said) there happened, and it was thus: One of the Flemings sloop-boats, who had, in all the conflict befoze, caried himselfe very well and valiantly, about ten of the clocke while the fight continued sharpest, chanced by great negligence and misfortune, to be fired and blowen by by his owne powder, who could not haue any fetter in him, then one hundred fighting men by all supposall, and so in the very twinkling of an eye, both shippe and men were all cast away, excepting vii. or viiii. which by very good fortune, and great care and diligence of some of the other ships were saued.

Immediately vpon this notable victory without any farther stay in all the world, the Lord generall the Earle of Essex put to shore, and landed about 3000. foot, & pikemen: of the which number the one halfe was presently dispatched to the bridge *Puente de Suaço*, vnder the conduct of three most famous worthy knights, *Sir Christopher Blunt*, *Sir Coniers Clifford*, & *Sir Thomas Gerard*: with the other halfe, being about fiftene hundred, the most noble Earle of Essex himselfe, being accompanied with diuers other honorable Lords, namely the Earle of *Suffex*, the Lord *Harbert*, the Lord *Burk*, Count *Lodouick of Nassaw*, the Lord *Partiiall Sir Francis Vere*, with many other worthy knights, and men of great regard, who all in that dayes seruice did most valiantly behaue themselves, with all expedition possible march'd on foote toward the towne of *Cadiz*, which was about three English miles march. That time of the day was very hot and faint, and the way was all of dry deepe slyding sawd in a manner, and beside that, very vneuen, and by that meanes so tiresome and painefull as might be. The enemye hauing reasonable companie both of horse and footemen, stood in a readinesse some good distance without the towne to welcome vs, and to encounter the Lorde Generall. But the most famous Earle with his valiant Troopes, rather running in deede in good order, then marching, hastened on them with such vspeakable courage and celeritie, as within one houres space and lesse, the horsemen were all discomfited and put to flight, their leader being strooken downe at the very first encounter, wherat the footemen being wonderfully dismayed and astonish'd at the vnerspected maner of the Englishmens kinde of such fierce and resolute fight, repyed themselves with all the speede possible that they could, to recouer themselves into the Towne againe, which being done by them, with farre swifter legges then manly courage, our men were enforced to skale the walles: which thing in very deede, although it was not without

without great danger and difficulty to be performed: Yet ſuch was the inuincible reſolution, and the wonderfull dexterity of the Engliſh, that in one halfe houre or thereabout, the enimie was repulſed, and the towne wall poſſeſſed, by the noble Earle himſelſe, being in all this action, either the very firſt man or els in a maner ioined with the firſt.

The towne walles being then poſſeſſed, and the Engliſh Enſigne being there diſplayed vpon them, with all ſpeede poſſible they proceeded on to march through the towne, making ſtill their waie with ſwoorde and ſhot ſo well as they could, being ſtill fought withall at euery turne.

Immediately vpon this moſt famous entrie, the noble Earle, (according to their reſolutions, as I take it, put downe befoze) was ſeconded by the noble L. Admirall in perſon; who was accompanied, with the noble L. Thomas Howard, the moſt worthy gentleman his ſonne, now L. Howard, Sir Robert Southwell, Sir Richard Lewiſon, and with diuers other gentlemen, his L. followers of good account: his colours being aduanced by that valiant reſolute gentleman, (a man beautified with many excellent rare gifts, of good learning and vnderſtanding) S. Edward Hobby Knight. And thus he likewiſe marching with al poſſible ſpeede on foote, notwithstanding his L. many yeres, the intolerable heate for the time, and the ouercirring tedious deepe ſands, with other many impediments: Yet in good time, ioyned himſelſe with the Earle and his companies, and gaue them the ſtrongeſt, and beſt aſſiſtance that he could.

Thus then the two Lords Generall with their companies being ioyned together, and proceeding ſo farre as the market place, there they were hoſly encountered; where and at what time, that worthy famous knight Sir Iohn Winkfield, being ſore wounded befoze on the thigh, at the very entrie of the towne, and yet for all that no whit reſpecting himſelſe; being caried away with the care he had to encourage and direct his company, was with the ſhot of a muſket in the head moſt vnfortunately ſlaine.

And thus befoze eight of the clocke that night were theſe two moſt noble Lords General, Maſters of the market place, the forts, and the whole Towne and all, onely the Caſtle as yet holding out, & from time to time as they could, ſtill annoying them with ſeuen battering pieces. By this time night began to grow on, and a kind of peace or intermiſſion was obtained by them of the Caſtle: to whom the Lords Generall had ſignified: that vntill befoze the next day in the morning they would abſolutely render themſelues, they ſhould looke for no mercy, but ſhould euery one be put to the ſwoorde: vpon which meſſage they tooke deliberation that night: but in the morning befoze break of day they hanged out their flag of truce, and ſo without any further compoſition did yeeld themſelues abſolutely to their mercy, and deliuered vnto the Caſtle.

And yet notwithstanding all this, in the night time while they had this reſpite to pauſe, and deliberate about the peacemaking, there were diuers great and ſuddaine alarms giuen: which did breed ſonie great outrages and diſorder in the towne. At euery which alarme, the two Lords Generall ſhewed themſelues maruelous ready & forward, inſomuch that at the very firſt alarme, ſkant well ſurnished with any moze defence then their ſhirts, hoſe, and dublets, & thoſe too altogether in a maner vntied, they were abroad in the ſtreetes themſelues, to ſee the vttermoſt of it. But for that it is not as yet very well knowne (or at the leaſt not well knowne vnto me) either wherefoze, or by whom theſe alarms were attempted: I am therefore to intreat, that a bare report, that ſuch a thing was done, may ſuffice.

Theſe things being done, and this ſurrender being made, preſent proclamation was publiſhed, that the fury now being paſt, all men ſhould ſurceaſe from all maner of blood and cruell dealing, and that there ſhould no kind of violence or hard vſage be offered to any, either man, woman or child, vpon paine of death: And ſo permitting the ſpoyle of ſo much of the towne as was by them thought meete, to the common ſouldiers for ſome certaine dayes, they were continually in counſell about other graue directions, beſt knowne to their honorable wiſedomes.

This honorable and mercifull Edict I am ſure was ſtreightly and religiouſly obſerued of the Engliſh: But how well it was kept by the Dutch, I will nether affirme, nor yet denie. For I perceiue betweene them and the Spaniards there is an implacable hartburning, and therefore as ſoone as the Dutch Squadron was eſpied in the ſight, immediatly thereupon both they of Siuil and S. Lucar and alſo ſome of ſome other places did not onely arreſt all ſuch Dutch ſhips, as dealt with them friendly by the way of traffick & Merchandiſe, and ſo conſiſcated their goods, but alſo impriſoned the Merchants and Owners of the ſame, and, as the report goeth, did intreat many of them with extreme cruelty thereupon.

In the meane while the very next day being the two and twenty day of Iune, all the Spaniſh ſhippes which were left on ground in the Bay of Cadiz, where the great overthowe had bene but the day befoze, were by the Spaniards themſelues there ſet on fire; and ſo from that time forward they neuer left burning of them, till euery one of them, goods and all, as farre as wee

know were burnt and consumed. This their doing was much marvelled at of vs, and so much the more, for that, as I sayd before, there had bene made some offer for the redemption and saving of the goods, and it was not to them unknown that this their offer was not disliked, but in all probability should have bene accepted. The common opinion was, that this was done either by the appointment of the Duke de Medina Sidonia, or els by expresse commandment from the higher powers.

Not long after the same time (three dayes as I remember) the gallies that were runne on ground, did quitte themselves also out of that place, and by the bridge of the Island called Puente de Suazo, made their way round about the same Island, and so by putting themselves to the maine sea, escaped to a towne called Rotta, not farre off, but something by towards the Towne of Saint Lucars, and there purchased their safety by that meanes.

Thus was this notable victorie, as well by sea as by land, both begunne and in effect performed, within the compasse, in a maner, of fourteene houres: A thing in truely so strange and admirable, as in my iudgement will rather bee wondered at then beleueed of posteritie. And if euer any notable exploit in any age was comparable to Cæsars Veni, Vidi, Vici, certainly in my pooze opinion it was this.

Were it is to be wished (and perchance of some too it is looked for) that every mans particular worthy acte in this dayes seruice, with the parties names also, should be put downe, that thereby both they and their good deserts might be registred to all posteritie: and for my part I would it were so, and wish I were able to doe it. But for that I confesse it is a matter that passeth my power, yea, and for that I thinke it also a thing impossible to be precisely performed by any other, I am to craue pardon for that I rather leaue it out altogether, then presume to doe it maynely: and in this point I referre the Reader onely to the *Mappe* that is set forth of this journey, where it is in some parte conueniently touched and specified.

The Towne of it selfe was a very beautifull towne, and a large, as being the chiefe See of the Bishop there, and having a goodly Cathedral Church in it, with a right goodly Abbey, a Nunery, and an exceeding fine Colledge of the Iesuites, and was by naturall situation, as also by very good fortification, very strong, and tenable enough in all mens opinions of the better iudgement. Their building was all of a kind of hard stone, euen from the very foundation to the top, and euery house was in a manner a kind of a fort or Castle, altogether flat-roofed in the topp, after the Turkish manner, so that many men together, and that at ease, might walke thereon: hauing vpon the house top, great heapes of weighty stonnes piled by in such good order, as they were ready to be throwen downe by euery woman most easily vpon such as passed by, and the streetes for the most part so exceeding narrow, (I thinke to auoide the intolerable great heat of the Sunne) as but two men or three at the most together, can in any reasonable sorte march thorough them, no streete being broader commonly then I suppose *Watlingstreete* in London to be.

The towne is altogether without glasse, excepting the Churches, yet with faire comely windowes, and with faire grates of iron to them, and haue very large folding leanes of wainscot, or the like. It hath very fewe Chimnies in it, or almost none at all: it may be some one chimney in some one or other of the lower out roomes of less account, seruing for some necessary vses, either to wash in, or the like, or els nowe and then perchance for the drying of a dish of meate, hauing, as it should seeme vnto me, alwayes a greater care and respect how to keepe themselves from all kind of great heat, then how to prouide for any sorte of great colde. It had in it by report of them that should best know it, some foure thousand and moe, of very good able fighting men, and sixe hundred horsemen at the least. No question but that they were well furnished of all things appertaining thereunto, especially so many good ships lying there, and being so well storied with all manner of munitiō, shot, and powder, as they were.

Whether they had knowledge of our coming or no, I can say nothing to it: themselves giue it out that they vnderstood not of it, but onely by a Carauel the Friday at euening before we came. But whether they knew it or no, thus much I dare boldly affirme, that if the English had bene possessed of that or the like Towne, and had bene but halfe so well prouided as they were, they would haue defended it for one two moneths at the least, against any power whatsoever in all Christendome. But surely *G D D* is a mighty *G D D*, and hath a wonderfull secret stroke in all matters, especially of weight and moment. Whether the hearts were killed at the mighty overthrow by sea, or whether they were amazed at the inuincible courage of the English, which was more then ordinary, caring no more for either small shot or great, then in a maner for so many hailestones, or whether the remorse of a guilty conscience toward the English nation,

for their dishonorable and diuillish practises, against her Sacred Majesty, and the Realme, (a matter that easily begetteth a faint heart in a guilty minde) or what other thing there was in it I know not, but be it spoken to their perpetual shame and infamie, there was neuer thing more resolutely perfourmed of the couragious English, nor more shamefully lost of the bragging Spaniards.

Of what wealth this towne should be, I am not able to reserue the asker: for I confesse that for mine owne part, I had not so much good lucke, as to be partaker so much as of one pennie, or penny worth. Howbeit my ill fortune maketh that towne neuer a whit the poozer. But as it should appeare by the great pillage by the common souldiers, and some mariners too, and by the goodly furnitures, that were defaced by the baser people, and thereby verily lost and spoyled, as not woorth the carrying away, and by the ouer great plenty of Wine, Oyle, Almonds, Oliues, Raisins, Spices, and other rich grocery wares, that by the intemperate disorder of some of the rather sozt were knockt out, and lay trampled vnder fecte; in euery common high way, it should appeare that it was of some very mighty great wealth to the first owners, though perchance, not of any such great commoditie to the last subduers, for that I iudge that the better part was most rycously and intemperately spent and consumed. A disorder in mine opinion very much to be lamented, and if it might be by any good meanes remedied, in my conceit, it were a most honourable deuite.

The Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday following, the Lords Generall spent in counsell, about the disposing of all matters, as well touching the towne and prisoners, as also concerning all other matters, thought meete of them in their honourable wisdomes, and in all that meane while did shew such honourable bounty and mercy, as is not able to be exprest. For not onely the liues of euery one were spared, but also there was an especial care had, that al the Religious, as wel men as women, should be well and fauourably intreated, whom freely without any maner of rancome or other molestation, they caused to be safely transported ouer to Port Saint Marie, a towne in a manner as sayre as Cadiz: but at that time, as the case did stand, certainly knowen to be of no wealth in the world, and it was some sixe or seuen miles distant ouer against Cadiz, in a maner as Paules is against Southwarke, on the other side of the Bay, in a part of Andaluza, subiect to the territozy of the Duke de Medina Sidonia.

Howeouer, at the same instant they did appoint that worthy knight Sir Amias Preston, and some others in some conuenient Barkes, to transport ouer to the sayd Towne safely and in good order, a hundred or more of the better sozt of ancient gentlewomen, and marchants wiues, who were suffered to put vpon themselues, some of them two, yea, some three sures of apparel, with some conuenient quantitie of many Jewels, Chaines, and other ornaments belonging to their estate and degree. Such was the heroicall liberality, and exceeding great clemencie, of those most honourable Lords Generall, thereby, as it should seeme vnto mee, beating downe that false surmised opinion, which hath bene hitherto commonly spread abroa, and tertled among the Spaniards: which is, That the English doe trouble them and their countries, more for their golde, riches and pearle &c. then for any other iust occasion. Whereas by these their honourable dealinges it is manifest to all the world, that it is onely in respect of a iust reuenge for the manifolde iniuries, and most dishonourable practises that haue bene from time to time attempted by them against vs and our nation, and also in the defence of the true honour of England: which they haue fought, and daylie doe seeke, by so many sinister and reprochfull deuices, so much as in them lieth, to deface.

Upon Saturday being the 26. Sir Iohn Winkfield knight was buried, in honourable and warlike manner, so farre forth as the circumstances of that time and place could permit. At whose funerals the Nauie discharged a great part of their Ordinance, in such order, as was thought meete and conuenient by the Lords Generals commandement.

The twenty seuench day being Sunday, in the Abbey the diuine seruice was had, and a learned Sermon was made there by one Master Hopkins, the right honour. the Earle of Essex his Preacher, a man of good learning and sweete vterance, and euen there the same day, something befoze the sermon was made, these worchie Gentlemen following were knighted by the Lords General. And here I am to signifie by the way that two of these were knighted three or foure dayes befoze, and some three or foure more were knighted after that time, vpon certaine occasions: but yet I holde it best (and I trust without offence) to recite their names in this place altogether.

The names of such noble men and gentlemen, as were knighted at *Cadiz* in Iune 1596 by the two most honourable *Lordes Generall.*

Iune 21.22.

37.

Sir Samuel Bagnol.
 Sir Arthur Saunge,
 The Earle of Suffex,
 The Lord Harbert,
 The Lord Burck.
 Count Lodowick.
 Sir William Howard.
 Sir George D'Eureux.
 Sir Henry Neuell.
 Sir Edmund Rich.
 Sir Richard Leuen.
 Sir Peter Egomort.
 Sir Anthonie Ashley.
 Sir Henry Leonard.
 Sir Richard Leuison.
 Sir Horatio Vere.
 Sir Arthur Throckmorton.
 Sir Miles Corber.
 Sir Edward Conway.
 Sir Oliuer Lambert.
 Sir Anthony Cooke.
 Sir John Townesend.
 Sir Christopher Heydon.
 Sir Francis Popham.
 Sir Philip Woodhouse.
 Sir Alexander Clifford.
 Sir Maurice Barkley.
 Sir Charles Blunt.
 Sir George Gifford.
 Sir Robert Crosse.
 Sir Iames Escudamor.
 Sir Vrias Leigh.

Sir Iohn Leigh, *alias* Lee.
 Sir Richard Weston.
 Sir Richard Wainman.
 Sir Iames Wootton.
 Sir Richard Ruddal.
 Sir Robert Mansfield.
 Sir William Mounson.
 Sir Iohn Bowles.
 Sir Edward Bowes.
 Sir Humfrey Druel.
 Sir Amias Preston.
 Sir Robert Remington.
 Sir Iohn Buck.
 Sir Iohn Morgan.
 Sir Iohn Aldridg.
 Sir Iohn Ashindon.
 Sir Matthew Browne.
 Sir Iohn Acton.
 Sir Thomas Gates.
 Sir Gilly Mericke.
 Sir Thomas Smith.
 Sir William Pooley.
 Sir Thomas Palmer.
 Sir Iohn Stafford.
 Sir Robert Louel.
 Sir Iohn Gylbert.
 Sir William Haruie.
 Sir Iohn Gray.
 Don Christ. pinte of Portingal.
 Sir Iohn Vanderfoord, Admirall
 of the Hollanders.
 Sir Robert Dudley. 8. August.

I am not curious in placing these gentlemen, but put them downe at a venture. Only I haue obserued, as nere as I could, the iust day and time when they were created. And I trust where the place of it selfe is so worthy and equall, there the bare naming and placing of the parties, shal breede no offence, or make a disparity. The two gentlemen that were last knighted receiued their knighthoed in the way of our returne from *Cadiz*: the one of them vpon the sea; nor farre from the Bay of the Groyne, at what time our ships stood vpon their states for a space, while certaine *Pinnacles* were sent to deserue what shipping was at the Groine: The other at *Plimmouth* in the open streete, when the *Lords Generall* came from the Sermon. The one a man of long seruite, and good desert among the Dutch: the other of so many good parts of a worthy gentleman, as the like are seldome seene to concurre in any.

I spake in the beginning of her *Patentes* praise, which I presumed (though vnto worthy) to translate into Latine: and now at this very time, there was some opportunity offered, for to make some vse of that translation. For now being in *Cadiz*, attending vpon my most honourable good Lord, I talked with certaine of the Religious men, such as I found learned, whereof indeed there were some, though not very many. I talked also with the Bishop of *Cusco* there, a graue aged comely man; and being of late chosen to that Bishopricke, he was as then to haue gone to the Indies, had not we then taken him prisoner, and so stayed his iourney for that time. With these men euer as occasion did serue, I did seeke now and then to spende some speech, and to entertaine time withall, I would speake with them of this our victorie, and of the iniuries and bad dealings of their Prince and Countrey offered to her *Patentie*, whereby shee was prouoked, and in a manner drawn to this action: though otherwise of her own most excellent princely

ppincely good nature, he was altogether given to peace, and quietnes. And alwayes in some part of our conferences, I would shew them a copie of her Maiesties praier in Latine, which I had alwayes of purpose ready about me, wherby it might the better appeare vnto them, how unwillingly, and by how great & vrgent occasions her Maiesty was, as it were enforced to vndertake this action: and therewithall I did vse now and then to bestow vpon them a copy of the same in writing. They seemed in all outward shew to allow of my speeches, and to praise her Maiesties good inclination, and earnestly to wish that there might be a firme concord and peace againe.

It pleased the Lords general to deale exceedingly fauourably with this said Bishop of Cusco: for it was their good pleasure to giue him his free passage without any ranfome, and therewithal to let him to vnderstand, that they came not to deale with Church-men, or vnarmed men, or with men of peace, weaklings & children, neither was it any part of their meaning to make such a voyage for gold, siluer, or any other their wealth and riches, &c. But that their only conning was to meet with their dishonorable practises, and manifold iniuries, & to deale with men of warre and valour, for the defence of the true honour of England: and to let them to vnderstand, that whensoever they attempted any base-conceited & dishonorable practise to their soueraigne Queene, their Distresse, that it should be reuenged to the vttermost, &c.

In this meane space, while the Lords general continued at Cadiz, there came to them certain pooze wreched Turkes, to the number of 38, that had bin a long time gally-slaued, and either at the very time of the fight by sea, or els immediately thereupon, taking the opportunity, did then make their escape, and did swim to land: yeelding themselves to the mercy of their most honorable Lordships. It pleased them with all speed to apparel them, and to furnish them with money, and all other necessaries, and to bestow on them a barke, and a Pilot, to see them freely and safely conueied into Barbary, willing them to let the countrey vnderstand what was done, and what they had seene. Whereby I doubt not, but as her Maiesty is a most admirable Prince already ouer all Europe, all Africk, and Asia, and throughout Christendome: so the whole worlde hereafter shall haue iust cause to admire her infinite Princely vertues, and thereby bee prouoked to confesse, that as she hath bin mightily protected from time to time, by the powerful hand of the almighty, so vndoubtedly, that she is to be iudged and accounted of vs, to be his most sacred handmaide, and chosen vessel. And therefore, whatsoeuer wicked designement shall be conspired and plotted against her Maiesty hereafter, shall be thought to be conspired, plotted, and intended against the almighty himselfe: and for that cause, as I trust, shall be by the infinite goodnes and mercy of that almighty, mightily frustrate and overthrowen.

The 28. day being Sunday, the L. Admiral came aboard the Arke againe, minding there to remaine for a space, as indeed he did, and vpon the aduise of his Physicion, to deale something in physicke, for that his L. found his body something out of frame. At that time it pleased his L. to write certain letters to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, for the deliuerance of English captiues, who were remaining in the gallies. For by this time, it was reported, that the saide Duke was come downe in person with some power, and that he was either at Port S. Mary, or els at Rotta, or thereabout. His L. did endite the letters himselfe, but his pleasure was, they should be turned into Latine by another: and so to be sent (as indeed they were) in the latine tongue vnto the Duke.

A copie of the Lord Admirals letters to the Duke of Medina Sidonia.

Illustrissimo Principi Duci de Medina Sidonia.

Illustrissime Princeps, ex nonnullis quibusdam Hispanis intelligimus, Excellentiam vestram iam nunc esse apud portum *S. Mariae*. Et quoniam in anno Domini 1588. id nobis tunc muneris assignatum erat a sereniss. nostra Regina domina mea, vt contra vos, vestrasq; copias, Ego solus pro eo tempore Generalis essem constitutus: Idcirco non opinamur vobis ignotum esse, quam mite quoddam, & humanum bellandi genus, tum hic iam in hoc ipso tempore, aduersus huius loci populum atq; incolas vsurpauerimus: tum etiam saepius antehac quam humaniter, benignèq; eos omnes tractauerimus, quos ex vestris iure belli captiuos acceperimus. Ex quorum numero quam multa millia, etiam gratis, nullo accepto pretio, libertate donauerimus, id puram omnibus esse testatus, quam vt. à quoquā denegetur. Quocirca, neq; vllō modo nobis in mentem venire potest, vt dubitemus, quin parem etiam in vobis humanitatem aduersus nostros captiuos simus reperituri. Cū igitur nobis compertū iam sit, habere vos in vestris galerris, ex Reginae nostrae serenissimae Dominae meae subditis vnum & quinquaginta captiuos: non equidem dubitamus, quin eos omnes sitis relaxaturi, & ad nos missuri: ea lege, ac conditione,

vt totidem ex vestris hic captiuus eiusdem loci atq; ordiuus, melioris etiam fortassis notæ, ac conditionis, homuncios, ad vos vicissim remittamus, Id quod nos facturos data fide spondemus, quàm primùm nostros captiuos ex vestris manibus acceperimus. Hac in re si nostro desiderio ac voluntati parùm satisfactum erit, aliud profectò tunc posthac belli genus ingrediemur, aliùmq; bellandi morem cogemur, etiam inuiti, & contra voluntatem profequi. Ex Regia Anglicana classe apud *Cadiz* vltimo Iunij, stylo antiquo. 1596. *Carolus Howard.*

These letters were sent by a Spaniard, and an answer was brought from the Duke with all conuenient speed, and as it should seeme by the L. Admirals next answer returned to him in writing, which immediately hereafter foloweth, the Duke de Medina Sidonia his letters were honorable, and with good regard.

A copie of my L. Admirals second letter to the Duke of *Medina Sidonia.*

Illustrissimo Principi Duci de Medina Sidonia.

Illustrissime Princeps, literas ab excellentia vestra hodiè accepimus: quæ verò nostra sic ad illas responsio, nobiles isti viri, qui vestras literas ad nos pertulerunt, plenius declarabunt. Hoc interim cupimus esse penitus persuasum Excellentie vestre, nos sedulo operam daturus, vt in omni honorificæ benignitatis humanitatisq; genere, expectationi vestræ omni ex parte respondeamus. Quod ad Anglicos nostros captiuos attinet, quos ab Excellentia vestra huc ad nos crastino die missum iri expectamus, in eare pollicemur Excellentia vestræ, quòd plenius à nobis vestræ voluntati satisfactum erit: & quòd pro illis captiuus tales nos captiuos vobis remittemus, quales tū ab ipso Dom. *Mendoza*, tum ab alijs illustrib. viris, qui à Dom. *Porta Carero* in illorum ad nos fauorè mittebantur, communi cum consensu erant ab ipsis approbati, Si verò quis alius iam captiuus est vel posthac futurus erit in nostra potestate, pro cuius redemptione nondum plenè conueniunt est & stipulatum de certo pretio persoluendo: concedimus Excellentia vestre, vt in hoc etiã casu vos, vestro pro arbitrio; de illis quicquid velitis, imperetis. Ex Regia classe Anglicana, apud *Cadiz*, 3. die Iulij stylo antiquo. 1596.

Carolus Howard.

The next day after, being the 4. of July, the L. general caused the town of Cadiz to be set on fire, and rased & defaced so much as they could, the faire cathedral Church, and the religious houses only being spared, and left vnblemished. And with the town all such provision for shipping, & other things, as were seruiciable for y^r. use, & yet were not either so conuenient for vs to be carried away, or els such as we stood no whit at all in need of, were likewise at the same instant consumed with fire. And presently therupon, their Lordships, with as conuenient speed as they could, and the whole army in such good order and leisure, as they thought best, came aboard.

The next day being the 5. of July, the L. general with all the armie being vnder saile, & now making for England, & but as yet passing the very mouth of the bay of Cadiz, a galley full of English prisoners, with a flag of truce, met vs frō Rora, sent by the D. of Medina Sidonia, & sent as it should seeme, one day later then his promise: but yet their flag being either not big enough, or not well placed in the galley, or not well discerned of our men, or by what other mischance I know not: but thus it was: by one of our smallest ships y^e sailed foremost, alldone as the said galley came within gunshot, there was a great peece discharged vpon her, & at that instant there was one man slaine outright, and 2. other grieuously hurt. The error being espied and perceiued, our ship gaue ouer immediatly from any farther shooting. As soone as the galley came neere vs, my L. Admiral caused a gracious salutation to be sounded with his trumpets, & willed the captains forthwith to come aboard his ship: which they did, and then he feasted them with a very fine and honorable banquet, as the time and place might serue. And then by their vnderstanding of that vnfortunate mischance that had hapned by the shot of the said ship, he was very soze for the same, and yet such was the mercifull prouidence of almighty God; that euen in this mischance also, he did hold his holy hand ouer the English. And al the harme that was done did light only vpon the poore Turk, and the Spaniard himselfe. When this Lord had well banqueted them, hee presently called for his barge, and did accompany the said galley to the Lord general the Earle of Essex, who then did ride with his ship a good distance off: and there they being in like manner most honorably receiued, and intertaind, the Spanish gentlemen deliuered vp their prisoners the English captiues, of whō some had bin there 6. yeere, some 8. or ten: yea, and some 22. yeere, and vpwart, and some of them but lately taken in S. Francis Drakes last voyage to the Indies. The number of the prisoners deliuered were but 39. and no mo; and were brought in, and deliuered by Don Antonio de Corolla and his brother, and by Don Pedro de Cordua, and certaine others. If you demaund why, of one and fiftie Captiues, there were no moe deliuered then was; I presuppole, (and I thinke it true to) that at that time the residue were farther off in some remote places of Spaine bestowed, and so by that meanes, not able at this time to bee in a readinesse, but yet like
enough

enough that there is some good order taken for them hereafter, to be redeemed, and sent over into England.

If any man presume here so farre, as to enquire how it chanced, that the Lords generall rested so long at Cadiz, and went no farther, and why Port S. Mary being so faire a towne, and so neere to them, was forborne? and why Sheres *alias* Xeres? And why Roita and the like? And why this or that was done? And why that or this left undone? I will not answer him with our common English pproverbe, as I might, which is: That one foole may aske more questions in one houre, then ten discrete men can wel answer in five dayes.

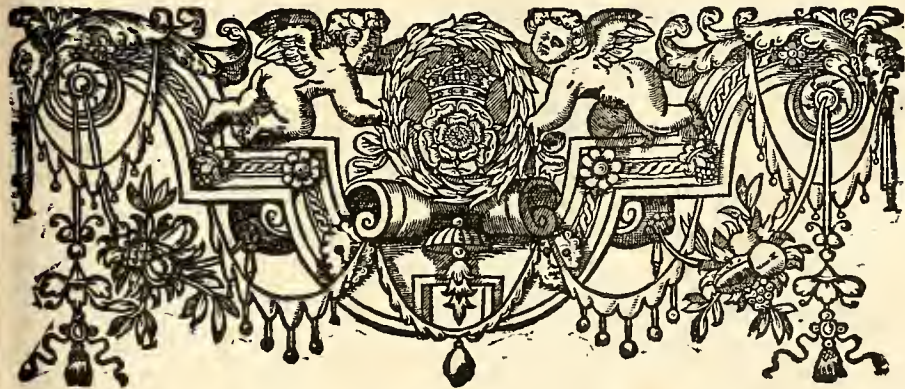
But that graue auncient writer, Cornelius Tacitus, hath a wise, bryefe, pithy saying, and it is this: *Nemo teutavit inquirere in columnas Herculis, sanctiusq; ac reuerentius habitum est de factis Deorum credere, quam scire.* Which saying, in my fancy, fitteth macculous well for this purpose: and so much the rather, for that this Cadiz is that very place, (at least by the common opinion) where those said pillars of Hercules were thought to be placed: and, as some say, remaine as yet not farre off to be seene. But to let that passe, the saying beareth this discrete meaning in it, albeit in a pzetty kind of mystical maner uttered: That it becommeth not inferiour persons to be curious, or too inquisitiue after Princes actions, neither yet to be so sawcy and so malapert, as to seeke to diue into their secrets, but rather alwayes to haue a right reuerend conceite and opinion of them, and their doings: and thereon so resting our inward thoughtes, to seeke to go no further, but so to remaine ready alwayes to arme our selues with dutifull minds, and willing obedience, to performe and put in execution that which in their deepe insight and heroicall designements, they shall for our good, and the care of the common wealth determine vpon.

This, and much lesse to, might suffice to satisfie any honest minded man. But yet if any will needs desire to be a little farther facilitated, albeit it neede not, yet then, thus much I dare say and affirme, that vpon my knowledge, the chiefeest cause why Port Saint Mary, and the rest were left vntouched, was this: For that it was most certainly knowen, that they were townes not woorth the saluting of such a royal companie, in which there was no maner of wealth in the world left, more then haire houles of stone, and standing walles, and might well haue serued rather as a scale, perchance, to haue entrapped, then as a meanes to haue enriched. And it had bin more then a suspicion of follie, for such an army as this, to haue sought to fight with the aire, and to haue laboured with great paine and charges, yea, and with some euident danger too, to haue ouerthrowen that, which could very little or nothing haue pprofited, being destroyed: and yet nowe, can doe as little harme being left, as it is, vntouched.

And thus much for our iourney to Cadiz: for the accidents that happened by the way, for the winning, spoiling, and burning of the said towne, for the ouerthrowe of the Spanissh Fleet there, and for al other by-matters that happened, as appendances to the same, both in the time of our abode there, as also at the very last houre of our comming from thence.

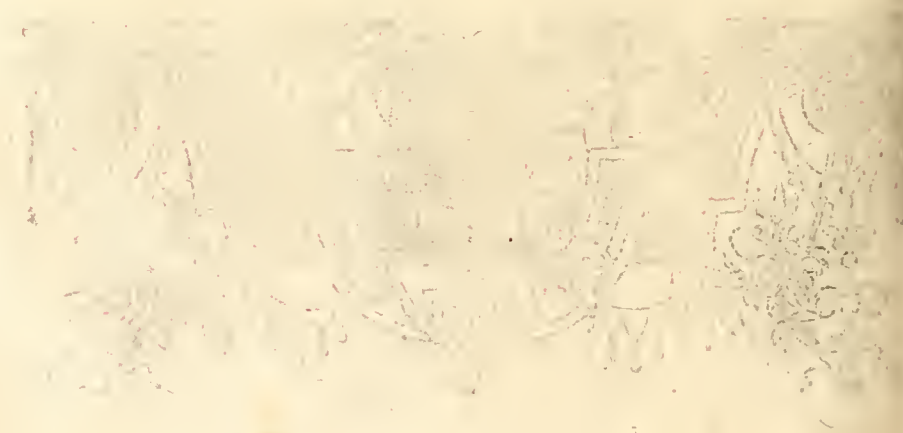
As for our returne home, and our entrance into a part of Portingal by the way, with the taking, spoyling, and burning of the towne of Faraon there, and marching into the Spanissh confines therabouts, &c. I minde to leaue it to some other, whose chance was to be present at the action, as my selfe was not, and shalbe of more sufficient ability to performe it.

The end of the first volume.



The first part of the book is devoted to a general history of the world, from the beginning of time to the present day. It is divided into three parts, the first of which is a general history of the world, the second a general history of the Christian Church, and the third a general history of the Christian Church in the West. The second part of the book is devoted to a general history of the world, from the beginning of time to the present day. It is divided into three parts, the first of which is a general history of the world, the second a general history of the Christian Church, and the third a general history of the Christian Church in the West.

The Christian Church in the West



T H E
 SECOND VOLVME
 OF THE PRINCIPAL NA-
 VIGATIONS, VOYAGES, TRAF-
 fiques and Discoueries of the *English Nation*, made by
 Sea or ouer-land, to the South and South-east parts of the
 World, at any time within the compasse of these 1600.yeres:
 Diuided into two seuerall parts :

Whereof the first containeth the personall trauels, &c.
 of the *English*, through and within the Streight of *Gibraltar*, to *Al-
 ger*, *Tunis*, and *Tripolis* in *Barbary*, to *Alexandria* and *Cairo* in *AEgypt*, to the Isles
 of *Sicilia*, *Zante*, *Candia*, *Rhodus*, *Cyprus*, and *Chio*, to the Citie of *Constantinople*, to diuers parts
 of *Asia minor*, to *Syria* and *Armenia*, to *Ierusalem*, and other places in *Iudaea*; As also to *A-
 rabia*, downe the Riuer of *Euphrates*, to *Babylon* and *Balsara*, and so through the *Per-
 sian* gulph to *Ormuz*, *Chaul*, *Goa*, and to many Islands adioyning vpon the
 South parts of *Asia*; And likewise from *Goa* to *Cambaia*, and to all the
 dominions of *Zelabdim Echebar* the great *Mogor*, to the mighty
 Riuer of *Ganges*, to *Bengala*, *Aracan*, *Bacola*, and *Chon-
 deri*, to *Pegu*, to *Iamahai* in the kingdome of *Si-
 am*, and almost to the very fron-
 tiers of *China*.

The second comprehendeth the Voyages, Trafficks, &c.
 of the *English Nation*, made without the Streight of *Gibral-
 tar*, to the Isles of the *Acores*, of *Porto Santo*, *Madera*, and the *Canaries*,
 to the kingdomes of *Barbary*, to the Isles of *Capo Verde*, to the Riuers of *Senega*, *Gam-
 bra*, *Madrabumba*, and *Sierra Leona*, to the coast of *Guinea* and *Benin*, to the Isles
 of *S. Thomé* and *Santa Helena*, to the parts about the Cape of *Buona Espe-
 ranza*, to *Quitangone* neere *Mozambique*, to the Isles of *Comoro* and
Zanzibar, to the citie of *Goa*, beyond *Cape Comori*, to the Isles
 of *Nicubar*, *Gomes Polo*, and *Pulo Pinaom*, to the
 maine land of *Malacca*, and to the king-
 dome of *Iusfalaon*.

¶ By **RICHARD HACKLVYT** Preacher, and sometime Stu-
 dent of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*.



Printed at London by *George Bishop*,
Ralph Newbery, and *Robert Barker*.

ANNO 1599.

SECOND VOLUME
OF THE PRACTICE
AND PROCEEDINGS

IN THE
COURT OF COMMONS
IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED
IN THE YEAR 1791

BY
JAMES HALLAM
OF THE INNER TEMPLE
ESQUIRE

LONDON:
PRINTED BY
J. JOHNSON, ST. PAULS CHURCH-YARD
1791

THE
AUTHOR'S
APPROVAL



TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE

Sir Robert Cecil Knight, principall Secretarie to
her Maiestie, master of the Court of Wardes and
Liueries, and one of her Maiesties most ho-
nourable priuie Counsell.



Ight honorable hauing newly finished a *Treatise of the long Voyages of our Nation made into the Leuant within the Streight of Gibraltar, & from thence ouer-land to the South and Southeast parts of the world, all circumstances considered, I found none to whom I thought it fitter to bee presented then to your selfe: wherein hauing begun at the highest Antiquities of this realme vnder the gouernment of the Romans; next vnder the Saxons; and thirdly since the conquest vnder the Normans, I haue continued the histories vnto these our dayes. The time of the Romans affoordeth small matter. But*

after that they were called hence by jorren inuasions of their Empire, and the Saxons by degrees became lords in this Iland, and shortly after receiued the Christian faith, they did not onely trauell to Rome, but passed further vnto Ierusalem, and therewith not contented, Sigelmus bishop of Shireburne in Dorcestshire caried the almes of king Alfred euen to the Sepulcher of S. Thomas in India, (which place at this day is called Maliapor) and brought from thence most fragrant spices, and rich iewels into England: which iewels, as William of Malmesburie in two sundry treatises writeth, were remaining in the aforesayd Cathedrall Church to be scene euen in his time. And this most memorable voyage into India is not onely mentioned by the aforesayd Malmesburie, but also by Florentius Wigornienfis, a graue and woorthy Author which liued before him, and by many others since, and euen by M. Foxe in his first volume of his Acts and Monuments in the life of king Alfred. To omit diuers other of the Saxon nation, the trauels of Alured bishop of Worcester through Hungarie to Constantinople, and so by Asia the lesse into Phoenicia and Syria, and the like course of Ingulphus, not long afterward Abbot of Croiland, set downe particularly by himselfe, are things in mine opinion right worthy of memorie. After the comming in of the Normans, in the yeere 1096, in the reigne of William Rufus, and so downward for the space of aboue 300 yeeres, such was the ardent desire of our nation to wisite the Holy land, and to expell the Saracens and Mahumetans, that not onely great numbers of Erles, Bishops, Barons, and Knights, but euen Kings, Princes, and Peeres of the blood Roiall, with incredible deuotion, courage and alacritie intruded themselues into this glorious expedition. A sufficient prooffe hereof are the voiages of prince Edgar the nephew of Edmund Ironside, of Robert Curtois brother of William Rufus, the great beneuolence of king Henry the 2. and his vowe to haue gone in person to the succour of Ierusalem, the personall going into Palestina of his sonne king Richard the first, with the chiuarie, wealth, and shipping of this realme; the large contribution of king Iohn, and the trauels of Oliuer Fitz-Roy his sonne, as is supposed, with Ranulph Glanuille Erle of Chester

The Epistle dedicatory.

to the siege of Damietta in Ægypt: the prosperous voyage of Richard Erle of Cornwall, elected afterward king of the Romans, and brother to Henry the 3, the famous expedition of prince Edward, the first king of the Norman race of that name; the journey of Henry Erle of Derby, duke of Hereford, and afterward king of this realme, by the name of Henry the 4. against the citie of Tunis in Africa, and his preparation of ships and gallies to go himselfe into the Holy land, if he had not on the sudden bene prevented by death; the trauel of Iohn of Holland brother by the mothers side to king Richard the 2 into those parts. All these, either Kings, Kings sonnes, or Kings brothers, exposed themselves with inuincible courages to the manifest hazard of their persons, liues, and liuings, leauing their ease, their countries, wines and children, induced with a zelous deuotion and ardent desire to protect and dilate the Christian faith. These memorable enterprises in part concealed, in part scattered, and for the most part vnlooked after, I haue brought together in the best Method and breuitie that I could deuise. Whereunto I haue annexed the losse of Rhodes, which although it were originally written in French, yet maketh it as honourable and often mention of the English nation, as of any other Christians that serued in that most violent siege. After which ensueth the princely promise of the bountifull aide of king Henry the 8 to Ferdinando newly elected king of Hungarie, against Solymian the mortall enemy of Christendome. These and the like Heroicall intents and attempts of our Princes, our Nobilitie, our Clergie, & our Chiuallry, I haue in the first place exposed and set forth to the view of this age, with the same intention that the old Romans set vp in wax in their palaces the Statuas or images of their worthy ancestors; whereof Salust in his treatise of the warre of Iugurtha, writeth in this maner: *Sæpe audiui ego Quintum maximum, Publium Scipionem, præterea ciuitatis nostræ præclaros viros solitos ita dicere, cum maiorum imagines intuerentur, vehementissimè animum sibi ad virtutem accendi. Scilicet non ceram illam, neq; figuram, tantam vim in sese habere, sed memoria rerum gestarum flammam eam egregijs viris in pectore crescere, neq; prius sedari, quàm virtus eorum famam & gloriam adæquauerit.* I haue often heard (quoth he) how Quintus maximus, Publius Scipio, and many other worthy men of our citie were woont to say, when they beheld the images and portraitures of their ancestors, that they were most vehemently inflamed vnto vertue. Not that the sayd wax or portraiture had any such force at all in it selfe, but that by the remembring of their woorthy actes, that flame was kindled in their noble breasts, and could neuer be quenched, vntill such time as their owne valure had equalled the fame and glory of their progenitors. So, though not in wax, yet in record of writing haue I presented to the noble courages of this English Monarchie, the like images of their famous predecessors, with hope of like effect in their posteritie. And here by the way if any man shall think, that an vniuersall peace with our Christian neighbours will cut off the employment of the couragious increasing youth of this realme, he is much deceiued. For there are other most conuenient employments for all the superfluitie of euery profession in this realme. For, not to weddle with the state of Ireland, nor that of Guiana, there is vnder our noses the great & ample countrey of Virginia; the In-land whereof is found of late to bee so swecte and wholesome a climate, so rich and abundant in siluer mines, so apt and capable of all commodities, which Italy, Spaine, and France can afford, that the Spaniards themselves in their owne writings printed in Madrid 1586, and within few moneths afterward reprinted by me in Paris, and in a secret mappe of those partes made in Mexico the yeere before for the king of Spaine, (which originall with many others is in the custodie of the excellent Mathematician M. Thomas Hariot) as also in their intercepted letters come vnto my hand, bearing date 1595. they acknowledge the In-land to be a better and richer countrey then Mexico and Nueua Spania it selfe. And on the other side their chiefest writers, as Peter Martyr ab Angleria, and Francis Lopez de Gomara, the most learned Venetian Iohn Baptista Ramusius, and the French Geographers, as namely, Popiliniere and the rest, acknowledge with one consent, that all that mightie tract of land from 67. degrees Northward

The Epistle dedicatorie.

Northward to the latitude almost of Florida was first discovered out of England, by the commandement of king Henry the seventh, and the South part thereof before any other Christian people of late hath bene planted with diuers English Colonies by the royal consent of her sacred Maiestie vnder the broad seale of England, whereof one as yet remaineth, for ought we know, aline in the countrey. Which action, if vpon a good & godly peace obtained, it shal please the Almighty to stirre vp her Maiesties heart to continue with her fauourable countenance (as vpon the ceasing of the warres of Granada, hee stirred vp the spirite of Isabella Queene of Castile, to aduance the enterprise of Columbus) with transporting of one or two thousand of her people, and such others as vpon mine owne knowledge will most willingly at their owne charges become Aduenturers in good numbers with their bodies and goods; she shall by Gods assistance, in short space, worke many great and vlooked for effects, increase her dominions, enrich her cofers, and reduce many Pagans to the faith of Christ. The neglecting hitherto of which last point our aduersaries daily in many of their bookes full bitterly lay vnto the charge of the professors of the Gospell. No sooner should we set footing in that pleasant and good land, and erect one or two conuenient Fortes in the Continent, or in some Iland neere the maine, but enery step we tread would yeeld vs new occasion of action, which I wish the Gentry of our nation rather to regard, then to follow those soft vnprofitable pleasures wherein they now too much consume their time and patrimonie, and hereafter will doe much more, when as our neighbour warres being appeased, they are like to haue lesse employment then nowe they haue, vnlesse they bee occupied in this or some other the like expedition. And to this ende and purpose giue me leaue (I beseech you) to impart this occurrent to your honourable and prouident consideration: that in the yere one thousand five hundred eighty and seuen, when I had caused the foure voyages of Ribault, Laudonniere, and Gourges to Florida, at mine owne charges to bee printed in Paris; which by the malice of some too much affected to the Spanish faction, had bene aboue twentie yeeres suppressed, as soone as that booke came to the view of that reuerend and prudent Counsellor Monsieur Harlac the lord chiefe Iustice of France, and certaine other of the wisest Iudges, in great choler they asked, who had done such intollerable wrong to their whole kingdome, as to haue concealed that woorthie worke so long? Protesting further, that if their Kings and the Estate had throughly followed that action, France had bene freed of their long ciuill warres, and the variable humours of all sortes of people might haue had very ample and manifold occasions of good and honest employment abroad in that large and fruitfull Continent of the West Indies. The application of which sentence vnto our selues I here omit, hastening vnto the summarie recapitulation of other matters contained in this worke. It may please your Honour therefore to vnderstand, that the second part of this first Treatise containeth our auncient trade and traffique with English shipping to the Ilands of Sicilie, Candie, and Sio, which by good warrant herein alleaged, I find to haue bene begun in the yeere 1511. and to haue continued vntill the yeere 1552. and somewhat longer. But shortly after (as it seemeth) it was intermitted, or rather giuen ouer (as is noted in master Gaspar Campions discret letters to master Michael Lock and master William Winter inserted in this booke) first by occasiō of the Turkes expelling of the foure and twentie Maunces or gouernours of the Genouois out of the Ile of Sio, and by taking of the sayd Iland wholie into his owne hand in April, 1566. sending thither Piali Basha with fourescore gallies for that purpose; and afterward by his growing ouer mightie and troublesome in those Seas, by the cruell inuasion of Nicosia and Famagusta, and the whole Ile of Cyprus by his lieutenant Generall Mustapha Basha. Which lamentable Tragedie I haue here againe renued, that the posteritie may neuer forget what trust may bee giuen to the oath of a Mahumetan, when hee hath aduantage and is in his choler.

Lastly, I haue here put downe at large the happie renuing and much increasing of our interrupted

The Epistle dedicatorie.

interrupted trade in all the Leuant, accomplished by the great charges and speciall industrie of the worshipfull and worthy Citizens, Sir Edward Osborne Knight, M. Richard Staper, and M. William Hareborne, together with the league for traffike onely betweene her Maiestie and the Grand Signior, with the great priuileges, immunities, and fauours obteyned of his imperiall Highnesse in that behalfe, the admissions and residencies of our Ambassadors in his stately Porch, and the great good and Christian offices which her Sacred Maiestie by her extraordinary fauour in that Court hath done for the king and kingdome of Poland, and other Christian Princes: the traffike of our Nation in all the chiefe Hauens of Africa and Egypt: the searching and haunting the very bottome of the Mediterran Sea to the ports of Tripoli and Alexandretta, of the Archipelagus, by the Turkes now called The white sea, euen to the walles of Constantinople: the voyages ouer land and by riuer through Aleppo, Birrha, Babylon and Balsara, and downe the Persian gulfe to Ormuz, and thence by the Ocean sea to Goa, and againe ouer-land to Bisnagar, Cambaia, Orixia, Bengala, Aracan, Pegu, Malacca, Siam, the Iangomes, Quichen, and euen to the Frontiers of the Empire of China: the former performed diuerse times by sundry of our nation, and the last great voyage by M. Ralph Fitch, who with M. John Newbery and two other consorts departed from London with her Maiesties letters written effectually in their fauour to the kings of Cambaia and China in the yere 1583, who in the yere 1591. like another Paulus Venetus returned home to the place of his departure, with ample relation of his wonderfull trauailes, which he presented in writing to my Lord your father of honourable memorie.

a. King cap. 5.
2. Chron. cap. 2.

Now here if any man shall take exception against this our new trade with Turkes and misbeleeuers, he shall shew himseife a man of small experience in old and new Histories, or wilfully lead with partialitie, or some worse humour. * For who knoweth not, that king Salomon of old, enired into league vpon necessitie with Hiram the king of Tyrus, a gentile? Or who is ignorant that the French, the Genouois, Florentines, Raguseans, Venetians, and Polonians are at this day in league with the Grand Signior, and haue beene these many yeeres, and haue vsed trade and traffike in his dominions? Who can deny that the Emperour of Christendome hath had league with the Turke, and payd him a long while a pension for a part of Hungarie? And who doth not acknowledge, that either hath trauailed the remote parts of the world, or read the Histories of this later age, that the Spaniards and Portugales in Barbarie, in the Indies, and elsewhere, haue ordinarie confederacie and traffike with the Moores, and many kindes of Gentiles and Pagans, and that which is more, doe pay them pensions, and vse them in their seruice and warres? Why then should that be blamed in vs, which is vsuall and common to the most part of other Christian nations? Therefore let our neighbours, which haue found most fault with this new league and traffike, thanke themselves and their owne foolish pride, whereby we were vrged to seeke further to provide vent for our naturall commodities. And herein the old Greeke prouerbe was most truly verified, That euill counsaile proueth worst to the author and deuiser of the same.

Having thus farre intreated of the chiefe contents of the first part of this second Volume, it remaineth that I briefly acquaint your Honor with the chiefe contents of the second part. It may therefore please you to vnderstand, that herein I haue likewise preserued, disposed, and set in order such Voyages, Navigations, Traffikes, and Discoveries, as our Nation, and especially the worthy inhabitants of this citie of London, haue painefully performed to the South and Southeast parts of the world, without the Streight of Gibraltar, vpon the coasts of Africa, about the Cape of Buona Speranca, to and beyonde the East India. To come more neere vnto particulars, I haue here set downe the very originals and insancie of our trades to the Canarian Ilands, to the kingdomes of Barbarie, to the mightie riuers of Senega and Gambra, to those of Madrabumba, and Sierra Leona, and the Isles of Cape Verde, with twelue sundry voyages to the sultry kingdomes of Guinea and Benin, to the Isle of San Thomé, with a late and true report of the weake estate of the Portugales in
Angola

The Epistle dedicatorie.

Angola, as also the whole course of the Portugale Caracks from Lisbon to the barre of Goa in India, with the disposition and qualitie of the climate neere and vnder the Equinoctiall line, the sundry infallible markes and tokens of approaching vnto, and doubling of The Cape of good Hope, the great variation of the compasse for three or foure pointes towards the East betweene the Meridian of S. Michael one of the Islands of the Azores, and the aforesaid Cape, with the returne of the needle againe due North at the Cape Das Agulias, and that place being passed outward bound, the swaruing backe againe thereof towards the West, proportionally as it did before, the two wayes, the one within and the other without the Isle of S. Laurence, the dangers of priuie rockes and quicksands, the running seas, and the perils thereof, with the certaine and vndoubted signes of land. All these and other particularities are plainly and truly here deliuered by one Thomas Steuens a learned Englishman, who in the yeere 1579 going as a passenger in the Portugale Fleete from Lisbon into India, wrote the same from Goa to his father in England: Whereunto I haue added the memorable voyage of M. James Lancaster, who doth not onely recount and confirme most of the things aboue mentioned, but also doth acquaint vs with the state of the voyage beyond Cape Comori, and the Isle of Ceilon, with the Isles of Nicubar and Gomes Polo lying within two leagues of the rich Island Samatra, and those of Pulo Pinaom, with the maine land of Iunçalaon and the streight of Malacca. I haue likewise added a late intercepted letter of a Portugall reuealing the secret and most gainefull trade of Pegu, which is also confirmed by Caesar Fredericke a Venetian, and M. Ralph Fitch now liuing here in London.

And because our chiefe desire is to find out ample vent of our wollen cloth, the naturall commodity of this our Realme, the fittest places, which in al my readings and obseruations I find for that purpose, are the manifold Islands of Japan, & the Northern parts of China, & the regions of the Tartars next adioyning (whereof I read, that the countrey in winter is Affria como Flandes, that is to say, as cold as Flanders, & that the riuers be strongly ouerfrozen) and therefore I haue here inserted two speciall Treatises of the sayd Countries, the one beginning pag. 68, the other, pag. 88: which last discourse I hold to be the most exact of those parts that is yet come to light, which was printed in Latine in Macao a citie of China, in China-paper, in the yeere a thousand five hundred and ninetie, and was intercepted in the great Carack called Madre de Dios two yeeres after, inclosed in a case of sweete Cedar wood, and lapped vp almost an hundred fold in fine calicut-cloth, as though it had bene some incomparable iewel.

But leaning abruptly this discourse, I thinke it not impertinent, before I make an end, to deliuer some of the reasons, that moued me to present this part of my trauailes vnto your Honour. The reuerend antiquitie in the dedication of their workes made choyse of such patrons, as eyther with their reputation and credite were able to countenance the same, or by their wisdome and vnderstanding were able to censure and approoue them, or with their abilitie were likely to stand them or theirs in steade in the ordinarie necessities and accidents of their life. Touching the first, your descent from a father, that was accounted Pater patriæ, your owne place and credite in execution of her Maiesties inward counsailes and publike seruices, added to your well discharging your forren employment (when the greatest cause in Christendome was handled) haue not onely drawn mens eyes vpon you, but also forcibly haue moued many, and my selfe among the rest to haue our labours protected by your authoritie. For the second point, when it pleased your Honour in sommer was two yeeres to haue some conference with me, and to demaund mine opinion touching the state of the Country of Guiana, and whether it were fit to be planted by the English: I then (to my no small ioy) did admire the exact knowledge which you had gotten of those matters of Indian Navigations: and how carefull you were, not to be ouertaken with any partiall affection to the Action, appeared also, by the sound arguments which you made pro & contra, of the likelihood and reason of good or ill successe of the same, before

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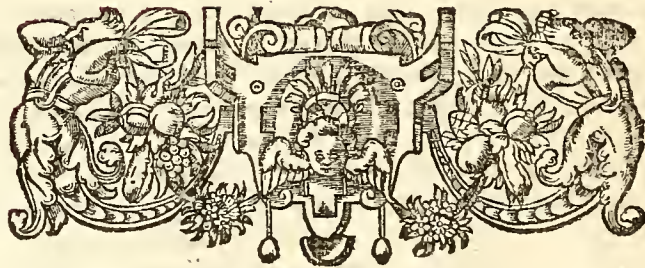
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The Epistle dedicatorie.

the State and common wealth (wherein you haue an extraordinarie voyce) should be further engaged. In consideration whereof I thinke my selfe thrise happie to haue these my trauailes censured by your Honours so well approued iudgement. Touching the third and last motiue I cannot but acknowledge my selfe much indebted for your fauourable letters heretofore written in my behalfe in mine honest causes. Whereunto I may adde, that when this worke was to passe vnto the presse, your Honour did not onely intreate a worthy knight, a person of speciall experience, as in many others so in marine causes, to ouersee and peruse the same, but also vpon his good report with your most fauourable letters did warrant, and with extraordinarie commendation did approue and allow my labours, and desire to publish the same. Wherefore to conclude, seeing they take their life and light from the most cheerefull and benigne aspect of your fauour, I thinke it my bounden dutie in all humilitie and with much bashfulnesse to recommend my selfe and them vnto your right Honorable and fauourable protection, and your Honour to the mercifull tuition of the most High. From London this 24. of October. 1599.

Your Honors most humble
to be commanded,


Richard Hakluyt preacher.





A Catalogue of the English Voyages made by and within the Streight of *Gibraltar*, to the South and Southeast quarters of the world, con- tained in the first part of this second volume.

Voyages before the Conquest.

- 1  He voyage of *Helena* the Empreffe, daughter of *Coelus* king of *Britain*, and mother of *Constantine* the Great, to *Ierusalem*. An. 337. pag. 1.2
- 2 The voyage of *Constantine* the Great, Emperour and king of *Britaine*, to *Greece*, *Egypt*, *Persia*, and *Asia*, Anno 339. pag. 2.3
- 3 The voyage of *Pelagius Cambrensis*, vnder *Maximus* king of the *Er-
taines*, into *Egypt* and *Syria*, Anno 390. pag. 4
- 4 The voyage of certaine Englishmen sent by the French king to *Constantinople*, vnto *Iusti-
nian* the Emperour, about the yeere of our Lord 500. pag. 4
- 5 The memorable voyage of *Sigheimus* bishop of *Shirburne*, sent by king *Alfred* vnto *S.
Thomas* of *India*, An. 883. confirmed by two testimonies. pag. 5
- 6 The voyage of *Iohn Erigen*, vnder king *Alfred*, to *Athens*, in the yeere of our Lorde
885. pag. 5.6
- 7 The voyage of *Andrew Whiteman*, aliàs *Leucander*, vnder *Canutus* the Dane, to *Palesti-
na*, Anno 1020. pag. 6
- 8 The voyage of *Swanus* one of the sonnes of Earle *Godwin*, vnto *Ierusalem*, Anno 1052. pag. 6
- 9 A voyage of three Ambassadours sent in the time of king *Edward* the Confessor, vnto *Con-
stantinople*, and from thence vnto *Ephesus*, Anno 1056. pag. 7
- 10 The voyage of *Alured* bishop of *Worcester* vnto *Ierusalem*, Anno 1058. pag. 8
- 11 The voyage of *Ingulphus*, afterward Abbat of *Croiland*, vnto *Ierusalem*. An. 1064. pag. 8.9

Voyages since the Conquest.

- 12 **A** Voyage made by diuerse of the honourable family of the *Beauchamps*, with *Robert
Curteis* the sonne of *William* the Conquerour, to *Ierusalem*, Anno 1096. pag. 10
- 13 The voyage of *Gutuer* an English Lady married vnto *Baldwine* brother of *Godfrey* duke
of *Botillon*, toward *Ierusalem*, An. 1097. 10. 11
- 14 The voyage of *Edgar* the sonne of *Edward*, which was the sonne of *Edmund* surnamed
Ironside, brother vnto king *Edward* the Confessor (being accompanied with valiant *Ro-
bert* the sonne of *Godwine*) to *Ierusalem*, Anno 1102. 11
- 15 The voyage of *Godericus* a valiant Englishman, who trauailed with his ships in an expe-
dition vnto the holy land, Anno 3. *Hen. 1.* 12
- 16 The voyage of *Hardine* an Englishman, and one of the principall commaunders of 200
sayles of Christians ships, which arriued at *Ioppa*, Anno 1102 12. 13
- 17 A voyage by sea of Englishmen, Danes, and Flemings, who arriued at *Ioppa* in the holy
land, the seuenth yeere of *Baldwine* the second, king of *Ierusalem*, and in the 8. yeere of
Henry the first, king of *England*. pag. 13, 14, 15
- 18 The voyage of *Athelard* of *Bathe* to *Egypt* and *Arabia*, in the yeere of our Lord 1130 pag. 15. 16
- 19 The voyage of *William* Archbishop of *Tyre* to *Ierusalem* and to the cite of *Tyre* in *Phœ-
nicia*, Anno 1130. 16
- 20 The voyage of *Robert Kettenensis*, vnder king *Stephen*, to *Dalmatia*, *Greece*, and *Asia*,
Anno 1143. 16
- 21 A voyage of certaine Englishmen vnder the conduct of *Lewis* the French king, vnto the
holy land, Anno 1147. 17
- 22 The voyage of *Iohn Lacy* to *Ierusalem*, Anno 1173 17

- 23 The voyage of *William Mandevile* Erle of *Essex* to *Ierusalem*, Anno 1177. 17
- 24 The famous voyage of *Richard* the first, king of *England* into *Asia*, for the recovering of *Ierusalem* out of the hands of the *Saracens*, Anno 1190. 20
- 25 The voyage of *Baldwine* Archbishop of *Canterbury* vnto *Syria* and *Palestina*, in the yeere 1190. 28
- 26 The voyage of *Richard* Surnamed *Canonicus*, vnder king *Richard* the first, into *Syria*, and *Palestina*, Anno 1190. 30
- 27 The voyage of *Gulielmus Peregrinus*, vnder king *Richard* the first, to *Palestina*, Anno 1190. 30
- 28 The voyage of *Hubert Walter* bishop of *Salisbury*, vnder king *Richard* also, vnto *Syria*, Anno 1190. 31
- 29 The voyage of *Robert Curson* a nobleman of *England*, and a Cardinall, vnder *Hen.* the third, to *Damiata* in *Egypt*, Anno 1218. 31. 32
- 30 The voyage of *Rainulph* Earle of *Chester*, of *Saer Quincy* Earle of *Winchester*, of *William de Albanie* Earle of *Arundel*, &c. to the holy land, Anno 1218. 32
- 31 The voyage of *Henry Bohun*, and *Saer Quincy* to the holy land, in the yeere of our Lord, 1222. 32
- 32 The voyage of *Rainulph Glanville* Earle of *Chester* to the holy land, and to *Damiata* in *Egypt*. 32
- 33 The voyage of *Petrus de Rupibus* bishop of *Winchester*, to *Ierusalem*, Anno 1231. 33
- 34 The honourable voyage of *Richard* Earle of *Cornwall*, brother to king *Hen.* the third, accompanied with *William Long-espee* Earle of *Salisburie*, and diuerse other noblemen, into *Syria*, Anno 1240. 33
- 35 The voyage of *William Long-espee*, or *Long-sword* Erle of *Salisburie* into *Egypt* with *Lewis* the French king, Anno 1248. 33
- 36 The voyage of prince *Edward* the sonne of king *Henry* the third, into *Syria*, An. 1270. 36
- 37 The voyage of *Robert Turneham*, vnder the said prince *Edward*, into *Syria*, in the yeere of our Lord, 1270 38. 39
- 38 The voyage of Frier *Beatus Odoricus* to *Asia minor*, *Armenia*, *Chaldea*, *Persia*, *India*, *China*, and other remote parts, &c. 39. 53
- 39 The voyage of *Matthew Gurney* an English knight, against the *Moores* of *Alger*, to *Barbary* and to *Spaine*. 67
- 40 The voyage of *Henrie* Earle of *Derby*, after Duke of *Hereford*, and lastly *Henry* the fourth king of *England*, with an army of Englishmen, to *Tunis* in *Barbary*. 69
- 41 The trauailes and memorable victories of *John Hawkwood* Englishman, in diuerse places of *Italy*, in the reigne of *Richard* the second. 70
- 42 The voyage of Lord *John* of *Holland*, Earle of *Huntington*, brother (by the mother) to *K. Richard* the second, to *Ierusalem*, and *S. Katherins* mount, Anno 1394. 70
- 43 The voyage of *Thomas* Lord *Mowbrey* duke of *Norfolke*, to *Ierusalem*, in the yeere of our Lord, 1399. 70
- 44 The voyage of the bishop of *Winchester* to *Ierusalem*, Anno 1417. 71
- 45 A voyage intended by king *Henry* the fourth to the holy land, against the *Saracens* and *Infidels*, Anno 1413. 71. 72
- 46 A voyage made with two ships called *The holy Crosse*, and *The Matthew Gunson*, to the Isles of *Candia* and *Chio*, about the yeere 1534. 98
- 47 Another voyage vnto *Candia* and *Chio* made by the foresayd ship called *The Matthew Gunson*, Anno 1535. 98
- 48 The voyage of the valiant Esquire *M. Peter Read* to *Tunis* in *Barbarie* 1538, recorded in his Epitaph. 99
- 49 The voyage of Sir *Thomas Chaloner* to *Alger*, with the Emperour *Charles* the fift, Anno 1541. 99
- 50 The voyage of *M. Roger Bodenham*, with the great barke *Ancher*, to *Candia* and *Chio*, Anno 1550. 99
- 51 The voyage of *M. John Lok* to *Ierusalem*, Anno 1553. 101
- 52 The voyage of *John Foxe* to the Streit of *Gibraltar*, in a ship called *The three halfe-moones*, Anno 1563. And his worthy enterprize in deliuering 266 Christians from the captiuitie of the *Turkes* at *Alexandria*, Anno 1577. 131. 132
- 53 The voyage of *M. Lawrence Aldersey* to the cities of *Ierusalem*, and *Tripolis*, in the yeere 1581. 150

- 54 The voyage of *The Susan* of London to Constantinople, wherein M. William Hareborne was sent first Ambassadour vnto *Zuldan Murad Can* the great Turke. Anno 1582. 165
- 55 The voyage of a ship called *The Iesus*, to Tripolis in Barbary, Anno 1583. 184
- 56 The voyage of M. Henry Austel by Venice to Ragusa, and thence ouer-land to Constantinople: and from thence through Moldania, Polonia, Silesia, and Germany into England, Anno 1586. 194
- 57 The voyage of Master Cesar Frederick into the east India, and beyonde the Indies, Anno 1563. 213
- 58 The long, dangerous, and memorable voyage of M. Ralph Fitch marchant of London, by the way of Tripolis in Syria, to Ormuz, to Goa in the East India, to Cambaia, to the riuer of Ganges, to Bengala, to Bacola, to Chonderi, to Pegu, to Siam, &c, begunne in the yeere 1583, and ended in the yeere 1591. 250
- 59 The voyage of M. Iohn Eldred to Tripolis in Syria by sea, and from thence by land and riuer to Babylon, and Balsara, Anno 1583. 268
- 60 The voyage of M. Iohn Euesham by sea into Egypt, Anno 1586. 281
- 61 The voyage of M. Laurence Aldersey to the ciues of Alexandria and Cairo in Aegypt, Anno 1586. 282
- 62 The voyage of fise marchants ships of London into Turkie: and their valiant fight in their returne with 11 gallies and two frigats of the king of Spaine, at Pantalarea within the Streits of Gibraltar, Anno 1586. 285
- 63 The voyage of Master William Hareborne ouer-land from Constantinople to London, Anno 1588. 289
- 64 A description of a voyage to Constantinople and Syria begun the 21 of March, 1593, and ended the ninth of August 1595: wherein is shewed the manner of deliuering the second present, by M. Edward Barton her Maiesties ambassadour, which was sent from her Maiestic to Sultan Murad Can, the Emperour of Turkie. 33



The Ambassages, Letters, Priuileges, Discourses, Ad- uertisements, and other obseruations depending vpon the Voyages contayned in the first part of this second Volume.

- 1 **A** Testimony, that the Britons were in Italy and Greece, with the Cimbrians and Gauls, before the incarnation of Christ. pag. 1
- 2 A testimony that certain Englishmen were of the guard of the Emperour of Constantinople, in the time of Iohn the sonne of Alexius Comnenus. 17
- 3 A great supply of money sent to the Holy land by King Henry the second. 18
- 4 A letter written from Manuel the Emperour of Constantinople, vnto Henry the second, King of England, Ann. 1177: wherein mention is made that certaine of king Henries noblemen and subiects were present with the sayd Emperour in a battel against the Soldan of Iconium. 18
- 5 A note drawn out of a very ancient booke in the custodie of the right. Wor. M. Thomas Tilney Esquire, touching Sir Fredericke Tilney his ancester, knighted for his valour at Acon in the Holyland, by king Richard the first. 29
- 6 A large contribution to the succour of the holy land made by king Iohn king of England, Anno 1201. 30
- 7 The comming of Baldwin the Emperour of Constantinople into England, An. 1247. 31
- 8 A testimony concerning Anthony Beck bishop of Duresine, that he was elected Patriarke of Ierusalem, and confirmed by Clement the 5, bishop of Rome, Anno 1305. 39
- 9 The comming of Lyon king of Armenia into England, Anno 1386, to make a treaty of peace betweene Richard the second, king of England, and the French king. 67
- 10 The comming of the Emperour of Constantinople into England, to desire the ayde of king Henry the fourth, against the Turkes, Anno 1400. 70
- 11 A relation of the siege and taking of the citie of Rhodes, by Sultan Soliman the great Turke: Wherein honorable mention is made of diuers valiant English knights, Anno 1522. 72


- 12 *An ambassage from Don Ferdinando, brother to the Emperour Charles the fift, unto King Henry the eight, craving his ayde against Soliman the great Turke, An, 1527.* 95
- 13 *The antiquitie of the trade of English marchants unto the remote parts of the Leuant seas, Anno 1511, 1512, &c.* 96
- 14 *A letter of Henry the eight, king of England, to Iohn the third king of Portugale, for a Portugale ship freighted at Chio, with the goods of Iohn Gresham, William Lok, and others, and wrongfully unladen in Portugale, Anno 1531.* 96
- 15 *The maner of the entring of Soliman the great Turke, with his army, into Alepo in Syria, as hee was marching toward Persia, against the great Sophi, Anno 1553.* 112
- 16 *A note of the presents that were giuen at the same time in Alepo, to the Grand Signor, and the names of the presenters.* 113
- 17 *The safe conduct granted by Sultan Soliman the great Turke, to M. Anthony Jenkinson at Alepo in Syria, Anno 1553.* 114
- 18 *A discourse of the trade to Chio written by Gaspar Campion, in the yeere 1569.* 114
- 19 *A letter of the sayd Gaspar Campion, to M. William Winter, in the yeere 1569.* 116
- 20 *A briefe description of the Isle of Cyprus.* 119
- 21 *A report of the siege and taking of Famagusta the strongest citie in al Cyprus, by Mustafa Bassa Generall of the great Turkes army, Anno 1571.* 121
- 22 *The renewing and great increasing of an ancient trade unto diuers places in the Leuant seas, and to the chiefest parts of all the great Turkes dominions, Anno 1575, 1578.* 136
- 23 *The letters of Zuldán Murad Can the great Turke, to the sacred Maiestie of Queene Elizabeth, Anno 1579.* 137
- 24 *The answere of her Maiestie to the fore sayd letters of the great Turke, sent by M. Richard Stanly, in the Prudence of London, Anno 1579.* 138
- 25 *The charter of priuiledges granted to the English, and the league of the great Turke with the Queenes Maiestie, for traffique onely, Anno 1580.* 141
- 26 *Her Maiesties letter to the great Turke, promising redresse for the disorders of Peter Baker of Radcliffe, committed in the Leuant, Anno 1581.* 145
- 27 *The letters Patents or Priuiledges granted by her Maiestie to Sir Edward Osborne, M. Richard Staper, and certaine other marchants of London, for their trade into the dominions of the great Turke, Anno 1581.* 146
- 28 *The Passport made by the great Master of Malta unto the English men in the Barke Rainolds, Anno 1582.* 154
- 29 *The Queenes commission giuen to her seruant M. William Hareborne, to bee Her Maiesties Ambassador or Agent in the parts of Turkie, Anno 1582.* 157
- 30 *Her Maiesties letter to the great Turke, written in commendation of M. William Hareborne, when he was sent Ambassador, Anno 1582.* 158
- 31 *A letter of the Queenes Maiestie to Alli Bassa, the Turkes high Admiral, sent by her Ambassador M. William Hareborne, and deliuered unto him aboard his Galley in the Arsenal.* 159
- 32 *A briefe remembrance of things to bee indenoured at Constantinople, and at other places in Turkie, touching our Clothing and Dying, and touching the ample vent of our naturall commodities, &c. written by M. Richard Hakluyt of the middle Temple, Anno 1582.* 160
- 33 *Certaine other most profitable and wise instructions penned by the sayd M. Richard Hakluyt, for a principall English Façtor at Constantinople.* 161
- 34 *A letter of Mustafa Chaus to the Queenes Maiestie, Anno 1583.* 171
- 35 *A letter of M. William Hareborne, to M. Haruie Millers, appointing him Consul for the English nation, in Alexandria, Cairo, & other places of Egypt, in the yeare of our Lord 1583.* 171
- 36 *A Commission giuen by M. William Hareborne the English Ambassador, to M. Richard Forster, authorizing him Consul of the English nation, in the partes of Alepo, Damasco, Aman, Tripolis, Ierusalem, &c. together with a letter of directions to the sayd M. Forster, Ann. 1583.* 172
- 37 *A letter sent from Alger to M. William Hareborne her Maiesties Ambassador at Constantinople, Anno 1583.* 173
- 38 *A letter of M. Hareborne to Mustafa, chalenging him for his dishonest dealing in translating three of the Grand Signors commandements.* 174
- 39 *A Passport graunted to Thomas Shingleton by the king of Alger, in the yeare 1583.* 174
- 40 *A letter written in Spanish by Sir Edward Osborne in his Maioraltie, to the king of Alger, on the behalfe of certaine English captiues, An. 1584.* 175
- 41 *Notes concerning the trades of Alger and Alexandria.* 176

- 42 *A letter of M. William Hareborne the English Ambassadour, to M. Edward Barton, Anno 1584.* 177
- 43 *A commandement obtayned of the Grand Signor by her Maiesties Ambassadour M. William Hareborne, for the quiet passing of her subiects to and from his dominions, sent to the Viceroyes of Alger, Tunis, and Tripolis in Barbary, An. 1584.* 177
- 44 *A letter of the hon. M. William Hareborne, her Maiesties Ambassadour with the Grand Signor, to M. Tipton, appointing him Consul of the English, in Alger, Tunis, and Tripolis in Barbary, Anno 1585.* 178
- 45 *A Catalogue or register of the English ships, goods, and persons wrongfully taken by the Gallies of Alger, with the names of the English captives, deliuered to Hassan Bassa the Beglerbeg of Alger, &c.* 179
- 46 *A letter of M. William Hareborne her Maiesties Ambassador &c. to Assan Aga, Eunuch and treasurer vnto Hassan Bassa king of Alger : which Assan Aga was sonne to Francis Rowly merchant of Bristol, and was taken in an English ship called the Swallow.* 180
- 47 *A petition exhibited to the Viceroy of the Turkish empire for reformation of sundry iniuries offered our nation in Morea, as also for sundry demaundes needefull for the establishing of the trafficke in those parts.* 181
- 48 *A commandement of the Grand Signor to Patrasso in Morea, on the behalfe of the English.* 181
pag.
- 49 *The Grand Signors commandement to Chio on the behalfe of the English merchants.* 182
- 50 *Two of his commandements sent to Baliabadram and to Egypt, for the same purpose.* 182
- 51 *A commandement of the Grand Signor to the Cadi of Alexandria, for the restoring of an Englishmans goods wrongfully taken by the French Consul.* 183
- 52 *Another commandement to the Bassa of Alexandria, for the very same purpose.* 183
- 53 *A cōmandement to the Byes and Cadies of Metelin and Rhodes, and to all the Cadies & Byes in the way to Constantinople, for the courteous and iust usage of the English merchants.* 183
- 54 *A commandement sent to Alepo concerning the goods of M. William Barret deceased.* 183
- 55 *The Queenes letters to the great Turke for the restitution of an English ship called The Iesus, and of the English captives detained at Tripolis in Barbary, & for certaine other Englishmen which remained prisoners at Alger, Anno 1584.* 191
- 56 *The great Turkes letters to the king of Tripolis in Barbary, commanding the restitution of an Englishship called The Iesus, with the men and goods &c. Anno 1584.* 192
- 57 *The letter of M. William Hareborne her Maiesties Ambassadour to Bassa Romadan the Beglerbeg of Tripolis in Barbary, for the restoring of the sayd ship called The Iesus, Anno 1585.* 193
pag.
- 58 *The great Turkes Passport of safeconduct, for Captaine Austel, and Iacomo Manuchio.* 198
- 59 *A Passport of the Erle of Leicester, for Thomas Forster gent. traueiling to Constantinople, Anno 1586.* 198
- 60 *A description of the yearely voyage or pilgrimage of the Mabumetans, Turkes and Moores to Mecca in Arabia.* 198
- 61 *A letter written from the Queenes Maiestie to Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaia, and sent by M. Iohn Newbery, Anno 1583.* 245
- 62 *A letter written from her Maiestie to the king of China, in the yeare of our Lord 1583.* 245
- 63 *A letter of M. Iohn Newbery sent from Alepo to M. Richard Hakluyt of Oxford, Ann. 1583* 245
pag.
- 64 *Another letter of the sayd M. Newbery written from Alepo to M. Leonard Poore at London, Anno 1583* 246
- 65 *A second letter of the sayd M. Newbery, written from Babylon to the aforesayd M. Poore, Anno 1583.* 247
- 66 *M. Newbery his letter from Ormuz to M. Iohn Eldred, and William Shales, at Balsara, Anno 1583.* 248
- 67 *His third letter written to M. Leonard Poore from Goa, in the yeare 1584.* 248
- 68 *A letter written from Goa by M. Ralph Fitch, to M. Leonard Poore abovesayd, Anno 1584.* 250
pag.
- 69 *The report of Iohn Huighen van Linschoten of the imprisonment of M. Newbery and M. Fitch at Goa, and of their escape from thence, which happened while himselfe was in Goa.* 265
- 70 *The money, weights, measures, and customes used in Babylon, Balsara, Ormuz, Goa, Cochin, and Malacca: written from Alepo in Syria, by M. William Barret, Anno 1584.* 271
- 71 *The charge of a tourney by land and riuer from Alepo in Syria to Goain the East India.* 276

- 72 *A declaration of all the places from whence each particular commoastie of the East Indies cometh.* 277
- 73 *The times or seasonable windes called Monsons, wherein the ships depart from place to place in the East Indies.* 278
- 74 *A description of the Isle of S. Helena frequented by the Portugales in their returne from the East India.* 280
- 75 *A Priviledge granted by Peter Prince of Moldavia, to the English merchants, Anno 1588.* pag. 290
- 76 *A brieve extract specifying the certaine dayly payments answered quarterly in time of peace, by the Grand Signor, out of his treasury, to the officers of his Seraglio or Court, successively in degrees.* pag. 290
- 77 *The chiefe officers of the great Turkes Empire; the number of souldiers attending upon each of his Beglerbegs; the principal officers in his Seraglio or Court; his yeerely revenues, and his allowances to forren Ambassadors.* 292, 293, 294
- 78 *The letters of Sinan Bassa chiefe counsellor to Sultan Murad Can the Grand Signor, An. 1590, to the sacred Maiestie of Elizabeth Queene of England: signifying, that upon her request, and for her sake especially he granted peace unto the king of Poland.* 294
- 79 *The second letters patents granted by the Queenes Maiestie, to the right wor. company of the English merchants for the Levant, in the yere of our Lord 1592.* 295
- 80 *A letter written by the most high and mighty Emperesse the wife of the Grand Signor Sultan Murad Can to her most sacred Maiesty of England, Anno 1594.* 311




A brieve Catalogue of the principall English Voyages made without the Strait of Gibraltar to the South and Southeast quarters of the world, contayned in the second part of this second volume immediatly following. Wherein also mention is made of certaine Sea-fights, and other memorable acts performed by the English Nation.

- | | | | |
|----|---|--|----------|
| 1 |  | He voyage of <i>Macham</i> the first discouerer of the Isle of <i>Madera</i> , in the yeere 1344. | pag. 1 |
| 2 | | The first voyage to <i>Barbary</i> , Anno 1551. | pag. 7.8 |
| 3 | | The second voyage to <i>Barbary</i> , Anno 1552. | pag. 8.9 |
| 4 | | The voyage of <i>M. Thomas Windam</i> to <i>Guinea</i> and the kingdom of <i>Benin</i> , Anno 1553. | pag. 9 |
| 5 | | The voyage of <i>M. John Lok</i> to <i>Guinea</i> , Anno 1554. | 14 |
| 6 | | The first voyage of Master <i>William Towrson</i> marchant of <i>London</i> to <i>Guinea</i> , in the yeere of our Lord, 1555. | 23 |
| 7 | | The second voyage of <i>M. William Towrson</i> to <i>Guinea</i> and the castle of <i>Mma</i> . An. 1556. | 36 |
| 8 | | The third voyage of the sayd <i>M. William Towrson</i> to the coast of <i>Guinea</i> and the riuer of <i>Sestos</i> , Anno 1557. | 44 |
| 9 | | A voyage made to <i>Guinea</i> at the charges of <i>Sir William Gerard</i> , <i>Sir William Chester</i> , &c. Anno 1562. | 54 |
| 10 | | The successe of another voyage made to <i>Guinea</i> , at the direction of the said <i>Sir William Gerard</i> , and others, Anno 1564. | 56 |
| 11 | | The voyage of <i>M. George Fenner</i> to <i>Guinea</i> and to the Isles of <i>Capo Verde</i> , An. 1566. | 57 |
| 12 | | The voyage and ambassage of Master <i>Edmund Hogan</i> to the Emperour of <i>Marocco</i> , Anno 1577. | 64 |
| 13 | | The voyage of <i>Thomas Stukeley</i> into <i>Barbary</i> , 1578. | 67 |
| 14 | | The voyage of <i>Thomas Steuens</i> about the Cape of <i>Buona Esperanza</i> vnto <i>Goa</i> in the East India, Anno 1579. | 99 |
- The

- 15 The memorable voyage of M. James Lancaster about the Cape of Buona Esperanza, along the Easterne coast of Africa, beyond Cape Comori, as far as the maine land of Malacca, and from thence home againe, begun in the yeere 1591. 102
- 16 The voyage and ambassage of Master Henry Roberts to Mully Hamet Emperour of Marocco, Anno 1585. 117
- 17 The voyage made by two of Sir Walter Raleighs Pinasses called *The Serpent* and *The Mary Spark* of Plymouth to the Azores: which tooke the gouernour of the Isle of S. Michael, and Pedro Sarmiento gouernour of the Streights of Magellan in the yere 1586. 120
- 18 The voyage of Sir Francis Drake to Cadiz, and the memorable exploits, and seruices performed by him as well there as at diuerse other places vpon the coast of Spaine and Portugale, and his taking of the great East Indian Carak called *The Sant Philip*, neere the Isle of S. Michael, Anno 1587. 121
- 19 A voyage to Benin beyond the countrey of Guinea made by Master James Welsh, who set forth in the yeere 1588. 126
- 20 The second voyage made by M. James Welsh to Benin in Africa, An. 1590. 130
- 21 The voyage to Spaine and Portugale written (as it is thought) by Colonell Anthonie Wingfield, An. 1589. 134
- 22 The voyage of the Right honourable the Earle of Cumberland to the Azores, in the yeere 1589. 155
- 23 A fight performed by ten marchants ships of London against 12 Spanish gallies, in the Streit of Gibraltar. An. 1590. 166
- 24 The valiant fight performed in the Streit of Gibraltar by the Centurion of London, against five Spanish gallies, An. 1591. 168
- 25 A true report of the fight about the Isles of the Azores, betweene the *Renenge* one of her Majesties ships, vnder the conduct of Sir Richard Grinuile, and an Armada of the king of Spaine, An. 1591. 169
- 26 A voyage of certaine ships of London to the coast of Spaine, and the Azores, Anno. 1591 Reported by M. Robert Flick. 176
- 27 The voyage of Richard Rainolds and Thomas Dassel to the riuers of Senega and Gambia, neere the coast of Guinea, Anno 1591. 188
- 28 The taking of two Spanish ships laden with quicksiluer and with the Popes Bulles, bound for the west Indies, by M. Thomas White in the *Amitie* of London, An. 1592. 193
- 29 The taking of the mightie and rich Carak called *The Madre de Dios*, and of the *Santa Clara* a Biskaine of 600 tunnes, as likewise the firing of another great Carak called *The Santa Cruz*, Anno 1592. 194
- 30 The firing and sinking of the stout and warlike Carak called *The Cinquo Chagnas*, or *The five woundes*, by three ships of the R. H. the Earle of Cumberland, Anno 1594. 199



The Ambassages, Letters, Priuileges, Discourses, and other necessary matters of circumstance appertaining to the voyages in the second part of this second volume next ensuing.

- 1  Note concerning the ayde and assistance ginen to king Iohn the first of Portugale, by certaine English merchants, for the winning of Ceut in Barbary, Anno 1415. 1,2
pag.
- 2 The Ambassage of Iohn the second, king of Portugale to Edward the 4. king of England, to stay Iohn Tintam, and William Fabian Englishmen, preparing for a voyage to Guinea, Anno 1481. pag. 2
- 3 A briefe note concerning an auncient trade of English marchants to the Canatic Isles, Anno 1526. 3
- 4 A description of the Canarie Islands, with their strange fruits and commodities. 3
- 5 The commodities and wares that are most desired in Guinca, betwixt Sierra Leona, and the furthest place of the Mina. 52

- 6 *Certaine articles of remembrance deliuered to M. Iohn Lok, touching a voyage to Guinea, Anno 1561.* 52
- 7 *A letter of M. Iohn Lok to the worshipfull company of marchants aduenturers of Guinea, Anno 1561.* 53
- 8 *The relation of one William Rutter concerning a voyage set out to Guinea, Anno 1562. Described also in verse by Robert Baker.* 54
- 9 *A meeting at Sir William Gerards house for the setting forth of a voyage to Guinea, with the Minion of the Queenes, The Iohn Baptift of London, and the Merline of M. Gonson, Anno 1564.* 55
- 10 *A relation of the successe of the same voyage, taken out of a voyage of Sir Iohn Haukins to the West Indies.* 56
- 11 *Certaine reports of the mighty kingdome of China deliuered by Portugales which were there imprisoned.* 68
- 12 *A discourse of the Isle of Iapan, and of other Isles in the East Ocean, &c.* 80
- 13 *An excellent description of the kingdome of China, and of the estate and gouernement thereof.* 88
- 14 *A briefe relation of the great magnificence and rich trafficke of the kingdom of Pegu, beyond the East India.* 102
- 15 *Certaine remembrances of a voyage intended to Brasil, and to the riuers of Plate, but miserably ouerthrowen neere Rio grande in Guinea, in the yeere 1583.* 110, 111
- 16 *The escape of the Primrose, a ship of London, from before the towne of Bilbao in Biscay, and the taking of the Corrigidor, Anno 1585.* 112
- 17 *The king of Spaines Commission for the generall imbargment or arrest of the English &c. Anno 1585.* 114
- 18 *The Letters patents granted by her Maiestie to certaine noble men and merchants of London, for a trade to Barbary, Anno 1585.* 114
- 19 *An edict from the Emperour of Marocco in fauour of all Englishmen trading throughout his dominions, Anno 1587.* 118
- 20 *A letter of the sayd emperour written to the Erle of Leiceſter, in the yeare 1587.* 118
- 21 *A letter of the Queenes Maiestie written to the emperour of Marocco, in the yere 1587.* 119
- 22 *A patent graunted to certaine merchants of Exceter, and others of the VVest parts, and of London, for a trade to the riuers of Senega and Gambra in Guinea, Anno 1588.* 123
- 23 *A relation concerning a voyage set forth by M. Iohn Newton, and M. Iohn Bird, merchants of London, to the kingdome and citie of Benin, written by Antony Ingram, An. 1588.* 129
- 24 *An aduertisement to king Philip the 2. of Spaine, from Angola, touching the state of the same country, An. 1591.* 133
- 25 *A particular note of the VVest Indian fleete expected to haue arrined in Spaine, An. 1592, with the number of ships of the same fleete that perished and suffered shipbrack &c.* 175
- 26 *A large testimony of Iohn Huighen van Linchoten concerning the worthy exploits atchieued by the right hon. the erle of Cumberland, by Sir Martin Frobiſher, Sir Richard Grinuile, and diuers other English Captains, about the Isles of the Açores, and vpon the coastes of Spaine and Portugale, in the yeares 1589, 1590, 1591.* 178
- 27 *A relation concerning the estate of the Island and Castle of Arguin, and touching the rich and secret trade from the inland of Africa thither, written in the yere 1491.* 188
- 28 *Two briefe relations concerning the Cities and Prouinces of Tombuto and Gago, and concerning the exceeding great riches of the sayd Prouinces, and the conquest thereof by the king of Marocco, and of the huge masse of gold, which he yerely receimeth thence for tribute. VVritten Anno 1594.* 192
- 29 *A briefe extract of a patent granted to M. Thomas Gregory of Tanton, and others for traffick betweene the riuers of Nonnia, and the riuers of Madrabumba and Sierra Leona, on the coast of Guinea, An. 1592.* 193
- 30 *A report of the casting away of the Tobie, a ship of London, neere Cape Espartel on the coast of Barbary without the Streight of Gibraltar, in the yere of our Lord 1593.* 201
- 31 *The letters of the Queenes Maiestie sent by Laurence Alderley vnto the Emperour of Ethiopia, Anno 1597.* 203



THE SECOND VOLVME OF THE
 principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and
 Discoveries of the English nation, made to the South and South-
 east quarters of the world, within the Straight of Gibraltar,
 with the Directions, Letters, Priuiledges, Discourses, and
 Observations incident to the same.

That the Brittons were in Italie and Greece with
 the Cimbrians and Gaules, before the incarnation
 of Christ. *M. Wil. Camden, pag. 33.*



Britannos autem cum Cimbris & Gallis permixtos
 fuisse in expeditionibus illis in Italiam & Græciam videtur.
 Nam præter nomen commune in Britannico Triadum libro
 vetustissimo, vbi tres maximi exercitus, quæ Britannis con-
 scripti erant, memorantur, proditum est, exterum quendam
 ducem longè maximum exercitum hinc contraxisse, qui, po-
 pulata magna Europæ parte, tandem ad Græcum mare (forti-
 tan Gallatiam inuuit) conserdit.

Triadum liber;

Britoniarum item ducem inter illos militarem, cuius me-
 minit Florus & Appianus, Britonem fuisse nomè euincit, quod
 Britonem magnum significat. Nec torquebo illud Strabonis,
 qui Brennum natione Præsum fuisse scribit, vt natione Brito-
 nem faciam.

The same in English.

It is not unlike that the Britons accompanied the Cimbrians and Gaules in those expeditions
 into Italy and Greece. For besides the common name, it is recorded in that most ancient Wri-
 ting booke called Liber Triadum, (wherein also mention is made of three huge armies that were
 leued out of Britaine) that a certaine outlandish Captaine gathered from hence a mightie armie;
 who hauing wasted a great part of Europe, at length tooke by his abode (perhaps the Author mea-
 neth in Gallatia) nere vnto the sea of Greece.

Likewise, that the warrelike captaine Britomarus (of whom Florus and Appian doe make
 report) was himselfe a Briton, his very name doeth testifie, which signifieth A great Briton. Nei-
 ther will I wrest that testimonie of Strabo (who reporteth Brennus to haue bene a Præc by
 birth) that I may pꝛouee him also to haue bene a Briton boꝛne.

¶ The trauaile of Helena.



*H*elena Flavia Augusta serenissimi Coeli Britannici Regis Hæres, & vnica filia,
 Magni Constantini Cesaris mater, incomparabili decore, fide, religione, boni-
 tate, ac magnificentiâ piâ, Eusebio etiam teste, per totum resplenduit orbem:
 Inter omnes ætatis suæ scæminas, nulla inueniebatur eâ in liberalibus artibus
 doctior, nulla in instrumentis musicis peritior, aut in linguis nationum copio-
 sior. Innatam habebat ingenij clariudinem, oris facundiam, ac morum or-
 natissimam compositionem: Hebraicè, Græcè, & Latinè erudita. Caruerat pater alia sobole
 (inquit *Viruminius*) quæ Regni solio potiretur. Illam propterea his instrui fecit per optimos præ-
 ceptores, vt eò commodius Regni tractaret negotia. Vnde ob incredibilem eius pulchritudi-
 nem, atque alias eximias animi & corporis dotes, *Constantius Chlorus Cesar* illam duxit in vx-
 orem, atque ex eâ filium in Britannia genuit *Constantinum Magnum*. Sed eo tandem Eboraci de-
 functo, cum *Annâ* illâ Euangelicâ, in sanctâ viduitate perdurauit ad vltimum vitæ diem, tota
 Christianæ

Christianæ religioni dedita, Sunt enim authores, qui narrent per istam, cessante persecutione, pacem Ecclesijs datam: Ad tantam cœlestis Philosophiæ cognitionem eam ferunt post agnitionem Euangelium peruenisse, vt olim multos ediderit libros, & carmina quædam Græca, quæ hucusque à Pontico superesse perhibentur. Visionibus admonita Hierosolymam petiit, & omnia saluatoris loca perlustrauit. Romæ tandem octogenaria feliciter in Christo quieuit. 15. Kalendas Septembris, filio adhuc superflite, anno salutis humanæ 337. Règnante apud Britannos Octauio. Huius corpus non minimâ nunc curâ Venetijs seruatur.

The same in English.

Helena Flauia Augusta, the heire and onely daughter of Coelus sometime the most excellent King of Britaine, the mother of the Emperour Constantine the great, by reason of her singular beautie, faith, religion, goodnesse and godly Maestie (according to the testimonie of Eusebius) was famous in all the world. Amongst all the women of her time, there was none either in the liberall arts more learned, or in instruments of musike more skilfull, or in the diuers languages of nations more abundant then her selfe. She had a naturall quicknesse or excellency of wit, eloquence of speech, and a most notable grace in all her behauiour. She was seene in the Hebrew, Greeke and Latine tongues.

Her father (as Virumnius reporteth) had no other childe to succeed in the kingdome after him but her, and therefore caused her to be instructed in these things by the best teachers, that thereby she might the better in time gouerne the Realme: so that by reason of her passing beautie, and other her excellent giftes of body and minde, Constantius Chlorus the Emperour married her, and had by her a sonne called Constantine the great, while hee remained in Britaine. Who at length deceasing at Pozke, this Helena (no otherwise then Anna of whom mention is made in the new Testament) continued a vertuous and holy widow to the end of her life.

There are some wryters which doe affirme, that persecution ceales, and peace was granted to the Christian Churches by her good meanes.

After the light and knowledge of the Gospel, she grew so skilfull in diuinitie, that she wrote and composed diuers booke, and certaine Greeke verses also, which (as Ponticus reporteth) are yet extant. Being warned by some visions she went to Ierusalem, and visited all the places there, which Christ had frequented. She liued to the age of fourescore yeeres, and then died at Rome the 15. day of August, in the yeere of our redemption 337. Octauius being then king of Britaine, and her sonne Constantine the Emperour then also liuing, and her body is to this day very carefully preserved at Venice.

The life and trauels of Constantine the great, Emperour and King of Britaine.

Laius Constantinus cognomento Magnus post Genitorem Cōstantium Britannorum Rex, ac Romanorum Cæsar Augustus, ex Britannica matre in Britannia natus, & in Britannia creatus Imperator, patriam natalem magnificè suæ gloriæ participem fecit. Profligatis Alemanis, Hispanis, & Francis, eorūque Regibus pro spectaculo bestijs obiectis, Galliam subiectam tenuit: Tres Helenæ matris auunculos Britannos, Leolinum, Traherum, & Marium, quos cæteris semper fidentiores habuerat in suis fortunis, Italis à Maxentij tyrannide feliciter liberatis, in Senatorum ordinem Romæ promouit. Innumeræ in eo (vt Eutropius habet) claruere tam animi, quam corporis virtutes, dum appetentissimus esset gloriæ militaris, successu semper in bellis prospero. Inter literas tam Græcas quam Latinas, à Christianissima matre Helena Christi fidem edoctus, eos honorabat præcipuè, qui in Philosophia Christiana vitam reclinassent. Vnde ab Oceani finibus nempe Britannis incipiens, ope fretus diuina, religionis curam in medijs superstitionum tenebris cepit, ab Occiduis ad Indos, innumeras ad æternæ spem vitæ erigens gentes. Animum diuinis exercendo studijs, noctes trahebat in somnes, & quæsitæ scribendi diuerticula per otium frequentabat: Imperium oratione, ac Sanctis operationibus continendum ratus, Egregius Christianæ disciplinæ præco, filios ac proceres docuit, pietatem diuitijs omnibus, atque adeò ipsi anteferre totius mundi Monarchiæ. Falsorum deorum euesor, Imaginum cultus per Græciam, Ægyptum, Persiam, Asiam, & vniuersam ditionem Romanam, repositis abrogat legibus, iubens per edicta Christum coli, Euangelium prædicari sacrum, Ministris honores, & alimenta dari, atque idolorum vbique destrui templa. Et vt fidei forma cunctis videretur, Euangelium Iesu Christi ante se semper ferri fecit, & Biblia sacra ad omnes prouincias destinati, diademâque Monarchicum primus Britannis regibus dedit: Ecclesijs infinita præstitit

præstitit agros, annonam, stipem egenis, ægris, viduis, ac orphanis, pro quibusque ut pater sollicitus. Eusebium, Lactantium, & similes, familiarissimos habuit, & hæc ad Deum orationem indiès ipsius in eius vita testibus fudit. Vnum te Deum esse nouimus, vnum te Regem intelligimus, appellamus adiutorem, nobis abs te victoria cecidit, ex te Aduersarium fudimus, &c. Pro delicijs i. abuit, ut Sextus Aurelianus tradit, literarum studia colere, bonos artes fouere, legere, scribere, meditari: composuit Græcè & Latine multos libros & Epistolas. E vita Nicomædiæ discessit Senex, ætatis suæ Anno 66, & Imperij 32, à Christi verò incarnatione 339. Constantinopoli sepultus, Octauio in Britanijs regnante. Eius vitam in quatuor libris Eusebius Cæsariensis Græcè scripsit, & Ioannes Porreus Gallus in Latinum transtulit sermonem.

¶ The same in English.

FLAUUS Constantine, surnamed the great, king of the Britaines after his father, and Emperour of the Romanes, borne in Britaine of Helena his mother, and there created Emperour, made his native countrey partaker of his singular glory and renoume.

Having conquered and put to flight the Almaines, Spaniards, Frenchmen, and their Kings for a spectacle shewen out to wild beasts, he held France it selfe as subiect vnto him: and hauing happily deliuered the Italians from the tyrannie of Maxentius, he preferred to hie of his mothers virtues, all Britaines, namely, Leoline, Trahere, and Marius, when in all his actions he had found more faith in vnto him then any others, to be of the order of the Romane Senators.

Eutropius reporteth, that he infinitely excelled in the vertues both of the mind and body also, and that hauing a pleasure in the practise of warre, and in the iust commendation of Martiall prowesse, he neuer pitched his field but his successe in the battel was alwayes victorious. His mother Helena hauing instructed him in the faith of Christ, although hee made much of all men that were learned in the Greeke and Latine tongues, yet he yeilded speciall honoz to those that spent their time in the studie of Diuinitie, which he called Christian Philosophie: so that beginning at the furthest part of the Ocean sea, which then was taken to be his owne native soyle of Britaine, and trusting in the assistance of God, when the darkenes of Superstition was most thicke, then hee undertooke a care of Religion, stirring by innumerable nations from the West as farre as India it selfe, to the hope of eternall life.

Hee passed many nightes without sleepe, hauing his minde occupied in diuine studies: and whensoever his lasture from greater affaires did permit him, his vacante times should be spent in the vse of writing and other good exercises, assuring himselfe that his kingdomes and Empire were to be continued and strengthened to him by prayer and holy workes: and oftentimes taking vpon him as it were the person of a notable preacher of Christian discipline, he would teach his children and nobilitie, that godlinesse was to be preferred before riches, yea, before the Monarchie of all the world.

He ouerthrew the false gods of the heathens, and by many lawes often reuiled, he abrogated the worshipping of Images in all the countreies of Greece, Egypt, Persia, Asia, and the whole Romane Empire, commanding Christ onely by his Edicts to be worshipped, the sacred Gospell to be preached, the Ministers thereof to be honoured and relieued, and the temples of Idoles euer where to be destroyed.

Whither soeuer he went hee caused the booke of the Gospell of Christ to be still carried before him, that thereby it might appeare to be a forme of faith to all men, and to appertaine generally to all nations.

He was the first that appointed an Imperiall Diademe, or Crowne to the Kings of Britaine. He was most beneficiall to all Churches, bestowing vpon them lands and fields, and vpon the poore, sicke persons, widowers and orphans, coine and wood, being as carefull of them as if hee had bene their naturall father.

He used learned men most familiarly, as Eusebius, Lactantius and others, and they are witnesses that this was his vsuall prayer to God. O Lord we know thee to be the onely God, we are sure that thou art the onely King, and we call vpon thee as our helper: though thee we haue gotten the victorie, and by thee we haue ouerthruen the enemy.

Sextus Aurelius reporteth, that it was his greatest delight to embrace the studie of learning, to fauour good Arts, to read, write and meditate, and that he composed many bookes and Epistles both in the Greeke and Latine tongues.

He died at Nicomedia, being then 66. yeeres of age, in the 32. yeere of his reigne, and in the 339. yeere after the Incarnation of Christ, and was buried at Constantinople, Octauius being then King of Britaine: whose life Eusebius bishop of Casarea hath written in Greeke in 4. bookes, which after wards were translated into the Latine tongue by Iohn Porreus a Frenchman.

¶ The life and trauales of Pelagius borne in Wales.



Pelagius Cambrius ex ea Britannia parte oriundus, famati illius Collegij Banochorentis a Cestria non procul, praepositus erat, in quo Christianorum philosophorum duo millia ac centum, ad plebis in Christo commoditatem militabant, manuum suarum laboribus, iuxta Pauli doctrinam victitantes. Postquam plures exhibitos, pro Christiana Repub. labores, vir eruditione insignis, & tum Graece, tum Latine peritus, vt Tertullianus alter, quorundam Clericorum laesitissimis iniurijs, grauatim tulit, ac tandem a fide defecit.

Peragratius igitur deinceps Gallijs, in Aegyptum, & Syriam aliasque orientis Regiones demum peruenit. Vbi ex earum partium Monacho praesul ordinatus, sui nominis haeresim fabricabat: asserens hominem sine peccato nasci, ac solo voluntatis imperio sine gratia saluari posse, vt ita nefarius baptismum ac fidem tolleret. Cum his & consimilibus impostricis doctrinae fecibus in patriam suam reuersus, omnem illam Regionem, Iuliano & Caestino Pseudoepiscopis fautoribus, conspurcabat. Verum ante lapsum suum studia tractabat honestissima, vt post Gennadium, Bedam, & Honorium alij ferunt auctores, composuitque multos libros ad Christianam vtilitatem. At postquam est Hereticus publicatus, multo plures edidit haeresi succurrentes, & ex diametro cum vera pietate pugnantes, vnde erat a suis Britannis in exilium pulsus, vt in Epistola ad Martinum 5. Valdenus habet. Claruit anno post Christum incarnatum, 390. sub Maximo Britannorum Rege.

¶ The same in English.

Pelagius, borne in that part of Britaine which is called Wales, was head of gouernour of the famous Colledge of Bangor, not farre from Chester, wherin liued a Societie of 2100. Diuines, of Students of Christian philosophie, applying themselues to the profite of the Christian people, and liuing by the labours of their owne handes, according to Pauls doctrine. He was a man excellently learned, and skilfull both in the Greeke and Latine tongues, and as it were another Tertullian, after his long and great trauales for the good of the Christian common wealth, seeing himselfe abused, and iniuriously dealt withall by some of the Clergie of that time, he tooke the matter so grieuously, that at the last he relapsed from the faith.

Whereupon he left Wales, and went into France, and hauing gone through France, hee went therehence into Egypt, Syria, & other Countreies of the East, and being made Priest by a certaine Donke of those partes, he there hatched his heresie, which according to his name was called the heresie of the Pelagians: which was, that man was borne without sinne, and might be saued by the power of his owne will without grace, that so the miserable man might take away faith and baptisme. With this and the like dregges of false doctrine, hee returned againe into Wales, and there by the meanes of the two false Prelates Iulian and Celestine, who fauoured his heresie, hee infected the whole Countrey with it. But before his fall and Apostasie from the faith, he exercised himselfe in the best studies, as Gennadius, Beda, Honorius, and other authours doe report of him, and wrote many bookes seruing not a little to Christian vtilitie: but being once fallen into his heresie, hee wrote many more erroneous bookes, then he did before honest, and sincere: whereupon, at the last his owne Countrey men banished him, as Walden testifieth in his Epistle to Pope Martine the first. He flourished in the yere after the Incarnation, 390. Maximus being then King of Britaine.

¶ Certaine Englishmen sent to Constantinople by the French

King to *Iustinian* the Emperour, about the yere of Christ, 500. out

of the fourth booke of *Procopius de Bello Gothico*.



Britanniam insulam tres numerosissimae gentes incolunt: Quorum vnicuique suus Rex imperat. Nominantur haec gentes Angli, Frisones, & qui eiusdem sunt cum insula cognominis Britones. Tanta vero hominum multitudo esse videtur, vt singulis annis inde magno numero cum vxoribus & liberis ad Francos emigrent. Illi autem in eorum terram, quae maximè deserta videtur, excipiunt. Vnde insulam sibi vindicare ferunt. Vtique non ita pridem, cum Francorum Rex quosdam e suis Constantinopolim ad Iustinianum legaret, Anglos etiam misit, ambitiosus vindicans, quasi haec insula suo subesset imperio.

The same in English.

The Isle of Britaine is inhabited by three most populous nations, euery of which is gouerned by a severall king. The sayd nations are named Angli, Frisones, and Britones, which last are called after the name of the Island. In this Isle there are such swarmes of people, that euery yeere they goe soozth in great numbers with their wiues and children into France. And the Frenchmen right willingly receiue them into their lande, which seemeth very desolate for want of inhabitants. Whereupon it is sayd that the French doe challenge the foresayd Island vnto themselves. For not long since, when the king of the Frankes sent certaine of his subiects ambassadours to Constantinople vnto Iustinian the Emperour, he sent English men also, ambitiously boasting, as though the sayd Isle had bene vnder his iurisdiction.

A testimonie of the sending of *Sighelmus* Bishop of *Shirburne*, by King *Alfred*, vnto *Saint Thomas* of *India* in the yeare of our Lord 883, recorded by *William* of *Malmesburie*, in his second booke and fourth Chapter *de gestis regum Anglorum*.

Leemosynis intentus priuilegia ecclesiarum, sicut pater statuerat, roborauit; & trans mare *Romam*, & ad sanctum *Thomam* in *Indiam* multa munera misit. Legatus in hoc missus *Sighelmus Shirburnensis* Episcopus cum magna prosperitate, quod quibus hoc seculo miretur, *Indiam* penetrauit; inde rediens exoticos splendores gemmarum, & liquores aroniatum, quorum illa humus ferax est, reportauit.

The same in English.

King *Alfred* being addicted to giuing of almes, confirmed the priuileges of Churches as his father had detrimed; and sent also many giftes beyond the seas vnto *Rome*, and vnto *S. Thomas* of *India*. His messenger in this businesse was *Sighelmus* bishop of *Schirburne*; who with great prosperitie (which is a matter to be wondered at in this our age) traualled thorough *India*, and returning home brought with him many strange and precious vnions and costly spces, such as that countrey plentifully yeeldeth.

A second testimony of the foresaid *Sighelmus* his voyage vnto *Saint Thomas* of *India* &c. out of *William* of *Malmesbury* his second booke *de gestis pontificum Anglorum, cap. de episcopis Schireburnensibus Salisburienfibus, Wiltunensibus*.

Sighelmus trans mare, causa eleemosynarum regis, & etiam ad Sanctum *Thomam* in *Indiam* missus, mira prosperitate, quod quibus in hoc seculo miretur, *Indiam* penetrauit; inde que rediens exotici generis gemmas, quarum illa humus ferax est, reportauit. Nonnullæ illarum adhuc in ecclesiæ monumentis visuntur.

The same in English.

Sighelmus being for the performance of the kings almes sent beyond the seas, and traouiling vnto *S. Thomas* of *India*, very prosperously (which a man would woonder at in this age) passed through the sayde countrey of *India*, and returning home brought with him diuers strange and precious stones, such as that climate affourdeeth. Many of which stones are as yet extant in the monuments of the Church.

The life and traouailes of *Iohn Erigena*.

Ioannes *Erigena* Britannus natione, in *Meneuia* vrbe, seu ad fanum *Dauidis*, & patricio genitore natus, dum *Anglos* *Daci* crudeles bellis ac rapinis molestant, ac omnia illic essent tumultibus plena, longam ipse peregrinationem *Athenas* vsque suscepit, annosque quamplures literis *Græcis*, *Chaldaicis*, & *Arabicis* insudauit: omnia illic inuisit *Philosophorum* loca, ac studia, imo & ipsum oraculum *Solis*, quod *Aesculapius* sibi construxerat, Inueniens tandem quod longo quæsierat labore

labore, in Italian & Galliam est reuertus vbi ob integram eruditionem, Carolo Caluo, & postea Ludouico Balbo acceptus, Dionysij Areopagita libros de cœlesti Hierarchia, ex Constantinopoli tunc missos Latinos fecit, Anno Dom. 858. Profectus postea in Britanniam, Alphredi Anglorum Regis, & suorum liberorum factus est præceptor, atque ipso mox adhorrente, inter oia literaria è Græco transtulit in tres linguas, scilicet Chaldaicam, Arabicam, & Latinam, Aristotelis moralia, de secretis secretorum, seu recto regimine Principum, opus certe exquisitum. In Malmsburiensi cænobio tandem, quo recreationis gratia se contulerat, inter legendum a quibusdam discipulis maleuolis interimebatur, Anno Christi, 884.

The same in English.

Iohn Erigene a Britane, descended of honourable parents, and borne in the Towne of S. Daulid in Wales, seeing the Englishmen to be oppressed with the warres and rapines of the cruell Danes, and all the land in a hurle burlie, he in the meane time vnderooke a long iourney, euen as farre as Athens, and there spent many yeres in the studie of the Greeke, Chaldie, and Arabian tongues: he there frequented all the places and schooles of the Philosophers, and the oracle also of the Sunne, which Aesculapius had built vnto himselfe. And hauing found at length that which he had with long trauell searched, he returned againe into Italie, and France, where for his singular learning, he was much fauoured of the two Kings Charles and Lewes, and in his being there, he translated into Latine the bookes of Dionysius Areopagita concerning the Heauenly Hierarchie, which were sent from Constantinople in the yeere 858. After this hee came backe againe into his owne Countrey, and was schoolemaster vnto Alphred then King of England, and his sonnes: and vpon his request, at his times of leasure, he translated Aristotles Morals, of the Secrets of Secrets, of the right gouernement of Princes, out of Greeke into these three tongues, Chaldie, Arabian, and Latine, which he did very exquisitely. At the last, being in the Abbie of Malmsburie, whither he went for his recreation, and there according to his manner disputing, and reading to the Students, some of them mistaking and hating him, rose against him, and slue him in the yeere of Christ, 884.

The trauailes of *Andrew Whiteman* aliàs *Leucander*, Centur. 2.



Andreas Leucander aliàs Whiteman (iuxta Lelandum) Monachus, & Abbas Ramesiensis Cænobij tertius fuit. Hic bonis artibus studio quodam incredibili noctes atque dies inuigilabat, & operæ præcium ingens inde retulit. Accessit præterea & ardens quoddam desiderium, ea proprijs & apertis oculis videnti loca, in quibus Seruator Christus redemptionis nostræ mytheria omnia consummauit, quorum prius sola nomina ex scripturarum lectione nouerat: vnde & sacram Hierosolymorum urbem, miraculorum, prædicationis, ac passionis eius testem inuisit, atque domum rediens factus est Abbas. Claruisse fertur anno nati Seruatoris, 1020. sub Canuto Dano.

The same in English.

Andrew Leucander other wise called Whiteman (as Leland reporteth) was by profession a Monk, and the third Abbat of the Abbey of Ramsie: he was exceedingly giuen to the studie of good artes, taking paines therein day & night, and profited greatly thereby. And amongst all other things, he had an incredible desire to see those places with his eyes, wherein Christ our Sauour perfozmed and wrought all the mytheries of our redemption, the names of which places he onely knew before by the reading of the Scriptures. Whereupon he began his iourney, and went to Jerusalem a witness of the miracles, preaching, and passion of Christ, and being againe returned into his countrey, he was made the aforesayd Abbat. He flourished in the yeere of Christ 1020. vnder Canutus the Dane.

The voyage of *Swanus* one of the sonnes of Earle *Godwin* vnto *Ierusalem*, Anno Dom. 1052, recorded by *William of Malmsburie* *lib. 2. de gestis regum Anglorum, Capite 13.*



Swanus peruersi ingenij & infidi in regem, multoties a patre & fratre Haroldo desciuit: & pirata factus, prædis maritimis virtutes maiorum polluit. Postremò pro conscientia Brunonis cognati interempti, (& vt quidam dicunt) fratris Ierosolimam abiit: indeque rediens, a Saracenis circumuentus, & ad mortem casus est.

The same in English.

Swanus being of a peruerse disposition, and faithlesse to the king, often times disagreed with his father and his brother Harold: and afterwards proouing a pirate, he stained the vertues of his ancestors with his robberies vpon the seas. Last of all, being guilty vnto himselfe of the murder of his kinsleman Bruno, and (as some do report) of his owne brother, he traualled vnto Ierusalem: and in his returne home, being taken by the Saracens, was beaten, and wounded vnto death.

A voyage of three Ambassadors, who in the time of K. Edward the Confessor, and about the yere of our Lord 1056, were sent vnto Constantinople, and from thence vnto Ephesus, together with the occasion of their sending, &c. recorded by William of Malmesburie, lib. 2. de gestis regum Anglorum, capite 13.



Die sancti paschatis ad mensam apud Westmonasterium assederat, diademate fastigatus, & optimatum turma circumuallatus. Cūque alij longam quadragesimam in ediam recentibus cibis compensantes, acriter comederent, ille a terrenis reuocato animo, diuinum quiddam speculatus, mentes conuiuantium permouit ampliores perfusus in risum: nulloque causam lætitiæ perquirere præsumente, tūc quidē ita taciturni, donec edendi satietas obsonijs finem imposuit. Sed remotis mensis, cum in triclinio regalibus exueretur, tres optimates eum prosequuti, quorum vnus erat comes Haroldus, secundus abbas, tertius episcopus, familiaritatis ausu interrogant quid riserat: mirum omnibus nec immentō videri, quare in tanta serenitate diei & negotij, tacentibus cæteris, scurrilem cachinnum eiecerit. Stupenda (inquit) vidi, nec ideo sine causa risi. Tum illi, vt moris est humani ingenij, sciscitari & quærete causam ardentius, vt supplicibus dignantē rem impertiatur. Ille multum cunctatus tandem instantibus mira respondit: septem dormientes in monte Cælio requiescere iam ducentis annis in dextro iacentes latere: sed tunc in hora ipsa risus sui, latus inuertisse sinistrum: futurum vt septuaginta quatuor annis ita iaceat: dirum nimirum miseris mortalibus omen. Nam omnia ventura in his septuaginta quatuor annis, quæ dominus circa finem mundi prædixit discipulis suis: gentem contra gentem surrecturam, & regnum aduersus regnum, terramotus per loca, pestilentiam & famem, terrores de cælo, & signa magna, regnorum mutationes, gentilium in Christianos bella, item Christianorum in paganos victorias. Tanta mirantibus inculcans passionem septem dormientium, & habitudines corporum singulorum, quas nulla docet litera, ita pronipere differuit: ac sicum eis quotidianū vitæ raret contubernio. His auditis, comes militem, episcopus clericum, abbas monachum, ad veritatem verborum exculpandam, Manichæi Constantinopolitano imperitori misere, adiectis regis sui literis & muneribus. Eos ille benignè secum habitos episcopo Ephesi destinauit, epistola pariter, quam sacram vocant, comitante: vt ostenderentur legatis regis Angliæ septem dormientium marturiales exuuiæ. Factūque est vt vaticinium regis Edwardi Græcis omnibus comprobatum, qui se a patribus accepisse iurarent, super dextrum illos latus quiescere: sed post introitum Anglorum in speluncam, veritatem peregrinæ prophetiæ contubernalibus suis prædicarunt. Nec moram festinatio malorum fecit, quin Agareni, & Arabes, & Turci, alienæ scilicet a Christo gentes, Syriam, & Lyciam, & minorem Asiam omnino, & maioris multas vrbes, inter quas & Ephesum, ipsam etiam Hierosolymam depopulari, super Christianos inuaderent.

The same in English.

Vpon Easter day king Edward the Confessor being crowned with his kingly diadem, and accompanied with diuers of his nobles, sate at dinner in his pallace at Westminster. And when others, after their long abstinence in the Lent, refreshed themselves with dainty meats, and fed thereupon very earnestly, he lifting vp his mind from earthly matters and meditating on heavenly visions (to the great admiration of those which were present) brake forth into an exceeding laughter: and no man presuming to enquire the cause of his mirth, they all kept silence till dinner was ended. But after dinner, as hee was in his bed-chamber putting off his solemne robes, thre of his Nobles, to wit earle Harold, an Abbot, and a Bishop, being moze familiar with him then the rest, followed him in, and boldly asked him what was the occasion of his laughter: for it seemed very strange vnto them all, what should moue him at so solemne a time and assembly, while others kept silence, to laugh so excessively. I saw (quoth he) admirable things, and therefore laughed I not without occasion. Then they (as it is the common guise of all men) demanded and enquired the cause moze earnestly, humbly beseeching him that hee would vouchsafe to impart

impart that secret vnto them. Whereupon musing a long while vnto himselfe, at length he told them wonderfull things: namely that seuen Sleepers had rested in mount Calius two hundred yeeres, lying vpon their right sides; but in the very houre of his laughter, that they turned themselves on their left sides; and that they should continue so lying for the space of 74. yeeres after; being a dismal signe of future calamitie vnto mankind. For all things should come to passe within those 74. yeeres, which, as our Saviour Christ foretold vnto his disciples, were to be fulfilled about the ende of the world; namely that nation should rise against nation, and kingdome against kingdome, and that there should bee in many places earthquakes, pestilence, and famine, terrible apparitions in the heauens, and great signes, together with alterations of kingdomes, warres of infidels against the Christians, and victories of the Christians against the infidels. And as they wondered at these relations, he declared vnto them the passion of the seuen Sleepers, with the proportion and shape of eache of their bodies (which things no man liuing had as then committed vnto writing) and that so plainly and distinctly, as if he had conuersed a long time in their company. Whereupon the earle sent a knight, the bishop a cleerke, and the abbot a menke vnto Maniches the Emperour of Constantinople, with the letters and gifts of their King. Who giuing them friendly entertainment, sent them ouer vnto the bishop of Ephesus; and wrote his letters vnto him giuing him charge, that the English Ambassadors might be admitted to see the true, and material habitiments of the seuen Sleepers. And it came to passe that King Edwards the first was approued by all the Greekes, who protested they were aduertised by their fathers, that the foresaid seuen Sleepers had alwayes before that time rested vpon their right sides; but after the Englishmen were entered into the caue, those Sleepers confirmed the truth of the outlandish prophetic, vnto their countreyemen. Neither were the calamities foretold, any long time delayed: for the Agarens, Arabians, Turkes and other unbeleuing nations inuading the Christians, harried and spoiled Syria, Lycia, the lesser Asia, and many cities of Asia the greater, and amongst the rest Ephesus, yea, and Ierusalem also.

The voyage of *Alured* bishop of *Worcester* vnto *Ierusalem*, an. 1058.

Recorded by *Roger Houeden* in *parte priore Annalium*, fol. 255-linea 15.

A.D. 1058.



Luredus Wigornienſis Episcopus ecclesiam, quam in ciuitate Glauorna à fundamentis construxerat, in honore principis Apostolorum Petri honorificè dedicauit: & postea regis licentia *Wolſtanum* Wigornienſem Monachum à se ordinatum Abbatem constituit ibidem. Deim præſulatu dimisso *Wiltonienſis* ecclesie, qui sibi ad regendum commissus fuerat, & *Hermanno*, cuius supra mentionem fecimus, reddito, mare transijt, & per *Hungariam* profectus est *Hierosolymam*, &c.

The same in English.

In the yere of our Lord 1058. *Alured* bishop of *Worcester*, very solemnely dedicated a Church (which himselfe had founded and built in the cite of *Glocester*) vnto the honour of *S. Peter* the chiefe Apostle: and afterward by the kings permission ordained *Wolstan* a Monk of *Worcester* of his owne choice, to be Abbat in the same place. And then hauing left his Bishopricke which was committed vnto him ouer the Church of *Wilton*, and hauing resigned the same vnto *Hermannus* about mentioned, passed ouer the seas, and traualled through *Hungarie* vnto *Ierusalem*, &c.

The voyage of *Ingulphus* Abbat of *Croiland* vnto *Ierusalem*, performed (according to *Florentius Wigornienſis*) in the yeere of our Lord,

1064, and described by the said *Ingulphus* himselfe about the conclusion of his briefe Historie.

A.D. 1064.



Ego *Ingulphus* humilis minister Sancti *Guthlaci* Monasterij; sui *Croilandensis*, natus in Anglia, & a parentibus Anglicis, quippè vrbis pulcherrimæ *Londoniarum*, pro literis addiscendis in teneriori ætate constitutus, primum *Westmonasterio*, postmodum *Oxonienſi* studio traditus eram. Cumque in *Aristotele* arripiendo supra multos coztianos meos profectissem, etiam *Rheioricam Tullij* primam & secundam talo tenus induebam. Factus ergo adoleſcentior, fastidienſis parentum meorum exiguitatem, paternos lares relinquere, & palatia regum aut principum affectans, mollibus vestri, pomposisque lacinijs amicti indies ardentius appetebam. Et ecce, inclutus nunc rex noster Angliæ, tunc ad-

hic comes Normanniæ Wilhelmus ad colloquium tunc regis Angliæ Edwardi cognatus, A.D. 1051, cum grandi ministrantium comitatu Londoniam aduentabat. Quibus citius insertus, ingerens me vbiq; ad omnia emergentia negotia peragenda, cum prosperè plurimè perfectissem, in breui agnitus illustrissimo comiti & astrictissimè adamiatus, cum ipso Normanniam enauigabam. Factus ibidem scriba eius, pro libito totam comitis curiam, ad nonnullorum inuidiam regebam; quosque volui humiliabam, & quos volui exaltabam. Cumque iuuenili calore impulsus in tam cælo statu supra meos natales consistere cæderem, quin semper ad altiora contendere, instabili animo, ac nimium pruriens affectu, ad erubescèntiam ambitiosus auidissimè desiderarem: nuntiatum per vniuersam Normanniam plurimos archiepiscopos imperij cum nonnullis alijs terræ principibus velle pro merito animarum suarum more peregrinorum cum debita deuotione Hierosolymam proficisci. De familia ergo comitis domini nostri plurimi tam milites quàm clerici, quorum primus & præcipuus ego eram, cum licentia, & domini nostri comitis beneuolentia, in dictum iter nos omnes accinximus: & Alemanniam petentes, equites triginta numero & amplius domino Maguntino coniuncti sumus. Parati namque omnes ad viam, & cum dominis episcopis connumerari septem millia, pertranscentes prosperè multa retrarum spatia, tandem Constantinopolim peruenimus. Vbi Alexium Imperatorem eius adorantes Agiosophiam vidimus, & infinita sanctuaria osculati sumus. Diuertentes inde per Lyciam, in manus Arabicorum laronum incidimus; euisceratiq; de infinitis pecunijs, cum moribus multorum, & maximo vitæ nostræ periculo vix euadentes, tandem desideratissimam ciuitatem Hierosolymam læto introitu tenebamus. Ab ipso tunc patriarcha Sophronio nomine, vix veneranda canicie honestissimo ac sanctissimo, grandi cymbalorum tonitru, & luminarium immensio fulgore suscepti, ad diuinissimam ecclesiam sanctissimi sepulchri, tam Syrorum, quàm Latinorum solenni processione deducti sumus. Ibi quot preces inorauius, quot lachrymas inieciimus, quot suspiria inspirauimus, solus eius inhabitator nouit D. noster Iesus Christus. Ab ipso itaque gloriosissimo sepulchro Christi ad alia sanctuaria ciuitatis inuisenda circumducti, infinitam summam sanctarum ecclesiarum, & oratoriorum, quæ Achim Soldanus dudum destruxerat, oculis lachrymosis vidimus. Et omnibus ruinis sanctissimæ ciuitatis, tam extra, quàm intra, numerosis lachrymis intimo affectu compassi, ad quorundam restaurationem datis non paucis pecunijs, exire in patriam & sacratissimo Iordane intingi, vniuersaq; Christi vestigia osculari, desideratissima deuotione suspirabamus. Sed Arabum latrunculi qui omnem viam obseruabant, longius a ciuitate euagari, sua rabiosa multitudine innumera non sinebant. Vere igitur accedente, stolis nauium lanuensium in porta Toppensi applicuit. In quibus, cum sua mercimonia Christiani mercatores per ciuitates maritimas commutassent, & sancta loca similiter adorassent, ascendentes omnes mari nos commisitimus. Et iactati fluctibus & procellis innumeris tandem Brundisium, & prospero itinere per Apuliam Romam petentes, sanctorum Apostolorum Petri & Pauli limina, & copiosissima sanctorum martyrum monumenta per omnes stationes osculati sumus. Inde archiepiscopi, ceterique principes imperij Alemanniam per dextram repetentes, nos versus Franciam ad sinistram declinantes, cum inenarrabilibus & gratijs & osculis ab inuicem discessimus. Et tandem de triginta equitibus, qui de Normannia pingues exiimus, vix viginti pauperes peregrini, & omnes pedites, macie multa attenuati, reuerſi sumus.

A.D. 1064,
According to
Florentius Wigornienſis.

The same in English.

Ingulphus an humble seruant of reuerend Guthlac and of his monastery of Croiland, borne in England, and of English parents, at the beautifull citie of London, was in my youth, for the attaining of good letters, placed first at Westminster, and after ward sent to the Uniuersitie of Oxford. And hauing excelled diuers of mine equals in learning of Aristotle, I inuared my selfe somewhat vnto the first & second Rhetorique of Tullie. And as I grew in age, disbayning my parents meane estate, and forsaking mine owne native soyle, I affected the Courts of kings and princes, and was desirous to be clad in silke, and to weare braue and costly attire. And loe, at the same time William our soueraigne king now, but then Erle of Normandie, with a great troupe of followers and attendants came vnto London, to conferre with king Edward the Coufessour his kinsman. Into whose company intruding my selfe, and proffering my seruice for the performance of any speedy or weightie affayres, in short time, after I had done many things with good successe, I was knowen and most entirely beloued by the victorions Erle himselfe, and with him I sayled into Normandie. And there being made his secretarie, I governed the Erles Court (albeit with the enuie of some) as my selfe pleased, yea whom I would I abased, and preferred whom I thought good. When as therefore, being carried with a youthfull heat and luttie humour, I began to be wearie euen of this place, wherein I was aduanced so high above my parentage, and with an inconstant minde, and affection too too ambitious, most vehemently aspi-

A.D. 1051.

red at all occasions to climbe higher: there went a report throughout all Normandie, that diuers Archbishops of the Empire, and secular princes were desirous for their soules health, and for deuotion sake, to goe on pilgrimage to Ierusalem. Wherefore out of the family of our lord the Earle, sundry of vs, both gentlemen and clerkes (principall of whom was my selfe) with the licence and good will of our sayd lord the earle, sped vs on that voyage, and traouling thirtie boyles of vs into high Germanie, we toynd our selues vnto the Archbishop of Mentz. And being with the companies of the Bishops seuen thousand persons sufficiently prouided for such an expedition, we passed prosperously through many prouinces, and at length attained vnto Constantinople. Where doing reuerence vnto the Emperour Alexius, we sawe the Church of Sancta Sophia, and kissed diuers sacred reliques. Departing thence through Lycia, we fell into the hands of the Arabian theues: and after we had bene robbed of infinite summes of money, and had lost many of our people, hardly escaping with extreme danger of our liues, at length wee ioyfully entered into the most wished citie of Ierusalem. Where we were receiued by the most reuerend, aged, and holy patriarkt Sophronius, with great melodie of cymbals and with torch-light, and were accompanied vnto the most diuine Church of our Saviour his sepulchre with a solemne procession as well of Syrians as of Latines. Here, how many prayers we vntered, what abundance of teares we shed, what deepe sighs we breathed forth, our Lord Iesus Christ onely knoweth. Wherefore being conducted from the most glorious sepulchre of Christ to visite other sacred monuments of the citie, we saw with weeping eyes a great number of holy Churches and oratories, which Achim the Souldan of Egypt had lately destroyed. And so hauing bewailed with sadde teares, and most sorrowful and bleeding affections, all the ruines of that most holy city both within and without, and hauing bestowed money for the reedifying of some, we desired with most ardent deuotion to go forth into the countrey, to wash our selues in the most sacred river of Iordan, and to kisse all the steppes of Christ. Howbeit the theruish Arabians lurking vpon euery way, would not suffer vs to trauell farre from the city, by reason of their huge and furious multitudes. Wherefore about the syx there arriued at the port of Ioppa a fleet of ships from Genoa. In which fleet (when the Christian merchants had exchanged all their wares at the coast townes, and had likewise visited the holy places) wee all of vs embarked, committing our selues to the seas: and being tossed with many stormes and tempests, at length wee arriued at Brundisium: and so with a prosperous iourney traouling thow Apulia towards Rome, we there visited the habitations of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and did reuerence vnto diuers monuments of holy martyrs in all places thowout the city. From thence the archbishops and other princes of the empire traouling towards the right hand for Alemain, and we declining towards the left hand for France, departed asunder, taking our leaues with vspeakable thankes and courtesies. And so at length, of thirtie boylers which went out of Normandie fat, lusty, and frolique, we returned thither scarce twenty poore pilgrims of vs, being all footmen, and consumed with leanesse to the bare bones.

¶ Diuers of the honourable family of the *Beauchamps*, with *Robert*

Curtoys sonne of *William* the Conqueror, made a voyage to *Ierusalem* 1096.

Hol pag. 22. vol. 2.

Dupe Vibane calling a counsell at Clermont in Auvergne, exhorted the Christian princes so earnestly to make a iourney into the Holy land, for the recovery thereof out of the Saracens hands, that the sayde great and generall iourney was concluded vpon to be taken in hand, wherein many noble men of Christendome went vnder the leading of Godfrey of Bouillon & others, as in the Chronicles of France, of Germanie, and of the Holy land doeth moze plainly appeare. There went also among other diuers noble men fourth of this Realme of England, specially that worthily bare the surname of Beauchampe.

¶ The voyage of *Gutuere* an English Lady married to *Balduine* brother of *Godfreide* duke of *Bouillon*, toward *Ierusalem* about 1097. And the 11. yeere of *William Rufus* King of England.

The Christian armie of Godfre of Bouillon passing the citie of Iconium, alias *A-gogna* in the countrey of *Licaonia*, and from thence by the city of *Herachia*, came at length vnto the citie of *Marasia*, where they encamped, and sojourned there thre whole dayes, because of the wife of *Balduine* brother germane of the duke of *Lorraine*. Which Lady being long time vexed with a grieuous malady, was

in eremitie, where at length paying the debt due to nature, she changed this transitorie life, for life eternall; Who, in her life time, was a very worthy and vertuous Lady, bozne in England, and descended of most noble parentage named Gutuere; Which, according to her degree, was there most honourably enterred, to the great griefe of all the whole armie. As reporteth William Archbishop of Tyre, lib. 3. cap. 17. hist. belli sacri. The same authoꝝ in the 10. booke & first chapter of the same historie concerning the same English Lady, writeth further as followeth, Baldwin hauing folowed the warres for a time, gaue his minde to marriage, so that being in England he fell in loue with a very honourable and noble Lady named Gutuere, whom he married and carried with him in that first happy expedition, wherin he accompanied his brethren the Loꝝds, duke Godfrey and Eustace, persons very commendable in all vertues and of immoztall memorie. But he had hard fortune in his iourney, because his foresaid wife, being wearied with a long sickness finished her life with a happie end neere the citie of Marasia, before the Christian armie came vnto Antioch, where she was honourably buried, as we haue declared before.

¶ *Chronicon Hierosolymitanum in lib. 3. cap. 27.* maketh also mention of this English Lady, which he calleth *Godwera* in this maner.

Hac in regione Marefch vxor Baldewini nobilissima, quam de regno Anglię eduxit, diutina corporis molestia aggrauata, & duci Godefrido commendata, vitam exhalauit, sepulta Catholicis obsequiis; cuius nomen erat Godwera.

The same in English.

In this pounce of Marefch the most noble wife of Baldwin, which he carried with him out of England being visited with dayly sicknesse and infirmities of body, and commended to the custody of duke Godfrey, departed out of this life, and was buried after the Christian maner. Her name was Godwera.

7 The voyage of *Edgar* the sonne of *Edward* which was the sonne of *Edmund* surnamed *Ironside*, brother vnto *K. Edward* the confessor, (being accompanied with valiant *Robert* the sonne of *Godwin*) vnto Ierusalem, in the yeere of our Lord 1102, Recorded by *William* of Malmesburie, lib. 3. hist. fol. 58.



Vbsequenti tempore cum Roberto filio Godwini milite audacissimo Edgarus Hierosolymam pertendit. Illud fuit tempus quo Turci Baldwinum regem apud Ramas obsederunt: qui cum obsidionis injuriam ferre nequiret, per medias hostium acies effugit, solius Roberti opera liberatus præeuntis, & euaginato gladio dextra leuaque Turcos cædentis. Sed cum successu ipso truculentior, alacritate nimia procurreret, ensis manu excidit. Ad quem recolligendum cum se inciinasset, omnium incursu oppressus, vinculis palmas dedit. Inde Babyloniam (vt aiunt) ductus, cum Christum abnegare noller, in medio foro ad signum positus, & sagittis terabratus, martyrium consecrauit. Edgarus amisso milite regressus, multaque beneficia ab Imperatoribus Græcorum, & Alemannorum adeptus (quippe qui etiam eum retinere pro generis amplitudine tentassent) omnia pro natalis soli desiderio spreuit. Quosdam enim profecto fallit amor patriæ, vt nihil eis videatur iucundum, nisi consuetum hauserint cælum. Vndè Edgarus fatua cupidine illusus Angliam redijt, vbi (vt superius dixi) diuerso fortunæ ludicro rotatus, nunc remotus & tacitus, canos suos in agro consumit.

A.D. 1102.

The same in English.

Afterward *Edgar* being sonne vnto the nephewe of *Edward* the confessor, traueiled with *Robert* the sonne of *Godwin* a most valiant knight, vnto Ierusalem. And it was at the same time when the Turkes besieged king *Baldwin* at Rama: who not being able to endure the straight siege, was by the helpe of *Robert* especially, going before him, and with his drawn sword making a lane, and slaying the Turkes on his right hande and on his left, deliuered out of that danger, and escaped through the midd of his enemies campe. But vpon his happie successe being moze eager and fierce, as he went forward somewhat too hastily, his sword fell out of his hand. Which as he stouped to take vp, being oppressed with the whole multitude, hee was there taken and bound. From whence (as some say) being carried vnto Babylon or Alcair in Egypt, when he would not renounce Christ, he was tyed vnto a stake in the midd of the market place, and being shot through with arrowes, died a martyr. *Edgar* hauing lost his knight returned, and being honoured with many rewards both by the Greekis and by the Germane Emperour (who both of them would right gladly haue entertained him still for his great nobilitie) contemned all things in respect

respect of his native soile. For in very deede some are so inueagled with the loue of their countrey, that nothing can seeme pleasant vnto them, vnesse they breathe in the same aire where they were bred. Wherefoze Edgar being mislede with a fond affection, returned into England; and afterward being subiect vnto diuers changes of fortune (as we haue aboue signified) he spendeth * now his extreme olde age in an obscure and priuate place of the countrey.

When the author was writing of this history.

¶ Mention made of one *Godericus*, a valiant Englishman, who was with his ships in the voyage vnto the *Holy land* in the second yeere of *Baldwine King of Ierusalem*, in the third yeere of *Henry the first of England*.



Hronicon Hierosolymitanum lib. 9. cap. 9. Verum dehinc septem diebus euolutis rex ab Assur exiens, nauem quæ dicitur Buza ascendit, & cum eo Godericus pirata de regno Angliæ, ac vexillo hastæ præfixo & elato in aère ad radios solis vsque, Iaphet cum paucis nauigauit, vt hoc eius signo ciues Christiani recognito, fiduciam vitæ regis haberent, & non facile hostiū minis pauefacti, turpiter diffugium facerent, aut urbem reddere cogentur. Sciebat enim eos multum de vita & salute eius desperare. Saraceni autē viso eius signo, & recognito, ea parte quæ urbem nauigio eingebar illi in galeis viginti & Carinis tredecim, quas vulgo appellant Cazh, occurrerunt, volentes Buzam regis coronare. Sed Dei auxilio vndis maris illis ex aduerso tumescentibus ac reluctantibus, Buza autem regis facili, & agili cursu inter procellas labente, ac volitante, in poru Ioppæ delusis hostibus subito affuit, sex ex Saracenis in arcu suo in nauicula percussis, ac vulneratis. Intrans iraque ciuitatem dum incolumis omnium pareret oculis, reuiuixit spiritus cunctorum gementium & de eius morte hactenus dolentium, eo quod caput & rex Christianorum & princeps Hierusalem adhuc viuus & incolumis receptus sit.

The same in English.

But seven dayes afterward, the King, comming out of the towne of Assur entred into a shippe called a Buffle, and one Godericke a pirate of the kingdome of England with him, and fastening his banner on the toppe of a speare, and holding it by aloft in the aire against the beames of the Sunne, sailed vnto Iaphet with a small company; That the Christian Citizens there seeing this his banner, might conceiue hope that the King was yet liuing, and being not easily terrified with the threats of the enemies might shamefully runne away, or be constrained to yeeld by the citie. For hee knew that they were very much out of hope of his life and safetie. The Saracens seeing and knowing this his banner, that part of them which enuironed the Citie by water made towards him with twentie Gallies and thirteene shippes, which they commonly cal Cazh, seeking to inelose the Kings shippe. But, by Gods helpe the billowes of the Sea swelling and raging against them, and the Kings shippe gliding and passing through the waues with an easie and nimble course arriued suddenly in the haven of Ioppa, the enemies frustrated of their purpose; and sixe of the Saracens were hurt and wounded by shot out of the Kings shippe. So that the King entering into the Citie, and now appearing in safetie in all their sightes, the spirits of all them that mourned for him, and vntil then lamented as though hee had bene dead, reuiued, because that the head and King of the Christians, and prince of Ierusalem was yet aliue, and come againe vnto them in perfect health.

¶ Mention made of one *Hardine of England* one of the chiefest personages, and a leader among other of two hundred saile of ships of Christians that landed at Ioppa in the yeere of our Lord God 1102.



Hronicon Hierosolymitanum libro 9. cap. 11. Interea dum hæc obsidio ageretur 200. naues Christianorum nauigio Ioppen appulsa sunt, vt adorantur in Hierusalem. Horum Bernardus Witrazh de terra Galatiæ, Hardinus de Angliæ, Otho de Roges, Hadewerck, vnus de præpotentibus Westfalorum, primi & duces fuisse referuntur, &c. Erat autem tertia feria Iulij mensis, quando hæc Christianorum copiar, Deo protegente, huc nauigio angustiatis & obsessis ad opem collata sunt. Sarracenorum autem turmæ, videntes quia Christianorum virtus audacter facie ad faciem vicino sibi hospitio proxime iungebatur, media nocte orbi incumbente, amois tentorijs amplius milliari subtraçtæ confederunt, dum luce exorta consilium iuinent, vtrum Aſcalonem redirent, aut ciues Iaphet crebris assultibus vexarent.

The same in English.

While the Sarazens continued their siege against Ioppa, two hundred saile of Christian ships arriued at Ioppa, that they might performe their deuotions at Hierusalem. The chiefe men and leaders of these Christians are reported to haue bene: Bernard Wirazh of the land of Galatia, Hardine of England, Orho of Roges, Haderwerck one of the chiefe noble men of Westphalia, &c. This Christian power through Gods speciall prouision, arriued here for the succour and reliefe of the distressed & besieged Christians in Ioppa, the third day of July, 1102. and in the second yeere of Baldwine king of Ierusalem. Whereupon the multitude of the Sarazens, seeing that the Christian power toynded themselues boldly, close by them euen face to face in a lodging hard by them, the very next night at midnight, remooued their tents, and pitched them more then a mile off, that they might the next morning bee aduised whether they should returne to Ascalon, or by often assaults bere the citizens of Iaphet.

Chronicon Hierosolymitanum, eodem libro 9. cap. 12. continueth this historie of these two hundred saile of ships, and sheweth how by their prouesse chiefly, the multitude of the Sarazens were in short space vanquished and ouerthrowen: The words are these; Ab ipso vero die terria feria dum sic in superbia & elatione sua multitudinis immobiles Saraceni peristerent, & multum armorum terroribus Christianum populum vexarent, sexta feria appropinquante, Rex Baldwinus in tubis & cornibus Iaphet egrediens, in manu robusta equitum & peditum virtutem illorum crudeli bello est aggressus, magnis hinc & hinc clamoribus intonantes. Christiani quoque qui nauigio appulsi sunt horribili pariter clamore cum Rege Baldwino, & graui strepitu vociferantes, Babylonios vehementi pugna sunt aggressi, saeuissimis atq; mortiferis plagis eos affigentes, donec bello fatigati, & ultra vim non sustinentes fugam versus Ascalonem inierrunt. Alij vero ab inscutoribus eripi existimantes, & mari se credentes, intolerabili procellarum fluctuatione absorpti sunt. Et sic ciuitas Ioppe cum habitatoribus suis liberata est. Ceciderunt hac die tria millia Saracenorum: Christianorum vero pauci perijisse inuenti sunt.

The same in English.

Yet notwithstanding, after the said third day of July, the Sarazens persisted high minded and insolent, by reason of their great multitude, and much annoied the Christian people with their many forceable and terrible weapons; whereupon, on the sixth day of July early in the morning king Baldwine issued out of Iaphet, his trumpets and cornets yeelding a great and loud sound, and with a very strong armie as well of horsemen as footemen, who on euery side making great shoutes and outcries, with fierce and sharpe battell set on the maine power of their enemies. The Christians also who arriued in the nauie, rearing great clamours and noyses, with loud voices and shouting in horrible wise together, with king Baldwine assaulted likewise with strong battell the Babylonians, and afflicted them with most sore and deadly wounds, until the Sarazens being wearied with fighting, not able longer to endure and hold out against the valour of the Christians, fled towards Ascalon. And other of them hoping to escape from them that pursued them, leapt into the sea, and were swallowed by in the waues thereof. And so the citie of Ioppa with the inhabitants thereof were freed of their enemies, There were slaine this day three thousand Sarazens, and but a few of the Christians perished.

¶ A Fleete of Englishmen, Danes, and Flemmings, arriued at Ioppa in the Holy land, the seventh yeere of Baldwine the second king of Hierusalem. Written in the beginning of the tenth booke of the Chronicle of Hierusalem, in the 8. yeere of Henry the first of England.

Cap. 1.



The same time also in the seventh yeere of the raigne of Baldwine the Catholike king of Hierusalem, a very great warrelike Fleete of the Catholike nation of England, to the number of about seue thousand, hauing with them moze men of warre of the kingdom of Denmarke, of Flanders and of Antwerpe, arriued with ships which they call Bulles, at the haue of the citie of Iaphet, determining there to make their abode, until they hauing obtained the kings licence and safeconduct, might safely worchip at Hierusalem. Of which nauie the chiefe and best spoken repairing to the king, spake to him in this maner, Christ preserue the Kings life, and prosper his kingdome from day to day; Wee bring men and loudiours of Christian profession, haue, through the helpe of God, sayled hither through mightie

and large seas, from the farre countreys of England, Flanders, and Denmarke, to woꝝship at Ierusalem, and to visite the sepulchze of our Loꝝd. And therefore we are assembled to increat your clemency touching the matter, that by your fauour and safe conduct we may peaceably goe by to Ierusalem, and woꝝship there, and so returne.

Chap. 2.

The king fauourably hearing their whole petition, granted vnto them a strong band of men to conduct them, which brought them safely from all assaults and ambushes of the Gentiles by the known wayes vnto Ierusalem and all other places of deuotion. After that these pilgrims, & new Christian strangers were brought thither, they offering vnto our Loꝝd their bowes in the temple of the holy sepulchze, returned with great joy, and without all let vnto Ioppa; where finding the king, they bowed that they would assist him in all things, which should seeme good vnto him: who, greatly commending the men, and commanding them to be well entertained with hospitality, answered that he could not on the sudden answer to this point, vntill that after he had called his nobles together, he had consulted with my loꝝd the Patriarch what was most meet and conuenient to be done, and not to trouble in vaine so willing an army. And therefore after a few dayes, calling vnto him my loꝝd the Patriarch, Hugh of Tabaria, Gunfride the keeper and lieutenant of the tower of Dauid; and the other chiefe men of warre, he determined to haue a meeting in the city of Rames, to consult with them what was best to be done.

Chap. 3.

Who, being assembled at the day appointed, and proposing their diuers opinions & iudgements, at length it seemed best vnto the whole company to besiege the city Sagitta, which is also called Sidon, if peradventure, through Gods helpe, and by the strength of this new army, by land and sea it might be overcome. Whereupon all they which were there present, and required that this city should be besieged, because it was one of those cities of the Gentiles which continually rebelled, were commended, and admonished of the king euery one to go home, and to furnish themselves with things necessary, and armour for this expedition. Euery one of them departed home; likewise Hugh of Tabaria departed, being a chiefe man of warre against the inuasions of the enemies, which could neuer be wearied day nor night in the countie of the Pagans, in pursuing them with warre and warlike stratagemes all the dayes of his life. Immediately after this consultation the king sent ambassadours to all the multitude of the English men, requiring them not to remoue their campe nor fleet from the city of Iaphet, but quietly to attend the kings further commandement. The same ambassadours also declared vnto the whole army, that the king and all his nobility had determined to besiege and assault the city Sagitta by sea and by land, and that their helpe and forces would there be needfull: and that for this purpose, the king and the patriarch were coming downe vnto the city of Acres, and that they were in building of engins, and warlike instruments, to inuade the walles and inhabitants thereof: and that in the meane season they were to remaine at Iaphet, vntill the kings further commandement were known. Whereupon they all agreed that it should be done according to the kings commandement; and answered that they would attend his directions in the haucn of Iaphet, & would in all points be obedient vnto him vnto the death.

Chap. 4.

The king came downe to Acres with the patriarch, and all his family, building, and making there by the space of fortie dayes engins, and many kindes of warlike instruments: and appointing all things to be made perfectly ready, which seemed to be most conuenient for the assaulting of the city. Also as this purpose and intent of the king was come vnto the eares of the inhabitants of Sagitta, and that an inuincible power of men of warre was arrived at Iaphet to helpe the king, they were greatly affonied, fearing that by this meanes, they should be conquered and subdued by the king by dint of sword, as other cities, to wit, Casaria, Assur, Acres, Cayphas, and Tabaria were vanquished and subdued. And therefore laying their heads together, they promised to the king by secret mediators, a mighty masse of money of a coyne called Byzantines: and that further they would yeerely pay a great tribute, vpon condition that ceasing to besiege and inuade their city, he would spare their liues. Whereupon these businesses were handled from day to day betweene the king and the citizens, and they solicited the king for the ransoming both of their city and of their liues, proffering him from time to time more greater gifts. And the king for his part, being carefull and perplexed for the payment of

of the wages which he ought vnto his souldiers, harkened wholly vnto this offer of money. Wherebeit because he feared the Chyistians, least they should lay it to his charge as a fault, he durit not as yet meddle with the same.

Chap. 5.

In the meane space Hugh of Tabaria being sent for, accompanied with the troopes of two hundred horsemen and foure hundred footmen, inuaded the countrey of the Grosse Carle called Suet, very rich in gold and siluer most abundant in cattle frontering vpon the countrie of the Damascenes, where hee tooke a pray of inestimable riches and cattle, which might haue sufficed him for the besiege of Sagitta, whereof he ment to impart liberally to the king, and his companie. This pray being gathered out of sundry places thereabout, and being led away as farre as the cite of Belinas, which they call Cæsaria Philippi, the Turkes which dwelt at Damascus, together with the Saracens inhabitants of the countrie perceiuing this, flocking on all partes together by troopes, pursued Hughes companie to rescue the pray, and passed forth as farre as the mountaines, ouer which Hughes footemen did diuie the pray. There beganne a great skirmish of both partes, the one side made resistance to keepe the pray, the other inuadour wih all their might to recouer it, vntill at length the Turkes and Saracens preuailling, the pray was rescued and brought backe againe: which Hugh and his troopes of horsemen, suddenly vnderstanding, which were on the side of the mountaines, incontinently rid backe vpon the spurre, among the straight and craggie rockes, skirmishing with the enemies, and succouring their footemen, but as it chanced they fought vnfotunately. For Hugh, being vnarmed; and immediatly rushing into the midst of all dangers, and after his woonted manner inuading and wounding the infidels, being behinde with an arrowe shot through the backe which pierced thorough his liuer and breast, he gaue vp the ghost in the hands of his owne people. Hereupon the troopes of the Geniles being returned with the recouered pray, and being deuided through the secret and hard passages of the craggie hilles, the souldiers brought the dead bodie of Hugh, which they had put in a litter, into the cite of Nazareth, which is by the mount Thaber, where with great mourning and lamentation, so worchie a prince, and valiant champion was honourably and Catholikely interred. The brother of the said Hugh named Gerrard, the same time lay sicke of a grieuous disease. Which hearing of the death of his brother, his sicknesse of his body increasing more vehemently through griefe, he also deceased within eight dayes after, and was buried by his brother, after Chyistian maner.

Chap. 6.

After the lamentable burials of these so famous Princes, the King, taking occasion of the death of these principall men of his armie, agreed, making none priuie thereto, to receiue the money which was offered him for his differing off the siege of the cite of Sagitta, yet dissembling to make peace with the Saracens, but that he ment to go through with the worke, that he had begunne. Whereupon sending a message vnto Iaphet, hee aduised the English souldiers to come downe to Acres with their fleet, and to conferre and consult with him touching the besieging and assaulting of the cite of Sagitta, which rising immediatly vpon the kings commaundement, and forthwith hopling by the sayles of their shippes aloft with pendants and streamers of purple, and diuerse ocher glozious colours, with their flagges of scarlet colour and silke, came thither, and casting their anchors, rode hard by the cite. The king the next day calling vnto him such as were priuie & acquainted with his dealings, opened his grieue vnto the chiefe Captaines of the English men and Danes, touching the slaughter of Hugh, and the death of his brother, and what great confidence he reposed in them concerning these warres: and that now therefore they being departed and dead, he must of necessity differre the besieging of Sagitta, & for this time dismisse the armie assembled. This resolution of the king being spred among the people, the armie was dissolued, and the Englishmen, Danes and Flemings, with sailes and oars going aboard their fleet, saluted the king, and returned home vnto their natie countries.

The trauailes of one *Athelard* an Englishman, recorded
by master *Bale Centur. 2.*



Athelardus Bathoniensis Cœnobij monachus, naturalium rerum mysteria, & causas omnes, diligentia tam vndecunque exquisita perscrutatus est, vt cum aliquibus veteris seculi philolophis non indignè conferri possit. Hic olim spectatæ indolis Adolescentens, vt virente adhuc ætate iuuenile ingenium fecundaret, atque ad res magnas pararet

pararet, relicta dulci patria longinquas petijt regiones. Cum verò Ægyptum & Arabiam peragrans, plura inuenisset, quæ eius desiderabat animus, cum magno laborum, ac literarum lucro in Angliam tum demùm reuertebatur. Claruit anno virginei partus, 1130. Henrico primo regnante.

The same in English.

A Thelard a Monk of the Abbie of Bathe was so diligent a searcher of the secrets, and causes of naturall things, that he deserueth woꝛthely to be compared with some of the auncient Philosophers. This man although young, yet being of a good wit, and being desirous to increase and enrich the same with the best things, and to prepare himselfe as it were for greater matters, left his Countrey for a time, and trauailed into forreine Regions. He went through Egypt, and Arabia, and found out many things which he desired to his owne priuate contentment, and the profite of good letters generally, and so being satisfied, returned againe into his Countrey: he flourished in the yeere 1130. Henry the first being then king of England.

¶ The life and trauailes of one William of Tyre, an Englishman. *Centur. 13.*

Hic etiam Guilielmus Tyrensis claruit sub Henrico primo.



Guilielmus, Ecclesiæ Dominici sepulchri Hierosolymæ Regularium Canonorum prior, natione Anglicus vir vita & moribus comendabilis, Anno Domini 1128. postquam Tyrorum Ciuitas fidei Christianæ restituta est a Guimundo Hierosolymorum patriarcha, eidem vrbi primus Archiepiscopus præficiebatur. Est autem Tyrus ciuitas antiquissima, Phœnicia vniuersæ Metropolis, quæ inter Syriæ prouincias, & bonorum omnium penè commoditate, & incolarum frequentia primum semper obtinuit locum: post conscripta quædam opuscula, & Epistolas, ad Dominum migravit, An. Christi 1130. quum duobus tantum sedisset annis, & in Tyrensi Ecclesia sepelitur.

The same in English.

William the Prior of the Canons Regular in the Church of Jerusalem, called the Lords Sepulchre, was an Englishman borne, and of a vertuous and good behaiour. After that the Citie of Tyre was restored againe to the Christian faith, Guimunde the Patriarke of Jerusalem made him the first Archbishop of Tyre, in the yeere 1128. Which Tyre is a very ancient Citie, the Metropolis of all Phœnicia, and hath bene accompted the chiefest Prouince of Syria, both for fruitfull commodities and multitude of inhabitants. This William hauing in his life written many Bookes and Epistles, died at last in the yeere 1130. hauing bene Archbishop the space of two yeeres, and was buried in the Church of Tyre.

The trauailes of Robertus Ketenensis.



Robertus Ketenensis natione & cognomine Anglus, degustatis primùm per Anglorum gymnasia humanarum artium elementis literarijs, vltamarinas statim visitare prouincias in animo constituit: Peragratis ergò Gallijs, Italia, Dalmatia, & Græcia, tum demum peruenit in Asiam, vbi non paruo labore, ac vitæ suæ periculo inter Saracenos truculentissimum hominum genus, Arabicam linguam ad amussim didicit. In Hispaniam postea nauigio traductus, circa fluuium Hiberum Astrologiæ artis studio, cum Hermanno quodam Dalmata, magni sui itineris comite se rotum dedit. Claruit anno seruatoris nostri, 1143 Stephano regnante, & Pampilonæ sepelitur.

Claruit sub Stephano.

The same in English.

This Robert Ketenensis was called an Englishman by surname, as he was by birth: who after some time spent in the foundations of humanitie, and in the elements of good Artes in the Aniuersities of England, determined to trauaile to the partes beyond sea: and so trauailed through France, Italie, Dalmatia, and Greece, and came at last into Asia, where he liued in great danger of his life among the cruell Saracens, but yet learned perfectly the Arabian tongue. Afterwardes he returned by sea into Spaine, and there about the riuer Iberus, gaue him selfe wholly to the studie of Astrologie, with one Hermannus a Dalmatian, who had accompanied him in his long voyage. He flourished in the yeere 1143. Steuen being then King of England, and was buried at Pampilona.

A voyage of certaine English men vnder the conduct of Lewes king of France vnto the Holy land.



Antæ expeditionis explicito apparatu vterque princeps iter arripuit, & exercitu separato. Imperator enim Conradus præcedebat itinere aliquot dierum, cum Italorum, Germanorum, aliarumque gentium amplissimis copijs. Rex vero Lodouicus sequebatur Francorum, Flandrensium, Normannorum, Britonum, Anglorum, Burgundionum, Prouincialium, Aquitanorum, equestri simul & pedestri agmine comitatus. *Gulielmus Nebbrigensis, fol. 371.*

1147.
Tempore regis
Stephani.

The same in English.

Both the princes provision being made for so great an expedition, they severing their armies, entered on their iourney. For the Emperour Conradus went before, certaine dayes iourney, with very great power of Italians, Germans, and other countreys. And king Lewes followed after accompanied with a band of horsemen and footmen of Frenchmen, Flemmings, Normans, Britons, English men, Burgundions, men of Prouence, and Galcoins.

The voyage of Iohn Lacy to Ierusalem.



Anno Domini 1172 fundata fuit abbatia de Stanlaw per dominum Iohannem Lacy Constabularium Cestriæ & dominum de Halton, qui obiit in Terra sancta anno sequenti: qui fuit viceffimus annus regni regis Henrici secundi.

1173.

The same in English.

In the yere of our Lord 1172 was founded the abbey of Stanlaw by the lord Iohn Lacy Constable of Chester, & lord of Halton, who deceased in the Holy land the yere following: which was in the twentieth yere of king Henry the second.

The voyage of William Mandeuile to Ierusalem.

William Mandeuile earle of Essex, with diuers English lords and knights, went to the Holy land in the 24 yere of Henry the second. Holinshed pag. 101.

1177.

English men were the guard of the Emperours of Constantinople in the reigne of Iohn the sonne of Alexius Comnenus. *Malmesburiensis, Curopolata and Camden, pag. 96.*



Am inde Anglia non minus belli gloria, quam humanitatis cultu inter Florentissimas orbis Christiani gentes in primis floruit. Adeo vt ad custodiam corporis Constantinopolitanorum Imperatorum euocati fuerint Angli. Ioannes enim Alexij Comneni filius, vt refert noster Malmesburiensis, eorum fidem suspiciens præcipue familiaritati suæ applicabar, amorem eorum filio transcribens: Adeo vt iam inde longo tempore fuerint imperatorum illorum satellites, Inglini Bipenniferi Nicetæ Choniata, Barangi Curopolata dicti. Qui vbiq; Imperatorem prosequabantur ferentes humeris secures, quas rotlebant, cum Imperator ex oratorio spectandum se exhibebat, Anglicè vitam diurnam secures suas collidentes vt sonitum ederent, comprecabantur.

The same in English.

From this time forward the kingdome of England was reputed amongst the most flourishing Estates of Christendome, no lesse in chivalrie then humanitie. So farforth that the English men were sent for to be the guarders of the persons of the Emperours of Constantinople. For Iohn the sonne of Alexius Comnenus, as our countreyman William of Malmesburie reporteth, highly esteeming their fidelity, vsed them very nere about him, recommending them euer to his sonne: so that long time afterwards the guard of those Emperours were English halberters, called by Nicetas Choniata, Inglini Bipenniferi, and by Curopolata, Barangi, which alwayes accompanied the Emperour with their halberds on their shoulders, which they held up when the Emperour coming from his Oratorie shewed himselfe to the people; and clashing their halberds together to make a terrible sound, they in the English tongue wished vnto him long life.

A great supply of money to the Holy land by *Henry the 2.*

He same yeere King Henry the second being at Waltham, assigned an aide to the maintenance of the Christian souldiers in the Holy lande, That is to wit, two and fortie thousand markes of silver, and five hundred markes of golde. *Matth. Paris. and Hohenf. pag. 105.*

A letter written from *Manuel the Emperour of Constantinople*, vnto *Henrie the second King of England*, *Anno Dom. 1177.* wherein mention is made that certaine of King *Henries* Noble men and subiects were present with the sayd Emperour in a battell of his against the Soldan of *Iconium*. Recorded by *Roger Hoveden*, in *Annalium parte posteriore, in regno Hen. 2. fol. 316, & 317.*



Odem anno Manuel Constantinopolitanus imperator, habito prælio campeltri cum Soltano Iconij & illo devicto, in hac forma scripsit Domino regi Angliæ,

Manuel in Christo deo Porphyrogenitus, diuinitus coronatus, sublimis, potens, excelsus, semper Augustus, & moderator Romanorum, Comnenus, Henrico nobilissimo regi Angliæ, charissimo amico suo, salutem & omne bonum. Cum imperium nostrum necessarium reputet notificare tibi, vt dilecto amico suo, de omnibus quæ sibi obueniunt; ideò & de his quæ nunc acciderunt ei, opportunum iudicauit declarare tuæ voluntari. Igitur a principio coronationis nostræ imperium nostrum aduersus dei inimicos Persas nostrum odium in corde nutriuit, dum cerneret illos in Christianos gloriarî, eleuarique in nomen dei, & Christianorum dominari regionibus. Quocirca & alio quidem tempore indifferenter inuasit eos, & prout deus ei concessit, sic & fecit. Et quæ ab ipso frequenter parata sunt ad contritionem ipsorum & perditionem, imperium nostrum credit nobilitatem tuam non latere. Quoniam autem & nunc maximum exercitum contra eos ducere proposuit, & bellum contra omnem Persidem mouere, quia res cogebat. Et non vt voluit multum aliquem apparatus fecit, sicut ei visum est. Veruntamen prout tempus dabat & rerum status, potenter eos inuasit. Collegit ergo circa se imperium nostrum potentias suas: sed quia carpenta ducebat armorum, & machinarum, & aliorum instrumentorum conferentium ciuitatum expugnationibus, pondera portantia: idcirco nequaquam cum festinatione iter suum agere poterat. Amplius autem dum adhuc propriam regionem peragraret, antequam barbarorum aliquis aduersus nos militaret in bellis aduersarius, ægritudine difficillima fluxus ventris inuasit nos, qui diffusus per agmina imperij nostri pertransibat, depopulando & interimendo multos, omni pugnatore grauior. Et hoc malū inualecens maximè nos contriuit. Ex quo verò fines Turcorum inuasimus, bella quidem primum frequentia concrepabant, & agmina Turcorum cum exercitibus imperij nostri vndique dimicabant. Sed Dei gratia ex toto à nostris in fugam vertebantur barbari. Post verò vbi ei qui illic adjacet angustia loci, quæ à Persis nominatur Cibrilcimam, propinquauimus, tot Persarum turmæ peditum & equitum, quorum pleræque ab interioribus partibus Persidis occurrerant in adiutorium contribulium suorum, exercitui nostro superuenerunt, quot penè nostrorum excederet numerum. Exercitu itaque imperij nostri propter viæ omnino angustiam & difficultatem, vsq; ad decem milliaria extenso; & cum neque qui præbant possent postremos defendere, neque versa vice rursus postremi possent præeuntes iuuare, non mediocriter ab inuicem hos distare accidit. Sane primæ cohortes permultum ab acie imperij nostri diuidebantur, postremarum oblita, illas non præstolantes. Quoniam igitur Turcorum agmina ex iam factis prælijs cognouerant, non conferre sibi à fronte nobis repugnare, loci angustiam bonum subuentorem cum inuenissent, posteriora statuerunt inuadere agmina, quod & fecerunt. Arctissimo igitur vbique loco existente, instabant barbari vndique, à dextris & à sinistris, & aliundè dimicantes, & tela super nos quasi imbres descendencia interimabant viros & equos complures. Ad hæc itaque imperium nostrū vbi malum superabundabat, reputans secum oportunū iudicabat retrò expectare, atque illos qui illic erant adiuuare, expectando vtique contra infinita illa Persarum agmina bellum sustinuit. Quanta quidem, dum ab his circumdaretur, patrauerit, non opus est ad tempus sermonibus pertexere, ab illis autem qui interfuerunt, forsitan discet de his tua nobilitas. Inter hæc autem existente imperio nostro, & omne belli grauamen in tantum sustinente, postremæ cohortes vniuersæ Græcorum & Latinorum, & reliquorum omnium generum conglobatæ, quæ iaciebantur ab inimicis tela non sustinentes, impactione vtuntur, & ita violentè ferebantur, dum ad adiacentem ibi collem quasi ad propugnaculum

naculum festinarent: sed precedentes impellunt nolentes. Multo autem elcuato pulnere, ac perturbante oculos, & neminem permittere videre quæ circa pedes erant, in præcipitium quod aderat profundissimæ vallis alius super alium homines & equi sic incontinenter portati corruerunt, quod alij alios conculcantes ab inuicem interemerunt non ex gregarijs tantum, sed ex clarissimis & intimis nostris consanguineis. Quis enim inhibere poterat tantæ multitudinis importabilem impulsus? At verò imperium nostrum tor & tantis confertum barbaris faucians, fauciatumque, aded vt non modicam in eos moueret perturbationem, obstupentes perseverantiani ipsius, & non remittebatur, benè iuuante deo, campum obrinuit. Neque locum illum scandere aduersarios permisit, in quo dimicauit cum barbaris. Nec quidem equum suum illorum rimore incitauit, celerius aliquando ponere vestigia. Sed congregando omnia agmina sua, & de morte eripiendo ea, collocauit circa se: & sic primos attigit, & ordinatum proficiscens ad exercitus suos accessit. Ex tunc igitur videns Soltanus, quod post tanta quæ acciderant exercitibus nostris, imperium nostrum, sicut oportuumerat, rem huiusmodi dispensauit, vt ipsum rursùm inuaderet: mittens supplicauit imperio nostro, & deprecatorijs vsus est sermonibus, & requisuit pacem illius, promittens omnem imperij nostri adimplere voluntatem, & seruitium suum contra omnem hominem dare, & omnes qui in regno suo tenebantur captiuos absoluere, & esse ex toto voluntatis nostræ. Ibidein ergo per duos dies integros, in omni potestate morati sumus, & cognito quod nihil poterat fieri contra ciuitatem Iconij, perditis testudinibus & machinis bellicis, eo quod boues cecidissent a telis in modo pluuia iactis, qui casti traherent: Simul autem eo quod & vniuersa animalia nostra irruente in illa difficillima ægitudine laborabant, suscepit Soltani deprecationem & scedera & iuramenta peracta sub vexillis nostris, & pacem suam ei dedit. Inde ingressum imperium nostrum in regionem suam regreditur, tribulationem habens non mediocrem super his quos perdidit consanguineis, maximas tamen Deo gratias agens, qui per suam bonitatem & nunc ipsum honorauit: Gratum autem habuimus, quod quosdam nobilitatis tuæ principes accidit interesse nobiscum, qui narabunt de omnibus quæ acciderant, tuæ voluntati seriem. Cæterum autem, licet contristati simus propter illos qui ceciderunt: oportuam tamen duximus, de omnibus quæ acciderant, declarare tibi, vt dilecto amico nostro, & vt per multum conjuncto imperio nostro, per puerorum nostrorum intimam consanguinitatem. Vale. Data mense Nouembris, indictione tertia.

The same in English.

In the yeere 1177, Manuel the emperour of Constantinople hauing fought a field with the Soldan of Iconium, and vanquished him, wrote vnto Henry the second king of England in manner following.

Manuel Comnenus in Christ the euerliuing God a faithfull emperour, descended of the kinage of Porphyrie, crowned by Gods grace, high, puissant, mighty, alwayes most souereigne, and gouernour of the Romans; vnto Henry the most famous king of England, his most deare friend, greeting and all good successe. Whereas our imperiall highnesse thinketh it expedient to aduertise you our welbeloued friend of all our affaires: We thought it not amisse to signifie vnto your royall Maiestie certaine exploits at this present atchieued by vs. From the beginning therefore of our inauguration our imperiall highnes hath mainteined most deadly feod and hostility against Gods enemies the Persians, seeing them so to triumph ouer Christians, to exalt theselues against the name of God, and to vsurpe ouer Christian kingdomes. For which cause our imperiall highnesse hath in some soz encountered them heretofore, and did as it pleased God to giue vs grace. And we suppose that your Maiestie is not ignorant, what our imperiall highnesse hath often performed for their ruine and subuertion. For euen now, being vjged thereunto, we haue determined to leade a mighty army against them, and to wage warre against all Persia. And albeit our forces be not so great as we could wish they were, yet haue we according to the time, and the present state of things, strongly inuaded them. Therefore our Maiestie imperiall hath gathered our armies together: but because we had in our army sundry carts laden with armour, engines, & other instruments for the assault of cities, to an exceeding weight we could not make any great speed in our iourney. Moreover, while our imperiall highnesse was yet marching in our owne dominions, before any barbarous enemy had fought against vs: our people were visited with the most grievous disease of the fluxe, which being dispersed in our troups destroyed and slew great numbers; more then the sword of the enemy would haue done. Which mischiefe so preuailling, did woonderfully abate our forces. But after we had inuaded the Turkish frontiers, we had at the first very often and hot skirmishes, and the Turks came swarming to fight against our imperiall troups. Howbeit by Gods assistance those miscreants were altogether scattered and put to flight by our souldiers. But as we approched vnto that straight passage which is called by the Persians

Perhaps Cibailcimanu, so many bands of Persian footemen and hoysmen (most whereof came from the innermost parts of Persia, to succour their Allies) encountered our army, as were almost superiour unto vs in number. Wherefore the army of our Imperiall highnesse, by reason of the straightnesse and difficultie of the way, being stretched ten miles in length; and the first not being able to bypse the last, nor yet contrarywise the last to relene the first, it came to passe that they were very farre distant asunder. And in very need the foremost trouppes were much separated from the guard of our imperiall person, who forgetting their fellows behind, would not stay any whit for them. Because therefore the Turkish bands knew full well by their former conflicts that it was bootlesse for them to assault the forefront of our battell, and perceiuing the narrownesse of the place to be a great aduantage, they determined to set vpon our rereward, and did so. Wherefore our passage being very straight, and the infidels assaying vs vpon the right hand and vpon the left, and on all sides, and discharging their weapons as thicke as hailestones against vs, slew diuers of our men and hoyses. Whereupon, the slaughter of our people still encreasing our maiestie imperiall deemed it requisite to stay behind; and to succour our bands in the rereward, and so expecting them we sustained the fierce encounter of many thousand Persians. What exploits our Imperiall person atchieued in the same skirmish, I hold it needlesse at this time to recount: your maiestie may perhaps vnderstand more of this matter by them which were there present. Howbeit our Imperiall highnesse being in the midst of this conflict, and enduring the sight with so great danger, all our hindermost troupps, both Greekes, Latines, and other nations, retiring themselves close together, and not being able to suffer the violence of their enemies weapons, pressed on so hard, and were caried with such maine force, that hastening to ascend the next hill for their better safegard, they vrged on them which went before, whether they would or no. Whereupon, much dust being raised, which stopped our eyes and vicerly deprived vs of sight, and our men and hoyses pressing so close one vpon the necke of another, plunged themselves on the sudden into such a sleepe and dangerous valley, that treading one vpon another, they quelled to death not onely a multitude of the common souldiours, but diuers most honourable personages, & some of our neere kinsmen. For who could restrain the irresistible thiong of so huge a multitude? Howbeit our Imperiall highnesse being environed with such swarmes of Infidels, and giuing and receiuing wounds (inso much that the miserants were greatly dismayed at our constancie) we gate not ouer, but by Gods assistance wonne the field. Neither did we permit the enemy to ascend vnto that place, from whence we skirmished with him. Neither yet spurred wee on our hoyses any faster for all their assaults. But marshalling all our trouppes together, and deliuering them out of danger, we disposed them about our Imperiall person; and so we ouertooke the foremost, and marched in good order with our whole army. Nowe the Soldan perceiuing that notwithstanding the great damages which we had sustained, our Imperiall highnesse provided to giue him a fresh encounter, humbly submitting himselfe vnto vs, and vsing submisse speeches, made suite to haue peace at our hands, and promised to fulfill the pleasure of our maiestie Imperiall, to doe vs seruice against all commers, to release all our subiects which were captiues in his realme, and to rest wholly at our commaund. Here therefore we remained two dayes with great authoritie; and considering that wee could attempt nought against the citie of Iconium, hauing lost all our warlike engines both for defence and for batterie, for that the ordn which drew them were slaine with the enemies weapons, falling as thicke as hailestones: and also for becaule all our beasts in a manner were most grievously diseased; our maiestie Imperiall accepted of the Soldans petition, league, and oath being made and taken vnder our ensignes, and granted our peace vnto him. Then returned we into our owne dominions, being greatly grieued for the losse of our deere kinsmen, and preeding vnto God most humble thanks, who of his goodnesse had euen now giuen vs the victoey. We are right glad likewise that some of your maiesties princes and nobles accompanied vs in this action, who are able to report vnto you all things which haue happened. And albeit we were exceedingly grieued for the losse of our people; yet thought it we expedient to signifie vnto you the successe of our affaires, as vnto our welbeloued friend, & one who is very neerly allied vnto our highnesse Imperiall, by reason of the consanguinitie of our children. Farewell. Given in the moneth of Nouember, and vpon the tenth Indiction.

The citie of
Iconium intended
to haue
bene besieged.

Certaine noble
men of the
king of England
were with the
Emperour in
his battell
against the
Soldan of Iconium.

¶ The woorthy voiage of *Richard the first, K. of England into Asia,*
for the recouerie of *Ierusalem* out of the hands of the *Saracens*, drawn out of
the booke of *Acts and Monumentes* of the Church of England, written by *M. Iohn Foxe.*

Richard the first of that name, for his great valure surnamed *Ceur de Lion*, the
sonne of *Henry the second*, after the death of his father remembering the rebellions that
he had vndertaken against him, sought for absolution of his trespasses, and in part

of satisfaction for the same, agreed with Philip the French king to take his voyage with him for the recouerie of Christs patrimonie, which they called the Holy land: whereupon the sayd king Richard immediately after his Coronation, to prepare himselfe the better towards his iourney, used diuers means to take up summes of money, and exacted a tenth of the whole Realme, the Christians to make threescore and ten thousand pounds, and the Jewes which then dwelt in the Realme threescore thousand.

Having thus gotten sufficient money for the exploit, he sent certaine Earles and Barons to Philip the French king in the time of his Parliament at S. Denis, to put him in mind of his promise made for the recouerie of Christs holy patrimonie out of the Saracens hands: To whom he sent word againe in the moneth of December, that he had bound himselfe by solenne othe, depoling upon the Euangelists, that he the yeere next following, about the time of Easter, had certainly preferred to aduise himselfe toward that iourney, requiring him likewise not to faile, but to bee ready at the terme about limited, appointing also the place where both the Kings should meete together.

In the yeere therfore 1190. King Richard hauing committed the government of his realme in his absence to the bishop of Ely then Chancelor of England, aduanced forward his iourney, and came to Turon to meet with Philip the French king, & after that went to Vizeliac, where the French king & he ioyning together, for the more continuance of their iourney, assured themselves by solenne othe, swearing fidelitie one to the other: the forme of whose oth was this.

That either of them should defend and maintaine the honour of the other, and beare true fidelitie vnto him, of life, members & worldly honor, and that neither of them should faile one the other in their affaires: but the French King should aide the King of England in defending his land and dominions, as he would himselfe defend his owne Citie of Paris if it were besieged: and that Richard king of England likewise should aide the French king in defending his land and Dominions, no otherwise then he would defend his owne Citie of Roan if it were besieged, &c.

The oth of fidelitie betwix King Richard, and the French king.

Concerning the lawes and ordinances appointed by K. Richard for his Nauie, the forme thereof was this.

1. That who so killed any person on shipboord, should be tied with him that was slaine, and throwen into the sea.

2. And if he killed him on the land, he should in like maner be tied with the partie slaine, and be buried with him in the earth.

3. He that shall be convicted by lawfull witnes to draw out his knife or weapon to the intent to strike any man, or that hath striken any to the drawing of blood, shall loose his hand.

4. Also he that striketh any person with his hand without effusion of blood, shall be plunged three times in the sea.

5. Item, who so speaketh any opprobrious or contumelious wordes in reuiling or cursing one another, for so oftentimes as he hath reuiled, shall pay so many ounces of siluer.

6. Item, a thiefe or felon that hath stolen being lawfully convicted, shall haue his head shorne, and boyling pitch powred upon his head, and feathers or downe strawed vpon the same, whereby he may be knowne, and so at the first landing place they shall come to, there to be cast by.

These things thus ordered, king Richard sending his Nauie by the Spanish seas, and by the streights of Gibraltar, betwene Spaine and Africa, to meete him at Marsilia, hee himselfe went as is said to Vizeliac to the French king. Which two kings from thence went to Lions, where the bridge ouer the flood Rhodanus with preasse of people brake, and many both men and women were drowned: by occasion whereof the two kings for the combrance of their traines, were constrained to disuener themselves for time of their iourney, appointing both to meet together in Sicily: and so Philip the French king tooke his way to Genua, and king Richard to Marsilia, where he remained 8. dayes, appointing there his Nauie to meete him. From thence crossing ouer to Genua where the French king was, he passed forward by the coasts of Italy, and entred into Tiber not farre from Rome.

King Richard staying in Marsilia 8. dayes for his Nauie which came not, he there hired 20. Gallies, and ten great barkes to ship ouer his men, and so came to Naples, and so partly by horse and wagon, and partly by the sea, passing to Falernum, came to Calabria, where after that he had heard that his ships were arriued at Messana in Sicilie, he made the more speed, and so the 23. of September entred Messana with such a noyle of Trumpets and Shalmes, with such a rout and Hew, that it was to the great wonderment and terror both of the Frenchmen, and of all other that did heare and behold the sight.

The discipline and orders of the king.

To the said towne of Messana the French king was come before the 16. of the same month of September, and had taken by the pallace of Tancredus king of Sicily for his lodging: to whom king Richard after his arrivall estoones resorted, and when the two kings had communed together, immediately the French king tooke shipping and entered the seas, thinking to saile towards the land of Jerusalem: but after he was out of the haven, the winde rising contrary againt him, returned him backe againe to Messana. Then king Richard (whose lodging was prepared in the suburbs without the Citie) after he had resorted againe and talked with the French king, and also had sent to Tancredus king of Sicily, for delivrance of loane his sister (who had bin sometimes Queene of Sicily) and had obtained her to be sent unto him, the last day of September passed over the streight del Fare, and there getting a strong hold called de la Baguare, or le Bamare, and there placing his sister with a sufficient garrison, he returned againe to Messana.

The 2. of October king Richard won another strong hold, called Monasterium Griffonum, situated in the midst of the streight del Fare, betweene Messana & Calabria, from whence the Monks being expelled, he reposd there all his store and provision of victuals, which came from England or other places.

The Citizens of Messana seeing that the king of England had wonne the castle and Island de la Baguare, and also the Monasterie of the Griffons, and doubting least the king would extend his power further to invade their Citie, & get if he could the whole Isle of Sicilie, began to stirre against the Kings armie, and to shut the Englishmen out of the gates, and kept their walles against them. The Englishmen seeing that, made to the gates, and by force would have broken them open, insomuch that the King riding amongst them with his staffe, and breaking divers of their heads, could not assuage their fiercenesse, such was the rage of the Englishmen against the citizens of Messana. The King seeing the furie of his people to be such that hee could not stay them, tooke boate, and went to the pallace of king Tancred, to talke of the matter with the French king, in which meane time the matter was so taken up by the wise handling of the ancients of the citie, that both parts laying downe their armour, went home in peace.

The fourth day of the sayd moneth of October, came to king Richard the Archbishop of Messana with two other Archbishops also with the French king, and sundry other Cardes, Barons, and Bishops, to intreat of peace, who as they were together consulting, and had almost concluded upon the peace, the Citizens of Messana issuing out of the towne, some went up upon the mountains, some with open force invaded the mansion or lodging of Hugh Brune an English captaine. The noise whereof coming to the eares of the King, hee suddenly breaking off talke with the French king and the rest, departed from them, and coming to his men, commanded them forthwith to arme themselves. Who then with certaine of his souldiours making up to the top of the mountain (which seemed to passe their power to climbe) there put the Citizens to flight, chaling them downe the mountains, unto the very gates of the citie, whom also certaine of the kings servants pursued into the citie, of whom five valiant souldiers & twentie of the kings servants were slaine, the French King looking upon, and noe once willing to rescue them, contrary to his othe, and league before made with the king of England: for the French king with his men being there present, rode in the midst of them safely, and without any harme too and fro, and might well have eased the Kings partie, more then he, if it had so liked him.

This being knowne to the English hoste how their fellowes were slaine, and the Frenchmen permitted in the citie, and that they were excluded and the gates barred against them, being also stopped from buying of victuall, & other things, they upon great indignation gathered themselves in armes, byast open the gates, and scaled the wals, and so winning the citie, set up their flags with the English armes upon the wals: which when the French King did see, he was mightily offended, requiring the King of England that the Armes of France might also be set up, & ioyned with his: but King Richard to that would in no case agree, notwithstanding to satisfie his minde, he was contented to take downe his Armes, and to commit the custodie of the citie to the Hospitallaries and Templaries of Jerusalem, till the time that Tancred king of Sicily and he should agree together upon conditions.

These things being done the fifth and sixth day of October, it followed then upon the eighth day of the same, that peace was concluded among the kings. In which peace, first king Richard, & Philip the French king renewed againe their oth and league before made, concerning their mutual aide and societie, during the time of that peregrination.

Secondly, peace also was concluded betweene king Richard and Tancred king of Sicily aforesaid, with conditions, that the daughter of Tancrede in case king Richard should die without issue, should be married to Archur Duke of Britaine the kings Nephew and next heire to his crowne, wherof a formall charte was drawn, and letters sent thereto of Pope Clement being

being dated the ninth of Nouember.

From this time vntill februarie the next yeere, these two kings kept still at Messana, either for lacke of winde and weather, or for the repairing of their shippes. And in the aforesayde februarie, in the yeere 1191: King Richard sent ouer his gallies to Naples, there to meeete his mother Elinore, and Berengaria the daughter of Zanctius king of Nauarre, whom he was purposed to marry, who by that time were come to Brundisium, vnder the conduct of Philip Earle of Flanders, and so proceeding vnto Naples, they found the kings shippes wherin they sayled to Messana.

In this meane spate, king Richard the wedd himselfe exceeding bounteous and liberall to all men: to the French king first he gaue diuers shippes, vpon others likewise he bestowed riche rewardes, and of his treasure and goods he distributed largely to his souldiers and seruants about him, of whom it was reported, that he distributed moze in one moneth, then any of his predecessors did in a whole yeere: by reason whereof he purchased great loue and fauour, which not onely rebounded to the aduancement of his fame, but also to his singular vtilite and profite, as the sequel afterwarde prouoed.

The first day of March following, he left the cite of Messana, where the French King was, and went to Cathesia; a cite where Tancredus king of Sicily then lay, where he was honorably receiued, and there remained with king Tancredus thre dayes and thre nightes. On the fourth day when he should depart, the aforesaid Tancredus offered him many rich presents in gold and siluer, and precious silkes, wherof king Richard would receiue nothing, but one litle ring for a token of his good will: for the which king Richard gaue againe vnto him a riche sworde. At length when king Richard should take his leaue, king Tancred would not let him so depart, but needes would giue him 4. great shippes, and 15. gallies, and further moze hee himselfe would needes accompanie him the space of two dayes iourney, to a place called Tauernium.

Then the next morning when they should take their leaue, Tancredus declared vnto him the message, which the French King a litle before had sent vnto him by the Duke of Burgundie, the contents whereof were these: That the King of England was a false Traytour, & would neuer keepe the peace that was betweene them: and if the sayd Tancredus would warre against him, or secretly by night would invade him, he with all his power would assist him, to the destruction of him and all his armie. To whom Richard the King protested againe, that he was no traytour, nor neuer had bene: and as touching the peace begun betwixt them, the same should neuer be broken through him: neither could he beleue that the French King being his good lord, and his woynne Compartner in that voyage, would vtter any such wordes by him. Which when Tancredus heard, he byingeth forth the letters of the French King, sent to him by the Duke of Burgundie, affirming mozeouer, that if the Duke of Burgundie would denie the byinging of the said letters, he was readie to trie it with him by any of his Dukes. King Richard receiuing the letters, and musing not a litle vpon the same, returneth againe to Messana. The same day that King Richard departed, the French king came to Tauernium to speake with Tancred, and there abode with him that night, and on the morowe returned to Messana againe.

From that time King Richard moued in somacke against King Philip, neuer shewed any gentle countenance of peace & amitie, as he before was wont: whereat the French king greatly marueling, and enquiring earnestly what should be the cause thereof, word was sent him againe by Philip earle of Flanders from king Richard, what wordes he had sent to the king of Sicily, and for testimony thereof the letters were shewed, which he wrote by the duke of Burgundie to the king of Sicily: which when the French king vnderstood, first he held his peace as guilty in his conscience, not knowing well what to answer. At length turning his tale to another matter, he began to quarrell with king Richard, pretending as though he sought causes to breake with him, and to maligne him: and therfore he forged (sayd he) these lies vpon him, and all because he by that meanes would auoid to marry with Alike his sister, according as he had promised. Adding mozeouer that if he would so do, and would not marry the said Alike his sister according to his oth, he would be an enemy to him, and to his, while he liued.

To this king Richard sayd againe, that he could by no meanes marry that woman, forsomuch as his father had carnall copulation with her, and also had by her a sonne: for prooffe whereof he had there presently to bring forth diuers & sundry witnesses to the kings face, to testify with him.

In conclusion, through counsell and perswasion of diuers about the French king, agreement at last was made, so that king Philip did acquite king Richard from this bond of marrying his sister, and king Richard againe should be bound to pay to him euery yeere for the space of five yeeres, two thousand markes, with certaine other conditions besides, not greatly materiall for this place. And thus peace being betweene them concluded the 28 day of the sayd moneth of

March,

March, the French king lanching out of the haven of Messina, the 22 day after in the Easter weeke, came with his armie to the siege of Achon.

The Flight of
King Richard.

After the departure of the French king from Messina, king Richard with his armie yet remaining behinde, arriued Queene Alinor the kings mother, bringing with her Berengaria the king of Nauars daughter, to be espoused to king Richard: which being done, king Richard in April following, about the 20 day of the sayd moneth, departed from the haven of Messina with 150 great ships, and 53 great gallies well manned and appointed, and tooke his iourney toward Achon: who being vpon the Seas on Good Friday about the ninth houre, rose a mighty South winde with a tempest, which disseuered and scattered all his Nauie, some to one place, and some to another. The king with a few ships was driuen to the Ile of Creta, and there befoze the haven of Rhodes cast anker. The ships that caried the kings sister, queene of Sicily, and Berengaria the king of Nauars daughter, with two ships were driuen to the Ile of Cyprus.

The king making great mone for the ships of his sister; and Berengaria his wife that should be, not knowing where they were become, after the tempest was ouerblown, sent forth his gallies diligently to seeke the rest of his Nauie dispersed, but especially the shippe wherein his sister was, and the maiden whom he should marry, who at length were found safe and merry at the port of Lymzem in the Ile of Cyprus, notwithstanding the two other ships, which were in their company befoze in the same haven, were drowned with diuers of the kings seruants and men of woz ship, among whom was M. Roger, called Malus Carulus, the kings Vicechancellour, who was found with the kings seale hanging about his necke.

The king of Cyprus was then Isakius (called also the Emperour of the Gryffons) who tooke and imprisoned all English men, which by shipwracke were cast vpon his land, also inuegled in to his hands the goods and prizes of them which were found drowned about his coastes, neither would suffer the ships wherein the two ladies were to enter within the port.

The tidings of this being brought to king Richard, he in great wrath gathering his gallies and ships together, boordeth the land of Cyprus, where he first in gentle wise signifieth to king Isakius, how he with his English men, comming as strangers to the supportation of the holy land, were by distresse of weather driuen vpon his bounds, and therefore with all humble petition besoughe him in Gods behalfe, and for reuerence of the holy crosse, to let go such prisoners of his as he had in captiuitie, and to restore againe the goods of them that were drowned, which he deteined in his hands, to be employed for the behoofe of their soules. And this the king once, twice, and thise desired of the Emperour: but he proudly answering againe, sent the king word, that he wether would let the captiues go, nor render the goods of them which were drowned.

When king Richard heard this, how light the Emperour Isakius made of his so humble and honest petition, & how that nothing could be gotten without violent force, eftsouones giue th commandement thozowout all his hoste to put themselues in armour and follow him, to reuenge the iniuries receiued of that proud and cruell king of Cyprus, willing them to put their trust in God, and not to misdoubt but that the Lord would stand with them; and giue them the victoey. The Emperour in the meane time with his people stood warding the Sea coastes, where the English men should arriue, with swords, billes, and lances, and such other weapons as they had, setting boozdes, stoles, and chesses befoze them as a wall: few of them were harnessed, and for the most part all vnerpert and vnksilfull in the feates of warre.

Then king Richard with his souldiers issuing out of their ships, first set his bowemen befoze, who with their shot made a way for others to followe. The Englishmen thus winning the land vpon them, so fiercely pressed vpon the Gryffons, that after long fighting and many blowes, at last the Emperour was put to flight, whom king Richard valiantly pursued, and slue many, and diuers he tooke aliue, and had gone neere also to take the Emperour, had not the night come on and parted the battell. And thus king Richard with much spoyle, and great victoey, returning to the port Towne of Lymzem, which the Townesmen had left for feare, found there great abundance of cozne, wine, oyle and victuals.

The day after the victoey gotten, Ioanna the Kings sister, and Berengaria the mayden, entred the Porte and Towne of Lymzem, with 50. great ships, and 14. galliots: so that all the whole Nauie there meeting together, were 254. tall shippes, and about threescore galliots. Then Isakius the Emperour, seeing no way for him to escape by Sea, the same night pitched his tentes five miles off from the English army, swearing that the third day after, he would surely giue battell to king Richard: but he preuenting him befoze, suddenly the same morning befoze the day of battell should be, settech vpon the tentes of the Gryffons early in the morning, they being vnawares and a sleepe, and made of them a great slaughter, insomuch that the Emperour was faine to runne away naked, leauing his tents and partitiones to the Englishmen, full of hozes and rich creature,

creature, also with the Imperial Standard, the lower part whereof with a costly streamer was covered, and wrought all with golde.

King Richard returning with victorie and triumph to his sister and Berengaria, shortly after in the moneth of May next following, and the 12. day of the said moneth, married the said Berengaria daughter of Zanctius, king of Nauarre, in the yle of Cyprus at Lynszem.

The king of Cyprus seeing himselfe ouermatched, was driuen at length to yeelde himselfe with conditions to giue king Richard 20000. markes in golde for amends of such spoyles as he had gotten of them that were drowned, also to restore all the captiues againe to the king: and furthermore, he in his owne person to attend upon the king to the lande of Ierusalem, in Gods seruice and his, with 400. horsemen, and 500. footemen: in pledge whereof he would giue to his hands his castles, and his onely daughter, and would hold his kingdome of him.

This done, and the Emperour swearing fidelitie to king Richard befoze Guido king of Ierusalem, and the prince of Antioche (who were come thither to king Richard a little before) peace was taken, and Isakius committed to the warde of certaine keepers, notwithstanding shortly after he breaking from his keepers, was againe at defiance with the King: whereupon king Richard besetting the Island of Cyprus round about with shippes and gallies, did in such sort preuaile, that the subjects of the land were constrained to yeelde themselves to the King, and at last the daughter of the Emperour, and the Emperour himselfe, whom king Richard caused to be kept in fetters of gold and siluer, and to be sent to the citie of Tripolis.

These things thus done, and all set in order touching the possession of the Ile of Cyprus, the keeping whereof he committed to Radulphe sonne of Godfrey Lord Chamberlaine, being then the first day of June upon the first of the saide moneth, king Richard departed from the Ile of Cyprus, with his shippes and gallies toward the siege of Achon, and on the next morrowe came to Tyrus, where by procurement of the French king he was restrained by the Citizens to enter. The next day after, which was the first day of June, crossing the seas, he met with a great carak fraught with souldiers and men of warre to the number of a thousand and siue hundred, which pretending to be Frenchmen, and setting forth their flagge with the French armes, were indeede Saracens, secretly sent with wilde fire and certaine barrells of unknowne serpents to the defence of the towne of Achon, which king Richard at length perceiuing, esloones set upon them and so vanquished them, of whom the most were drowned and some taken alive: which being once knowne in the citie of Achon, as it was a great discomfort to them, so it was a great helpe to the Christians for winning the citie.

The Lord Chamberlaine of King Richard left gornour of Cyprus.

A great ship of Saracens taken by King Richard

King Richard arrived at Achon.

The next day after which was the seventh of June, king Richard came to Achon, which at that time had bene long besieged by the Christians. After whose coming it was not long, but the Pagans within the citie, seeing their wals to be undermined and towers ouerthrowen, were driuen by compulsion to escape with life and limme, to surrender the citie to the two kings.

Another great helpe to the Christians in winning the citie, was this. In the said city of Achon there was a secret Christian among the Saracens, who in time of the siege thereof used sundry times to cast ouer the wals into the campe of the Christians, certaine bills written in Hebrew, Greeke, and Latine, wherein he disclosed to the Christians from time to time, the doings and counsels of the enemies, aduertising them how and what way they should worke, and what to beware, and alwayes his letters began thus. In nomine Patris, & Filij, & Spiritus sancti Amen. By reason whereof the Christians were much advantaged in their proceedings: but this was a great heauines vnto them, that neither he would utter his name, nor when the citie was got did they euer vnderstand who he was.

To make of a long siege a short uacration. Upon the twelfth day of July the peere aforesaid, the Princes and Captaines of the Pagans, upon agreement resorted to the tent of the Templaries to commune with the two kings touching peace, and giuing vp of their citie: the forme of which peace was thus.

1 That the Kings should haue the citie of Achon freely and fully deliuered vnto them, with all which was therein.

2 That 500. captiues of the Christians should be restored to them, which were in Achon.

3 That the holy crosse should be to them rendyed, and a thousand Christian captiues with two hundred horsemen, whoseuer they themselves would chose out of all them which were in the power of the Saladine.

4 That they would giue vnto the Kings two hundred thousand Bysans, so that they themselves should remaine as pledges in the Kings hands, for the performance hereof, that if in fourie daies, the aforesayd couenants were not accomplished, they should abide the Kings mercie touching life and limme.

The forme of peace concluded betwene the Kings and the Princes of Achon.

These covenants being agreed vpon, the Kings sent their souldiers and seruants into the citie, to take a hundredeth of the richest & best of the city, to close them by in towres vnder strong keeping, & the residue they committed to be kept in houses and in streetes, ministering vnto them according to their necessities: to whom notwithstanding this they permitted, that so many of them as would be baptized and receiue the faith of Christ, should be free to goe whither they would: wherupon many there were of the Pagans, which for feare of death pretended to be baptized, but after ward so soone as they could, revolted againe to the Saladine: for the which it was after ward commaunded by the Kings, that none of them should be baptized against their wils.

The thirteenth day of the said moneth of Iuly, King Philip of France, and king Richard, after they had obtained the possession of Achon, deuided betweene them all things therein contained as well the people as golde and siluer, with all other furniture what soeuer was remaining in the citie: who in deuiding the spoyle, were so good caruers to themselves that the Knights and Barons had but litle to their share, wherupon they began to shew themselves somewhat discontented, which being knowen of the kings, they sent them answere that their wils should be satisfied.

The twentieth day of Iuly, king Richard speaking with the French King, desired him that they two with their armies, would binde themselves by othe to remaine there still in the land of Ierusalem the space of 3. yeeres, for the winning and recouering againe of those countreys: but he sayd he would sweare no such othe, and so the next day after king Richard with his wife and sister entred into the citie of Achon, and there placed himselfe in the kings pallace: The French king remayning in the houses of the Templaries, where he continued till the end of that moneth.

About the beginning of the moneth of August, Philip the French king after that he and King Richard had made agreement betweene Guido & Conradus the Marques, about the kingdome of Ierusalem, went from Achon to Tyrus, notwithstanding king Richard & all the Princes of the Christian armie with great intreacie desired him to tary, he wing what a shame it were for him to come so farre, and now to leaue vndone that for which he came, and on the 3. day of August departed from Tyrus, leauing the halfe part of the Citie of Achon, in the hands of the aforesayd Conradus Marques.

After his departure the Pagans refused to keepe their covenants made, who neither would restore the holy Crosse nor the money, nor their captiues, sending word to king Richard, that if he beheaded the pledges left with him at Achon, they would choppe off the heads of such captiues of the Christians, as were in their hands.

Shorly after this the Saladine sending great gifts to king Richard, requested the time limited for beheading of the captiues to be proroged, but the king refused to take his gifts, and to graunt his request, wherupon the Saladine caused all the Christian captiues within his possession for the which to be beheaded, which was the 28. of August: which albeit king Richard vnderstood, yet would not be preuent the time before limited for the execution of his prisoners, being the 20. day of August: vpon which day he caused the prisoners of the Saracens openly in the sight of the Saladines armie to loose their heads: the number of whom came to two thousand and five hundredeth, saue onely that certaine of the pincipal of them he reserued for purposes and considerations, especially to make exchange for the holy Crosse, and certaine other of the Christian captiues.

After this king Richard purposed to besiege the Citie of Ioppe, where by the way betwene Achon and Ioppe, neere to a towne called Assur, Saladine with a great multitude of his Saracens came fiercely against the kings reerward, but thzough Gods mercifull grace in the same battell, the kings warriors acquired themselves to well, that the Saladine was put to flight, whom the Christians pursued the space of 3. miles, & he lost that same day many of his Nobles & Captaines, in such sort (as it was thought) that the Saladine was not put to such confusion 40. yeeres before, and but one Christian Captaine called James Auernus in that conflict was ouerthrowen.

From thence king Richard proceeding further went to Ioppe, and then to Afcalon, where he found first the citie of Ioppe forsaken of the Saracens, who durst not abide the kings comming: Afcalon the Saladine threth downe to the ground, & likewise forsooke the whole land of Syria, thzough all which land the king had free passage without resistance: neither durst the Saracene Prince encounter after that with K. Richard, Of all which his atcheuances the sayd K. Richard sent his letters of certificate as well into England, as also to the Abbot of Clara valle in France, well hoping he God willing should be able to make his repaire againe to them by Easter next.

Many other famous acts were done in this voyage by these two Kings, and moe should haue bene, had not they falling into discorde disseuered themselves, by reason whereof Philip the French king returned home againe within hozt space: who being returned againe eelsoones inuaded the countrey of Normandy, exciting also Iohn the brother of king Richard, to take on him the kingdome of Englande in his brothers absence: who then made league vpon the same

The French
kings shames
full returne
home.

The captiues
of the Sara-
cens slain by
King Richard.

A notable vic-
toie against
the Saladine.

King Richard
in possession of
Syria.

with the French king, and did homage unto him, which was about the fourth yeere of King Richard. Who then being in Syria, and hearing thereof, made peace with the Turkes for thre yeeres: and not long after, King Richard the next spring following returned also, who in his returne bymen by distresse of weather about the parts of Histria, in a towne called Synaca, was there taken by Lymbold, Duke of the same countrey, and so solde to the Emperour for sixtie thousand Markes: who for no small toy thereof, writeth to Philip the French king, these letters here following.

1193.

King Richard
returneth from
Palestina.

The letter of the Emperour to Philip the French king, concerning the taking of King Richard.

Henicus Dei gratia Romanorum Imperator, & semper Augustus, Dilecto & speciali amico suo, Philippo illustri Francorum Regi salutem, & sincera dilectionis affectum. Quoniam Imperatoria Celsitudo non dubitat Regalem Magnificentiam tuam latiore effici, de vniuersis quibus omnipotentia creatoris nostri nos ipsos, & Romanum Imperium honorauerit & exaltauerit, nobilitati tue tenore presentium declarare duximus, quod inimicus Imperij nostri, & turbator Regni tui Rex Anglia, quum esset in transseundo mare ad partes suas reuersurus, accidit ut ventus rupta navi sua, in qua ipse erat, induceret eum in partes Histriae ad locum qui est inter Aquileiam, & Venetias. Vbi Rex, Dei permissione passus naufragium cum paucis euasit.

Quidam itaq; fidelis noster Comes, Maynardus de Grooxce, & populus regionis illius, audito quod in terra erat, & considerato diligentius, qualem nominatus Rex in terra promissionis prodicionem & traditionem, & perditionis suae cumulum exercuerat, insecti sunt, intendentes eum captinare. Ipse autem Rege in fugam conuerso, coperunt de suis octo milites: Postmodum processit Rex ad Burgum in Archiepiscopatu Salsburgensi, qui vocatur Frisorum, ubi Fridericus de Betesow, Rege cum tribus tantum versus Austriam properante, nobili sex milites de suis cepit: Dilectus autem Consanguineus noster Lymboldus Dux Austriae, obseruata strata sepe, ductum Regem iuxta Denam in villa viciniori in domo despecta captiuauit.

Cum itaq; in nostra nunc habeatur Potestate, & ipse semper tua molestauit, & turbationis operam praestiterit, ea quae praemisimus, nobilitati tuae insinuare curauimus: scientes ea dilectioni tuae beneplacita existere, animo tuo uberrimam importare letitiam. Datum apud Rubeountum 5. Kalendas Ianua.

King Richard being thus traitereously taken, and solde to the Emperour by the Duke of Austridge for 60000. markes, was there kept in custodie a yeere and 3. moneths.

In some stories it is affirmed, that King Richard returning out of Asia, came to Italy with prosperous winde, where he desired of the Pope to be absolued of an othe made against his will and could not obtaine it: and so setting out from thence towards England, passing by the Countrey of Conradus the Marques, whose death (he being slaine a litle before) was falsely imputed by the French king to the king of England, thre traitereously was taken (as is aforesayde) by Lymboldus Duke of Austridge.

Albeit in another storie I finde the matter more credibly set forth: which saith thus. That King Richard slewe the brother of this Lymboldus, playing with him at Chess in the French Kings Court: and Lymboldus taking his vantage, was more cruel against him and deliuered him (as is sayde) to the Emperour. In whose custodie he was detained during the time aboue mentioned, a yeere & 3. moneths. During which time of the kings enduranc, the French king in the meane season stirred warre in Normandie: and Earle Iohn the Kings brother, made strite and invaded England, but the Barons and Bishops of the land mightily withstood him.

At length it was so agreed and concluded with the Emperour, that King Richard should be released for a hundredth and foure thousand pound: of which money part should remaine to the Duke of Austridge, the rest should be the Emperours. The summe of which money was here gathered and made in England of chalices, crosses, shynes, candlestickes and other Church plate, also with publike contribution of Friers, Abbots, and other subiects of the Realme: whereof part was presently paid, and for the residue remaining, hostages and pledges were taken, which was about the fift yeere of his reigne: and then it was obtained of the Pope, that Priests might celebrate with Chalices of latten and tinne.

At what time this aforesayde money was payde, and the hostages giuen for the ransom of the King, I haue an olde historie which saith, that the aforesaid Duke of Austridge was shortly after plagued by God, with 5. sundry plagues.

The last iudgment of God
vpon the Duke
of Austria.

1 First, with the burning of his chiefe Townes,

2 With downing of tenne thousand of his men in a flood happening no man can tell how.

3 By turning all the eares of his cozne fieldes into wormes.

4. By taking away almost all the Nobles of his land by death.
 5. By breaking his owne leg falling from his horse, which leg he was compelled to cut off with his owne hands, and afterwards died of the same: who then at his death is reported to forgive R. Richard 50000, marks, and sent home the hostages that were with him. And further a certaine booke intituled Eulogium declareth, that the sayd Limpoldus duke of Aultrich fell in displeasure with the bishop of Rome, and died excommunicate the next yeere after, Anno 1196.

But thus, as you haue heard, Richard the King was ransomed & deliuered from the couetous captiuitie of the Emperoz, and returning home made an ende of his voyage for Asia, which was both honourable to himselfe and to all Chyistian states, but to the Saracens the enemies of Chyistianitie, terrible and dishonourable.

This historie of King *Richards* voiage to Ierusalem is very excellently and largely written in Latine by *Guilielmus Neobrigensis*, and *Roger Hoveden*.

Epitaphium Richardi primi regis Anglorum apud fontem Ebraldi.

Scribitur hoc auro, rex auree, laus tua tota
 aurea, materiae conueniente nota.
 Laus tua prima fuit Siculi, Cyprus altera, Dromo
 tertia, Caruanna quarta, suprema *Iope.
 Retrusi Siculi, Cyprus pessundata, Dromo
 merfus, Caruanna capta, retenta Iope.

Epitaphium eiusdem ubi viscera eius requiescunt.

Viscera Kareolum, corpus fons seruat Ebraldi,
 & cor Rothomagus, magne *Richarde*, tuum.

The life and trauailes of *Baldwinus Deuonius*, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury.



Baldwinus Deuonius, tenui loco Excestriae natus, vir ore facundus, excelsus Philosophus, & ad omne studiorum genus per illos dies aptissimus inueniebatur. Scholarum rector primum erat, tum postea Archidiaconus, eruditione ac sapientia in omni negotio celebris: fuit praeterea Cisterciensis Monachus, & Abbas Fordensis Coenobij, magnus suorum aestimatione, ac vniuersae eorum societati quasi Antesignanus: fuit deinde Wigorniensis praesul, fuit & mortuo demum Richardo Cantuariorum Archiepiscopus, ac totius Angliae Primas. Cui muneri Baldwinus sollicitè inuigilans, egregium se pastorem exhibuit, dominicum semen, quantum patiebatur eius temporis iniquitas, vbique locorum spargens. Richardus Anglorum rex, acceptis tunc regni insignijs, summo studio classem, ac omnia ad Hierosolymitanum bellum gerendum necessaria parauit. Secutus est illicò regem in Syriam, & Palaestina vsque Baldwinus, vt esset in tam Sancto (vt ipse putabat) itinere laborum, dolorum, ac periculorum particeps. Praefuit Cantuariensis Ecclesiae serè 6, annis, & Richardum regem in Syriam secutus, anno Salutis nostrae 1190. Tyri vitam finiuit, vbi & sepultus est.

The same in English.

Baldwine a Deuonshire man bozne in Excester of mean parentage, was a very eloquent man, An exact Philosopher, and in those dayes very excellent in all kind of studies. He was first of all a Schoolmaster; afterwards he became an Archdeacon, very famous for his learning & wisdom in all his doings. He was also a Cistercian Monk and Abbot of Foord Monasterie, and the chiefe of all those that were of his order: he grew after this to be bishop of Worcester, and at last after the death of Archb. Richard he was promoted & made Archbishop of Canterbury, and Patri- mate of all England. In the discharge of which place he being very vigilant, shewed himselfe a worthy Pastor, sowing the seed of Gods word in euery place as farre forth as the iniquitie of that time permitted. In his time king Richard with all inuencour prepared a fleet and all things necessary for waging of warre against the Infidels at Ierusalem, taking with him the standers and ensignes of the kingdome. This Baldwine estoones folowed the king into Syria and Palaestina, as one desirous to be partaker of his trauailes, paines, and perils in so holy a voyage. Hee was Archbishop of Canterburie almost fixe yeres: but hauing followed the king into Syria, in the yeere 1190, he died at Tyre, where he was also buried.

¶ An annotation concerning the trau ailes of the sayd *Baldwine*, taken out of *Giraldus Cambrensis*, in his *Itinerarium Cambriae*, lib. 2. Cap. 14. Fol. 229.

Inter primos Thomæ Becketi successor hic secundus, audita saluatoris & saluiferæ Cruels Iniuria nostris (proh dolor) diebus per Saladinum irrogata, cruce signatus, in eiusdem obsequijs, tam remotis finibus quam propinquis, prædicationis officium vitiliter assumpsit. Et postmodum iter accipiens, nauigioque surgens apud Marsiliam, transcurso tandem pelagi profundo, in portu Tyrensi in columis applicuit: & inde ad exercitum nostrum obsidentem pariter & obfessum Aconem transiuit: vbi multos ex nostris inueniens, & ferè cunctos principum defectiu, in summa desolatione iam positos, & desperatione, alios quidem longa expectatione fatigatos, alios fame & inopia grauius afflictos, quosdam verò æris inelementia distemperatos, diem sceleritè in terra sacra clausurus extremum, singulos pro posse vinculo charitatis amplectens, sumptibus & impensis, verbis, & vitæ meritis confirmauit.

The same in English.

This Baldwine being the second successor vnto Thomas Becker, after he had heard þ wrong which was done to our Saviour, and the signe of the Crosse by Saladine the Sultan of Egypt, taking vpon him the Lords Character, he couragiously perfourmed his office of preaching in the obedientie thereof, as well in farre distant Countreies as at home. And afterwards taking his iourney and imbarcking himselfe at Marceils, hauing at length passed þ Leuant sea, he arriued safely in the Hauen of Tyrus, and from thence went ouer to Achon vnto our armie, besieging the Towne, and yet (as it were) besieged it selfe: where finding many of our Countreymen, and almost all men remaining in wonderfull pensiuensitie and despaire, though the withdrating of the Princes, some of them tyred with long expectation, others grieuouly afflicted with hunger and pouertie, and others distempered with the heate of the weather, being ready happily to end their dayes in the Holy land, embracing euery one according to his abilitie in the bond of loue, he ayded them at his costes and charges, and strengthened them with his wordes and good examples of life.

¶ A note drawn out of a very ancient booke remaining in the hands of the right worshipfull M. *Thomas Tilney* Esquire, touching Sir *Frederike Tilney* his ancestor, knighted at *Acon* in the *Holy land* for his valour, by *K. Richard* the first, as foloweth.



Retinuist iste liber prius Frederico Tilney de Boston, in comitatu Lincolnia militi facto apud Acon in terra Iudææ anno regis Richardi primi tertio. Vir erat iste magnæ stature & potens in corpore: qui cum patribus suis dormit apud Tirrington iuxta villam sui nominis Tilney in Mersland. Cuius altitudo in salua custodia permanet ibidem vsque in hunc diem. Et post eius obitum sexdecem militibus eius nominis Tilney hæreditas illa successiuè obuenit; quorum vnus post alium semper habitabat apud Boston prædictum: dum fratris senioris hæreditas hæredi generali deuoluta est, quæ nupta est Iohanni duci Norfolkia, Eorum miles vltimus fuit Philippus Tilney nuper de Shelleigh in Comitatu Suffolcia, pater & genitor Thomæ Tilney de Hadleigh in Comitatu prædicto Armigeri, cui modò attinet iste liber, Anno ætatis suæ 64. Anno Domini 1556.

¶ The same in English.

This booke pertained in times past vnto Sir Frederick Tilney of Boston in the Countie of Lincolne, who was knighted at Acon in the land of Iurie, in the third yeere of the reigne of king Richard the first. This knight was of a tall stature, and strong of body, who resteth interred with his forefathers at Tirrington, nere vnto a towne in Marsland called by his owne name Tilney. The iust height of this knight is there kept in safe custody untill this very day. Also, after this mans decease, the inheritance of his landes fell successiuely vnto sixteene sundry knights called all by the name of Tilney, who dwelt alwayes, one after another, at the towne of Boston aforesayd, vntill such time as the possessions of the elder brother fell vnto an heire general, which was married vnto John duke of Northfolke. The last knight of that name was sir Philip Tilney late of Shelleigh in the Countie of Suffolke, predecessor and father vnto Thomas Tilney of Hadleigh in the Countie aforesayd Esquire, vnto whom the sayd booke of late appertained. In the yeere of his age 64. and in the yeere of our Lord, 1556.

¶ The trauailes of one *Richard* surnamed *Canonicus.*

Richardus Canonicus ad Trinitatis sanum Londini Regularis, ab ipsa pueritia, bonarum artium literas impense amauit, excoluit, ac didicit. Qui ex continuo labore atque exercitatione longa, talis tandem euasit orator, & Poeta, quales ea aetas rarissimos nutrebat. Ob id Richardo Anglorum tunc Regi charus, longam cum eo peregrinationem in Palaestinam ac Syriam, dum expugnaret Turcas, suscepit. Vnde in Angliam tum demum reuersus, omnia quae praesens vidit in urbibus, agris, ac militum castris, fidei narratione, tam carmine quam prosa descripsit. Neque interim omisit eiusdem Regis mores, & formam, per omnia corporis lineamenta designare, addiditque praeclearo suo operi, hoc apulissimum pro titulo, nomen, scilicet, Itinerarium Regis Richardi. Claruit anno redemptionis nostrae 1200. sub Ioanne Anglorum Rege.

The same in English.

Richard surnamed Canonicus an obseruant Frier of Trinitie Church in London, was in great loue with the studies of good Artes, and tooke paines in them and learned them. And at last by his continuall endeouour and long exercise therein, hee grew to bee such an Orator and Poet, as fewe were in that age liuing, by reason whereof hee grew in fauour with Richard then King of England, and undertooke that long voyage with him into Palestina and Syria agaynst the Turkes. From whence being returned againe into England, hee faithfully described both in Verse and Prose all such things as hee had seene in the Cities, fieldes and tentes of the fouldiours, where hee was present, and omitted not to note the behauiour, forme, and proportion of body in the foresayd king, giuing to his notable worke this most apt name for the title, The Iournall of King Richard. Hee flourished in the yeere of our Redemtion 1200, vnder Iohn king of England.

¶ The trauailes of *Gulielmus Peregrinus.*

Gulielmus Peregrinus, Poeta quidem per eam aetatem excellens, genere Anglus florebat, literarum, vt multi tunc erant, amator maximus, & qui bona tempora melioribus impenderat studijs. Hic cum accepisset, expeditionem in Saracenos per Regem Richardum parari, accinxit se ad iter illud, non tantum vt miles, sed etiam peregrinus. Vidit ea quae in Mari Hispanico fiebant, vidit quae in Syria & Palestina commissa fuerunt, in Sultannum Babylonie Regem, ac perfidos Saracenos. Omnia haec scripsit, & viuus depinxit coloribus, ita vt quasi praeculis, totum poneret negotium, idemque Argumentum cum Richardo Canonico non infeliciter, Heroico pertractauit carmine, opulq; iam absolutum Huberto Cantuariorum Archiepiscopo, & Stephano Turnhamo Capitaneo reum bellicarum expertissimo dedicauit, addito hoc titulo, Odeporicon Richardi Regis. Multaque alia edidisse Poetam talem non dubito, sed num extent illa eius scripta, mihi non constat. Hoc tamen satis constat, eum fuisse in pretio, Anno a salutifero virginis partu 1200. sub Anglorum Rege Ioanne.

The same in English.

William the Pilgrime, a very excellent Poet in those dayes and an Englishman borne, was of great fame, being much giuen to good letters, (as many then were) and bestowed his good time in the best kinde of studies. Hee vnderstanding of the preparation of king Richard against the Saracens, prepared himselfe also for the same voyage, not onely as a Souldiour, but as a Pilgrime also. He sawe those things which happened in the Spanish Seas, and which were done in Syria and Palestina, against the Sulcan the king of Babylon, and the trecherous Saracens. All which things he wrote and expressed them as it were in liuely colours, as if they had bene still in doing before his eyes, and handled the same Argument in Heroicall verse which the foresayd Richard Canonicus did. And hauing finished his worke he dedicated it to Hubert Archbishop of Canterburie, and to Stephen Turnham a most expert Captaine of the warres, giuing it this Title, The expedition of King Richard. And I doubt not but that so good a Poet as hee was published many other things, but whether they be extant yea or no, I know not: but this I know, that he was a man well accounted of, and flourished in the yeere after the birth of Christ 1200, vnder king Iohn.

The large contribution to the succour of the *Holy land*, made by king *Iohn* king of *England*, in the third yeere of his reigne 1201. *Matth. Paris* and *Holinsh.* pag. 164.



At the same time also the kings of France and England gaue large money towards the maintenance of the army which at this present went forth vnder the leading of the earle of Flanders and other, to warre against the enemies of the Christian faith at the instance of pope Innocent. There was further moze granted vnto them the fourth part of all the reuenues belonging vnto ecclesiasticall persons, towards the ayd of the Christians then being in the Holy land: and all such as wel of the nobility, as other of the weaker sort, which had taken vpon them the crosse, and secretly layed it downe were compelled euenly to receiue it now againe.

The trauailes of *Hubert Walter* bishop of *Sarisburie*.

Hubertus Walterus Sarisburiensis Episcopus, vir probus, ingenioq; ac pietate clarus, inter præcipuos vnus eorum erat, qui post Richardum regem expugnandorum Saracenorum gratia in Syriam proficiscebantur. Cum ex Palestina rediens, audiret in Sicilia, quod idem Richardus in inimicorum manus incidisset, omisso itinere incepto, ad eum cursim diuertebat: Quem & ille statim in Angliam misit, vt illic regij Senatus autoritate, indicto pro eius redemptione tributo pecuniam colligeret, quod & industrius fecit ac regem liberauit. Inde Cantuariorum Archiepiscopus factus, post eius mortem Ioanni illius fratri ac successori paria fidelitatis officia præstitit. Longa enim oratione toti Anglorum nationi persuasit, quod vir prouidus, præstans, fortis, genere nobilissimus, & imperio dignissimus esset: quo salutaris a populo fuit, atque in regem coronatus. Composuit quædam opuscula, & ex immenso animi dolore demum obijisse fertur, Anno salutis humanæ 1205. cum sedisset annos 17. Menses octo, & dies sex: quum vidisset ex intestinis odijs, omnia in transmarinis regionibus pefsum ire, regnante Ioanne.

The same in English.

Hubert Walter bishop of Sarisburie, a vertuous man, and famous for his good wit and piety, was one of the chiefest of them that followed king Richard into Syria going against the Saracens. As he returned from Palestina and came in his iourney into Sicilia, he there heard of the ill fortune of the king being fallen into his enemies handes, and thereupon leauing his iourney homewards, he went presently and in all haste to the place where the king was captiued, whom the king immediatly vpon his comming sent into England, that by the authoricy of the councell, a tribute might be collected for his redemption: which this Hubert performed with great diligence, and deliuered the king. After this he was made Archbishop of Canterburie, and after the death of king Richard he shewed the like duties of fidelitie and trust to his brother Iohn that succeeded him. For by a long oration he perswaded the whole nation of the English men, that he was a very circumpect man, vertuous, valiant, bozne of noble parentage, and most woorthy of the crowne. Whereupon he was so receiued of all the people and crowned king. He wrote certaine books, and died at the last with very great grieffe of minde, in the yeere 1205, hauing bene archbishop the space of 17 yeeres 8 moneths and sixe dayes, by reason of the ciuil discords abroad, whereby all things went topsie turuy, and in the reigne of king Iohn.

The trauailes of *Robert Curson*.



Robertus Curson ex nobili quodam Anglorum ortus genere, disciplinatum prophanis, tum sacris studiosus incubuit, idque (quantum ex coniecturis colligo) in celebratissima Oxoniæ Academia. Præstantissimis illic institutoribus vsus, ex summa circa ingenuas artes industria, & assiduo literarum labore, famam sibi inter suos celeberrimam comparauit. Ampliora deinde meditarus Parisiorum Lutetiam, atque Romam ipsam perijt, illic Theologus Doctor, hic verò Cardinalis effectus. Vnde vterque Matthæus Parisius, ac Westmonasterius, hoc de ipso testimonium adferunt: hic libro 2. ille 8. suorum Chronicorum. Anno Domini 1218 (inquiunt) in captione Daniaræ Ægypti vrbs, sub Ioanne Brenno Hierosolymorum rege, fuit cum Pelagio Albanensi Magister Robertus de Curson, Anglus, Clericus celeberrimus, genere nobilis, ac Romanæ Ecclesiæ Cardinalis, &c. Bostonus Buriensis in suo Catalogo Cursonum

Cursonum aliquos libros composuisse narrat. Claruit anno superius numerato per prædictos testes in Angliâ regnante Henrico tertio Ioannis regis filio : fuitque hic diebus Honorij tertij Romani pontificis in Angliam, Bostono teste, legatus.

The same in English.

Roberth Curson descended of a noble family of England, used great diligence as well in prophane as in diuine studies in the famous Vniuersity of Oxford (as I coniecture.) He had there the best schoolmasters that were to be gotten, and was most industrious in the arts and continual exercises of learning : by meanes whereof he grew to be of great renowne where he liued. Afterward thinking of greater matters he went to Paris, and thence to Rome it selfe, and at Paris he proceeded doctor of Diuinity, at Rome he was made cardinall : whereupon both Matthew Paris & Matthew of Westminster produce this testimony of him, the one in his second booke, the other in his eight booke of Chronicles. In the yere of our Lord (say they) 1218, at the taking of Damiaara a city of Egypt vnder Iohn Brenne king of Ierusalem, *¶* Robert Curson an English man, a most famous clearke of noble parentage, and cardinall of the church of Rome, was there with Pelagius Albanensis, &c. Boston of Burie in Suffolke in his catalogue reporteth, that he wrote diuers books. He flourished in the yere aforesayd by the witnessles aforesayd, Henry the third sonne of king Iohn being then king of England : and by the further testimony of Boston, this Curson was legate into England in the dayes of Honorius the third, bishop of Rome.

The voyage of *Ranulph* earle of *Chester*, of *Saer Quincy* earle of *Winchester*, *William de Albanie* earle of *Arundel*, with diuers other noble men to the *Holy land*, in the second yere of *K. Henry* the third. *Matth. Paris. Holensh. pag. 202.*

In the yere 1218, *Ranulph* earle of *Chester* was sent into the *Holy land* by king *Henry* the third with a goodly company of souldiers and men of warre, to ayde the *Christians* there against the *Infidels*, which at the same time had besieged the city of *Damiaara* in *Egypt*. In which enterpryse the valiancy of the same earle after his comming thither was to his great praise most apparant. There went with him in that iourney *Saer de Quincy* earle of *Winchester*, *William de Albanie* earle of *Arundel*, besides diuers barons, as the lord *Robert* surnamed *Walter*, *Iohn* constable of *Chester*, *William de Harecourt*, and *Oliuer* surnamed *Roy* sonne to the king of *England*, and diuers others.

The voyage of *Henry Bohun* and *Saer Quincy* to the *Holy land*.

In this yere, being the first yere of *Henry* the third, deceased *Henry de Bohun* earle of *Hereford*, and *Saer de Quincy* earle of *Winchester*, in their iourney which they made to the *Holy land*. *Matth. Paris. Holensh. pag. 202. col. 2.*

The trauailes of *Ranulph Glanville* earle of *Chester*.

Ranulphus Glanville Cestræ Comes, vir nobilissimi generis, & vtroque iure eruditus, in albo illustrium virorum à me merito ponendus venit. Ita probe omnes adolescentiæ suæ annos legibus tum humanis tum diuinis consecrauit, vt non prius in hominem per ætatem euaserit, quam nomen decusque ab insigni eruditione sibi comparauerit. Cum profecti essent Francorum Heroes *Prolemaidem*, inito cum *Ioanne Brenno Hierosolymorum rege* concilio, *Damiatam Ægypti urbem* obsidendam constituebant, anno salutis humanæ 1218. Misit illuc *Henricus rex*, ab *Honorio 3 Romæ Pontifice* rogatus, cum magna armorum manu *Ranulphum*, ad rem *Christianam* iuandam. Cuius virtus, *Polydoro teste*, in eo bello miris omnium laudibus celebrata fuit. Quo confecto negotio, *Ranulphus* in patriam reuersus, scripsit, De legibus *Angliæ* librum vnum, Fertur præterea, & alia quædam scripsisse, sed tempus edax rerum, ea nobis abstulit. Claruit anno à *Seruatoris nostri* natiuitate 1230 confectus senio, dum *Henricus tertius* sub *Antichristi* tyrannide in *Angliâ* regnaret.

The same in English.

Ranulph Glanville earle of *Chester*, a man of a very noble house, and learned in both the *Lawes*, deserues of duetic to be here placed by me in the catalogue of woorthy and notable men. He applied so well all the yeres of his youth to the study of humane and diuine *Lawes*, that he came not so soone to the age of a man, as he had purchased to himselfe by reason of his singular

gular learning, renowne and honour. When the noble men of France went to Prodomais, vpon the counsell of Iohn Brenne king of Ierusalem, they resolved to besiege Damira a city of Egypt, in the yeere 1218. And then Henry the king vpon the motion of Honorius the thirde, bishop of Rome, sent thither this earle Ranulph with a great power of armed souldiers, to further the enterprise of the Christians: whose valure in that warre (by the testimonie of Polidor Virgil) was marueilously commended of all men. After the end of which businesse, he being returned into his countrey, wrote a booke of the lawes of England. It is also reported that he wrote ocher books, but time the destroyer of many memoizials, hath taken them from vs. He flourished in the yeere after the natiuitie of Christ 1230, being very aged, and in the reigne of R. Henry the thirde.

The voyage of *Petrus de Rupibus* bishop of *Winchester*, to *Ierusalem* in the yere of grace 1231, and in the 15 of *Henry* the third.

ANno gratiæ 1231, mense verò Iulio, Petrus Wintoniensis episcopus, completo in terra sancta iam fere per quinquennium magnificè peregrinationis voto, reuersus est in Angliam, Kalendis Augusti; & Wintoniam veniens, susceptus est cum processione solenni in sua ecclesia cathedrali.

The same in English.

IN the yere of grace 1231, and in the moneth of Iuly, Peter bishop of Winchester having spent almost fife whole yeres in fulfilling his vow of pilgrimage in the Holy land with great pompe, returned into England, about the Kalends of August, and coming into Winchester was receiued with solenne procession into his cathedrall church.

The honourable and prosperous voyage of *Richard* earle of *Cornwall*, brother to king *Henry* the third, accompanied with *William Longespee* earle of *Sarisburie*, and many other noble men into *Syria*.

IN the 24 yeere of king Henry the thirde, Richard earle of Cornwall the kings brother, with a nauy of ships sailed into Syria, where in the warres against the Saracens he greatly advanced the part of the Christians. There went ouer with him the earle of Sarisburie, William Longespee, and William Basset, Iohn Beauchampe, Geoffrey de Lucie, Iohn Neuel, Geoffrey Beauchampe, Peter de Brense, and William Furniuall.

1240.

Simon Montfort earle of Leicester went ouer also the same time: but whereas the earle of Cornwall tooke the seat Marseils, the earle of Leicester passed thowow Italy, andooke shipping at Brindize in Apulia: and with him went these persons of name, Thomas de Furniuall with his brother Gerard de Furniuall, Hugh Wake, Almerike de S. Aumond, Wiscard Ledet, PUNCHARD de Dewin, and William de Dewin that were brethren, Gerard Pefmes, Fouke de Baugie, and Peter de Chauntenay.

Shortly after also Iohn earle of Albemarle, William Fortis, and Peter de Mallow a Poictouin, men for their valiancy greatly renowned, went thither, leauing with them a great number of Christian souldiers, Matth. Paris. Matth. West. Holensh. pag. 225. col. 2.

The coming of the Emperour of *Constantinople* called *Baldwine* into *England* in the yere 1247, out of *Matth. Paris*, & *Holensh.* pag. 239. vol. 2.

ABout the same time, Baldwine naming himselfe emperour of Constantinople, came againe into England, to procure some new ayd of the king towards the recovery of his empire, out of the which he was expelled by the Greeks.

The voyage of *William Longespee* Earle of *Sarisburie* into *Asia*, Or, Longespee sword. in the yeere 1248, and in the 32 yeere of the reigne of *Henry* the third, king of *England*.

LEwis the French king being recovered of his sicknesse which he fell into, in the yere 1234, bowed thereupon for a free will sacrifice to God, that he (if the Councell of his realme would suffer him) would in his owne person visit the Holy land: which matter was opened and debated in the Parliament of France held in the yeere 1247. Where at length it was concluded, that the king according to his vow should take his iourney into Asia, and the time thereof was

also

also prefixed, which should be after the feast of *S. John Baptist* the next yeere ensuing.

At which time *William Longespee* a worthy warrior, with the bishop of *Worcester* and certaine other great men in the Realm of *England* (moued with the example of the *Frenchmen*) prepared themselves likewise to the same journey.

It fell out in this enterprize, that about the beginning of *October*, the *French king* assaulted and tooke *Damiara*, being the principall fort or hold of the *Saracens* in all *Egypt*, Anno 1249, and having fortified the Citie with an able garrison left with the *Duke of Burgundie*, he remooued his tents from thence to goe Eastward. In whose armie followed *William Longespee*, accompanied with a piked number of *English warriors* retaining vnto him. But such was the disdain of the *Frenchmen* against this *William Longespee* and the *Englishmen* that they could not abide them, but floured them after an opprobrious maner with *English tailes*, in so much that the *French king* himselfe had much adoe to keepe peace betweene them.

It fell out
also gotten by
the *English*
men.

The originall cause of this grudge betweene them began thus. There was not farre from *Alexandria* in *Egypt* a strong fort or castle replenished with great *Ladies* and rich treasure of the *Saracens*: which hold it chanced the sayd *William Longespee* with his company of *English soldiers* to get, more by politike dexterity then by open force of armes, wherewith he & his retinue were greatly enriched. When the *Frenchmen* had knowledge here of (they not being made priue hereto) began to conceiue an heart burning against the *English souldiers*, & could not speake well of them after that.

It rich bootie
also gotten by
the *English*
men.

It hapned againe not long after, that the sayd *William* had intelligence of a company of rich merchants among the *Saracens* going to a certaine faire about the parts of *Alexandria*, hauing their camels, asses and mules, richly loden with silkes, precious iewels, spices, gold, & silver, with cart loades of other wares, beside victuall and other furniture, wherof the souldiers then stood in great need: he hauing secret knowledge hereof, gathered all the power of *Englishmen* vnto him that he could, and so by night falling vpon the merchants, some he slew with their guides and conducters, some hee tooke, some hee put to flight: the carts with the drivers, and with the oxen, camels, asses and mules, with the whole carriage and victuals hee tooke & brought with him, looting in all the skirmish but one souldier, and eight of his seruitors: of whom notwithstanding some he brought home wounded to be cured.

The intire of
the *French*
men to our
English.

This being knownen in the *Campe*, forth came the *Frenchmen* which all this while loytered in their pavillions, and meeting this carriage by the way, tooke all the foresayd praie whole to themselves, rating the sayd *William* and the *Englishmen* for aduenturing and issuing out of the *Campe* without leaue or knowledge of their *Generall*, contrary to the discipline of warre. *William* said againe he had done nothing but he would answere to it, whose purpose was to haue the spoyle deuided to the behoofe of the whole armie.

Will. Longespee
multy foils
keth the *French*
king.

When this would not serue, hee being sore grieved in his minde so cowardly to be spoyled of that which he so aduenturously had traualled for, went to the *King* to complaine: But when no reason nor complaint would serue by reason of the proude *Earle of Artoys* the *Kings* brother, which vpon spight and disdain stood agaynst him, he bidding the *King* farewell sayd hee would serue him no longer: and so *William de Longespee* with the rest of his company breaking from the *French* hoste went to *Achon*. Upon whole departure the *earle of Artoys* sayd, Now is the army of *French* men well rid of these tailed people, which words spoken in great despyght were ill taken of many good men that heard them.

But not long after, when the keeper of *Cayro* & *Babylonia*, bearing a good mind to the *Chistian* religion, and being offended also with the *Souldan*, promised to deliuer the same to the *French king*, instructing him what course was best for him to take to accomplish it, the king hereupon in all haste sent for *William Longespee*, promising him a full redzesse of all his iniuries before received: who at the *kings* request came to him againe, and so ioyned with the *French* power.

After this, it happened that the *French king* passing with his armie towards *Cayro* aforesayd, came to the great riuer *Nilus*, on the further part whereof the *Soldan* had pitched himselfe to withstand his conning ouer: there was at this time a *Saracen* lately conuerted to *Christ*, seruing the *earle Robert* the *French kings* brother, who told him of the absence of the *Soldan* from his tents, and of a shallow foord in the riuer where they might easily passe ouer. Whereupon the sayd *earle Robert* & the *Master of the Temple* with a great power, effermed to the third part of the army issued ouer the riuer, after whom followed *W. Longespee* with his band of *English* souldiers. These being ioyned together on the other side of the water, encountered the same day with the *Saracens* remaining in the tents & put them to the worst. Which victory being gotten, the *French* *earle* surprised with pride and triumph, as though hee had conquered the whole earth,

would

would needs forward, diuining himselfe from the maine hoste, thinking to winne the spurres alone. To whom certaine sage men of the Temple, giuing him contrary counsell, advised him not to do so, but rather to returne and take their whole company with them, and so should they be moze sure against all deceits and dangers, which might be layed priuily for them. The maner of that people (they sayd) they better knew, and had moze experience thereof then he: alledging mozeouer their wearied bodies, their tired hozles, their furnished souldiers, and the insufficiency also of their number, which was not able to withstand the multitude of the enemies, especially at this present hunt, in which the aduersaries did well see the whole state of their dominion now to consist either in winning all or losing all.

Which when the proud earle did heare, being inflated with no lesse arrogancy then ignozance, with opprobrious taunts reuiled them, calling them cowardly bastards, & betrayers of the whole countrey, obiecting vnto them the common repozt of many, which sayd, that the land of the holy crosse might soone be wooon to Christendome, were it not for rebellious Templaries, with the Hospitaries, and their followers.

To these conuencious rebukes, when the master of the Temple answered againe for him and his fellowes, bidding him display his ensigne when he would, and where he durst, they were as ready to follow him, as he to goe befoze them. Then began William de Longespe the worthy knight to speake, desiring the earle to giue eare to those men of experience, who had better knowledge of those countreyes and people then had he, commending also their counsell to be discreet and wholesome, and so turning to the master of the Temple, began with gentle wordes to mitigate him likewise. The knight had not halfe ended his talke, when the Earle taking his wordes out of his mouth, began to fume and swear, crying out of those cowardly Englishmen with tailes: What a pure armie (sayde he) should we haue here, if these tailes and tailed people were purged from it, with other like wordes of villany, and much disdain: wherunto the English knight answering againe, well, Earle Robert (said he) wheresoeuer you dare set your foote, my step shall goe as farre as yours, and (as I beleue) we goe this day where you shall not dare to come neere the taile of my hozle, as in deede in the euent it prooued true: for Earle Robert would needes set forward, weening to get all the glory to himselfe befoze the coming of the hoste, and first inuaded a litle village or castle, which was not farre off, called Mansor. The countrey Boozes and Pagans in the villages, seeing the Christians comming, ranne out with such a maine cry and shout, that it came to the Soldans hearing, who was neerer then our men did thinke. In the meane time, the Christians inuading and entering into the munition incircumspectly, were pelted and passed with stones by them which stood about, wherby a great number of our men were lost, and the armie soze maymed, and almost in despaire.

The worthy
answere of
William Long-
spe to Earle
Robert.

Then immediatly vpon the same, commeth the Soldan with all his maine powder, which seeing the Christian armie to be deuided, and the brother separated from the brother, had that which he long wished for, and so inclosing them round about, that none should escape, had with them a cruell fight.

Then the earle began to repent him of his heady rashnes, but it was too late, who then seeing William the English knight doughtily fighting in the chiefe hunt of the enemies, cried vnto him most cowardly to flie, seeing God (saith he) doth fight against vs: To whom the Knight answering againe, God forbid (sayth he) that my fathers sonne should runne away from the face of a Saracene. The Earle then turning his hozle, fled away, thinking to auoid by the swiftnes of his hozle, and so taking the riuier Thafnis, oppressed with harnesse, was there sunken and drowned.

The cowardly
flight of Earle
Robert.

Thus the Earle being gone, the Frenchmen began to dispaire and scatter. Then William de Longespe hearing all the force of the enemies, stoode against them as long as he could, wounding and slaying many a Saracene, till at length his hozle being killed, and his legges maymed, he could no longer stande, who yet notwithstanding as he was downe, mangled their feete and legges, and did the Saracens much sorrow, till at last after many blowes and wounds, being stoned of the Saracens, he peeld his life. And after the death of him, the Saracens setting vpon the residue of the armie, whom they had compassed on enery side, deuoured and destroyed them all, insomuch that scarce one man remained aliue, sauing two Templaries, one Hospitaller, and one poore rascaill souldier, which brought tidings, hereof to the King.

The valiant
ende of Will-
iam Longespe.

And thus by the impudent and foolish hardines of that French Earle, the Frenchmen were discomfited, and that valiant English Knight ouermatched, to the griefe of all Christian people, the glory of the Saracens, and the vtter destruction and ruine of the whole French armie, as afterwards it appeared.

¶ The Voyage of Prince Edward the sonne of king Henry the third into *Asia*, in the yeere 1270.



About the yeere of our Lord, 1267, Octobonus the Popes Legate being in England, prince Edward the sonne of king Henry, and diuers other noble men of England tooke vpon them the crosse vpon S. Iohn Baptists day, by the sayd Legates hands at Northampton, to the reliefe of the Holy land, and the subuersion of the enemies of the crosse of Christ. For which purpose, and for the better furnishing of the prince towards the iourney, there was granted him a subdioe throughout all the realme, and in the moneth of May, in the yeere of our Lord 1270, he began to set forthward.

At Michaelmas following he with his company came to Eguemortes, which is from Marsilia eight leagues Westward, and there taking ship againe (hauing a mery and prosperous wind) within ten dayes arriued at Tunez, where he was with great ioy welcommed, and entertained of the Christian princes that there were to this purpose assembled, as of Philip the French King, whose father Lodouicus died a litle before, of Carolus the king of Sicilia, and the two kings of Nauarre and Arragon, and as this lord Edward came thither for his father the king of England, thither came also Henry the sonne of the king of Almaine for his father, who at his returne from the voyage was slaine in a chappell at Viterbium.

When prince Edward demanded of these kings and princes what was to be done, they answered him againe, and sayd, the prince of this citie and the prouince adoyning to the same hath bene accustomed to pay tribute vnto the king of Sicily euerie yeere: and now for that the same hath bene for the space of seuen yeeres vnpaid and moze, therefore we thought good to make inuasion vpon him. But the king knowing the same tribute to be but iustly demaunded, hath now according to our owne desire satisfied for the time past, and also paid his tribute before hand.

Then sayd he, My Lords, what is this to the purpose? are we not here all assembled, & haue taken vpon vs the Lords Character to fight against the infidels & enemies of Christ? What meane you then to conclude a peace with them? God forbid we should do so, for now the land is plaine and hard, so that we may approach to y holy city Ierusalem. Then said they, now haue we made a league with them, neither is it lawful for vs to breake the same. But let vs returne againe to Sicilia, and when the winter is past we may well take shipping to Acta. But this counsel nothing at all liked him, neither did he see w himselfe wel pleased there with: but after hee had made them a princely banquet, he went into his closet or priuy chamber from amongst them, neither would be partaker of any of that wicked money which they had taken. They notwithstanding continuing their purpose, at the next mery wind tooke shipping, and for want of ships left 200. of their men a shore, crying out, and pitiously lamenting for the peril and hazard of death that they were in: wherewith prince Edward being somewhat moued to compassion, came backe againe to the land, and receiued and stowed them in his owne ships, being the last that went aboard.

Within seuen dayes after, they arriued in the kingdom of Sicilia, ouer agaynst the Citie Trapes, calling their ankers a league from thence within the sea, for that their shippes were of great burden, and througely fraught: and from the hauen of the citie they sent out barges and boates to receiue and bring such of the Nobilitie to land as would, but their hozles for the most part, and all their armour they kept still within board.

At length towards the euening the sea began to be rough, & increased to a great tempest and a nightie: insomuch that their ships were beaten one against anothers sides, and drowned there was of them at that tempest lying at anker moze then 120. with all their armour and munition, with innumerable Coules besides, and that wicked money also which they had taken before, likewise perished, and was lost.

But the tempest hurt not so much as one ship of prince Edwards, who had in number 13. noz yet had one man lost theroby, for that (as it may be presupposed) he consented not to the wicked counsell of the rest.

When in the morning the princes and kings came to the sea side, and saw all their ships drowned, and saw their men and hozles in great number cast vpon the land drowned, they had full heauie hearts, as well they might, for of all their ships and mariners, which were in number 1500. besides the common souldiers, there was no moze saued then the mariners of one onely ship, and they in this wise.

There was in that ship a good & wise Patrone, a Countesse or an Eccles wife, who perceiuing the tempest to grow, & fearing her selfe, called to her the M. of the ship, & asked him whether in attempting to the shoate it were not possible to saue the selues: he answered, that to saue the ship it was

was impossible: howbeit the men that were therein by Gods helpe he doubted not. Then layd the countesse, for the ship force no whit, saue the scales therein, and haue to thee double the value of the shipp: who immediatly hoisting the sailes with all force, ran the shipp aground so nere the shore as was possible, so that with the vehemency of the weather & force he came withall, he brast the ship and saued all that was within the same, as he had shewed, and sayd be force.

Then the kings and princes (altering their purpose after this so great a shipwracke) returned home againe euery one vnto their owne lands: onely Edward the sonne of the king of England, remained behinde with his men and ships, which the Lord had saued and preserved.

Then prince Edward renouating his purpose, tooke shipping againe, and within fiftene daies after Easter arriued he at Acra, and went aland, taking with him a thousand of the best souldiers and most expert, and taried there a whole moneth, refreshing both his men and hozles, and that in this space he might learne and know the secrets of the land. After this he tooke with him five or seuen thousand souldiers, and marched forward twenty miles from Acra, and tooke Nazareth, and those that he found there he slew, and afterward returned againe to Acra. But their enemies following after them, thinking to haue set vpon them at some streit or other aduantage, were espied by the prince, and returning againe vpon them gaue a charge, and slew many of them, and the rest they put to flight.

The arriual of prince Edward at Acra.

Nazareth taken by the prince.

After this, about Midsummer, when the prince had vnderstanding that the Saracens began to gather at Cakow which was forty miles from Acra, he marching thither, set vpon them very early in the morning, and slew of them moze then a thousand, the rest he put to flight, and tooke rich spoiles, marching forward till they came to a castle named Castrum peregrinorum, situate vpon the sea coast, and taried there that night, and the next day they returned againe toward Acra.

A victorie against the Saracens, where in 1000 of the were slaine.

In the meane season the king of Ierusalem sent vnto the noble men of Cyprus, desiring them to come with speed to ayd the Christians, but they would not come, saying they would keepe their owne land, and go no further. Then prince Edward sent vnto them, desiring that at his request they wouly come and toyne in ayd with him: who immediatly thereupon came vnto him with great preparation & furniture for the warres, saying, that at his commandment they were bound to do no lesse, for that his predecessors were sometimes the gouernors of that their land, and that they ought alwayes to shew their fidelity to the kings of England.

The princes of Cyprus acknowledge obedience to the kings of England.

Then the Christians being herewith animated, made a third voyage or road, and came as farre as the foze called Vincula sancti Petri, and to S. Georgius, and when they had slain certaine there, not finding any to make resistance against them, they retired againe from whence they came: when thus the fame of prince Edward grew amongst his enemies, and that they began to stand in doubt of him, they deuised among themselves how by some pollicy they might circumuent him, and betray him. Whereupon the prince and admirall of Ioppa sent vnto him, staining himselfe vnder great deceit willing to become a Christian, and that he would draw with him a great number besides, so that they might be honozably entertained and vsed of the Christians. This talke pleased the prince well, and perswaded him to finish the thing he had so well begun by writing againe, who also by the same messenger sent and wrote backe vnto him diuers times about the same matter, where by no mistrust should spring.

This messenger (sayeth mine author) was one ex caute nutritis, one of the stony hearted, that neither feared God nor dreaded death.

The first time when this messenger came, and was of the princes seruants searched according to the maner and custome what weapon and armour he had about him, as also his purse, that not so much as a knife could be seene about him, he was had by into the princes chamber, and after his reuerence done, he pulled out certaine letters, which he deliuered the prince from his lord, as he had done others before. This was about eight dayes after Whitson tide, vpon a Tuesday, somewhat before night, at which time the prince was layed vpon his bed bare headed, in his ierkin, for the great heat and intemperature of the weather.

When the prince had read the letters, it appeared by them, that vpon the Saturday next following, his lord would be there ready to accomplish all that he had writen and promised. The report of these newes by the prince to the standers by, liked them well, who drew some what backe to consult thereof amongst themselves. In the meane time, the messenger kneeling, and making his obeisance to the prince (questioning further with him) put his hand to his belt, as though he would haue pulled out some secret letters, and suddenly he pulled out an innommed knife, thinking to haue stroken the prince into the belly therewith as he lay: but the prince lifting vp his hand to defend the blow, was stricken a great wound into the arme, and being about to fetch another stroke at him, the prince againe with his foot tooke him such a blow, that he feld him to the ground: with that the prince gate him by the hand, and with such violence waded the

Prince Edward traitterously wounded.

knife from him, that he hurt himselfe therewith on the forehead, and immediately thrust the same into the belly of the messenger and striker, and slew him.

The princes seruants being in the next chamber not farre off, hearing the bussing, came with great haste running in, and finding the messenger lying dead in the flooze, one of them tooke by a stoole, and beat out his bzaines: wher at the pzince was wroth for that he stroke a dead man, and one that was killed before.

But the rumour of this accident, as it was strange, so it went soone thozowt all the Court, and from thence among the common people, for which they were very heauy, and greatly discouraged. To him came also the Captaine of the Temple, and brought him a costly and pzeious Dzinke against poison, least the venime of the knife should penetrate the liuely blood, and in blaming wise sayd vnto him: did I not tell you your Grace before of the deceit and subtilty of this people? Notwithstanding, sayd he, let your Grace take a good heart, you shall not die of this wound, my life for yours. But straight way the Surgions and Physicians were sent for, and the pzince was dyessed, and within few dayes after, the wound began to putrifie, and the flesh to looke dead and blacke: wherupon they that were about the pzince began to mutter among themselves, and were very sad and heauy.

Which thing he himselfe perceiuing, said vnto them: why mutter you thus among your selues: what see you in me, can I not be healed: tell me the truth, be ye not afrayd. Whereupon one sayd vnto him, and it like your Grace you may be healed, we mistrust not, but yet it will be very painfull for you to suffer. May suffering (sayd he againe) restore health: yea sayth the other, on paine of losing my head. Then sayd the pzince, I commit my selfe vnto you, doe with me what you thinke good.

Then sayd one of the Physicians, is there any of your Nobles in whom your Grace reposeth special trust: to whom the pzince answered Yea, naming certeine of the Noble men that stood about him. Then sayd the Physician to the two, whom the pzince first named, the Lord Edmund, and the lord John Voise, And doe you also faithfully loue your Lord and Pzince: Who answered both, Yea vndoubtedly. Then sayth he, take you away this gentlewoman and lady (meaning his wife) and let her not see her lord and husband, till such time as I will you the reuinto. Whereupon they tooke her from the pzinces presence, crying out, and wipping her hands. Then sayd they vnto her, Be you contented good Lady & Madame, it is better that one woman should weepe a little while, then that all the realme of England should weepe a great season.

Then on the morrow they cut out all the dead and inuenimed flesh out of the pzinces arme, and threw it from them, and sayd vnto him: how cheereth your Grace, we promise you within these fiteene dayes you shall shew your selfe abroad (if God permit) vpon your horsebacke, whole and well as euer you were. And according to the promise he made the pzince, it came to passe, to the no little comfort and admiration of all his subiects.

When the great Souldan heard hereof, and that the pzince was yet aliue, he could scarcely beleue the same, and sending vnto him three of his Nobles and Pzinces, excused himselfe by them, calling his god to witness that the same was done neither by him nor his consent. Which pzinces and messengers standing aloofe off from the kings sonne, worshipping him, fell flat vpon the ground: you (sayd the pzince) do reuerence me, but yet you loue me not. But they vnderstood him not, because he spake in English vnto them, speaking by an Interpreter: neuertheless he honourably entertained them, and sent them away in peace.

Thus when pzince Edward had bene eighteene moneths in Acra, he tooke shipping about the Assumption of our Lady, as we call it, returning homeward, and after seuen weekes he arrived in Sicilia at Trapes, and from thence traualled thozow the middes of Apulia, till he came to Rome, where he was of the Pope honorably entertained.

From thence he came into France, whose fame and noble prowesse was there much bzuted among the common people, and enuid of the Nobility, especially of the earle of Chalons, who thought to haue intrapped him and his company, as may appeare in the story: but Pzince Edward continued forth his iourney to Paris, and was there of the French king honourably entertained: and after certaine dayes he went thence into Gascoine, where he tarried till that he heard of the death of the king his father, at which time he came home, and was crowned king of England, in the yere of our Lord 1274.

The trauaile of *Robert Turneham.*

Roberus Turneham Franciscanus, Theologia professor insignis, Lyanæ celebri Irenorum ad ripas Idis emporio, collegio suorum fratrum magnificè præfuit. Edwardus Princeps, cognomento Longus, Henrici tertij filius, bellicam expeditionem contra Saracenos

This lord Edmund was the pzince his brother.

Saracenos Assyriam incolas, anno Dom. 1268. parabat. Ad quam profectioem quæsitus quoque Orator vehemens, qui plebis in causa religionis animos excitaret, Turnehamus principi visus vel dignissimus est, qui munus hoc obiret. Sic tanquam signifer constitutus Assyrios vnâ cum Anglico exercitu petijt, ac suum non sine laude præstitit officium. Claruit anno salutiferi partus, 1280, varia componens, sub eodem Edwardo eius nominis primo post Conquestum.

The same in English.

Robert Turneham Franciscan, a notable professor of Diuinity, was with great dignity Prior of the Colledge of his Order in the famous Hart towne of Linne, situate vpon the ritter of Isis in Norfolke. Prince Edward surnamed the Long, the soune of Henry the third, prepared his warlike voyage against the Saracens dwelling in Syria, in the yeere of our Lord, 1268. For the which expedition some earnest preacher was sought to stir vp the peoples minds in the cause of religion. And this Turneham seemed to the Prince most worthy to performe that office: so that he being appointed as it were a standerd bearer, went into Syria with the English army, and performed his duety with good commendation. He flourished in the yeere of Christ 1280, setting forth diuers works vnder the same king Edward the first of that name after the Conquest.

Anthony Beck bishop of Durisme was elected Patriarch of Hierusalem, and confirmed by Clement the fift bishop of Rome: in the 34 yeere of Edward the first, Lelandus.



Antonius Beckus episcopus Dunelmensis fuit, regnante Edwardo eius appellationis ab aduentu Gulielmi magni in Angliam primo. Electus est in patriarcham Hierosolimitanum anno Christi 1305, & a Clemente quinto Rom. pontifice confirmatus. Splendidus erat supra quàm decebat episcopum, Construxit castrum Achelandæ, quatuor passuum millibus a Dunelmo in ripa Vnduglessi fluuioli, Elcshamum etiam vicinum Grenouico, ac Somaridunum castellum Lindianæ prouinciæ, ædificijs illustria reddidit. Deinde & palatium Londini erexit, quod nunc Edwardi principis est. Tandem ex splendore nimio, & potentia conflauit sibi apud nobilitatem ingentem inuidiam, quam viuens nunquam extinguere potuit. Sed de Antonio, & eius scriptis fusiùs in opere, cuius titulus de pontificibus Britannicis, dicemus. Obijt Antonius anno a natò in salutem nostram Christo, 1310, Edwardo secundo regnante.

1305.

The same in English.

Anthony Beck was bishop of Durisme in the time of the reigne of Edward the first of that name after the inuasion of William the great into England. This Anthony was elected patriarch of Ierusalem in the yeere of our Lord God 1305, and was confirmed by Clement the fift, pope of Rome. He was of greater magnificence then for the calling of a bishop. He founded also the castle of Acheland foure miles from Durisme, on the shore of a pretty ritter called Vnduglesme. He much beautified with new buildings Elsham mannoz being nere vnto Greenwich, and the castle Somaridune in the county of Lindley. And lastly, he built new out of the ground the palace of London, which now is in the possession of prince Edward. Inso much, that at length, though his ouer great magnificence and power he procured to himselfe great enuy among the nobility, which he could not asswage during the rest of his life. But of this Anthony & of his writings we will speake moze at large in our booke intituled of the Britain bishops. This Anthony finished his life in the yeere of our Lord God 1310, and in the reigne of king Edward the second.

Incipit Itinerarium fratris Odorici fratrum minorum de mirabilibus Orientalium Tartarorum.



Icet multa & varia de ritibus & conditionibus huius mundi enarrantur a multis, ego tamen frater Odoticus de foro Iulij de portu Vahonis, volens ad partes infidelium transfretare, magna & mira vidi & audiui, quæ possum veraciter enarrare. Primò transiens Mare Maius me de Pera iuxta Còstantinopolim transiituli Trapesundam, quæ antiquitus Pontus vocabatur: Hæc terra benè situata est, sicut scala quædam Persarum & Medorum, & eorum qui sunt vltra mare. In hac terra vidi mirabile quod mihi placuit, scilicet hominem ducentem secum plusquam 4000 perdicum. Homo autem per terram gradiebatur, perdicæ vero volabant per aëra, quas

Armenia maior.

quas ipse ad quoddam castrum dictum Zauena duxit, distans à Trapefunda per tres dietas: Hæc perdicæ illius conditionis erant, cum homo ille quiescere voluit, omnes se aptabant circa ipsum, more pullorum gallinarum, & per illum modum duxit eas vsque ad Trapefundam, & vsque ad palatium imperatoris, qui de illis sumpsit quot voluit, & residuas vir ille ad locum unde venerat, adduxit. In hac ciuitate requiescit corpus Athanasij supra portam ciuitatis. Ultra transiit vsque in Armeniam maiorem, ad quandam ciuitatem quæ vocatur Azaron, quæ erat multum opulenta antiquitus, sed Tartari eam pro magna parte destruxerunt: In ea erat abundantia panis & carniæ, & aliorum omnium victualium præterquam vini & fructuum. Hæc ciuitas est multum frigida, & de illa dicitur quod altius situatur quam aliqua alia in hoc mundo: hæc optimas habet aquas, nam venæ illarum aquarum oriri videntur & scaturire à flumine magno Euphrate quod per vnã dietã ab ciuitate distat: hæc ciuitas via media eundi Taurisum, Ultra progressus sum ad quandam montem dictum Sobissacalo. In illa contrata est mons ille supra quem requiescit arca Noe; in quem libenter ascendissem, si societas mea me præstolare voluisset: A gente tamen illius contratæ dicitur quod nullus vnquam illum montem ascendere potuit, quia vt dicitur, hoc Deo altissimo non placet. Ultra veni Tauris ciuitatem magnam & regalem, quæ antiquitus Susis dicta est. Hæc ciuitas melior pro mercenarijs reputatur, quam aliqua quæ sit in mundo, nam nihil comestibile, nec aliquid quod ad mercimonium pertinet, reperitur, quod illic in bona copia non habetur. Hæc ciuitas multum bene situatur: Nam ad eam quasi totus mundus pro mercimonijs confluere potest: De hac dicunt Christiani qui ibi sunt, quod credunt Imperatorem plus de ea accipere, quam Regem Franciæ de toto regno suo: Iuxta illam ciuitatem est mons salinus præbens sal ciuitati, & de illo sale vnusquisque tantum accipit, quantum vult, nihil soluendo alicui. In hac ciuitate multi Christiani de omni natione commorantur, quibus Saraceni in omnibus dominantur. Ultra iui per decem dietas ad ciuitatem dictam Soldania, in qua imperator Persarum tempore æstiuo commoratur; In hyeme autem vadit ad ciuitatem aliam sitam supra mare vocatam Bakuc: Prædicta autem ciuitas magna est, & frigida, in se habens bonas aquas, ad quam multa mercimonia portantur. Ultra cum quadam societate Carauanorum iui versus Indiam superiorem, ad quam dum transissem per multas dietas perueni ad ciuitatem trium Magorum quæ vocatur Cassan, quæ regia ciuitas est & nobilis, nisi quod Tartari eam in magna parte destruxerunt: hæc abundat pane, vino, & alijs bonis multis, Ab hac ciuitate vsque Ierusalem quo Magi iuerunt miraculosè, sunt L. dietæ, & multa mirabilia sunt in hac ciuitate quæ pertransio. Indè recessi ad quandam ciuitatem vocatam Gest à qua distat mare arenosum per vnã dietam, quod mirè est mirabile & periculosum: In hac ciuitate est abundantia omnium victualium, & ficuum potissimè, & vuarum siccarum & viridium, plus vt credo quam in alia parte mundi. Hæc est tertia ciuitas melior quam Rex Persarum habet in toto regno suo: De illa dicunt Saraceni, quod in ea nullus Christianus ultra annum viuere vnquam potest, Ultra per multas dietas iui ad quandam ciuitatem dictam Comum quæ maxima ciuitas antiquitatis erat, cuius ambitus erat ferè L. miliaria, quæ magna damna intulit Romanis antiquis temporibus. In ea sunt palatia integra non habitata, tamen multis victualibus abundat. Ultra per multas terras transiens, perueni ad terram Iob nomine Hus quæ omnium victualium plenissima est, & pulcherrimè situata; iuxta eam sunt montes in quibus sunt pascua multa pro animalibus: Ibi manna in magna copia reperitur. Ibi habentur quatuor perdicæ pro minori, quam pro vno grosso: In ea sunt pulcherrimi fenes, vbi homines nent & filant, & sæminæ non: hæc terra correspondet Chaldææ versus transmontana.

Tauris ciuitas Persar.

Sultania.

Vel Casibia.

Gest.

Como.

De moribus Chaldæorum, & de India.

Indè iui in Chaldæam quæ est regnum magnum, & transiit iuxta turrim Babel: Hæc regio suam linguam propriam habet, & ibi sunt homines formosi, & sæminæ turpes: & homines illius regionis vadunt compti crinibus, & ornati, vt hîc mulieres, & portant super capita suã fasciola aurea cum gemmis, & margaritis; mulieres verò solum vnã vilem camisiam attingentem vsque ad genus, habentem manicas longas & largas, quæ vsque ad terram protenduntur: Et vadunt discalciatæ porrantes Serablans vsque ad terram, Triceas non portant, sed capilli earum circumquaque disperguntur: & alia multa & mirabilia sunt ibidem. Indè veni in Indiam quæ infra terram est, quam Tartari multum destruxerunt; & in ea vt plurimum homines tantum dactilos comedunt, quatum xlij. libræ habentur pro minori quam pro vno grosso. Ultra transiit per multas dietas ad

mare

mare oceanum, & prima terra, ad quam applicui, vocatur Ormes, quæ est optimè murata, & multa mercimonia & diuitiæ in ea sunt; in ea tantus calor est, quod virilia hominum excunt corpus, & descendunt vsque ad mediam tibiarum: idèd homines illius terræ volentes viuere, faciunt vnctionem, & vngunt illa, & sic vncta in quibusdam sacculis ponunt circa se cingentes, & aliter morerentur: In hac terra homines vtuntur nauigio quæ vocatur lase, lutum sparto. Ego autem ascendi in vnum illorum in quo nullum ferrum potui reperire, & in viginti octo diebus perueni ad ciuitatem Thana, in qua pro fide Christi quatuor de fratribus nostris martyrizati sunt. Hæc terra est optimè situata, & in ea abundantia panis & vini, & aliorum victualium. Hæc terra antiquitus fuit valde magna, & fuit regis Pori, qui cum rege Alexandro prælium magnum commisit. Huius terræ populus Idolatrat, adorans ignem, serpentes, & arbores: Et istam terram regunt Saraceni, qui violenter eam acceperunt, & subiacent imperio regis Daldili. Ibi sunt diueria genera bestiarum, leones nigri in maxima quantitate: Sunt & ibi simiæ, gatimaymones, & nocturæ magnæ sicut hic habentur columbæ; ibi mures magni sunt, sicut sunt hic scepi, & idèd canes capiunt ibi mures, quia murelegi non valent. Ad hæc, In illa terra quilibet homo habet ante domum suam vnum pedem fasciculorum, ita magnum sicut esset vna columna, & pes ille non desiccatur, dummodò adhibeatur sibi aqua: Multæ nonitates sunt ibi, quas pulcherrimum esset audire.

Thana.

De martyrio fratrum.

Martyrium autem quatuor fratrum nostrorum in illa ciuitate Thana fuit per istum modum; dum prædicti fratres fuerant in Ormes, fecerunt pactum cum vna nauis, vt nauigarent vsque Polunbrum, & violenter deportati sunt vsque Thanam vbi sunt 15. domus Christianorum, qui Nestoriani sunt & Schismatici, & cum illic essent, hospitati sunt in domo cuiusdam illorum; contigit dum ibi manerent litem oriri inter virum domus, & vxorem eius, quam sero vir fortiter verberauit, quæ suo Kadi, 1. Episcopo conquesta est; à qua interrogauit Kadi, vtrum hoc probari posset? quæ dixit, quòd sic; quia 4. Franchi, 1. viri religiosi erant in domo hoc videntes, ipsos interrogauit, qui dicent vobis veritatem: Muliere autem sic dicente, Ecce vnus de Alexandria præfens rogauit Kadi vt mitteret pro eis, dicens eos esse homines maximæ scientiæ & scripturas benè scire, & idèd dixit bonum esse cum illis de fide disputare: Qui misit pro illis, & adducti sunt isti quatuor, quorum nomina sunt frater de Tolentino de Marchia, frater Iacobus de Padua, frater Demetrius Laicus, Petrus de Senis. Dimisso autem fratre Petro, vt res suas custodiret, ad Kadi perrexerunt, qui cœpit cum illis de fide nostra disputare: dicens Christum tantum hominem esse & non Deum. E contra frater Thomas rationibus & exemplis Christum verum Deum & hominem esse euidenter ostendit, & in tantum confudit Kadi, & infideles qui cum eo tenuerunt, quòd non habuerunt quid rationabiliter contradicere: Tunc videns Kadi se sic confusum, incepit clamare sic; Et quid dicis de Machometo? Respondit frater Thomas: Si tibi probauimus Christum verum Deum & hominem esse, qui legem posuit inter homines, et Machometus è contrario venit, & legem contrariam docuit, si sapiens sis optimè scire poteris, quid de eo dicendum sit. Iterum Kadi & alij Saraceni clamabant, Et tu quid iterum de Machometo dicis? Tunc frater T. respondit: vos omnes videre potestis, quid dico de eo. Tum ex quo vultis quòd planè loquar de eo, dico, quòd Machometus vester filius perditionis est, & in inferno cum Diabolo patre suo. Et non solum ipse, sed omnes ibi erunt qui tenent legem hanc, quia ipsa tota pestifera est, & falsa, & contra Deum, & contra salutem animæ. Hoc audientes Saraceni, cœperunt clamare, moriatur, moriatur ille, qui sic contra Prophetam locutus est. Tunc acceperunt fratres & in sole vrente stare permisissent, vt ex calore solis adusti, dira morte interirent. Tantis enim est calor solis ibi, quòd si homo in eo per spacium vnus missæ persisteret, moreretur: fratres tamen illi sani & hilares à tertia vsque ad nonam laudantes & glorificantes dominum in ardore solis permanserunt, quod videntes Saraceni stupefacti ad fratres venerunt, & dixerunt, volumus ignem accendere copiosum, & in illum vos projicete, & si fides vestra sit vt dicitis, ignis non poterit vos comburere: si autem vos combusserit, patebit quòd fides vestra nulla sit. Responderunt fratres; parati sumus pro fide nostra ignem, carcerem, & vincula, & omnium tormentorum genera tolerare: veruntamen scire debetis, quòd si ignis potestatem habeat comburendi nos hoc non erit propter fidem nostram, sed propter peccata nostra: fides enim nostra perfectissima & verissima est, & non est alia in mundo in qua animæ hominum possunt saluæ fieri. Dum autem ordinaretur quòd fratres cõburerentur, rumor insonuit per totam ciuitatem, de qua omnes senes, & iuuenes, viri & mulieres, qui ire poterant, accurrerunt ad illud spectaculum intuendum, Fratres autem ducti fuerunt ad plateam ciuitatis, vbi accensus est ignis copiosus, in quem frater Thomas voluit se projicere, sed quidam Saracenus cepit eum per capitium, & retraxit, dicens:

Non vadas tu cum sis senex, quia carmen aliquod vel experimentum habere posses super te, quare te ignis non posset lædere, sed alium ire in ignem permittas. Tunc 4 Saraceni fumentes fratrem Iacobum, eum in ignem proijcere volebant; quibus ille, permittatis me, quia libenter pro fide mea ignem intrabo: Cui Saraceni non adquiescentes eum violentè in ignem proiecerunt: ignis autem ita accensus erat, quòd nullus eum videre poterat, vocem tamen eius audiverunt, inuocantem semper nomen virginis gloriosæ; Igne autem totalitèr consumpto stetit frater Iacobus super prunas illæsus, & lætus, manibus in modum crucis eleuatis, in cælum respiciens, & Deum laudans & glorificans, qui sic declararet fidem suam: nihil autem in eo nec pannus, nec capillus læsus per ignem inuentus est; Quod videns populus vnanimiter conclamare cœpit, sancti sunt, sancti sunt, nefas est offendere eos, modò videmus quia fides eorum bona & sancta est. Tunc clamare cœpit Kadi: sanctus non est ille, quia combustus non est, quia tunica quam portat est de lana terræ Habræ, & idè nudus expolietur, & in ignem proijciatur, & videbitur si comburetur vel non. Tunc Saraceni pessimi ad præceptum Kadi ignem in duplo magis quàm prius accenderunt, & fratrem Iacobum nudantes, corpus suum abluerunt, & oleo abundantissimè vnixerunt, insuper & oleum maximum in struem ignorum ex quibus ignis fieret, fuderunt, & igne accenso fratrem in ipsum proiecerunt. Frater autem Thomas, & frater Demetrius extra populum in loco separato flexis genibus orantes cum lachrymis deuotioni se dederunt, Frater autem Iacobus iterum ignem exiuit illæsus sicut prius fecerat: quod videns omnis populus clamare cœpit, peccatum est, peccatum est, offendere eos, quia sancti sunt. Hoc autem tantum miraculum videns Melich, i. potestas ciuitatis, vocauit ad se fratrem Iacobum, & fecit eum ponere indumenta sua, & dixit, videte fratres, ire cum gratia Dei, quia nullum malum patiemini a nobis, modò benè videmus vos sanctos esse, & fidem vestram bonam ac veram esse; & ideo consulimus vobis, vt de ista terra exeatis, quàm citius poteritis, quia Kadi pro posse suo vobis nocere curabit, quia sic confuditis eum: Hora autem tunc erat quasi completorij, & dixerunt illi de populo, attoniti, admirati, & stupefacti, tot & tanta mirabilia vidimus ab istis hominibus, quòd nescimus quid tenere & obseruare debeamus. Melich verò fecit duci illos tres fratres vltra vnum paruum brachium matris in quendam Burgum modicum ab illa ciuitate distantem: ad quem etiam ille in cuius iam domo fuerant hospitati associauit eos, vbi in domo cuiusdam idolatri recepti sunt. Dùm hæc agerentur, Kadi iuit ad Melich, dicens quid facimus? Lex Machometi destructa est, veruntamen hoc scire debes, quod Machomet præcepit in suo Alcorano, quod si quis vnum Christianum interficeret, tantum mereretur, ac si in Mecha ad ipsum peregrinaretur. Est enim Alcoranus lex Saracenorum sicut Euangelium, Mecha verò est locus vbi iacet Machomet. Quem locum ita visitant Saraceni, sicut Christiani sepulchrum Christi. Tunc Melich respondet, vade & fac sicut vis: quo dicto statim Kadi accepit quatuor homines armatos vt irent, & illos fratres interficerent, quicum aquam transissent, facta est nox, & illo sero eos non inuenerunt, statim Melich omnes Christianos in ciuitate capi fecit, & incarcerationi, media autem nocte fratres surrexerunt dicere matutinum, quos illi Saraceni qui missi fuerant, inuenerunt, & extra burgum, sub quadam arbore adduxerunt, dixerunt eis. Scitis fratres nos mandatum habere a Kadi & Melich interficere vos, quod tamen faciemus inuiti, quia vos estis boni homines & sancti, sed non audemus aliter facere; quia si iussa sua non perficeremus, & nos cum liberis nostris & vxoribus moreremur. Tunc fratres responderunt, vos qui huc venistis, & tale mandatum recepistis, vt per mortem temporalem vitam æternam adipiscamur, quod vobis iniunctum est perficite; quia pro amore domini nostri Iesu Christi, qui pro nobis crucifigi & mori dignatus est, & pro fide nostra, parati sumus omnia tormenta, & etiam mortem libenter sustinere. Christianus autem qui fratres conitabatur, multum cum illis quatuor armatis altercatus est dicens, quod si gladium haberet, vel eos à nece tam sanctorum hominum impediret, vel ipse cum eis interfectus esset. Tunc armati fecerunt fratres se exspoliare, & frater Thomas primus iunctis manibus in modum crucis genua flectens capitis abscissionem suscepit: Fratrem verò Iacobum vnus percussit in capite, & eum vsque ad oculos scidit, & alio ictu totum caput abscidit. Frater autem Demetrius primò percussus est cum gladio in pectore, & secundò caput suum abscissum est: Statim vt fratres suum martyrium compleuerunt, aer ita lucidus effectus est, quod omnes admirati sunt, & luna maximam claritatem ostendit. Statim quasi subito tanta tonitrua, & fulgura, & coruscationes, & obscuritas fiebant, quod omnes mori crederent: Nauis etiam illa quæ illos debuerat deportasse submersa est cum omnibus quæ in se habuit, ita quod nunquam de illa postea aliquid scitum est. Facto mane misit Kadi pro rebus fratrum prædictorum nostrorum, & tunc inuentus est frater Petrus de Senis quartus socius fratrum prædictorum, quem ad Kadi duxerunt: Cui Kadi, & alij Saraceni maxima promittentes persuaferunt quòd fidem suam renueret, & legem machometi confiteretur, & teneret. Frater autem Petrus de illis truffabat, eos multum detidendo, quem de mane vsque ad meridiem diuersis

diuersis pœnarum ac tormentorum generibus affligerunt ipso semper constantissimè in fide, & in Dei laudibus persistente, & fidem illorum Machometi deridente & destruente. Videntes autem Saraceni eum nõ posse a suo proposito euelli, eum super quandam arborẽ suspenderunt, in qua de nona vsq; ad noctem viuus & illæsus pependit: nocte verò ipsum de arborẽ sumpserunt, & videntes illum lætũ, viuũ, & illæsum per medium suum corpus diuiserunt, mane autẽ factõ nihil de corpore eius inuentum est, vni tamen personæ fide dignæ reuelatum est, quod Deus corpus eius occultauerat reuelandũ in certo tempore, quandõ Deo placuerit Sanctõrum corpora manifestare. Vt autem Deus offenderet animas suorum martyrum iam in cœlis consistere, & congaudere cum Deo & Angelis & alijs Sanctis eius, die sequenti post martyriũ fratrũ prædictõrum Melich dormitioni se dedit, & ecce aparuerunt sibi isti fratres gloriosi, & sicut Sol, lucidi, singulos enses tenentes in manibus, & supra eum eos sic vibrantes; quod vt si eum perfodere ac diuidere vellent: qui excitatus horribilitè exclamauit, sic, quod totã familiã terruit: quæ sibi accurrens quæsiuit, quid sibi esset? quibus ille, Illi Raban Franchi quos interficere iussi, venerunt huc ad me cum ensibus, volentes me interficere. Et statim Melich misit pro Kadi, referens sibi visionẽ, & petens consiliũ, & consolationem, quia timuit per eos finaliter interire. Tunc Kadi sibi consuluit, vt illis maximas eleemosynas faceret, si de manibus interfectõrum euadere vellent. Tunc misit pro Christianis quos in carcere intrudi præceperat: A quibus cum ad eum venissent indulgentiam petijt pro factõ suo, dicens se esse amodõ sociũ eorũ, & confratrem: Præcepit autem & legem statuit, quòd pro tempore suo, si quis aliquẽ Christianũ offenderet, statim moreretur, & sic omnes illæcios, & indemnes abire permisit. Pro illis autẽ quatuor fratribus interfectis quatuor mosqueras (.i.) Ecclesiãs ædificari fecit, quas per Sacerdotes Saracenorum inhabitari fecit. Audiens autem imperator Dodh istos tres fratres talem sententiam subijsse, misit pro Melich, vt vincens ad eum duceretur, A quo cum adductus esset, quæsiuit imperator, quare ita crudelitè illos fratres iusserat interficere, respondit, quia subuertere volebant legem nostram, & malum & blasphemiam de propheta nostro dicebant: & imperator ad eum; O crudelissime canis, cum videres quod Deus omnipotens bis ab igne eos liberauerit, quo modo ausus fuisti illis mortem inferre tam crudelem. Et edicta sententia, ipsum Melich cum tota sua familia per medium scindit fecit, sicut ipse talem mortem fratri inflixerat. Kadi verò audiens, de terra illa, & etiam de imperatoris illius dominio clam fugit, & sic euasit.

De miraculis quatuor fratrum occisorum.

ESt autem consuetudo in terra illa, quòd corpora mortua non traduntur sepulturæ, sed in campis dimituntur, & ex calore Solis citò resoluuntur, & sic consumuntur: Corpora autem triũ fratrum prædictõrum per 14. dies illic in feruore Solis iacuerunt, & ita recentia & redolentia inuenta fuerunt sicut illa die quandõ martirizati erant: quod videntes Christiani qui in illa terra habitabant, prædicta corpora ceperunt, & honorificè sepelierunt. Ego autem Odoricus audiens factum & martyriũ illorũ fratrum, cui illuc, & corpora eorũ effodi, & ossa omnia mecum accepi, & in pulchris towallijs colligauit, & in Indiam superiorem ad vnũ locũ fratrum nostrorũ ea deportauit, habens mecum sociũ, & vnũ famulũ. Cum autẽ effemus in uia, hospitabamus in domo cuiusdã hospitarij, & ipsa ossa capiti meo supposui, & dormiui: Et diũ dormireni domus illa à Saracenis subitò accendebatur, vt me cum domo comburerent. Domo autẽ sic accensa, socius meus & famulus de domo exierunt, & me solum cum ossibus dimiserunt, qui videns ignem supra me, ossa accepi & cum illis in angulos domus recollegi. Tres autem anguli domus statim cõbusti fuerunt, angulo in quo steti cũ ossibus saluo remanente: Supra me autẽ ignis se tenuit in modũ aeris lucidi, nec descendit quamdiu ibi persistebam; quàm citò autẽ cum ossibus exiui, statim tota pars illa sicut alie priores igne consumpta est, & multa alia loca circumadiacentia cõbusta sunt. Aliud miraculũ contigit, me cum ossibus per mare proficiente ad ciuitatẽ Polumbrũ vbi pipet nascitur abũdantè, quia nobis ventus totaliter defecit: quapropter venerunt Idolatræ adorantes Deos suos pro vento prospero, quẽ tamen nõ obtinuerunt: Tunc Saraceni suas inuocationes, & adorationes laboriose fecerũt, sed nihil profecerũt; Et præceptũ est mihi & socio meo vt orationes funderemus Deo nostro: Et dixit rector nauis in Armenico mihi, quod alij nõ intelligerent: quòd nisi possemus ventũ prosperũ à Deo nostro impetrare, nos cum ossibus in mare projicerẽt: Tunc ego & socius fecimus orationes, vouentes multas missas de beara virgine celebrare, sic quòd ventũ placeret sibi nobis impetrare. Cum autẽ tẽpus transiret, & ventus non veniret, accepi vnũ de ossibus, & dedi famulo, vt ad caput nauis iret, & clam in mare projiceret; quo proiecto statim affuit ventus prosperus qui nunquã nobis defecit, vsquequòd peruenimus ad portũ, meritis istorũ martyrum cum salute. Deinde ascendimus aliã nauẽ vt in Indiam superiorem iremus; Et venimus ad quandã ciuitatem vocatã Carchan in qua sunt duo loca fratrum nostrorũ, & ibi reponere istas reliquias volebamus. In naui autem illa erant plus 700. mercatores & alij

& alij: Nunc illi Idolatræ istam consuetudinem habebant, quòd semper antequàm ad portum applicuerint, totam nauem perquirent, si isti aliqua ossa mortuorum animalium inuenirent, qui reperta statim in mare proijcerent, & per hoc bonum portum attingere, & mortis periculù euadere crederent. Cùm autem frequenter perquirent, & illa ossa frequenter tangerent, semper oculi delusi fuerunt, sic quòd illa non perpenderunt; & sic ad locum fratrum deportauimus cum omni reuerentia, vbi in pace requiescunt; vbi etià inter idolatras Deus continuè miracula operatur. Cum enim aliquo morbo grauantur, in terra illa vbi fratres passi sunt ipsi vadunt, & de terra vbi corpora sanguinolenta iacuerunt sumunt quam abluunt, & ablutionem bibunt, & sic ab infirmitatibus suis liberantur.

Quo modo habetur Piper, & vbi nascitur.

VT autem videatur quo modo habetur piper, sciendum quòd in quodam imperio ad quod applicui, nomine *Minibar*, nascitur, & in nulla parte mundi tantum, quantum ibi; Nemus enim in quo nascitur, continet octodecim dietas, & in ipso nemore sunt duæ ciuitates vna nomine *Flandrina*, alia nomine *Cyncilim*: In *Flandrina* habitant Iudei aliqui & aliqui Christiani, inter quos est bellum frequenter, sed Christiani vincunt Iudæos semper: In isto nemore habetur piper per istum modum. Nam primò nascitur in folijs olerum, quæ iuxta magnas arbores plantantur, sicut nos ponimus vites; & producut fructum, sicut racemi nostri producut vvas; sed quandò maturescunt sunt viridis coloris, & sic vindemiantur vt inter nos vindemiantur vva, & ponuntur grana ad solem vt desiccentur: quæ desiccata reponuntur in vasis terreis, & sic fit piper, & custoditur. In isto autè nemore sunt flumina multa in quibus sunt Crocodili multi, & multi alij serpentes sunt in illo nemore, quos homines per stupam & paleas comburunt, & sic ad colligendum piper securè accedunt. A capite illius nemoris versus meridiem est ciuitas *Polumbrum* in qua maxima mercimonia cuiuscunque generis reperiuntur. Omnes autem de terra illa bouem viuum sicut Deum suum adorant, quem 6. annis faciunt laborare, & in septimo faciunt ipsum quiescere ab omni opere; ponentes ipsum in loco solemni, & communi, & dicentes ipsum esse animal sanctum. Hunc autem ritum obseruant: quolibet mane accipiunt duas pelus de auro, vel de argento, & vnam submitunt vrinæ bouis, & aliam stercorei, de vrina lauant sibi faciem & oculos, & omnes 5. sensus: de stercore verò ponunt in vtròque oculo, postea liniunt summitates genarum, & tertio pectus, & ex tunc dicunt se sanctificatos pro toto die illo: & sicut facit populus, ita etiam facit rex & regina. Isti etiam aliud idolum mortuum adorant, quod in medietate vna superior est homo, & in alia est bos, & illud idolum dat eis responsa, & aliquotidens pro stipendio petit sanguinè, 40. virginum: & idèd homines illius regionis ita vouent filias suas & filios, sicut Christiani aliqui alicui religioni, vel sancto in cælis. Et per istum modum immolant filios & filias, & multi homines per istum ritum moriuntur ante idolum illud, & multa alia abominabilia facit populus iste bestialis, & multa mirabilia vidi inter eos quæ nolui hic inferere. Aliam consuetudinem vilissimam habet gens illa: Nam quãdo homo moritur, comburunt ipsum mortuum, & si vxorè habet, ipsam comburunt viuam, quia dicunt quòd ipsa ibi in atatura, & cultura cum viro suo in alio mundo: Si autem vxor illa habeat liberos ex viro suo, potest manere cum eis si velit sine verecundia & improprio, communitet tamen omnes præeligunt comburi cum marito; si autem vxor præmoriatur viro, lex illa non obligat virum, sed potest aliã vxorem ducere. Aliam consuetudinem habet gens illa, quòd scemine ibi bibunt vinum, & homines non: scemina etiã faciunt sibi radi cilia, & supercilia, & barbam, & homines non: & sic de multis alijs vilibus contra naturam sexus eorum. Ab isto regno iui decem dietas ad aliud regnum dictum *Mobar*, quod habet in se multas ciuitates, & in illo requiescit in vna ecclesia corpus beati Thomæ Apostoli, & est ecclesia illa plena idolis, & in circuitu ecclesiæ simul Canonici viuunt in 15. domibus Nestoriani, id est, mali Christi ani, & schismatici.

De quodam idolo mirabili, & de quibusdam ritibus eorum.

IN hoc regno est vnum Idolum mirabile, quod omnes Indi reuerentur: & est statura hominis ita magni, sicut noster Christophorus depictus, & est totum de auro purissimo & splendidissimo, & circa collum habet vnam chordulam sericam cum lapidibus pretiosissimis, quorù aliquis valet plus quàm vnum regnum: Domus idoli est tota de auro, scilicet in tecto, & pauimento, & superficie parietum interius & exterius. Ad illud idolum peregrinantur Indi, sicut nos ad S. Petrum: Alij veniunt cum chorda ad collum, alij cum manibus retrò ligatis, alij cum cultello in brachio vel tibia defixo, & si post peregrinationè fiat brachium marcidum, illum reputant sanctum, & benè cum Deo suo. Iuxta ecclesiam illius idoli est lacus vnus manufactus, & manifestus, in quem peregrini proijciunt aurum & argentum, & lapides preciosos in honorem Idoli, & ad ædificationem ecclesiæ suæ, & idèd quãdo aliquid debet ornari, vel reparari, vadunt homines

Malabar.

Polumbrum ciuitas.
Adoratio bouis.

Combustio mortuorum.

Mobar regnum
vel Maliapor.

nes ad hunc lacum, & proiecta extrahunt: die autem annua constructionis illius idoli, rex & regina cum toto populo & omnibus peregrinis accedunt, & ponunt illud idolum in vno curru pretiosissimo ipsum de ecclesia educentes cum Canticis, & omni genere musicorum, & mulæ virgines antecedunt ipsum binæ & binæ; processionaliter combinatæ modulantes: Peregrini etiam multi ponunt se sub curru, vt transeat Deus supra eos; & omnes super quos currus transierit, comminuit, & per medium scindit, & interficit, & per hoc reputant se mori pro deo suo sanctè & securè: & in omni anno hoc modo moriuntur in via sub idolo plusquam 500 homines, quorum corpora comburuntur, & cineres sicut reliquæ custodiuntur, quia sic pro Deo suo moriuntur. Alium ritum habent, quando aliquis homo offert se mori pro deo suo, conueniunt omnes amici eius & parentes cum histrionibus multis, facientes sibi festum magnum, & post festum appendunt collo eius 5 cultellos acutissimos ducentes eum ante idolum, quò cum peruenit, sumit vnum ex cultellis, & clamat alta voce, pro deo meo incido mihi de carne mea, & fructum incisum proicit in faciem idoli: vltima verò incisione per quam seipsum interficit, dicit, me mori pro deo meo permitto, quo mortuo corpus eius comburitur, & sanctum fore ab omnibus creditur. Rex illius regionis est ditissimus in auro & argento, & gemmis pretiosis; ibi etiam sunt margaritæ pulchriores de mundo. Indè transiens iui per mare oceanum versus meridiem per 50 dietas ad unam terram vocatam Laminori, in qua ex immensitate caloris, tam viri quam scæminæ omnes incedunt nudi in toto corpore: Qui videntes me vestitum, deridebant me, dicentes Deum, Adam & Euam fecisse nudos. In illa regione omnes mulieres sunt communes, ita quòd nullus potest dicere, hæc est vxor mea, & cum mulier aliqua parit filium vel filiam dat cui vult de hijs qui concubuerunt: Totæ etiam terra illius regionis habetur in communi, ita quòd non meum & tuum in diuisione terrarum, domos tamen habent speciales: Carnes humane quando homo est pinguis ita benè comeduntur, sicut inter nos bouinæ: & licet gens sit pestifera, tamen terra optima est, & abundat in omnibus bonis, carnibus, bladis, riso, auro, argento, & lignis Aloe, cannabis, & multis alijs. Mercatores autem cum accedunt ad hanc regionem ducunt secum homines pingues vendentes illos genti illius regionis, sicut nos vendimus porcos, qui statim occidunt eos & comedunt. In hac insula versus meridiem est aliud regnum vocatum Symolcra, in quo tam viri quam mulieres signant se ferro calido in facie, in 2. partibus, Et hij semper bellant cum hominibus nudis in alia regione. Vltra transiit ad aliam insulam quæ vocatur Iaua cuius ambitus per mare est trium milliū milliariū, & rex illius insulæ habet sub se 7. reges coronatos, & hæc insula optimè inhabitatur, & melior secunda de mundo reputatur. In ea nascuntur in copia garyophylli, cubibez, & nucis muscatæ: & breuiter omnes species ibi sunt, & maxima abundantia omnium victualium præterquam vini. Rex illius terræ habet palatium nobilissimū inter omnia quæ vidi altissimè stat, & gradus & scalas habet altissimos, quorum semper vnus gradus est aureus, alius argenteus; Pavimentum verò vnum laterem habet de auro, aliū de argèto. Parietes verò omnes interiorius sunt laminati laminis aureis, in quibus sculpti sunt Equites de auro habentes circa caput circulum aureum plenum lapidibus pretiosis: Tectum est de auro puro. Cum isto rege ille magnus Canis de Katay frequenter fuit in bello: Quem tamen semper ille Rex vicit & superauit.

Crudelissima Sætanæ tyranis, & carnificina.

Plaronica
Kavovica.

Simolra vel
Sanotia.

Iaua.

De arboribus dantibus farinam, & mel, & venenum.

Iuxta istam Insulam est alia contrata vocata Panten, vel alio nomine Thalamasim, & Rex illius contratæ multas insulas habet sub se. In illa terra sunt arbores dantes farinam, & mel, & vinum, & etiam venenum periculosius quod sit in mundo, quia contra illud non est remedium, nisi vnum solum, & est illud. Si aliquis illud venenum sumpserit, si velit liberari, sumat sterces hominis & cum aqua temperet, & in bona quantitate bibat, & statim fugat venenū faciens exire per inferiores partes. Farinam autem faciunt arbores hoc modo, sunt magnæ & bassæ, & quando inciduntur cum securi propè terram, exit de stipite liquor quidam sicut gummæ, quem accipiunt homines & ponunt in sacculis de folijs factis, & per quindecim dies in sole dimittunt, & in fine decimi quinti diei ex isto liquore desiccato fit farina, quæ primò ponunt in aqua maris, postea lauant eam cum aqua dulci, & fit pasta valdè bona & odorifera, de qua faciunt cibos vel panes sicut placet eis. De quibus panibus ego comedi, & est panis exterius pulcher, sed interiorius aliquantulum niger. In hac contrata est mare mortuum quod semper currit versus meridiem, in quod si homo ceciderit, nunquam postea comparet. In contrata illa inueniuntur Cannæ longissimæ plures passus habentes quàm 60 & sunt magnæ vt arbores. Aliæ etiã Cannæ sunt ibi quæ vocantur Cassan quæ per terram diriguntur vt gramen, & in quolibet nodo earum ramuli producuntur qui etiam prolongantur super terram per vnum miliare ferè: in hijs Cannis reperiuntur lapides, quorum si quis vnum super se portauerit, non poterit incidi aliquo ferro,

Vel Malasim.

Mare quod semper currit versus meridiem.

& idèd communitèr homines illius contratæ portant illos lapides super : Multi etiam faciunt pueros suos dum sunt parui incidi in vno brachio, & in vulnere ponunt vnum de illis lapidibus, & faciunt vulnus recludere se per vnum puluerem de quodam pisce, cuius nomen ignoro, qui puluis statim vulnus consolidat & sanat : & virtute illorum lapidum communitèr isti homines triumphant in bellis, & in mari, nec possent isti homines lædi per aliqua arma serrea : Vnum tamen remedium est, quòd aduersarij illius gentis scientes virtutem lapidum, provident sibi propugnacula ferrea contra spicula illorum, & arma venenata de veneno arborum, & in manu portant palos ligneos acutissimos & ita duros in extremitate sicut esset ferrum : Similitèr sagittant cum sagittis sine ferro, & sic confundunt aliquos & perforant inermes ex lapidum securitate. De istis etiam Cannis Caslan faciunt sibi vela pro suis nauibus & domunculas paruas, & multa sibi necessaria. Inde recessi per multas dietas ad aliud regnum vocatum Campa, pulcherrimum, & opulentissimum in omnibus vidualibus. Cuius rex quòdo fui ibi tot habuit vxores, & alias mulieres, quòd de illis 300. filios & filias habuit. Iste rex habet decies millesies & quatuor elephatum domesticorù, quos ita facit custodiri sicut inter nos custodiunt boues, vel greges in pascuis.

Vela ex arundinibus facta.
Campæ.

De multitudine Piscium, qui se proijciunt in aridam.

IN hac contrata vnù mirabile valdè reperitur, quòd vnaquæq; generatio piscium in mari ad istâ contratam venit in tanta quantitate, quòd per magnù spatium maris nil videtur nisi dorsa piscium, & super aridam se proijciunt quando propè ripam sunt, & permittunt homines per tres dies venire, & de illis sumere quantum placuerint, & tunc redeunt ad mare: Post illâ speciem per illum modum veniunt alia species, & offert se, & sic de omnibus speciebus, semel tamen tantum hoc faciunt in anno. Et quæsiui à gente illa quomodo & qualiter hoc possit fieri? responderunt quòd hoc modo pisces per naturâ docentur venire, & imperatorem suum reuereri. Ibi etiâ sunt testudines ita magne sicut est vnus surrus, & multa alia vidi quæ incredibilia forent, nisi homo illa vidisset. In illa etiâ contrata homo mortuus cõburitur, & vxor viua cum eo, sicut superius de alia cõtrata dictũ est, quia dicunt homines illi quòd illa vadit ad alium mundum ad morandum cum eo, ne ibi aliam vxorẽ accipiat. Ultra transiui per mare Oceanum versus meridicm, & transiui per multas contratas & insulas, quarum vna vocatur Moumoran, & habet in ciuitate 2000. milliaria, in qua homines portant facies caninas & mulieres similitèr, & vnũ bouem adorant pro Deo suo, & idèd quilibet vnũ bonè aureum vel argenteũ in fronte portat: Homines illius contratæ & mulieres vadunt totaliter nudi, nisi quòd vnum pannum lineum portant ante ventera sua. Homines illius regionis sunt maximi & fortissimi, & quia vadunt nudi, quando debent bellare, portant vnum scutum de ferro, quod cooperit eos à capite vsq; ad pedes, & si contingat eos aliquem de aduersarijs capere in bello qui pecunia non possit redimi, statim comedunt eum; si autem possit seredimere pecunia, illum abire permittunt: Rex eorum portat 300. margaritas ad collum suum maximas & pulcherrimas, & 300. orationes omni die dicit Deo suo: Hic etiam portat in digito suo vnum lapidem longitudinis vnus spanæ, & dum habet illũ videtur ab alijs quasi vna flamma ignis, & idèd nullus audet sibi appropinquare, & dicitur quòd non est lapis in mundo pretiosior illo, Magnus autem imperator Tartarorum de Kátai, nunquam vi, uce pecunia, nec ingenio illum obtinere potuit, cum tamen circa hoc laborauerit.

Testudines magnæ.

Moumoran.

De Insula Ceilan, & de monte vbi Adam planxit Abel filium suum.

TRansiui per aliam insulam vocatam Ceilan, quæ habet in ambitu plusquã duo millia milliaria, in qua sunt serpentes quasi infiniti, & maxima multitudo leonum, vrsarum, & omnium animalium rapacium, & siluestrium, & potissimè elephantũ. In illa contrata est mons maximus, in quo dicunt gentes illius regionis quòd Adam planxit Abel filium suum 500. annis. In medio illius montis est planicies pulcherrima, in qua est lacus paruus mulum habens de aqua, & homines illi dicunt aquam illam fuisse de lachrymis Adæ & Euxæ, sed probaui hoc falsum esse, quia vidi aquam in lacu scaturire: hæc aqua plena est hirudinibus & sanguisugis, & lapidibus pretiosis; istos lapides rex non accipit sibi, sed semel vel bis in anno permittit pauperes sub aqua ire pro lapidibus, & omnes quot possunt colligere illis concedit, vt orent pro anima sua. Vt autè possint sub aqua ire accipiunt lymones, & cum illis vngunt se valdè benè, & sic nudos se in aquam submergunt, & sanguisugæ illis nocere non possunt. Ab isto lacu aqua exit & currit vsq; ad mare, & in transitu quandò retrahit se, sodiuntur Rubicæ, & adamantes, & margaritæ, & alia genimæ pretiosæ: vnde opinio est quod rex ille magis abundat lapidibus pretiosis, quàm aliquis in mundo. In contrata illa sunt quasi omnia genera animalium & auium; & dixerunt mihi gentes illæ, quòd animalia illa nullũ forensem inuadunt, nec offendunt, sed tantũ homines illius regionis. Vidi in illa insula aues ita magnas sicut sunt hic anseres, habentes duo capita, & alia mirabilia quæ non scribo. Ultra versus meridiem transiui, & applicui ad insulam quandam quæ vocatur Bodin, quod idem est quod immundum in lingua nostra. In ea morantur

Ceilan insula.

Bodin Insula.

peffimi

peſſimi homines, qui comedunt carnes crudas, & omnem immunditiã faciunt quæ quaſi excogitari nõ poterit; nam pater comedit filium, & filius patrẽ, & maritus vxorem, & e' courraio, & hoc per hunc modum: ſi pater alicuius infirmetur, filius vadit ad Aſtrogolum ſacerdotem, ſcz. rogans eum quòd conſulat Deum ſuum, ſi pater de tali infirmitate euadet, vel non. Tunc Ambo vadunt ad idolum aureum, vel argenteum, faciẽtes orationes in hac forma. Domine, tu es Deus noſter, te adoramus, & rogamus vt nobis respondeas, debetnẽ talis à tali infirmitate mori vel liberati? Tunc Dẽmon reſpõdet, & ſi dicat, viuẽt, filius vadit & miniſtrat illi vſq; ad plenã conualeſcentiã: Si autẽ dicat, morietur, Sacerdos ibit ad eum, & vnum pannum ſuper os eius ponet, & ſuffocabit eum, & iplum mortuum incidet in fruſta, & inuitabuntur omnes amici, & parentes eius ad comedendum eum cum canticis, & omni lætitia, offa tamen eius honorificẽ ſepelient. Cũ autẽ ego eos de tali ritu reprehendi, quærens cauſam: Reſpondit vnus mihi, hoc facimus ne vermes carnes eius comedant, tunc eius anima magnã pœnam ſuſtineret, nec poteram euellere eos ab iſto errore: & multæ aliæ nouitates ſunt ibi, quas nõ credere, niſi qui viderent. Ego autem coram Deo nihil hic reſero, niſi illud de quo certus ſum ſicut homo certificari poterit. De iſta inſula inquiſui à multis expertis, qui omnes vno ore reſponderunt mihi, dicentes, quod iſta India 4400. inſulas continet ſub ſe, ſue in ſe, in qua etiam ſunt 64. reges coronati, & etiam dicunt quod maior pars illius inſulæ benẽ inhabitatur. Et hĩc iſtius Indiæ facio finem.

De India ſuperiori, & de Prouincia Mancı.

Inprimis reſero, quòd cum tranſirem per mare Oceanum per multas dietas verſus Orientem, perueni ad illam magnã prouinciã Mancı, quę India vocatur à Latinis. De iſta India ſuperiori inquiſui à Chriſtianis, Saracenis, idolatris, & omnibus, qui officiales ſunt domini Canis magni, qui omnes vno ore reſponderunt, quòd hæc prouincia Mancı habet pluſquam 2000. magnarũ ciuitatum, & in ipſa eſt maxima copia omniũ victualium, puta, panis, vini, riſi, carniũ, piſciũ, &c. Omnes homines iſtius prouinciæ ſunt artifices & mercatores, qui pro quacunq; penuria, dummodo proprijs manibus iuuare ſe poſſent per labores, nunquã ab aliquo elemoſynã peterent. Viri iſtius prouinciæ ſunt fatiſ formoſi, ſed pallidi, & raſas & paruas barbas habentes; ſceminę verò ſunt pulcherrimę inter omnes de mundo. Prima ciuitas ad quam veni de iſta India vocatur Ceuſkalon, & diſtat à mari per vnã dietam, poſitãq; eſt ſuper flumen, cuius aqua propẽ mare cui contignatur, aſcendit ſuper terram per 12. dietas. Totus populus illius Indiæ idolatrat. Iſta autem ciuitas tantum nauigiũ habet, quod incredibile foret niſi videnti. In hac ciuitate vidi quod 300. libræ de bono & recenti zinzibero habentur pro minori quã pro vno groſſo: Ibi ſunt anſeres groſſiores & pulchriores, & maius forũ de illis, quã ſic in mundo, vt credo, & ſunt albiſſimi ſicut lac, & habent vnum os ſuper caput quantitatis oui, & habet colorem ſanguineũ, ſub gula habent vnã pellem pendẽtem ſemipedalem: Pinguiffimi ſunt, & optimi fori: & ita eſt de anatibus, & gallinis, quæ magnæ ſunt valdẽ in illa terrã pluſquam dux de noſtris. Ibi ſunt ſerpentes maximi, & capiuntur & à gente illa comeduntur: vnde qui faceret feſtũ ſolemne, & non daret ſerpẽtes, nihil reputaret ſe facere: breuitẽr in hac ciuitate ſunt omnia victualia in maxima abundantia. Indẽ tranſui per ciuitates multas, & veni ad ciuitatẽ nomine Kaitan, in qua fratres Minores habent duo loca, ad quæ portauit de offibus fratrum noſtrorum pro fide Chriſti interfeſtorum, de quibus ſupra. In hac eſt copia omnium victualium pro leuiſſimo foro, hæc ciuitas ita magna eſt, ſicut bis Bononia, & in ea multa monaſteria religioſorum, qui omnes idolis ſeruĩt. In vno autem iſtorũ monaſteriorum ego fui, & dictum eſt mihi quòd inerat 3000. religioſorum habitũ 11000. idolorum, & vnum illorum, quod quaſi paruũ inter cetera mihi videbatur, eſt ita magnũ ſicut Chriſtophorus noſter. Iſti religioſi omni die paſcunt Deos ſuos, vnde ſemel iui ad videndũ comẽſtionem illam, & vidi quòd illa quę detulerunt ſibi comẽſtibiliã ſunt, & calidiſſima, & multũ ſumigãria, ita quòd ſumus aſcendit ad idola, & dixerũt Deos illo fumo recreari. Totum autẽ cibum illi reportauerũt & comederũt, & ſic de fumo tantũ Deos ſuos paſuerunt.

Vel Ceuſcala,

Hi ſunt alcarraſi vel onocratoli,

Vel Zaiton,

De Ciuitate Fuko.

Vltra verſus Orientem veni ad ciuitatem quę vocatur Fuko, cuius circuitus cõtinet 30. miliaria, in qua ſunt Galli maximi & pulcherrimi, & gallinæ omnes ita albæ ſicut nix, lanam ſolum pro pennis habentes ſicut pecudes. Hæc ciuitas pulcherrima eſt, & ſita ſupra mare. Vltra iui per 18. dietas, & pertranſij multas terras & ciuitates, & in tranſitu veni ad quendam montem magnum, & vidi quòd in vno latere montis omnia animalia erant nigra vt carbo, & homines & mulieres diuerſum modum viuendi habent: ab alio autem latere omnia animalia erant alba ſicut nix, & homines totaliter diuerſe ab alijs vixerunt. Ibi omnes ſceminæ quæ ſunt deſponſatæ portant in ſignum quòd habent maritos vnum magnum barile de cornu in capite. Inde tranſui per 18. dietas alias, & veni ad quoddã magnum flumen, & intraui ciuitatem vnã, quæ tranſuerſum illius fluminis habet pontem maximũ, & hoſpitabar in domo vnus hoſpirarij, qui volens

Vel Foquen,

Magnum flumen

lens

leus mihi complacere, dixit mihi: si velis videre piscari, veni mecum; & duxit me super pontem, & vidi in brachijs suis mergos ligatos super perticas, ad quorum gulâ vbi ille ligatus vnū filum, ne illi capientes pisces, comederent eos: Postea in brachio vno posuit 3, cistas magnas, & tunc dissoluit mergos de perticis, qui statim in aquâ intrauerunt, & pisces ceperunt, & cistas illas repluerunt in parua hora, quibus repletis vir ille dissoluit fila à collis eorū, & ipsi reintrantes flumen se de piscibus recreauerūt, & recreati ad perticas redierunt, & se ligari sicut prius permiserunt: Ego autē de illis piscibus comedi, & optimi mihi videbātur. Inde transiens per multas dietas veni ad vnā ciuitatem quæ vocatur *Kanasia, quæ sonat in lingua nostra ciuitas cœli: Nunquam ita magnā ciuitatem vidi, Circuitus enim eius cōtinet 100. milliaria, nec in ea vidi spatium quin bene inhabitaretur; Imò vidi multas domus habentes 10. vel 12. solgria vnū supra aliud: hæc habet suburbia maxima continentia maiorē populum quam ipsa ciuitas contineat. 12. portas habet principales, & in via de qualibet illarū portarum ad 8. milliaria sunt ciuitates fortē maiores vt æstimo, quàm est ciuitas Venetiariū, & Padua, Hæc ciuitas sita est in aquis quæ semper stant, & nec fluunt, nec resfluunt, vallum tamē habet propter ventum sicut ciuitas Venetiariū, In ea sunt plus decem mille & 2. pontium, quorum multos numeravi & transui, & in quolibet ponte stant custodes ciuitatis continuē custodientes ciuitatem pro magno Cane imperatore Catai. Vnum mandatum dicunt gentes illius ciuitatis a domino se recepisse. Nam quilibet ignis soluit vnū balis, i. 5. cartas bombicis, qui vnum florenū cum dimidio valent, & 10. vel 12. supelleciles facient vnum ignem, & sic pro vno igne soluent, Isti ignes sunt bene 85, Thuman, cum alijs 4. Saracenorum quæ faciunt 89. Thuma verò vnum decem milia ignium facit, reliqui autem de populo ciuitatis sunt alij Christiani, alij mercatores, & alij transientes per terram, vnde maximē sui miratus quo modo tot corpora hominū poterant simul habitare: In ea est maxima copia victualium, scz. panis & vini, & carniū de porco præcipuē cum alijs necessarijs,

De monasterio vbi sunt multa animalia diuersa in quodam monte.

In illa ciuitate 4. fratres nostri conuerterant vnum potentem ad fidē Christi, in cuius hospicio continuē habitabā, dum sui ibi, qui semel dixit mihi, Ara, i. pater, vis tu venire & videre ciuitatem istā; & dixi quodd sic, & ascendimus vnā barcham, & iuimus ad vnū monasterium maximū, de quo vocauit vnū religiosum sibi notū, & dixit sibi de me, Iste Raban Fracus, i. religiosus venit de inde vbi sol occidit, & nunc vadit Cambaleth, vt deprecetur vitā pro magno Cane, & idcō ostendas sibi aliquid, quod si reuertatur ad contratas suas possit referre quodd tale quid nouū vidi in Canasia ciuitate: tunc sumpsit ille religiosus duos mastellos magnos repletos reliquijs quæ supererant de mensa, & duxit me ad vnā perclusam paruam, quam aperuit cum clauē, & aperuit viridarium gratiosum & magnū in quod intrauimus, & in illo viridario stat vnus monticulus sicut vnū campanile, repletus amœnis herbis & arboribus, & dum staremus ibi, ipse sumpsit cymbalū, & incepit percutere ipsum sicut percutitur quandō monachi intrant refectoriū, ad cuius sonitū multa animalia diuersa descenderunt de monte illo, aliqua vt simiæ, aliqua vt Cati, Maymones, & aliqua faciem hominis habentia, & dum sic starem congregauerunt se circa ipsum, 4000. de illis animalibus, & se in ordinibus collocauerunt, coram quibus posuit paropsidem & dabat eis comedere, & cum comedissent iterum cymbalum percussit, & omnia ad loca propria redierunt. Tunc admiratus inquisiui quæ essent animalia ista? Et respondit mihi quod sunt animæ nobilium virorū, quas nos hic paciscimus amore Dei, qui regit orbē, & sicut vnus homo fuit nobilis, ita anima eius post mortem in corpus nobilis animalis intrat, Animæ verò simpliciu & rusticorū, corpora vilium animaliu intrant. Incepi istā abusione improbare, sed nihil valuit sibi, nō enim poterat credere, quodd aliqua anima posset sine corpore manere. Indē transui ad quādam ciuitatem nomine Chilensō, cuius muri per 40. milliaria circueunt. In ista ciuitate sunt 360. pontes lapidei pulchriores quā vnquam viderim, & bene inhabitatur, & nauigiū maximum habet, & copiā omnium victualiu, & aliorum bonorū. Inde iui ad quoddā flumen dictū Thalay, quod vbi est strictius habet in latitudine 7. milliaria, & illud flumen per medium terræ Pygmeorum transit, quorum ciuitas vocatur Kakam, quæ de pulchrioribus ciuitatibus mūdi est. Isti Pigmei habent longitudinē trium spanzarum mearū, & faciunt maiora & meliora goton, & bombicinā quā aliqui homines in mundo. Indē per illud flumen transiens, veni ad vnā ciuitatē Ianzu, in qua est vnus locus fratrum nostrorū, & sunt in ea tres ecclesiæ Nestorianorū: hæc ciuitas nobilis est, & magna, habens in se 48. Thuman ignium, & in ea omnia victualia, & animalia in magna copia, de quo Christiani viuunt: Dominus istius ciuitatis solum de sale habet in redditibus 50. Thuman Balisi, & valet balisus vnum florenū cum dimidio: Ita quodd vnum Thuman facit 15. milia florenorum, vnā tamen gratiam facit dominus populo, quia dimittit ei, ne sit carissima in eo, 200. Thuman. Habet hæc ciuitas consuetudinē, quodd quando vnus vult facere conuiuium amicis suis, ad hoc sunt hospitia deputata, & vbi ille circuit per hospites,

Alias Canfai,
vel Quinzai.

Pythagorica
71447000.

Chilensō.

Thalay.

Kakam.

spices, dicens sibi tales amicos meos habebis, quos festabis nomine meo, & tatum in festo volo expendere, & per illum modum melius conuiuant amici in pluribus hospitij quam facerent in vno. Per 10. milliaria ab ista ciuitate in capite fluminis Thalay est vna ciuitas vocata Montu, Montu. quæ maius nauigium habet, quam viderim in toto mundo; Et omnes naues ibi sunt albæ sicut nix, & in ipsis sunt hospitia, & multa alia quæ nullus homo crederet nisi viderentur.

De ciuitate Cambaleth.

Indè transiui per 8. dietas per multas terras & ciuitates, & veni tandem per aquam dulcem ad Iquadam ciuitatem nomine Leneyn, quæ est posita super flumen vocatum Caramoran, quod Caramoran. per medium Catai transit, & magnum damnum sibi infert, quando erumpit. Indè transiens per flumen versus Orientem per multas dietas & ciuitates, veni ad vnam ciuitatem nomine Sumacoto, quæ maiorem copiam habet de serico, quam aliqua ciuitas in mundo; Quando enim est maior caristia Serici, ibi 40. libræ habentur pro minori quam pro 8. grossis. In ea est copia omnium mercimoniotorum, & omnium victualium, panis, vini, carniū, piscium, & omnium specierum electarum. Indè transiui versus Orientem per multas ciuitates, & veni ad illam nobilem, & nominatam Cambaleth quæ est ciuitas multum antiqua, & est in prouincia Catai, & eam ceperunt Tartari: Et iuxta eam ad dimidium miliare aliam ciuitatem fecerunt, quæ vocatur Caido & hæc 12. portas habet, & semper inter vnam & aliam sunt duo miliaria, & medium inter illas ciuitates benè inhabitatur, ita quod faciunt quasi vnam ciuitatem; Et ambitus istarum duarum ciuitatum est plusquam 40. milliaria. In hac ciuitate magnus imperator Canis habet sedem suam principalem, & suum magnum palatium, cuius muri benè 4. milliaria continent; & infra illud palatium sunt multa alia palatia dominorum de familia sua. In palatio etiam ibi est vnus mons pulcherrimus cõsitus arboribus, propter quod mons viridis nominatur, & in monte palatium antenissimum in quo communiter Canis residet: A latere autem montis est vnus lacus magnus, supra quem pons pulcherrimus est factus, & in illo lacu est magna copia anserum & anatum, & omnium auium aquaticarum; & in silua montis copia omnium auium & ferarum siluestrium, & idè quandò dominus Canis vult venari non oportet eum exire palatium suum. Palatium verò principale, in quo sedes sua est, est magnum valdè, & habet interius 14. columnas aureas, & omnes muri eius cooperiti sunt pellibus rubeis quæ dicuntur nobiliores pelles de mundo: Et in medio palatij est vna pigna altitudinis duorum passuum, quæ tota est de vno lapide pretioso nomine merdochas; & est tota circumligata auro, & in quolibet angulo eius est vnus serpens de auro qui verberat os fortissimè: Habet etiam hæc pigna retia de margaritis, & per istam pignam defertur potus per meatus & conductus qui in curia regis habetur; & iuxta eam pendent multa vasa aurea cum quibus volentes bibere possunt. In hoc autem palatio sunt multi paouones de auro; & cum aliquis Tartarus facit festum domino suo, tunc quando conuiuantes tollidunt manus suas præ gaudio & læticia, paouones emittunt alas suas, & expandunt caudas, & videntur tripudiare; Et hoc credo factum arte Magica, vel aliqua cautela subterranea.

De gloria magni Canis.

Qvando autem magnus ille Imperator Canis in sede sua imperiali residet, tunc a sinistro latere sedet Regina, & per vnum gradum inferius duo mulieres quas ipse tenet pro se, quando non potest ad Reginam accedere: In infimo autem gradu resident omnes dominae de sua parentela. Omnes autem mulieres nuptæ portant supra caput suum vnum pedem hominis, longitudinis vnus brachij cum dimidio, & subter illum pedem sunt penne gruis, & totus ille pes ornatur maximis margaritis. A latere verò dextro ipsius Canis residet filius eius primogenitus, regnaturus post ipsum, & inferius ipso omnes qui sunt de sanguine regio: Ibi etiam sunt 4. scriptores scribentes omnia verba quæ dicit rex; Antè cuius conspectum sunt Barones sui, & multi alij nobiles cum sua gente maxima, quorum nullus audeat loqui nisi à domino licentia petatur exceptis fatuis & histrionibus, qui suum dominum consolari habent; Illi etiam nihil audent facere, nisi secundum quod Dominus voluerit eis legem imponere. Antè portam palatij sunt Barones custodientes, nè aliquis limen portæ tangat. Cum autem ille Canis voluerit facere conuiuium, habet secum 14000. Barones portantes circulos, & coronulas in capite, & domino suo seruientes; Et quilibet portat vnam vestem de auro & margaritis tot quot valent plus quam decies millies florenorum, Curia eius optimè ordinatur per denarios, centenarios, & millenarios, & taliter quod quilibet in suo ordine peragit officium sibi deputatum, nec aliquis defectus reperitur. Ego frater Odoricus fui ibi per tres annos, & multotiens in istis festis suis fui, quia nos fratres minores in sua curia habemus locum nobis deputatum, & oportet nos semper ire, & dare sibi nostram benedictionem: Et inquisiui ab illis de curia, de numero illorum qui sunt in curia domini, & responderunt mihi quod de histrionibus sunt bene 18. Thuman; Custodes autem canum & bestiarum, & auium sunt 15. Thuman; Medici verò pro corpore Regis sunt.

sunt 400. Christiani autem 8. & vnus Saracenus. Et ego quando fui ibi, hij omnes omnia necessaria tam ad victum, quam ad vestitum habebant de curia domini Canis. Quando autē vult equitare de vna terra ad aliam, habet 4. exercitus equitum, & vnus per vnam dietam ipsum antecedit, secundus aliam, & tertius similiter, & quartus; ita quod semper ipse se tenet in medio in modum crucis; & ita omnes exercitus habent omnes dietas suas ordinatas, quod inueniunt omnia victualia parata sine defectu. Illémet autem dominus Canis per illum modum vadit; Sedet in curru cum duabus rotis in quo facta est pulcherrima sella tota de lignis Aloe, & auro ornata, & margaritis maximis, & lapidibus pretiosis; & 4. Elephantes benè ordinati ducunt istum currum, quos præcedunt 4. equi altissimi optimè cooperti, iuxta currum à lateribus sunt 4. Barones tenentes currum, nè aliquis appropinquet domino suo. Supra currum sedent duo Gersfalcons albissimi, & dum videt aues quos vult capere, dimittit Falcones volare, & capiunt eas; Et sic habet solatium suum equitando, & per iactum vnus lapidis nullus audet appropinquare curru nisi populus assignatus: vnde incredibile esset homini qui non vidisset de numero gentis suæ, & reginæ, & primogeniti sui. Iste dominus Canis imperium suum diuisit in 12. partes, & vna habet sub se 200. magnarum ciuitatum: vnde ita latum & longum est suum imperium, quod ad quamcunq; partem itet, satis haberes facere in sex mensibus, exceptis infulis, quæ sunt bene 5000.

De hospitij paratis per totum imperium pro transeuntibus.

Iste dominus, vt transeuntes habeant omnia necessaria sua per totum suum imperium, facit hospitia præparari vbique per vias; in quibus sunt omnia parata quæ ad victualia pertinent: Cum autem aliqua nouitas oritur in imperio suo, tunc si diitat, ambassiatores super equos vel dromedarios festinant, & cum lassantur in cursu, pulsant cornu, & proximum hospitium parat vnum similiter equum, qui quando alius venit festus accipit literam, & currit ad hospitium, & sic per hospitia, & per diuersos cursores rumor per 30. dietas, vno die naturali venit ad imperatorem; & ideò nihil ponderis potest fieri in imperio suo, quin statim scitur ab eo. Cum autem ipse Canis vult ire venatum; istum modum habet. Extra Cambalæth ad 20. dietas, est vna foresta quæ 6. dietas continet in ambitu; in qua sunt tot genera animalium & auium quod mirabile est dicere: Ad illud nemo vadit in fine trium annorum vel quatuor cum tota gente, cum qua ipsum circuit, & canes intrare permittit, qui animalia, scilicet leones, ceruos, & alia animalia reducunt ad vnam planitiem pulcherrimam in medio nemoris, quia ex clamoribus canum maximè trement omnes bestię syluæ. Tunc accedit magnus Canis super tres elephantas & 5. sagittas mittit in totam multitudinem animalium, & post ipsum omnes Barones, & post ipsos alij de familia sua emittunt sagittas suas; & omnes sagittæ sunt signatæ certis signis & diuersis: Tunc vadit ad animalia interfecta, dimittens viua nemo reintrare vt aliàs habeat ex eis venationem suam, & quilibet illud animal habebit in cuius corpore inuenit sagittam suam quam iaciebat.

De quatuor festis quæ tenet in anno Canis in curia.

Quatuor magna festa in anno facit Dominus Canis, scilicet festum natiuitatis, festum circumcisionis; coronationis, & desponsationis suæ; & ad ista festa conuocat omnes Barones, & histiones, & omnes de parentela sua. Tunc domino Cani in suo throno sedente, accedunt Barones cum circulis & coronis in capite, vestiti vario modo, quia aliqui de viridi, scilicet primi, secundi de sanguineo, & tertij de croceo, & tenent in manibus vnam tabulam eburneam de dentibus Elephantum, & cinguntur cingulis aureis vno fessisse latis, & stant pedibus silentium tenentes. Circa illos stant histiones cum suis instrumentis: In vno autem angulo cuiusdam magni palatii resident Philosophi omnes ad certas horas, & puncta attendentes; & cum deuenir ad punctum & horam peritam à philosopho, vnus præco clamat valentè. Inclinetis vos omnes imperatori vestro: tunc omnes Barones cadunt ad terram; & iterum clamat, Surgite omnes, & illi statim surgunt. Iterum Philosophi ad aliud punctum attendunt, & cum peruentum fuerit, iterum præco clamat; ponite digitum in aurem, & statim dicit; extrahite ipsum; iterum ad aliud punctum clamat, Buratate farinam: & multa alia faciunt, quæ omnia dicunt certam significationem habere, quæ scribere nolui, nec curavi, quia vana sunt & risu digna. Cum autem peruentum fuerit ad horam histionum, tunc Philosophi dicunt, facite festum domino, & omnes pulsant instrumenta sua, & faciunt maximum sonitum; & statim alius clamat; Taceant omnes, & omnes tacent: Tunc accedunt histionatrices ante dominum dulciter modulantes, quod mihi plus placuit. Tunc veniunt leones, & faciunt reuerentiam domino Cani; Et tunc histiones faciunt ciphos aureos plenos vino volare per aërem, & ad ora hominum se applicare

plicare vt bibant. Hæc & multa alia mirabilia in curia illius Canis vidi, quæ nullus crederet nisi videret; & idèò dimitto ea. De alio mirabili audiui à fide dignis, quòd in vno regno istius Canis in quo sunt montes Kapsei (& dicitur illud regnum Kalor) nascuntur pepones maximi, qui quando sunt maturi aperiuntur, & intus inuenitur vna bestiola similis vni agnello: sicut audiui quòd in mari Hybernico stant arbores supra ripam maris & portant fructum sicut essent cucurbitæ, quæ certo tempore cadunt in aquam & fiunt aues vocatæ Bernakles, & illud est verum.

De diuersis Prouincijs & ciuitatibus.

DE isto imperio Katay recessi post tres annos, & transiui 50. dietas versus Occidentè; & tandem veni ad terram Pretegoani, cuius ciuitas principalis Kofan vocatur, quæ multas habet sub se ciuitates. Ultra per multas dietas iui, & petueni ad vnam prouinciam vocatam Kasan; & hæc est secunda melior prouincia mundi, vt dicitur, & est optimè habitata: Sic quod quando exitur à porta vnus ciuitatis, videntur portæ alterius ciuitatis, sicut egomet vidi de multis. Latitudo Prouinciæ est 50. dietarum, & longitudo plusquam 60. In ea est maxima copia omnium victualium, & maximè castaneorum; & hæc est vna de 12. prouincijs magni Canis. Ultra veni ad vnum regnum vocatum Tibek quod est subiectum Caui, in quo est maior copia panis & vini, quam sit in toto mundo vt credo. Gens illius terræ moratur communiter in tentorijs factis ex feltris nigris: Principalis ciuitas sua murata est pulcherrimè ex lapidibus albissimis, & nigerrimis interescaliter dispositis, & curiosè compositis, & omnes viæ eius optimè paueatæ. In ista contrata nullus audet effundere sanguinem hominis, nec alicuius animalis, ob reuerentiam vnus Idoli. In ista ciuitate moratur Abassi 1. Papa eorum, qui est caput & princeps omnium Idolatrarum; quibus dat & distribuit beneficia secundum morem eorum; sicut noster Papa Romanus est caput omnium Christianorum. Fœminæ in hoc regno portant plusquam centumtricas, & habent duos dentes in ore ita longos sicut apri. Quando etiam pater alicuius moritur, tunc filius conuocat omnes sacerdotes & histrones, & dicit se velle patrem suum honorare, & facit eum ad campum duci sequentibus parentibus omnibus, amicis, & vicinis, vbi sacerdotes cum magna solemnitate amputant caput suum, dentes illud filio suo; & tunc totum corpus in frustra concidunt, & ibi dimittunt, cum orationibus cum eoredeunt; Tunc veniunt vultures, de monte assuesacti ad huiusmodi, & carnes omnes asportant: Et ex tunc currit fama de eo quòd sanctus est, quia angeli domini ipsum portant in paradysum: Et iste est maximus honor, quem reputat filius posse fieri patri suo mortuo: Tunc filius sumit caput patris, & coquit ipsum, & comedit, de testa eius faciens ciphum in quo ipse cum omnibus de domo & cognatione eius bibunt cum solemnitate & lætitia in memoriam patris comesti. Et multa vilia & abominabilia facit gens illa quæ non scribo, quia non valent, nec homines crederent nisi viderent.

Kasan.

Tibec regio aliâ
Teber Guilielmo
de Rubnicis.Eadem historia
de eodem populo
apud Guilielmum
de Rubnicis.

De diuite qui pascitur à 50. Virginibus.

DVM fui in prouincia Manzi transiui iuxta palatium vnus hominis popularis, qui habuit 50. domicellas virgines sibi continuè ministrantes, in omnibus pascentes eum sicut auis auiculas, & habet semper 5. fercula triplicata; & quando pascunt eum, continuè cantant dulcissimè: Iste habet in redditibus Tagaris nisi 30. Thuman, quorû quodlibet decies millies facit: vnû autem Tagar pondus est asini. Palatium suum duo miliaria tenet in ambitu; cuius pauimentum semper vnum laterem habet aureum, alium atgenteum: Iuxta ambitum istius palatij est vnus monticulus artificialis de auro & argento, super quo stant Monasteria, & campanilia, & alia delectabilia pro solatio illius popularis; Et dictum fuit mihi, quòd quatuor tales homines sunt in regno illo. Nobilitas virorum est longos habere vngues in digitis, præcipuè pollicis quibus circueunt sibi manus: Nobilitas autem & pulchritudo mulierum est paruos habere pedes: Et idèò matres quando filiarum sunt tenellæ ligant pedes earum, & non dimitunt crescere. Ultra transiens versus meridiem applicui ad quandam contratam, quæ vocatur Milestorite, quæ pulchra est valdè & fertilis; Et in ista cõtrata erat vnus vocatus Senex de monte, qui inter duos montes fecerat sibi vnum murum circumeuntem istos montes, Infra istum murum erant fontes pulcherrimi de mundo; Et iuxta fontes erant pulcherrimæ virgines in maximo numero, & equi pulcherrimi, & omne illud quod ad suauitatem, & delectationem corporis fieri poterit, & idèò illum locum vocant homines illius contratæ Paradysum. Iste Senex cum viderit aliquè iuuenem formosum & robustum, posuit eum in illo paradiso; Per quosdam autem conductus descendere facit vinum & lac abundantè. Iste Senex cum voluerit se vindicare, vel interficere regem aliquem vel Baronem, dicit illi qui præerat illi paradiso vt aliquem de notis illius regis, vel Baronis introduceret in paradysum illum, & illum delicijs frui permitteret, & tunc daret sibi potionem vnâ, quæ ipsum sopiebat in tantum, quòd insensibilem redderet, & ipsum sic

Mulierum paru
pedes.

Milestorite.

dormientem faceret extra paradifum deportari: qui excitatus & fe extra paradifum confpiciens, in tanta triftitia pofitus foret, quòd nefeiret quid faceret: Tunc ad illum fenem iret, rogans eum, vt iterum in paradifum introduceretur; qui fibi dicit, tu illic introduci non poteris, nifi talem vel talem interficias; & fiue interfeceris, fiue non, reponam te in paradifo, & ibidem poteris femper manere; Tunc ille fic faceret, & omnes feni odiofos interficeret; Et idèò omnes reges orientales illum fenem timuerunt, & fibi tributum magnum dederunt.

De morte Senis de monte.

CVin autem Tartari magnam partem mundi cepiffent, venerunt ad iftum Senem, & dominium illius Paradifi ab eo abftulerunt, qui multos ficarios de Paradifo illo emifit, & nobiliores Tartarorum interficere fecit. Tartari autem hoc videntes civitatem, in qua erat fenex obfederunt, cum ceperunt, & peffima morte interfecerunt. Hanc gratiam habent fratres ibidem, quòd, ciciffimè per virtutem nominis Chrifti Iefu, & in virtute illius sanguinis pretiofi, quem effudit in cruce, pro falute generis humani, dæmonia ab obfeffis corporibus expellunt; Et quia multi ibidem funt obfeffi, ducuntur per decem dietas ad fratres ligati, qui liberati ftatim credunt in Chriftum, qui liberauit eos habentes ipfum pro Deo fuo, & baptizati funt, & idola fua, & pecorum fuorum ftatim dant fratribus, quæ funt communiter de feltro, & de criminibus mulierum: & fratres ignem in comunni loco faciunt ad quem populus confluit, vt videat Deos vicinorum fuorum comburi, & fratres coram populo Idola in ignem projiciunt; Et prima vice de igne exierunt; Tunc fratres ignem cum aqua benedicta coniferunt, & iterum Idola in ignem proiecerunt, & dæmones in effigie fumi nigerrimi fugerunt, & Idola remanferunt, & combufta funt. Poftèa auditur clamor per aërem talis, vide, vide, quo modo de habitatione mea expulfus fum, Et per iftum modum fratres maximam multitudinem baptizant, qui citò recidiant ad idola pecorum: qui fratres continuo quali ftent cum illis, & illos informant. Aliud terribile fuit quod ego vidi ibi. Nam cum irem per vnã vallem, quæ fira est iuxta fluium deliciarum, multa corpora mortua vidi, & in illa valle audivi fonos musicos dulces & diuerfos, & maxime de cytharis, vnde multum timui. Hæc vallis habet longitudinem feptem, vel octo miliarium ad plus, in quam fi quis intrat, moritur, & nunquam viuus poteft tranfire per medium illius vallis, & idèò omnes de contrata declinant à latere: Et tentatus eram intrare, & videre, quid hoc effet. Tandem orans & Deo me recommendans, & cruce signans, in nomine Iefu intraui, & vidi tot corpora mortua ibi, quòd nullus crederet nifi videret. In hac valle ab vno eius latere, in vno faxo vnã faciem hominis vidi, quæ ita terribiliter me respexit, quòd omninò credidi ibi fuiffe mortuus: Sed femper hoc verbum (verbum caro factum est & habitauit in nobis) protuli, & cruce me signaui, nec propius quàm per 7. paffus, vel 8. accedere capiti aufus fui: Iui autem fugiens ad aliud caput vallis, & fuper vnũ monticulum arenofum afcendi, in quo vndique circumfpiciens nihil vidi nifi cytharas illas, quas per fe (vt mihi videbatur) pullari & refonare mirabiliter audivi. Cum verò fui in cacumine montis, iuveni ibi argentum in maxima quantitate, quali fuiffent squamæ pifeium. Congregans autem inde in gremio meo pro mirabili oftendendo, fed ductus conscientia, in terram proieci, nihil mecum referuans, & fic per gratiam dei liber exiui. Cum autem homines illius contratæ fcierunt me viuũ exiffe, reuerbantur me multum, dicentes me baptizatum & fanctum; & corpora illa fuiffe dæmonum infernalium qui pullant cytharas vt homines alliciant intrare; & interficiant. Hæc de vifis certitudinaliter ego frater Odoricus hic infcripsi; & multa mirabilia omifi ponere, quia homines non credidiffent nifi vidiffent.

De honore & reuerentia factis Domino Cani.

VNum tantum referam de magno Cane quod vidi, Confuetudo est in partibus illis quòd quando prædictus dominus per aliquam contratam tranfit, homines ante oftia fua accendunt ignem & apponunt aromata, ac faciunt fumum, vt dominus tranfiens fuauem fentiat odorem, & multi obuiam fibi vadunt. Dum autem femel veniret in Cambeleth, & fama vndique diuulgaretur de fuo aduentu, vnus nofter Epifcopus, & aliqui noftri minores fratres & ego iuimus obuiam fibi benè per duas dietas: Et dum appropinquaremus ad eum, pofuimus crucem fuper lignum, & ego habebam mecum in manu thuribulum, & incepimus cantare alta voce dicentes: Veni creator fpiritus: Et dum fic cantaremus audivi voces noftras, fecitque nos vocari, ac iuffit nos ad eum accedere; cum vt fuprà dictum est, nullus audeat appropinquare currui fuo ad iactum lapidis, nifi vocatus, exceptis illis qui currum cuftodiunt. Et dum iuffemus ad eum, ipfe depofuit galerum fuum, fiue capellũ inestimabilis quali valoris, &

fecit reuerentiam Cruci; & statim incensum posuit in thuribulo; Episcopus nocte accepit thuribulum, & thurificauit eum; ac sibi prædictus Episcopus dedit benedictionem suam. Accedentes uero ad prædictum dominum, semper sibi aliquid offerendum deferunt; secum illam antiquam legem obseruantes; Non apparebis in conspectu meo uacuis; Idcirco portauimus nobiscum poma, & ea sibi super unum incisorium reuerenter obtulimus; & ipse duo accepit, & de uino aliquantulum comedit: Et tunc fecit nobis signum quòd recederemus, ne equi uenientes in aliquo nos offenderent; statimque ab eo discessimus, atque diuertimus, & iuimus ad aliquos Barones per fratres nostri ordinis ad fidem conuersos, qui in exercitu eius erant, & eis obtulimus de pomis prædictis, qui cum maximo gaudio ipsa accipientes ita uidebantur lætari, ac si præbuissemus eis familiariter magnum munus. Hæc prædicta frater Guilelmus de Solagna in scriptis rededit, sicut prædictus frater Odoricus ore tenus exprimebat. Anno Domini 1330. mense Maij in loco Sancti Antonij de Padua; Nec curauit de latino difficili, & filo ornato; Sed sicut ipse narrabat ad hoc ut homines facilius intelligerent quæ dicuntur. Ego frater Odoricus de Foro Julij de quadam terra quæ dicitur Portus Vahonis de ordine minorum testificor, & testimonium perhibeo reuerendo patri Guidoto ministro prouinciæ Sancti Antonij in Marchia Triuifana, cum ab eo fuero per obedientiam requisitus, quòd hæc omnia quæ superius scripta sunt, aut proprijs oculis ego uidi, aut a fide dignis audiui: Communis etiam loquutio illarum terrarum illa quæ nec uidi testatur esse; Multa etiam alia ego dimissem, nisi illa proprijs oculis conspexissem. Ego autem de die in diem me propono contratas seu terras accedere, in quibus mori, & uiuere me dispono, si placuerit Deo meo,

De morte fratris Odorici.

ANno igitur Domini 1331. disponente se prædicto fratre Odorico ad perficiendum iter suæ peregrinationis, prout mente conceperat, & etiam ut uia & labor esset sibi magis ad meritum, decreuit primò præsentiam adire Domini & patris omnium summi Pontificis Domini Ioannis Papæ 22. cuius benedictione obedientiæque recepta cum societate fratrum secum ire uolentium ad partes infidelium se transferret: Cumque sic eundo uersus summum Pontificem, non multum distaret à ciuitate Pisana, in quadam uia occurrit sibi quidam senex in habitu peregrini cum salutans ex nomine, Aue (inquiens) frater Odorice: Et cum frater quæreret quo modo ipsius haberet noticiam? Respondit, Dum eras in India nouite, tuumque noui sanctum propositum; Sed & tu modò ad conuentum uide uenisti reuertere, quia die sequenti decimo hoc mundo migrabis. Verbis igitur senis attonitus & stupefactus, præsertim cum Senex ille statim post dictum ab eius aspectu disparuit; reuertit decreuit; Et reuersus est in bona prosperitate nullam sentiens grauedinem corporis, seu aliquam infirmitatem; Cumque esset in conuentu suo Vrinenfi. N. in prouincia Paduana decimo die, prout facta sibi fuit reuelatio, accepta communionem, ipsoque ad Deum disponente, etiam corpore existens in columis in Domino feliciter requieuit: Cuius sacer obitus Domino summo Pontifici præfato sub manu Notarij publici transmittitur; qui sic scribit.

Anno Domini 1331. decima quarta die mensis Ianuarij obiit in Christo Beatus Odoricus ordinis fratrum Minorum, cuius precibus omnipotens Deus multa, & varia miracula demonstrauit; quæ ego Guetelus notarius communis Vrini, filius domini Damiani de portu Gruario, de mandato & uoluntate nobilis uiri Domini Conradi de Buardigio Castaldionis, & consilij Vrini, scripsi, sicut potui, bona fide, & fratribus Minoribus exemplum dedi; sed non de omnibus, quia sunt innumerabilia, & mihi difficilia ad scribendum.

¶ Here beginneth the iournall of Frier *Odoricus*, one of the order of the Minorites, concerning strange things which hee sawe among the *Tartars* of the East.



Abeit many and sundry things are reported by diuers authoꝝ concerning the fashions and conditions of this world: notwithstanding I frier Odoricus of Friuli, de portu Vahonis being desirous to trauiel unto the foꝛein and remote nations of infidels, sawe and heard great and miraculous things, which I am able truly to auouch. First of al therefore sayling from Pera by Constantinople, I arriued at Trapefunda. This place is right commodiously situate, as being an haueu for the Persians and Medes, and other countreys beyond the sea. In this lande I behelde with great delight a very strange spectacle, namely a certaine man leading about with him moꝛe then foure thousande partriges. The man himselfe

Pera.
Trapefunda.

The citie of Azaron in Armenia maior.

Sobissacalo.

Tauris a citie of Persia.

Di, Sultania.

The Caspian sea.

Di, Cassibin.

Gesse.

Como.

walked vpon the ground, and the partridges flew in the aire, which he ledde vnto a certaine castle called Zauena, being thre dayes iourney distant from Trapefunda. The saide partridges were so tame, that when the man was desirous to lie downe and rest, they would all come flocking about him like chickens. And so hee led them vnto Trapefunda, and vnto the palace of the Emperour, who tooke as many of them as he pleased, and the rest the saide man carried vnto the place from whence he came. In this citie lyeth the body of Achanasius, vpon the gate of the citie. And then I passed on further vnto Armenia maior, to a certaine citie called Azaron, which had bene very rich in olde time, but nowe the Tartars haue almost layed it waste. In the saide citie there was abundance of bread and flesh, and of all other victuals except wine and frutes. This citie also is very colde, and is reported to be higher situated, then any other city in the worlde. It hath most wholesome and sweete waters about it: for the veines of the said waters sceme to spring and flow from the mighty riuer of Euphrates, which is but a dayes iourney from the saide city. Also, the said citie stands directly in the way to Tauris. And I passed on vnto a certaine mountaine called Sobissacalo. In the foresaide countrey there is the very same mountaine whereupon the Arke of Noah rested: vnto the which I would willingly haue ascended, if my company would haue stayed for me. Howbeit the people of that countrey report, that no man could euer ascend the said mountaine, because (say they) it pleaseth not the highest God. And I traualled on further vnto Tauris that great and royal city, which was in old time called Susis. This city is accompted for traffique of marchandize the chiefe city of the worlde: for there is no kinde of victuals, nor any thing else belonging vnto marchandize, which is not to be had there in great abundance. This city stands very commodiously: for vnto it all the nations of the whole worlde in a maner may resort for traffique. Concerning the said citie, the Christians in those parts are of opinion, that the Persian Emperour receiues moze tribute out of it, then the King of France out of all his dominions. Neare vnto the said city there is a salt-hill yelding salt vnto the city: and of that salt ech man may take what pleaseth him, not paying ought to any man therfore. In this city many Christians of all nations do inhabite, ouer whom the Saracens beare rule in all things. Then I traueiled on further vnto a city called *Soldania, wherein the Persian Emperour lieth all Sommer time: but in winter hee takes his progresse vnto another city standing vpon the Sea called *Baku. Also the foresaid city is very great and colde, hauing good and wholesome waters therein, vnto the which also stoze of marchandize is brought. Whereouer I trauelled with a certaine company of Carauans toward vpper India: and in the way, after many dayes iourney, I came vnto the citie of the three wisemen called *Cassan, which is a noble and renowned city, sauing that the Tartars haue destroyed a great part thereof: and it aboundeth with bread, wine, and many other commodities. From this city vnto Ierusalem (whiche the three foresaid wisemen were miraculously led) it is fiftie dayes iourney. There be many wonders in this citie also, which, for breuities sake, I omit. From thence I departed vnto a certaine city called *Gesse, whence the Sea of Sand is distant, one dayes iourney, which is a most wonderfull and dangerous thing. In this city there is abundance of all kinde of victuals, and especially of figs, reilins, and grapes; moze (as I suppose) then in any part of the whole worlde besides. This is one of the three principall cities in all the Persian Empire. Of this city the Saracens report, that no Christian can by any meanes line therein aboue a yeere. Then passing many dayes iourney on forward, I came vnto a certaine citie called *Comum, which was an huge and mightie city in olde time, contempning well nigh fiftie miles in circuite, and hath done in times past great damage vnto the Romanes. In it there are stately palaces altogether destitute of inhabitants, notwithstanding it aboundeth with great stoze of victuals. From hence traueiling through many countreys, at length I came vnto the land of Iob named Hus, which is full of all kinde of victuals, and very pleasantly situated. Thereabouts are certaine mountaines hauing good pastures for cattell vpon them. Here also Manna is found in great abundance. Foure partridges are here solde for lesse then a groat. In this countrey there are most comely olde men. Here also the men spin and card, and not the women. This land bordereth vpon the North part of Chaldea.

Of the maners of the Chaldeans, and of India.

The tower of Babel.

From thence I traueled into Chaldea, which is a great kingdome, and I passed by the tower of Babel. This region hath a language peculiar vnto it selfe, and there are beautifull men, and despoined women. The men of the same countrey vse to haue their haire kempt, and crimmed like vnto our women: and they weare golden turbants vpon their heades richly set with pearle, and pretious stones. The women are clad in a course smock onely reaching to their knees, and hauing long sleeues hanging downe to the ground. And they goe bare-footed, wearing byeches which reach to the ground also. They weare no attire vpon their heads, but their haire hangs disheveled

ieled about their eares: and there be many other strange things altho. From thence I came into the lower India, which the Tartars ouerran and walked. And in this countrey the people eat dates for the most part, whereof 42. li. are there sold for lesse then a groat. I passed further also many dayes iourney vnto the Ocean sea, and the first land where I arriued, is called *Ormes, being well fortified, and hauing great store of marchandize and treasure therein. Such and so extreme is the heat in that countrey, that the pyntities of men come out of their bodies and hang downe euen vnto their mid-legs. And therefore the inhabitantes of the same place, to preserve their owne liues, do make a certaine ointment, and anointing their priue members therewith, do lay them by in certaine bags fastened vnto their bodies, for otherwise they must needs die. Here also they vse a kinde of Back or shippe called Iase being compact together onely with hempe. And I went on board into one of them, wherein I could not finde any pyon at all, and in the space of 28. dayes I arriued at the city of Thana, wherein foure of our Friars were martyred for the faith of Christ. This countrey is well situate, hauing abundance of bread and wine, and of other victuals therein. This kingdome in olde time was very large and vnder the dominion of king Porus, who fought a great battel with Alexander the great. The people of this countrey are idolaters worshipping fire, serpents and trees. And ouer all this land the Saracens do beare rule, whoooke it by maine force, and they themselves are in subiection vnto king Daldilus. There be diuers kinds of beasts, as namely blacke Lyons in great abundance, and apes also, and monkeis, and battes as bigge as our doves. Also there are wise as bigge as our countrey dogs, and therefore they are hunted with dogs, because cats are not able to incounter them. Howeouer, in the same countrey euery man hath a bundle of great boughs standing in a water-pot before his doore, which bundle is as great as a pillar, and it will not wither, so long as water is applied therunto: with many other nouelties and strange things, the relation whereof would breed great delight.

Ormus.

Thana, whereof Frederick Cesar maketh mention.

How peper is had: and where it groweth.

Howeouer, that it may be manifest how peper is had, it is to be vnderstood that it groweth in a certaine kingdome whereat I my selfe arriued, being called *Minibar, and it is not so plentifull in any other part of the worlde as it is there. For the wood wherein it growes containeth in circuit 18. dayes iourney. And in the said wood or forrest there are two cities, one called *Flandrina, and the other Cyncilim. In Flandrina both Iewes and Christians doe inhabite, betwene whom there is often contention and warre: howbeit the Christians ouercome the Iewes at all times. In the foresaid wood peper is had after this maner: first it groweth in leaues like vnto pot-hearbs, which they plant neere vnto great trees as we do our vines, and they bring forth peper in clusters, as our vines doe peelo grapes, but being ripe, they are of a Greene colour, and are gathered as we gather grapes; and then the graines are layed in the Sunne to be dried, and being dried are put into earthen vessels: and thus is peper made and kept. Now, in the same wood there be many riuers, wherein are great store of Crocodiles, and of other serpents, which the inhabitantes thereabout do burne by with straw and with other dry feluel, and so they go to gather their peper without danger. At the South end of the said forrest stands the city of Polumbrum, which aboundeth with marchandize of all kinds. All the inhabitantes of that countrey do worship a liuing ore, as their god, whom they put to labour for fire yeres, and in the seuenth yere they cause him to rest from all his worke, placing him in a solemne and publique place, and calling him an holy beast. Howeouer they vse this foolish ceremony; Euery morning they take two balons, either of silver, or of gold, and with one they receiue the vrine of the ore, and with the other his dung. With the vrine they wash their face, their eyes, and all their five senses. Of the dung they put into both their eyes, then they annoint the bals of their cheeks therewith, and thirdly their breast: and then they say that they are sanctified for all that day; And as the people doe, euen so doe their King and Queen. This people worshipping also a dead idole, which, from the nauel upward, resembleth a man, and from the nauel downward an ore. The very same Idol deliuers oracles vnto them, and sometimes requireth the blood of fourtie virgins for his hire. And therefore the men of that region do consecrate their daughters and their sonnes vnto their idols, euen as Christians do their children vnto some Religion or Saint in heauen. Like wise they sacrifice their sonnes and their daughters, and so, much people is put to death before the said Idol by reason of that accursed ceremony. Also, many other hainous and abominable villanies doeth that brutish beastly people commit: and I sawe many moe strange things among them which I meane not here to insert. Another most vile custome the foresaide nation doeth retaine: for when any man dieth they burne his dead corpe to ashes: and if his wife suruiueh him, her they burne quicke, because (say they) she shall accompany her husband in his eilthe and husbandry, when he is come into a new world. Howbeit the said wife hauing children by her husband, may if she will, remaine still aliuie with them, without

Malabar.

Or, Flandrina.

Polumbrum.

The burning of their dead.

Mobar, or Malia-
por.

without shame or reproch: notwithstanding, for the most part, they all of them make choice to be burnt wth their husbands. Now, albeit the wife dieth befoze her husband, that law bindeth not the husband to any such incōuenience, but he may marry another wife also. Likewise, y^e said nation hath another strange custome, in that their women drinke wine, but their men do not. Also the women haue the lids & byowes of their eyes & beards shauen, but the men haue not: with many other base & filthy fashions which the said women do vse contrary to the nature of their sere. Frō that kingdome I traueiled 10. daies iourney vnto another kingdome called Mobar, which containeth many cities. Within a certaine church of the same countrey, the body of S. Thomas the Apostle is interred, the very same church being full of idols: and in 15. houses round about the said Church, there dwell certaine priests who are Nestorians, that is to say, false, and bad Christians, and schismaticques.

Of a strange and vncouth idole: and of certaine customes and ceremonies.

In the said kingdome of Mobar there is a wonderfull strang idole, being made after the shape and resemblance of a man, as big as the image of our Christoper, & consisting all of most pure and glittering gold. And about the neck thereof hangeth a silke riband, ful of most rich & pzeious stones, some one of which is of moze value then a whole kingdome. The house of this idole is all of beaten gold, namelý the rooffe, the paucement, and the sicing of the wall within and without. Vnto this idole the Indians go on pilgrimage, as we do vnto S. Peter. Some go with halters about their necks, some with their hands bound behind them, some other with knives sticking on their armes or legs: and if after their peregrination, the flesh of their wounded arme festereth or cozrupteth, they esteeme that limme to be holy, & thinke that their God is wel pleased with them. There vnto the temple of that idole is a lake made by the hands of men in an open & common place, whereinto the pilgrims cast gold, silver, & pzeious stones, for the honour of the idole and the repairing of his temple. And therfoze when any thing is to be adoyned or mended, they go vnto this lake taking vp the treasure which was cast in. Hozeouer at euery pzeely feast of the making or repairing of the said idole, the king and queene, with the whole multitude of the people, & all the pilgrims assemble themselues, & placing the said idole in a most stately & rich chariot, they carry him out of their temple with songs, & with all kind of musical harmonic, & a great company of virgins go procession-wise two and two in a rank singing befoze him. Many pilgrims also put themselues vnder the chariot wheeles, to the end that their false god may go ouer them: and al the pouer whom the chariot runneth, are crushed in pieces, & diuided a funder in the midst, and flaine right out. Yea, & in doing this, they thinke themselues to die most holily & securely, in the seruice of their god. And by this meanes euery yere, there die vnder the said filthy idole, mo then 500. persons, whose carcases are burned, and their ashes are kept for reliques, because they died in that sort for their god. Hozeouer they haue another detestable ceremony. For when any man offers to die in the seruice of his false god, his parents, & all his friends assemble themselues together with a confort of mulicians, making him a great & solenne feast: which feast being ended, they hang 5. sharpe knives about his neck carrying him befoze the idole, & so soone as he is come thither, he taketh one of his knives crying with a loud voice, For the worship of my god do I cut this my flesh, and then he casteth the moyle which is cut, at y^e face of his idole: but at the very last wound wherewith he murthereth himselfe, he vttereth these wordes: Now do I yeeld my selfe to death in the behalfe of my god, and being dead, his body is burned, & is esteemed by al men to be holy. The king of the said region is most rich in gold, silver, and pzeious stones, & there be the fairest vnions in al the world. Traueling from thence by the Ocean sea 50. daies iourney southward, I came vnto a certain land named Lamiori, where, in regard of extreme heat, the people both men and women go stark-naked from top to toe: who seeing me apparelled scoffed at me, saying, that God made Adam & Eue naked. In this countrey al women are common, so that no man can say, this is my wife. Also when any of the said women beareth a son or a daughter, she bestowes it vpon any one that hath lien with her, who she pleaseth. Like wise al the land of that region is possessed in cōmon, so that there is not mine & thine, or any propriety of possession in the diuision of lands: howbeit euery man hath is o tūne house peculiar vnto himselfe. Mans flesh, if it be fat, is eaten as ordinarily there, as beefe in our countrey. And albeit the people are most lewd, yet the cōuntry is exceeding good, abounding with al cōmodities, as flesh, coppe, rife, silver, gold, wood of aloes, Campheir, and many other things. Marchants coming vnto this region for traffique do vsually bring wth them fat men, selling them vnto the inhabitants as we sel hogs, who immediately kil & eat them. In this island towards the south, there is another kingdome called Simoltra, where both men and women marke themselues with red-hot yron in 12. sundry spots of their faces: and this nation is at cōtinual warre with certaine naked people in another region. Then I traueiled further vnto another island called Laua, the compassse whercof by

Perhaps he
meaneth Co-
mori.

Sumatra,

Laua,

by sea is 3000. miles. The king of this Island hath 7. other crowned kings under his iurisdiction. The said Island is thoroughly inhabited; & is thought to be one of the principall Islands of y^e whole world. In the same Island there groweth great plenty of cloues, cubibes, and nutmegs, and in a word all kinds of spices are there to be had, and great abundance of all victuals except wine. The king of the said land of Iaua hath a most braue and sumptuous pallace; the most loftily built, that euer I saw any, & it hath most high greeces & stayers to ascend vpon to the roomes therein contained, one staye being of siluer, & another of gold, throughout the whole building. Also the lower roomes were paved all ouer with one square plate of siluer, & another of gold. All the wals vpon the inner side were seled ouer with plates of beaten gold, wherupon were ingrauen y^e pictures of knights; hauing about their temples, ech of them a wreath of golde, adozned with p^recious stones. The rooffe of the palace was of pure gold. With this king of Iaua the great Can of Catay hath had many conflictes in war: whom notwithstanding the said king hath alwayes ouercome & vanquished.

Of certaine trees yeelding meale, hony, and poyson.

NEere vnto the said Island is another countrey called Panten, or Tathalamasin. And the king of the same countrey hath many Islands vnder his dominion. In this land there are trees yeelding meale, hony, & wine, & the most deadly poyson in all y^e whole world: for against it there is but one only remedy: & that is this: if any man hath taken of y^e poyson, & would be deliuered from the danger thereof, let him temper the dung of a man in water, & so drinke a good quantity thereof, & it expels the poyson immediatly, making it to auoid at the fundament. Meale is produced out of the said trees after this maner. They be mighty huge trees, and when they are cut with an axe by the ground, there issueth out of the stocke a certain licour like vnto gumme, which they take and put into bags made of leaues, laying them so 15 daies together abroad in the sun, & at the end of those 15 daies, when the said licour is thoroughly parched, it becometh meale. Then they keepe it first in sea water, washing it afterward with fresh water, and so it is made very good & sauozie paste, wherof they make either meat or bread, as they thinke good. Of which bread I my selfe did eate, & it is fayer without & somewhat browne within. By this countrey is the sea called Mare mortuū, which runneth continually Southward, into y^e which whosoever falleth is neuer scene after. In this countrey also are found canes of an incredible length, namely of 60 paces high or more, & they are as bigge as trees. Other canes there be also called Cassan, which ouerspread the earth like grasse, & out of euery knot of them spring forth certaine branches, which are continued vpon the ground almost for the space of a mile. In the sayd canes there are found certaine stones, one of which stones, whosoever carryeth about with him, cannot be wounded with any yron: & therefore the men of that countrey for the most part, carry such stones with them, whither soeuer they goe. Many also cause one of the armes of their childzen, while they are pong, to be launced, putting one of the said stones into the wound, healing also, and closing vpon the said wound with the powder of a certaine fish (the name wherof I do not know) which powder doth immediatly consolidate and cure the said wound. And by the vertue of these stones, the people aforesaid doe for the most part triumph both on sea and land. Howbeit there is one kind of stratageme, which the enemies of this nation, knowing the vertue of the sayd stones, doe practise against them: namely, they provide themselves armour of yron or Steele against their arrowes, & weapons also poisoned with the poyson of trees, & they carry in their hands wooden stakes most sharpe & hard-pointed, as if they were yron: likewise they shoot arrowes without yron heads, and so they confound & slay some of their vnarmed foes trusting too securely vnto the vertue of their stones. Also of the foresayd canes called Cassan they make sayles for their ships, and litle houses, and many other necessaries. From thence after many daies trauell, I arriued at another kingdome called Campa, a most beautiful and rich countrey, & abounding with all kind of victuals: the king wherof, at my being there, had so many wiues & concubines, that he had 300 sonnes & daughters by this. This king hath 10004 tame Elephants, which are kept euen as we keepe droues of oren, or flocks of sheepe in pasture.

the sea running
still Southward.

Sayles made
of reedes.

Campa.

Of the abundance of fishes, which cast themselves vpon the shore.

IN this countrey there is one strange thing to be obserued, y^e euery seueral kind of fishes in those seas come swimming towards the said countrey in such abundance, that, for a great distance into the sea, nothing can be scene but y^e backs of fishes: which, casting themselves vpon the shore when they come neere vnto it, do suffer men, for the space of 3. daies, to come & to take as many of these as they please, & then they retorne againe vnto the sea. After that kind of fishes comes another kind, offering it selfe after the same maner, and so in like sort all other kinds whatsoeuer: notwithstanding they do this but once in a yere. And I demaunded of the inhabitants there, how, or by what means this strange accident could come to passe: They answered, that fishes were taught, euen by nature, to come & to do homage vnto their Emperour. There be Tortoises also as bigge as an ouen.

Tortoises,

Moumoran.

ouen. Many other things I saw which are incredible, vntlesse a man should see them with his own eyes. In this country also dead men are burned, & their wiues are burned aliuē with them, as in the city of Polumbrom about mentioned: for the men of that country say that he goeth to accompany him in another world, that he should take none other wife in marriage. Mozeouer I traueled on further by the ocean-sea towards the south, & passed through many countries and islands, wherof one is called Moumoran, & it containeth in compasse ii. M . miles, wherin men & women haue dogs faces, and worship an ore for their god: and therefore euery one of them carry the image of an ore of gold or siluer vpon their foreheads. The men and the women of this country go all naked, sauing that they hang a linnen cloth before their priuities. The men of the said country are very tall and mighty, and by reason that they goe naked, when they are to make battell, they carry vpon or steeltargets before them, which do couer and defend their bodies from top to toe: and whomloeuē of their foes they take in battell not being able to ransom himselfe for money, they presently deuoure him: but if he be able to redeeme himselfe for money, they let him go free. Their king weareth about his necke 300. great and most beautifull vnions, and saith euery day 300. prayers vnto his god. He weareth vpon his finger also a stone of a span long, which seemeth to be a flame of fire, and therefore when he weareth it, no man dare once approach vnto him: and they say that there is not any stone in the whole world of moze value then it. Neither could at any time the great Tartarian Emperour of Katay either by force, money, or policie, obtaine it at his hands: notwithstanding that he hath done the vtmost of his labour for this purpose.

Of the island of *Sylan*: and of the mountaine where *Adam* mourned for his sonne *Abel*.

I passed also by another island called *Sylan*, which containeth in compasse about ii. M . miles: wherin are an infinite number of serpents, & great stoze of lions, beares, & all kinds of rauening & wild beasts, and especially of elephants. In the said country there is an huge mountaine, whereupon the inhabitants of that regio do report that *Adam* mourned for his son *Abel* v space of 500. yeres. In the midst of this mountaine there is a most beautiful plain, wherin is a litle lake containing great plenty of water, which water the inhabitants report to haue proceeded fro the teares of *Adam* & *Eue*: howbeit I proued that to be false, because I saw the water flow in the lake. This water is full of hozl-leeches, & blood-suckers, & of precious stones also: which precious stones the king taketh not vnto his owne vse, but once or twice euery yere he permittech certaine poore people to diue vnder the water for the said stones, & all that they can get he bestoweth vpon them, to the end they may pray for his soule. But if they may with lesse danger diue vnder the water, they take limons which they pill, anointing themselues thoroughly with the iuice thereof, & so they may diue naked vnder the water, the hozl-leeches not being able to hurt them. From this lake the water runneth cuen vnto the sea, and at a low ebbe the inhabitants dig rubies, diamonds, pearls, & other precious stones out of the stone: wherupon it is thought, that the king of this island hath greater abidance of precious stones, then any other monarch in the whole earth belids. In the said country there be all kinds of beasts and foules: & the people told me, that those beasts would not inuade nor hurt any stranger, but only the natural inhabitants. I saw in this island foules as big as our country geefe, hauing two heads, and other miraculous things, which I will not here write off. Trauelling on further to the south, I arrived at a certain island called *Bodin*, which signifieth in our language vniclean. In this island there do inhabit most wicked persons, who deuour & eat raw flesh committing all kinds of vncleannes & abominations in such sort, as it is incredible. For the father eateth his son, & the son his father, the husband his owne wife, & the wife her husband: and that after this maner. If any mans father be sick, the son straight goes vnto the sooth-saying or prognosticating priest, requesting him to demand of his god, whether his father shall recouer of that infirmity or no: Then both of them go vnto an idol of gold or of siluer, making their prayers vnto it in maner folowing: Lord, thou art our god, & thee we do adoze, beseeching thee to resolue vs, whether such a man must die, or recouer of such an infirmity or no: Then the diuel answereth out of the idol: if he saith (he shall liue) then returneth his son and ministrereth things necessary vnto him, till he hath attained vnto his former health: but if he saith (he shall die) then goes the priest vnto him, & putting a cloth into his mouth doth strangle him therewith: which being done, he cuts his dead body into morsels, & all his friends and kinfolk are invited vnto the eating thereof, with musique and all kinde of mirth: howbeit his bones are solemnely buried. And when I found fault with that custome demanding a reason thereof, one of them gaue me this answer: this we doe, least the wormes should eat his flesh, for then his soule should suffer great torments, neither could I by any meanes remooue them from that errour. Many other nouelties and strange things there bee in this country, which no man would credite, vnles he saw them with his owne eyes. Howbeit, I (before almighty God) do here

D1, Dadin.

make

make relation of nothing but of that only, whereof I am as sure, as a man may be sure; Concerning the foresaid islands I inquired of divers well-experienced persons, who al of them, as it were with one consent, answered me saying, That this India contained 4400. islands vnder it, or within it: in which islands there are sixtie and foute crowned kings: and they say moreover, that the greater part of those islands are well inhabited. And here I conclude concerning that part of India.

Of the vpper India: and of the prouince of Mancy.

Of, China.

First of al therfore, hauing traueled many daies iourney vpo the Ocean-sea toward the East, at length I arriued at a certaine great prouince called Mancy, being in Latine named India: Concerning this India I inquired of Christians, of Saracens, & of Idolaters, and of al such as bare any office vnder the great Can. Who all of them with one consent answered, that this prouince of Mancy hath mo then 2000. great cities within the precincts thereof, & that it aboundeth with all plenty of victuals, as namely with bread, wine, rife, flesh, and fish. All the men of this prouince be artificers & marchants, who, though they be in neuer so extreme penurie, so long as they can helpe themselves by the laboz of their hands, wil neuer be galmes of any man. The men of this prouince are of a faire and comely personage, but somewhat pale, hauing their heads shauen but a litle: but the women are the most beautiful vnder the sunne. The first city of y^e said India which I came vnto, is called Ceuskalon, which being a daies iourney distant fro the sea, stands vpon a riuer, the water whereof, nere vnto the mouth, where it conuergeth it selfe into the sea, doth ouerflow the land for the space of 12. daies iourney. All the inhabitants of this India are worshippers of idols. The foresaid city of Ceuskalon hath such an huge nauy belonging therunto, that no man would beleue it vaille he should see it. In this city I saw 300. M. of good & new ginger sold for lesse then a groat. There are the greatest, and the fairest geese, & most plenty of them to be sold in al the whole world, as I suppose: they are as white as milke, and haue a bone vpon the crowne of their heads as bigge as an egge, being of the colour of blood: vnder their throate they haue a skin of bag hanging downe halfe a foot. They are exceeding fat & wel sold. Also they haue ducks and hens in that countrey, one as big as two of ours. There be monstrous great serpents likewise, which are taken by the inhabitants & eaten: wherupon a solemne feast among them without serpents is nought set by: and to be briefe, in this city there are al kinds of victuals in great abundance. From thence I passed by many cities, & at length I came vnto a city named Cairan, wherin y^e friers Moniues haue two places of aboad, vnto the which I transported the bones of the dead sisters, which suffered martyrdom for the faith of Christ, as it is aboue mentioned. In this city there is abundance of al kind of victuals very cheap. The said city is as big as two of Bononia, & in it are many monasteries of religious persons, al which do worship idols. In my selfe was in one of those Monasteries, & it was told me, that there were in it iii. M. religious men, hauing xi. M. idols: and one of y^e said idols which seemed vnto me but litle in regard of the rest, was as big as our Christopher. These religious men euery day do feed their idol-gods: wherupon at a certaine time I went to behold the banquet: and indeed those things which they brought vnto them were good to eat, & fuming bore, in so much that the steame of the smoke thereof ascended by vnto their idols, & they said that their gods were refreshed with the smoke: howbeit, all the meat they conueyed away, eating it by their owne selues, and so they fed their dumb gods with the smoke onely.

Of, Ceuskalon.

The meane of Pellicans, which the Spaniards call Alcarraz.

Of, Zaiton.

Of the citie Fuco.

Traueling moze eastward, I came vnto a city named Fuco, which conteineth 30. miles in circuit, wherin be exceeding great & faire rocks, and al their hens are as white as the very snow, hauing wol in stead of feathers, like vnto sheep. It is a most stately & beautiful city & standeth vpon the sea. Then I went 18. daies iourney on further, & passed by many prouinces & cities, and in the way I went oer a certain great mountaine, vpon y^e one side whereof I beheld al liuing creatures to be as black as a cole, & the men and women on that side differed somewhat in maner of liuing fro others: howbeit, on the other side of the said hill euery liuing thing was snow-white, & the inhabitants in their maner of liuing, were altogether vnlke vnto others. There, all married women carry in token that they haue husbands, a great trunke of horne vpon their heads. From thence I traueled 18. daies iourney further, and came vnto a certaine great riuer, and entered also into a city,

Of Great riuer.

Foules catching fish.

which

which being full, mine holie vntped the cheeres from about their neckes, and entering the second time into the riuer they fed themselves with fish, and being satisfied they returned and suffered themselves to be bound vnto the saide poles as they were before. And when I did eate of those fishes, me thought they were exceeding good. Trauailing thence many dayes iourneys, at length I arriued at another city called *Canasia*, which significth in our language, the city of heauen. Reuer in all my life did I see so great a citie: for it containeth in circuit an hundred miles: neither sawe I any plot thereof, which was not throughtly inhabited: yea, I sawe many houses of tenne or twelue stories high, one aboue another. It hath mightie large suburbs containing more people then the citie it selfe. Also it hath twelue principall gates: and about the distance of eight miles, in the high way vnto euery one of the saide gates standeth a city as big by estimation as Venice, and Padua. The foresaid city of *Canasia* is situated in waters or marshes, which alwayes stand still neither ebbing nor flowing: howbeit it hath a defence for the winde like vnto Venice.

De Canasai, or
Quinzai.

The Italian copy
in Ramusius,
hath 11000.
bridges.

In this citie there are mo then 10002. bridges, many whereof I numbred and passed ouer them: and vpon euery of those bridges stand certaine watchmen of the citie, keeping continuall watch and ward about the said city, for the great Can the Emperour of Caray. The people of this countrey say, that they haue one duectie inopined vnto them by their lord: for euery fire payeth one Balis in regard of tribute: and a Balis is five papers or pieces of silke, which are worth one flozen and an halfe of our coine. Tenne or twelue households are accompted for one fire, and so pay tribute but for one fire onely. All those tributary fires amount vnto the number of 85. Thuman, with other foure Thuman of the Saracens, which make 89. in all; And one Thuman consisteth of 10000. fires. The residue of the people of the city are some of them Christians, some marchants, and some traueilers through the countrey: whereupon I maruelled much, howe such an infinite number of persons could inhabite and liue together. There is great aboundance of victuals in this citie, as namely of bread and wine, and especiall of hogf. flesh, with other necessaries.

Of a Monastery where many strange beastes of diuers kindes doe liue vpon an hill.

In the foresaide citie foure of our friers had conuerted a mighty and riche man vnto the faith of Christ, at whose house I continually abode, for so long time as I remained in the citie. Who vpon a certaine time saide vnto me: Ara, that is to say, Father, will you goe and beholde the citie: And I said, yea. Then embarqued we our selues, and directed our course vnto a certaine great Monastery: where being arriued, he called a religious person with whom he was acquainted, saying vnto him concerning me: this Raban Francus, that is to say, this religious Frenchman cometh from the Westerne parts of the world, and is now going to the city of Cambaleih to pray for the life of the great Can, and therefore you must shew him some rare thing, that when hee returnes into his owne countrey, he may say, this strange sight or nouelty haue I seene in the city of *Canasia*. Then the said religious man tooke two great baskets full of broken reliques which remained of the table, and led me vnto a litle walled parke, the dooze whereof he vntocked with his key, and there appeared vnto vs a pleasant faire greene plot, into the which we entred. In the said greene stands a lile mount in forme of a steep, replenished with fragrant herbes, and fine shady trees. And while we stood there, he tooke a cymball or bell, and rang therewith, as they vse to ring to dinner or vnto in cloisters, at the sound whereof many creatures of diuers kinds came downe from the mount, some like apes, some like cats, some like monkeys; and some hauing faces like men. And while I stood beholding of them, they gathered themselves together about him, to the number of 4200. of those creatures, putting themselves in good order, before whom he set a platter, and gaue them the said fragments to eate. And when they had eaten he rang vpon his cymbal the second time, and they all returned vnto their former places. Then, wondring greatly at the matter, I demanded what kind of creatures those might be: They are (quoth he) the soules of noble men which we do here feed, for the loue of God who gouerneth the world: and as a man was honozable or noble in this life, so his soule after death, entereth into the body of some excellent beast or other, but the soules of simple and rusticall people do possesse the bodies of more vile and brutish creatures. Then I began to refute that soule error: howbeit my speach did nothing at all preuaile with him: for hee could not be perswaded that any soule might remaine without a body. From thence I departed vnto a certaine citie named *Chilenso*, the walls whereof contained 40. miles in circuit. In this city there are 360. bridges of stone, the fairest that euer I saw: and it is well inhabited, hauing a great naule belonging thereunto, & abounding with all kinds of victuals and other commodities. And thence I went vnto a certaine riuer called *Thalay*, which, where it is most narrow, is 7. miles broad: and it runneth through the midst of the land of *Pigmæi*, whose chiefe city is called *Cakam*, and is one of the goodliest cities in the world. These *Pigmæans* are

Chilenso.

Thalay.
Cakam.

thce

three of my spans high, and they make larger and better cloth of cotten and silke, then any other nation vnder the sunne. And coasting along by the saide riuer, I came vnto a certaine citie named Ianzu, in which citie there is one receptacle for the friers of our order, and there be also three Churches of the Nestorians. This Ianzu is a noble and great citie, containing 48 Thuman of tributarie fiers, and in it are all kindes of victuals, and great plenty of such beastes, oules and fishes, as Christians doe vsually liue vpon. The lord of the same citie hath in peereley reuenues for salt onely, fiftie Thuman of Balis, and one balis is worth a floren and a halfe of our coyne: insomuch that one Thuman of balis amounteth vnto the value of fiftene thousand florens. Howbeit the sayd lord fauoureth his people in one respect, for sometimes he forgiueth them freely two hundred Thuman, least there should be any scarcety or dearth among them. There is a custome in this citie, that when any man is determined to banquet his friends, going about vnto certaine tauerne or cookes houles appointed for the same purpose, he sayeth vnto euery particuler hoste, you shall haue such, and such of my friends, whom you must intertaine in my name, and so much I will bestowe vpon the banquet. And by that meanes his friends are better feasted at diuerse places, then they should haue bene at one. Tenne miles from the sayde citie, about the head of the foresayd riuer of Thalay, there is a certaine other citie called Montu, which hath the greatest nany that I saw in the whole world. All their thips are as white as snow, and they haue banqueting houses in them, and many other rare thyngs also, which no man would beleue, vnlesse he had seene them with his owne eyes.

Of the citie of Cambaleth.

Trauelling eight dayes iourney further by diuers territories and cities, at length I came by fresh water vnto a certaine citie named Lencyn, standing vpon the riuer of * Karauran, which runneth through the midst of Cataie, and doeth great harme in the countrey when it ouerfloweth the bankes, or breaketh forth of the channell. From thence passing along the riuer Eastward, after many dayes trauell, and the sight of diuers cities, I arriued at a citie called * Sumakoto, which aboundeth more with silke then any other citie in the world: for when there is great scarcitie of silke, fortye pound is sold for lesse then eight groates. In this citie there is abundance of all merchandize, and of all kindes of victuals also, as of bread, wine, flesh, fish, with all choise and delicate spices. Then traueiling on still towards the East by many cities, I came vnto the noble and renowned citie of Cambaleth, which is of great antiquitie, being situate in the prouince of Cataie. This citie the Tartars tooke, and neere vnto it within the space of halfe a mile, they built another citie called Caido. The citie of Caido hath twelue gates, being each of them two miles distant from another. Also the space lying in the midst betweene the two foresayd cities is very well and thoroughly inhabited, so that they make as it were but one citie betweene them both. The whole compasse or circuit of both cities together, is 40. miles. In this citie the great emperour Can hath his principall seat, and his Imperiall palace, the wals of which palace containe foure miles in circuit: and neere vnto this his palace are many other palaces and houses of his nobles which belong vnto his court. Within the precincts of the sayd palace Imperiall, there is a most beautifull mount, set and replenished with trees, for which cause it is called the Greene mount, hauing a most royall and sumptuous palace standing thereupon, in which, for the most part, the great Can is resident. Upon the one side of the sayd mount there is a great lake, whereupon a most stately bydige is built, in which lake is great abundance of geese, ducks, and all kindes of water foules: and in the wood growing vpon the mount there is great store of all birds, and wilde beasts. And therefore when the great Can will solace himselfe with hunting or hauking, he needs not so much as once to step forth of his palace. Moreover, the principall palace, wherein he maketh his abode, is very large, hauing within it 14 pillers of golde, and all the walles thereof are hanged with red skinned, which are sayd to be the most costly skinned in all the world. In the midst of the palace standes a cistern of two yards high, which consisteth of a precious stone called Merdochas, and is wreathed about with golde, & at each corner thereof is the golden image of a serpent, as it were, furiously shaking and casting forth his head. This cistern also hath a kind of networke of pearle wrought about it. Likewise by the sayd cistern there is drinke conueyed throught certaine pipes and conducts, such as vseth to be drinke in the emperours court, vpon the which also there hang many vessels of golde, wherein, whosoever will may drinke of the sayd liquor. In the foresayd palace there are many peacocks of golde: & when any Tartar maketh a banquet vnto his lord, if the guests chance to clay their hands for ioy and mirth, the sayd golden peacocks also will spread abroad their wings, and lift by their traines, seeming as if they danced: and this I suppose to be done by arte magike or by some secret engine vnder the ground.

Of the glory and magnificence of the great Can.

Moreouer, when the great emperour Can sitteth in his imperiall throne of estate, on his left hand sitteth his queene or emperesse, and vpon another inferiour seate there sit two other women, which are to accompany the emperour, when his sponse is absent, but in the lowest place of all, there sit all the ladies of his kinred. All the married women weare vpon their heads a kind of ornament in shape like vnto a mans foote, of a cubite and a halfe in length, and the lower part of the sayd foote is adozned with cranes feathers, and is all ouer thicke set with great and ozient pearles. Vpon the right hand of the great Can sitteth his first begotten sonne and heire apparant vnto his empire, and vnder him sit all the nobles of the blood royall. There bee also foure Secretaries, which put all things in writing that the emperour speaketh. In whose presence likewise stand his Barons and diuers others of his nobilitie, with great traines of folowers after them, of whom none dare speake so much as one word, vnlesse they haue obtained licence of the emperour so to doe, except his letters and stage-players, who are appointed of purpose to solace their lord. Neither yet dare they attempt to doe ought, but onely according to the pleasure of their emperour, and as hee enioineth them by lawe. About the palace gate stand certaine Barons to keepe all men from treading vpon the threshold of the sayd gate. When it pleaseth the great Can to solemnize a feast, he hath about him 14000. Barons, caryng wheat bes & litle crownes vpon their heads, and giuing attendance vpon their lord, and euery one of them weareth a garment of gold and precious stones, which is woorth ten thousand flozens. His court is kept in very good order, by gouernours of tens, gouernours of hundreds, and gouernours of thousands, insomuch that euery one in his place performeth his duttie committed vnto him, neither is there any defect to bee found. I Frier Odoricus was there present in person for the space of three yeeres, and was often at the sayd banquets; for we friers Minorites haue a place of aboad appointed out for vs in the emperours court, and are enioined to goe and to bestow our blessing vpon him. And I enquired of certaine Courtiers concerning the number of persons pertaining to the emperours court? And they answered mee, that of stage-players, musicians, and such like, there were eightene Thuman at the least, and that the keepers of dogs, beastes and foules were fiftene Thuman, and the physicians for the emperours body, were foure hundred; the Christians also were eight in number, together with one Saracen. At my being there, all the foresayd number of persons had all kind of necessaries both for apparell and victuals out of the emperours court. Moreouer, when he will make his progresse from one countrey to another, hee hath foure troupes of horsemen, one being appointed to goe a dayes iourney before, and another to come a dayes iourney after him, the third to march on his right hand, and the fourth on his left, in the maner of a crosse, he himselfe being in the midd, and so euery particular troupe haue their daily iourneys limited vnto them, to the ende they may prouide sufficient victuals without defect. Nowe the great Can himselfe is caried in maner following; hee rideth in a chariot with two wheeles, vpon which a maiesticall throne is built of the wood of Aloe, being adozned with gold and great pearles, and precious stores, and foure elephants brauely furnished doe drawe the sayd chariot, before which elephants foure grea horses richly trapped and couered doe lead the way. Ward by the chariot on both sides thereof, are foure Barons laying hold and attending thereupon, to keepe all persons from appoching neere vnto their emperour. Vpon the chariot also two milke-white Jet-falcons doe sit, and seeing any game which hee would take, hee letteth them flie, and so they take it, and after this maner doeth hee solace himselfe as hee rideth. Moreouer, no man dare come within a stones cast of the chariot, but such as are appointed. The number of his owne folowers, of his wiues attendants, and of the traine of his first begotten sonne and heire apparant, would seeme incredible vnto any man, vnlesse hee had seene it with his owne eyes. The foresayd great Can hath deuided his Empire into twelue partes or Prouinces, and one of the sayd prouinces hath two thousand great cities within the precincts thereof. Whereupon his empire is of that length and breadth, that vnto whatsoeuer part thereof he intendeth his iourney, he hath space enough for six moneths continuall progresse, except his Islands which are at the least 5000.

Of certaine Innes or hospitals appointed for trauailers throughout the whole empire.

The foresayd Emperour (to the end that trauailers may haue all things necessary throughout his whole empire) hath caused certaine Innes to be prouided in sundry places vpon the high wayes, where all things pertaining vnto victuals are in a continuall readinesse. And when any alteration or newes happen in any part of his Empire, if he chance to be farre absent from that

part, his ambassadoꝝ vpon hozles oꝝ dyomedaries ride post vnto him, and when themselves and their beasts are weary, they blow their hozne, at the noise whereof, the next Inne likewise prouideth a hozle and a man, who takes the letter of him that is weary, and runneth vnto another Inne: and so by diuers Innes, and diuers postes, the report, which ordinarily could scarce come in 30. dayes, is in one naturall day brought vnto the emperoz: and therefore no matter of any moment can be done in his empire, but straight way he hath intelligence thereof. Moreover, when y^e great Can himselfe will go on hunting, he useth this custome. Some twenty dayes iourney from the citie of Kambaleh there is a foꝛest containing fye dayes iourney in circuit, in which foꝛest there are so many kinds of beasts and birds, as it is incredible to report. Vnto this foꝛest, at the ende of euery thirde oꝝ fourth yeere, himselfe with his whole traine resorteth; and they all of them together enuiron the sayd foꝛest, sending dogs into the same, which by hunting do bring forth the beasts: namely, lions and stags, and other creatures, vnto a most beautifull plaine in the midst of the foꝛest, because all the beasts of the foꝛest doe tremble, especially at the cry of hounds. Then commeth the great Can himselfe, being caried vpon thre elephants, and shooteth fye arrowes into the whole herd of beasts, and after him all his Barons, and after them the rest of his courtiers and family doe all in like maner discharge their arrowes also, and euery mans arrow hath a sundry marke. Then they all goe vnto the beasts which are slaine (suffering the liuing beasts to returne into the wood that they may haue moze spoꝛt with them another time) and euery man enioyeth that beast as his owne, wherein he findeth his arrow sticking.

Of the foure feasts which the great Can solemnizeth euery yeere in his Court.

Foure great feasts in a yeere doeth the emperoz Can celebrate: namely, the feast of his birth, the feast of his circumcision, the feast of his coronation, and the feast of his marriage. And vnto these feasts he inviteth all his Barons, his stage-players, and all such as are of his kinred. Then the great Can sitting in his thꝛone, all his Barons present themselves befoꝛe him, with wreaths and crownes vpon their heads, being diuersly attired, for some of them are in greene, namely, the principall: the second are in red, and the third in yellow, and they hold each man in his hand a little Tuoꝛie table of elephants tooth, and they are girt with golden girdles of halfe a foote broad, and they stand vpon their feete keeping silence. About them stand the stage-players oꝝ musicians with their instruments. And in one of the corners of a certaine great pallace, all the Philosophers oꝝ Magicians remaine for certaine howers, and doe attend vpon points oꝝ characters: and when the point and hower which the sayd Philosophers expected for, is come, a certaine crier crieth out with a loud voyce, saying, Incline or bowe your selues befoꝛe your Emperour: with that all the Barons fall flat vpon the earth. Then hee crieth out againe; Arise all, and immediately they all arise. Likewise the Philosophers attend vpon a point oꝝ character the second time, and when it is fulfilled, the crier crieth out againe; Put your fingers in your eares: and forthwith againe he saith; Plucke them out. Againe, at the third point he crieth, Boult this meale. Many other circumstances also doe they performe, all which they say haue some certaine signification: howbeit, neither would I write them, nor giue any heed vnto them, because they are vaine and ridiculous. And when the musicians hower is come, then the Philosophers say, Solemnize a feast vnto your Lord: with that all of them sound their instruments, making a great and a melodious noyse. And immediately another crieth, Peace, peace, and they are all whit. Then come the women-musicians and sing sweetly befoꝛe the Emperour, which musike was moze delightfull vnto me. After them come in the lions and doe their obeisance vnto the great Can. Then the iuglers cause golden cups full of wine to flie by and downe in the ayre, and to apply themselves vnto mens mouthes that they may drinke of them. These and many other strange things I sawe in the court of the great Can, which no man would belceue unless he had seen them with his owne eyes, and therefore I omit to speake of them. I was informed also by certaine credible persons, of another miraculous thing, namely, that in a certaine kingdome of the sayd Can, wherein stand the mountains called Kapsei (the kingdomes name is Kalor) there growe great Gourds oꝝ Pompions, which being ripe, doe open at the tops, and within them is found a little beast like vnto a yong lambe, euen as I my selfe haue heard reported, that there stand certaine trees vpon the shore of the Irish sea, bearing fruit like vnto a gourd, which, at a certaine time of the yeere doe fall into the water, and become birds called Bernacles, and this is most true.

A lambe in a gourd.

Of diuers prouinces and cities.

After thre yeres I departed out of the empire of Cataie, traunailing fiftie dayes iourney towards the West. And at length I came vnto the empire of Pretegoani, whose principall

His returne Westward.

Casan.

¶ D^r, Thebet.

city is Kofan, which hath many other cities vnder it. From thence passing many dayes trauell, I came vnto a prouince called Casan, which is for good commodities, one of the onely prouinces vnder the Sunne, and is very well inhabited, insomuch that when we depart out of the gates of one city we may beholde the gates of another city, as I my selfe saw in diuers of them. The breadth of the sayd prouince is fifty dayes iourney, & the length aboue sixty. In it there is great plenty of all victuals, and especially of chefnuts, and it is one of the twelue prouinces of the great Can. Going on further, I came vnto a certaine kingdome called ¶ Tebek, which is in subiection vnto the great Can also, wherein I thinke there is more plenty of bread & wine then in any other part of the world besides. The people of the sayd countrey do, for the most part, inhabit in tents made of blacke felt. Their principall city is inuironed with faire and beautifull walles, being built of most white and blacke stones, which are disposed checkerwise one by another, and curiously compiled together: like wise all the high wayes in this countrey are exceedingly well paved. In the sayd countrey none dar: shed the blood of a man, or of any beast, for the reuerence of a certaine idole. In the fore sayd city their Abassi, that is to say, their Pope is resident, being the head and prince of all idolaters (vpon whom he bestoweth and distributeth gifts after his manner) euen as our pope of Rome accounts himselfe to be the head of all Christians. The women of this countrey weare about an hundred cricks and trifles about them, and they haue two teeth in their mouthes as long as the tuskes of a boare. When any mans father deceaseth among them, his sonne assembleth together all the priests and musicians that he can get, laying that he is determined to honour his father: then causeth he him to be caried into the field (all his kinfolk, friends, and neighbours accompanying him in the sayd action) where the priests with great solemnity cut off the fathers head, giuing it vnto his sonne, which being done, they diuide the whole body into morsels, and so leaue it behinde them, returning home with prayers in the company of the sayd sonne. So soone as they are departed, certaine vultures, which are accustomed to such bankets, come flying from the mountaines, and carry away all the sayd morsels of fleshy: and from thenceforth a fame is spread abroad, that the sayd party deceased was holy, because the angels of God carried him into paradise. And this is the greatest and highest honour, that the sonne can desire to performe vnto his deceased father. Then the sayd sonne taketh his fathers head, seething it and eating the flesh hereof, but of the skull he makes a drinking cup, wherein himselfe with all his family and kindred do drinke with great solemnity and mirth, in the remembrance of his dead and deuoured father. Many other vile and abominable things doeth the sayd nation commit, which I meane not to write, because men neither can nor will beleue, except they should haue the sight of them.

The same story concerning the very same people is in William de Rubricis.

Of a certaine rich man, who is fed and nourished by fittie virgins.

While I was in the prouince of Mancy, I passed by the palace of a certaine famous man, which hath fifty virgin damosels continually attending vpon him, feeding him euery meate, as a bird feeds her young ones. Also he hath sundry kindes of meate serued in at his table, and thre dishes of ech kinde: and when the sayd virgins feed him, they sing most sweetly. This man hath in peerey reuenues thirty chuman of tagars of rise, euery of which chuman yeeldeth tenne thousand tagars, and one tagar is the burthen of an asse. His palace is two miles in circuit, the pavement whercof is one place of golde, and another of siluer. Neete vnto the wall of the sayd palace there is a mount artificially wrought with golde and siluer, wherevpon stand turrets and steeples and other delectable things for the solace and recreation of the fore sayd great man. And it was tolde me that there were foure such men in the sayd kingdome. It is accounted a great grace for the men of that countrey to haue long nailles vpon their fingers, and especially vpon their thumbes, which nailles they may solde about their hands: but the grace and beauty of their women is to haue small and slender feet; and therefore the mothers when their daughters are young, do binde by their feet, that they may not grow great. Trauelling on further towards the South, I arrived at a certaine countrey called Melistorre, which is a very pleasant and fertile place. And in this countrey there was a certaine aged man called Senex de monte, who round about two mountaines had built a wall to inclose the sayd mountaines. Within this wall there were the fairest and most chryssall fountaines in the whole world: and about the sayd fountaines there were most beautifull virgins in great number, and goodly horses also, and in a word, euery thing that could be deuised for bodily solace and delight, and therefore the inhabitants of the countrey call the same place by the name of Paradise.

Long nailles.

Melistorre.

The sayd olde Senex, when he saw any proper and valliant young man, he would admit him into his paradise. Hozeouer by certaine conducts he makes wine and milke to flow abundantly.

This

This Senex, when he hath a minde to reuenge himselfe or to slay any king or baron, commandeth him that is gouernor of the sayd paradise, to bring therunto some of the acquaintance of the sayd king or baron, permitting him a while to take his pleasure therein, and then to giue him a certaine portion being of force to cast him into such a slumber as should make him quite voide of all sense, and so being in a profound sleepe to couey him out of his paradise: who being awaked, & seeing himselfe thrust out of the paradise would become so sorrowfull, that he could not in the world desire what to do, or whither to turne him. Then would he go vnto the foze said old man, beseeching him that he might be admitted againe into his paradise: who saith vnto him, You cannot be admitted thither, vnlesse you will slay such or such a man for my sake, and if you will giue the attempt onely, whether you kill him or no, I wil place you againe in paradise, that there you may remaine alwayes: then would the party without faile put the same in execution, indencouring to murder all those against whom the sayd olde man had conceiued any hatred. And therefore all the kings of the east stood in awe of the sayd olde man, and gaue vnto him great tribute.

Of the death of Senex de monte.

And when the Tartars had subdued a great part of the world, they came vnto the sayd olde man, and tooke from him the custody of his paradise: who being incensed thereat, sent abroad diuers desperate and resolute persons out of his fozenamed paradise, and caused many of the Tartarian nobles to be slaine. The Tartars seeing this, went and besieged the city wherein the said olde man was, tooke him, and put him to a most cruell and ignominious death. The friers in that place haue this speciall gift and prerogative: namely, that by the vertue of the name of Christ Iesu, and in the vertue of his precious blood, which he shedde vpon the crosse for the saluation of mankinde, they doe cast forth devils out of them that are possessed. And because there are many possessed men in those parts, they are bound and brought ten dayes iourney vnto the sayd friers, who being dispossessed of the vnclane spirits, do presently beleue in Christ who deliuered them, accounting him for their God, and being baptised in his name, and also deliuering immediatly vnto the friers all their idols, and the idols of their cattell, which are commonly made of felt or of womens haire: then the sayd friers kinde a fire in a publike place (whereunto the people resort, that they may see the false gods of their neighbors burnt) and cast the sayd idols thereinto: howbeit at the first those idols came out of the fire againe. Then the friers sprinkled the sayd fire with holy water, casting the idols into it the second time, and with that the devils fled in the likeness of blacke smoake, and the idols still remained till they were consumed vnto ashes. Afterward, this noise & outcry was heard in the ayre: Beholde and see how I am expelled out of my habitation. And by these meanes the friers doe baptise great multitudes, who presently reuolt againe vnto their idols: insomuch that the sayd friers must oft soones, as it were, vnderprop them, and informe them anew. There was another terrible thing which I saw there: for passing by a certaine valley, which is situate beside a pleasant riuer, I saw many dead bodies, and in the sayd valley also I heard diuers sweet sounds and harmonies of musike, especially the noise of citherns, whereat I was greatly amazed. This valley containeth in length seuen or eight miles at the least; into the which whosoever entred, dieth presently, and can by no meanes passe aliue thorow the middle thereof: for which cause all the inhabitants thereabout decline vnto the one side. Forerouer, I was tempted to go in, and to see what it was. At length, making my prayers, and recommending my selfe to God in the name of Iesu, I entred, and saw such swarms of dead bodies there, as no man would beleue vnlesse he were an eye witness thereof. At the one side of the foze sayd valley vpon a certaine stone, I saw the visage of a man, which beheld me with such a terrible aspect, that I thought verily I should haue died in the same place. But alwayes this sentence, the word became flesh, and dwelt amongst vs, I ceased not to pronounce, signing my selfe with the signe of the crosse, and neerer then seuen or eight paces I durst not approach vnto the said heads: but I departed & fled vnto another place in the sayd valley, ascending by into a little sandy mountaine, where looking round about, I saw nothing but the sayd citherns, which me thought I heard miraculously sounding, and playing by themselves without the helpe of musicians. And being vpon the toppe of the mountaine, I found siluer there like the scales of fishes in great abundance: and I gathered some part thereof into my bosome to shew for a wonder, but my conscience rebuking me, I cast it vpon the earth, reseruing no whit at all vnto my selfe, and so, by Gods grace I departed without danger. And when the men of the countrey knew that I was returned out of the valley aliue, they reuerenced me much, saying that I was baptised and holy, and that the foze sayd bodies were men subiect vnto the devils infernall, who used to play vpon citherns, to the end they might allure people to enter, and so murder them. Thus much concerning those things which I beheld most certainly with mine eyes, I frier Odoricus haue heere

written : many strange things also I haue of purpote omitted, because men will not beleue them vnlesse they should see them.

Of the honour and reuerence done vnto the great Can.

I will report one thing moze, which I saw, concerning the great Can. It is an vsuall custome in those parts, that when the foresayd Can trauelleth thozow any countrey, his subiects kinde fires before their doozes, casting spices thereinto to make a perfume, that their lord passing by may smell the sweet and delectable odours thereof, and much people come footsly to meet him. And vpon a certaine time when he was comming towarde Cambaleth, the fame of his approch being published, a bishop of ours with certaine of our minozite friers and my selfe, went two dayes iourney to meet him : and being come nigh vnto him, we put a crosse vpon wood, I my selfe hauing a censel in my hand, and began to sing with a loud voice : *Veni creator spiritus.* And as we were singing on this wise, he caused vs to be called, commanding vs to come vnto him : notwithstanding (as it is aboue mentioned) that no man dare approch within a stones cast of his chariot, vnlesse he be called, but such onely as keepe his chariot. And when we came neere vnto him, he bailed his hat or bonet being of an inestimable price, doing reuerence vnto the crosse. And immediatly I put incense into the censel, and our bishop taking the censel perfumed him, and gaue him his benediction. Hozeouer, they that come before the sayd Can do alwayes bying some oblation to present vnto him, obseruing the ancient law: Thou shalt not appeare in my presence with an empty hand. And for that cause we carried apples with vs, and offered them in a platter with reuerence vnto him : and taking out two of them he did eat some part of one. And then he signified vnto vs, that we should go apart, least the horses comming on might in ought offend vs. With that we departed from him, and turned aside, going vnto certaine of his barons, which had bene conuerted to the faith by certaine friers of our order, being at the same time in his army : and we offered vnto them of the foresayd apples, who receiued them at our hands with great ioy, seeming vnto vs to be as glad, as if we had giuen them some great gift.

All the premises aboue written frier William de Solanga hath put downe in writing euen as the foresayd frier Odoricus vttered them by word of mouth, in the yeere of our Lord 1330, in the moneth of May, and in the place of S. Anthony of Padua. Neither did he regard to write them in difficult Latine or in an eloquent stile, but euen as Odoricus himselfe rehearsed them, to the end that men might the moze easily vnderstand the things reported. I frier Odoricus of Friuli, of a certaine territoyp called Portus Vahonis, and of the order of the minozites, do testifie and beare witness vnto the reuerend father Guidotus minister of the prouince of S. Anthony, in the marquetate of Treuiso (being by him required vpon mine obedience so to doe) that all the premises aboue written, either I saw with mine owne eyes, or heard the same reported by credible and substantiall persons. The common report also of the countreyes where I was, testifieth those things, which I saw, to be true. Many other things I haue omitted, because I beheld them not with mine owne eyes. Howbeit from day to day I purpose with my selfe to trauell countreyes or lands, in which action I dispose my selfe to die or to liue, as it shall please my God.

Of the death of frier *Odoricus.*

In the yeere therefore of our Lord 1331 the foresayd frier Odoricus preparing himselfe for the performance of his intended iourney, that his trauell and labour might be to greater purpose, he determined to present himselfe vnto pope Iohn the two and twentieth, whose benediction and obedience being receiued, he, with a certaine number of friers willing to beare him company, might conuey himselfe vnto all the countreyes of infidels. And as he was traouelling towards the pope, and not farre distant from the city of Pisa, there meets him by the way a certaine olde man, in the habit and attire of a pilgrime, saluting him by name, and saying : All haile frier Odoricus. And when the frier demaunded how he had knowledge of him : he answered : Whilst you were in India I knew you full well, yea, and I knew your holy purpose also : but see that you returne immediatly vnto the couen from whence you came, for tenne dayes hence you shall depart out of this present world. Wherefore being astonished and amazed at these wordes (especially the olde man banishing out of his sight, presently after he had spoken them) he determined to returne. And so he returned in perfect health, feeling no crazednesse nor infirmity of body. And being in his couen at Vdene in the prouince of Padua, the tenth day after the foresayd vision, hauing receiued the Communion, and preparing himselfe vnto God, yea, being strong and sound of body, hee happily rested in the Lord : whose sacred departure was signified

vnto the Pope aforesaid, vnder the hand of the publike notary in these words following.

In the yeere of our Lord 1331, the 14. day of Januarie, Beatus Odoricus a Frier minozite decealed in Thrist, at whose prayers God shewed many and sundry miracles, which I Guetelus publike notarie of Vcina, sonne of M. Damianus de Porto Gruaro, at the commandement and direction of the honorable Conradus of the Borough of Gastaldion, and one of the Councell of Vcina, haue wricten as faithfully as I could, and haue deliuered a copie thereof vnto the Friers minozites: howbeit not of all, because they are innumerable, and too difficult for me to write.

The voyage of Matthew Gourney, a most valiant English Knight, against the Moores of Algizer in Barbarie and Spaine. *M. Camden pag. 159.*



Ec tacendum Matthæum Gourney in oppido quodam, vulgari lingua Stoke vnder Hamden in comitatu Somersetensi appellato, sepultum esse, virum bellicosissimum regnante Edwardo tertio: qui 96. ætatis anno diem obiuit, cum (vt ex inscriptione videre licuit) obsidioni d' Algizer contra Saracenos, prælijs Benamazin, Selusensi, Cressiaco, Ingenos, Pictauiensi, & Nazarano in Hispania dimicasset,

The same in English.

It is by no meanes to be passed ouer in silence, that Matthew Gourney, being a most valiant warrior in the reigne of Edward the third, lyeth buried at a certaine towne, in the countie of Somerser, commonly called Stoke vnder Hamden: who decealed in the 96. yeare of his age; and that (as it is manifest by the inscription of his monument) after he had valiantly behaued himselfe at the siege of Algizer against the Sarazens, and at the battailes of Benamazin, of Sluce, of Cressic, of Ingenos, of Poictou, and of Nazaran in Spaine.

In the reigne of Edward the third.

The comming of Lyon King of Armenia into England; in the yeere 1386, and in the ninth yeere of Richard the second, in trust to finde some meanes of peace or good agreement betweene the King of England and the French king. *Iohn Froyssart lib. 3. cap. 56.*



Hus in abiding for the Duke of Berrie, and for the Constable, who were behind, then king Lyon of Armenia, who was in France, and had assigned him by the king, sixe thousande frankes by the yeare to maintaine his estate,ooke vpon him for a good intent to goe into England to speake with the king there and his Councell, to see if he might finde any matter of peace to be had, betweene the two Reaines, England and France: And so he departed from his lodging of Saint Albeync beside Saint Denice, alonely with his owne company, and with no great apparell. So he rode to Boloine, and there he tooke a shippe, and so sayled forth till he came to Douer; and there he found the Earle of Cambridge, and the Earle of Buckingham, and moe then a hundreth men of arnes, and a two thousand Archers, who lay there to keepe that passage, for the hute ran, that the Frenchmen should lande there or at Sandwich, and the king lay at London, and part of his Councell with him, and daily heard tydings from all the portes of England. When the king of Armenia was arrived at Douer, he had there good cheere, because he was a stranger, and so he came to the kings Uncles there, who sweetly receiued him, and at a time conuenient, they demaunded of him from whence he came and whither he would. The king answered and sayd, that in trust of goodnesse he was come thither to see the king of England, and his Councell, to treat of peace betweene England and France, for he saide that he thought the warre was not meete: for he sayd, by reason of warre betweene these two Realmes, which hath indured so long, the Saracens, lewes & Turkes are wared proude, for there is none that make them any warre, and by occasion thereof I haue lost my land and Realme, and am not like to recouer them againe without there were firme peace in all Christendome: & I would gladly shew the matter that toucheth all Christendome to the king of England, and to his Councell, as I haue done to the French king. Then the kings Uncles demaunded of him if the French king sent him thither or no; he answered and sayd, no: there is no man that sent mee, but I am come hither by mine owne motion to see if the king of England & his Councel would any thing leane to any treaty of peace, then was he demaunded where the French king was, he answered I beleue he be at Sluce, I sawe not

not him sicthence I tooke my leaue of him at Senlize. Then he was demaunded, howe he could make any treatie of peace, and had no charge so to doe, and Sir, if yee be conueyed to the King our Nephew and to his Counsell, and the French king in the meane season enter with his puilliance into England; yee may happe thereby to receiue great blame, and your person to be in great ieoperdy with them of the Countrey. Then the King answered and said, I am in suretie of the French king, for I haue sent to him, desiring him till I returne againe, not to remoue from Sluce, and I repute him so noble and so well aduised, that he will graunt my desire, and that hee will not enter into the sea, till I come againe to him. Wherefoze, sirs, I pray you in the instance of loue and peace, to conuey me to speake with the King; for I desire greatly to see him: or else yee that be his Uncles, if ye haue authoritie, to giue me answer to all my demaunds. Then the Earle of Buckingham sayd, Syr king of Armenia, we be ordapned here to keepe and defend this passage, and the frontiers of England, by the King and his Counsell, and wee haue no charge to meddle any further with the buisnesse of the Realme, without we be otherwise commanded by the King. But sicth ye be come for a good intent into this Countrey, ye be right welcome; but sir, as for any firme answer ye can haue none of vs, for as now we be not of the Councell, but we shall conuey you to the king without perill or danger. The king thanked them, and said: I desire nothing else but to see the king and to speake with him.

How the King of *Armenia* returned out of *England*, and of the answer that was made to him.

When the king of Armenia was refreshed at Douer a day, and had spoken with the kings Uncles at good leasure, then he departed towards London, with a good conduct that the Lords appointed to him, for feare of any recounters: so long he rode that he came to London, and in his ryding throug London he was well regarded, because he was a stranger, and he had good cheare made him, and so was brought to the king, who lay at the Ropall at the Queenes wardrobe, and his Councell were in London at their lodgings: The Londoners were soze for-tespying of their citie. When the coming of the king of Armenia was knowne, the kings Councell drew to the King to heare what rydings the King brought in that troublous season: When the king of Armenia was come into the kings presence, he made his salutation and then beganne his processe to the states, how he was come out of France principally to see the king of England who he had neuer seene before, & said, how he was right iopous to be in his presence, trusting that some goodnesse might come thereby. And there he shewed by his words, that to withstande the great pestilence that was likely to be in England; therefore he was come of his owne goodwill to doe good therein if he might, not sent from the French king, willing to set some accorde and peace betweene the two Realmes England and France. Many faire pleasant words the king of Armenia spake to the king of England, and to his Councell, then he was shortly answered thus: Syr king, ye be welcome into this Realme, for the king our Soueraigne lord, and all we are glad to see you here, but sir, we say that the king hath not here all his Councell, but shortly they shall be here, and then ye shall be answered. The king of Armenia was content therewith, and so returned to his lodging. Within foure dayes after the king was counselled (and I thinke he had sent to his Uncles to know their intents, but they were not present at the answer giuing) to goe to the pallace at Westminster and his Councell with him, such as were about him, and to send for the king of Armenia to come thither. And when he was come into the presence of the king of England and his Councell, the king sate downe, and the king of Armenia by him, and then the Prelates and other of his Councell. There the king of Armenia rehearsed againe his requestes that he made, and also shewed wisely how all Christendome was soze decayed and feeblished by occasion of the warres betweene England and France. And how that all the knights and Squires of both Realmes intended nothing else, but alwayes to be on the one part or of the other: whereby the Empire of Constantinople leeseeth, and is like to leele; for before this warre the Knights and Squires were wont to aduenture themselues. And also the king of Armenia shewed that by occasion of this warre he had lost his Realme of Armenia, therefore he desired for Gods sake that there might be some treaty of peace had betweene the two Realmes England and France. To these wordes answered the Archbishop of Canterburie, for he had charge so to doe; And he sayd, Sir king of Armenia, it is not the manner nor neuter was seene betweene two such enemies as the king of England and the French king, that the king my Soueraigne lord should be required of peace, and he to enter his land with a puissant army, wherefoze sir, we say to you, that if it please you, ye may returne to the French king, and cause him and all his puilliance

to returne backe into their owne countreys. And when euery man be at home, then if it please you ye may returne againe hither, and then we shall gladly intende to your treatie.

This was all the answer the king of Armenia could get there, and so he dined with the king of England, and had as great honour as could bee deuised, and the king offered him many great giftes of golde and siluer, but he would take none though he had neede thereof, but alone-ly a ring to the value of a hundred Frankes. After dinner he tooke his leaue and returned un-to his lodging, and the next day departed, and was two dayes at Dover, and there he tooke his leaue of such lords as were there, and so tooke the sea in a passager, and arriued at Calais and from thence went to Sluce, and there he spake with the French king and with his Uncles, and shewed them how he had bene in England, and what answer he had: the French king and his Uncles tooke no regard of his saying, but sent him backe againe into France, for their full intention was to enter into England as soone as they might haue winde and weather, and the Duke of Berrie and the Constable came to them: The winde was soe contrary to them, for therewith they could neuer enter into England but the winde was good to goe into Scotland.

The voyage of *Henrie Earle of Derby*, after *Duke of Hereford*,
and lastly *Henry the fourth king of England*, to *Tunis* in
Barbarie, with an army of Englishmen written by
Polidore Virgill. pag. 1389.

FRanci interim per inducias nacti ocium, ac simul Genuensium precibus defatigati, bellum in Afros, qui omnem oram insulasque Italiae latrocinij infestas reddebant, suscipiunt. Richardus quoque rex Angliae rogatus auxilium, mittit Henricum comitem Derbensem cum electa Anglicae pubis manu ad id bellum faciendum. Igitur Franci Anglique viribus & animis consociatis in Africam traiciunt, qui ubi litus attigere, eatenus à Barbaris defectione prohibiti sunt, quoad Anglorum sagittariorum virtute factum est, ut aditus pateret: in terram egressi re-cta Tunetam urbem regiam petunt, ac obsident. Barbari timore affecti de pace ad eos legatos mittunt, quam nostris dare placuit, ut soluta certa pecuniae summa ab omni deinceps Italiae, Galliaeque ora manus abstinerent. Ita peractis rebus post paucos menses, quam eo itum erat, donum repeditum est.

The same in English.

THe French in the meane season hauing gotten some leasure by meanes of their truce, and being solicited and vrged by the intreaties of the Genoies, vnderooke to wage warre against the Moores, who robbed and spoiled all the coasts of Italy, and of the Islands adiacent. Likewile Richard the second, king of England, being sued vnto for ayde, sent Henry the Earle of Derby with a choise armie of English souldiers vnto the same warfare. Wherefore the English and French, with forces and mindes vnited, sayled ouer into Africa, who when they approached vnto the shoze were repelled by the Barbarians from landing, vntill such time as they had passage made them by the valour of the English archers. Thus hauing landed their forces, they forthwith marched vnto the royall citie of Tunis, and besieged it. Whereat the Barbarians being dismayed, sent Ambassadors vnto our Christian Chieftaines to treat of peace, which our men graunted vnto them, vpon condition that they should pay a certaine summe of money, and that they should from thenceforth abstaine from piracies vpon all the coasts of Italy and France. And so hauing dispatched their businesse, within a fewe moneths after their departure they returned home.

This Historie is somewhat otherwise recorded by *Froysard*
and *Holenshed* in manner following, pag. 473.

In the thirteenth yeere of the reigne of king Richard the second, the Christians tooke in hand a iourney against the Saracens of Barbarie through sute of the Genouois, so that there went a great number of Lords, Knights, and Gentlemen of France and England, the Duke of Burbon being their Generall. Out of England there went Iohn de Beaufort ballarde sonne to the Duke of Lancaster (as Froysard hath noted) also Sir Iohn Russell, Sir Iohn Butler, Sir Iohn Harecourt and others. They set forwarde in the latter ende of the thirteenth yeere of the Kings reigne, and came to Genoa, where they remayned not verie long,
but

The Chroni-
cles of Genoa.

but that the gallees and other vessels of the Genouois were ready to passe them ouer into Barba-
rie. And so about midsummer in the beginning of the fourteenth yere of this kings reigne the whole
army being embarked, sailed forth to the coast of Barbary, where nere to the city of Africa they
landed: at which instant the English archers (as the Chronicles of Genoa write) stood all the
company in good stead with their long bowes, beating backe the enemies from the shore, which
came downe to resist their landing. After they had got to land, they inuironed the city of Africa
(called by the Moores Mahdia) with a strong siege: but at length, constrained with the in-
temperancy of the scaloing ayre in that hot countrey, breeding in the army sundry diseases, they
fell to a composition vpon certaine articles to be performed in the behalfe of the Saracens: and
so 61 dayes after their arrivall there they tocke the seas againe, and returned home, as in the hi-
stories of France and Genoa is likewise exprest. Where, by Polydore Virgil it may seeme, that
the lord Henry of Lancaster earle of Derby should be generall of the Englishmen, that (as be-
fore you heard) went into Barbary with the French men and Genouois.

The memorable victories in diuers parts of *Italie* of *John Hawkwood*
English man in the reigne of *Richard* the second, briefly recorded by *M.*
Camden. pag. 339.



Alteram ripam fluuij Colne oppositus est Sibble Heningham, locus natalis, vt
accepi, Ioannis Hawkwoodi (Itali Aucuthum corruptè vocant) quem illi tanto-
pere ob virtutem militarem suspexerunt, vt Senarus Florentinus propter insigni-
merita equestri statua & tumuli honore in eximia fortitudinis, fideique testi-
monium ornauit. Res eius gestas Itali pleno ore prædicant; & Paulus Iouius in
elogijs celebrat: sat mihi sit Iulij Feroldi tetrastichon adijcere.

Hawkwoode Anglorum decus, & decus addite genti

Italica, Italico præsidiumq. solo,

Ut tumuli quondam Florentia, sic simulacri

Virtutem Iouius donat honore tuam.

William Thomas in his *Historie* of the common wealthes of Italy, maketh honorable men-
tion of him twife, to wit, in the common wealth of Florentia and Ferrara.

The voyage of the Lord *John* of *Holland*, Earle of *Huntington*, bro-
ther by the mothers side to King *Richard* the second, to *Ierusalem* and Saint
Katherins mount,

1394.
Froyllart.



De Lord *John* of *Holland*, Earle of *Huntington*, was as then on his way to *Ie-
rusalem*, and to Saint *Katherins* mount, and purposed to returne by the Realme of
Hungarie. so as he passed through *France* (where he had great cheere of the king,
and of his brother and vnckles) hee heard how the king of *Hungary* and the great
Turke should haue battell together: therefore he thought surely to be at that iourney.

The voiage of *Thomas* lord *Moubray* duke of *Norfolke* to *Ierusalem*,
in the yeere of our Lord 1399. written by *Holinshed.* pag. 1233.



Thomas lord *Moubray*, second sonne of *Elizabeth* Segraue and *John* lord *Moubray*
her husband, was aduanced to the dukedome of *Norfolke* in the 21. yeere of the reigne
of *Richard* the 2. Shortly after which, hee was appcaled by *Henry* earle of *Bulling-
broke* of treason, and caried to the castle of *Windfore*, where he was strongly & safely
garded, hauing a time of combat granted to determine the cause betweene the two dukes, the
16. day of *September*, in the 22. of the sayd king, being the yeere of our redemption 1398. But
in the end the matter was so ordred, that this duke of *Norfolke* was banished for ever: where-
upon taking his iourney to *Ierusalem*, he died at *Venice* in his returne from the said cite of *Ieru-
salem*, in the first yeere of king *Henry* the 4. about the yeere of our redemption, 1399.

The comming of the Emperor of *Constantinople* into *England*, to
desire the aide of *Henry* the 4. against the *Turkes*, 1400.

Thomas Wal-
ingham.



Sub eodem tempore Imperator Constantinopolitanus venit in Angliam, postulatu-
rus subsidium contra Turcas. Cui occurrit rex cum apparatu nobili ad le Blackheath,
die sancti Thomæ Apostoli, suscepitque, prout decuit, tantum Heroem, duxitq; Lon-
donias

donias, & per multos dies exhibuit gloriosè, pro expensis hospitij sui soluens, & cum respiciens tanto fastigio donatiuis. Et paulò post: His auditis rumoribus, Imperator latior recessit ab Anglis, hon oratus à rege donarijs preciosis.

The same in English.

About the same time the emperoz of Constantinople came into England, to seeke ayde against the Turkes: whom þe king accompanied with his nobilitie, met withall vpon Blackheath vpon the day of saint Thomas the Apostle, and receiued him as becomed so great a prince, and brought him to London, and roially entertained him for a long season, defraying the charges of his diet, and giuing him many honorable presents. And a litle after ward: Vpon the hearing of these newes, the emperoz departed with great ioy out of England, whom the king honoured with many precious gifts.

The Voiage of the bishop of Winchester to Ierusalem, in the sixt yeere of thereigne of Henry the fift, which was the yeere of our Lord, 1417. Thomas Walsing.

Vltimo die mensis Octobris, episcopus Wintoniensis accessit ad concilium Constantiense, peregrinaturus Hierosolymam post electione summi pontificis celebratam, vbi tantum valuit eius facunda persuasio, vt & excitaret dominos Cardinales ad concordiam, & ad electionem summi pontificis se ocyus præpararent.

The same in English.

The last day of October the bishop of Winchester came to the Councell of Constance, which after the chusing of the Pope determined to take his iourney to Ierusalem: where his eloquent perswasion so much preuailed, that he both perswaded my lordes the Cardinals to vnicity and concord, and also moued them to proceed moze speedily to the election of the Pope.

A preparation of a voyage of King Henrie the fourth to the Holy land against the infidels in the yere 1413, being the last yere of his reigne: wherein he was preuented by death: written by Walsingham, Fabian, Polydore Virgile, and Holenshed.

In this foureteenth and last yere of king Henries reigne a councell was holden in the White friers in London, at the which among other things, order was taken for ships and galkies to be builded and made ready, and all other things necessary to be provided for a voyage, which he meaut to make into the Holy land, there to recover the city of Ierusalem from the infidels: for it grieved him to consider the great malice of Christian princes, that were bent vpon a mischieuous purpose to destroy one another, to the perill of their owne soules, rather then to make warre against the enemies of the Christian faith, as in conscience, it seemed to him, they were bound. We finde, sayeth Fabian in his Chronicle, that he was taken with his last sickenesse, while he was making his prayers at Saint Edwards chynne, there as it were, to take his leaue, and so to proceede foorth on his iourney. He was so suddenly and grieuoussly taken, that such as were about him feared least he would haue died presently: whersofore to relieue him, if it were possible, they bare him into a chamber that was next at hand, belonging to the Abbot of Westminster, where they layd him on a pallet befoze the fire, and bled all remedies to reuiue him. At length he recovered his speech, and perceiuing himselfe in a strange place which he knew not, he willed to knowe if the chamber had any particular name, whereunto answer was made, that it was called Ierusalem. Then sayde the king, Laudes be giuen to the father of heauen: for now I knowe that I shall die here in this chamber, according to the prophesie of mee declared, that I should depart this life in Ierusalem.

Order taken for building of ships and galkies.

Of this intended voyage Polydore Virgile writeth in manner following:

Post hæc Henricus Rex memor nihil homini debere esse antiquius, quàm ad officium iustitiæ, quæ ad hominum vtilitatem pertinet, omne suum studium conferre, prociuis omisso ciuili bello, quo pudebat videre Christianos: omni tempore turpiter occupari, de republica Anglica benè gubernanda, de bello in hostes communes sumendo,

sumendo, de Hierosolymis tandem aliquando recipiendis plura destitabat, classemque iam parabat, cum ei talia agenti atque meditati casus mortem attulit: subito enim morbo tentatus, nulla medicina subleuari potuit. Mortuus est apud Westmonasterium, annum agens quadragesimum sextum, qui fuit annus salutis humanæ 1413.

The same in English.

Afterward, King Henry calling to minde, that nothing ought to be moze highly esteemed by any man, then to doe the utmost of his induour for the performance of iudice, which tendeth to the good and benefite of mankind; altogether abandoning ciuill warre (wherewith he was ashamed to see, how Christians at all times were dishonourably busied) entered into a moze deepe consideration of well governing his Realme of England, of waging warre against the common enemie, and of recouering, in proesse of time, the cite of Ierusalem, yea, and was prouiding a nauie for the same purpose, whenas in the very midst of this his hericall action and enterprise, he was surpris'd with death: for falling into a sudden disease, he could not be cured by any kinde of physicke. He decessed at Westminster in the 46 yeare of his age, which was in the yeere of our Lord, 1413.

A briefe relation of the siege and taking of the Citie of Rhodes, by Sultan Soliman the great Turke, translated out of French into English at the motion of the Reuerend Lord

Thomas Dockwray, great Prior of the order of Ierusalem in England, in the yeere, 1524.

Willing faithfully to write and reduce in veritie Historiall, the great siege, cruel oppugnation, and piteous taking of the noble and renowned cite of Rhodes, the key of Christendome, the hope of many poore Christian men, withhelden in Turkie to saue and keepe them in their faith: the rest and secretly solace of noble pilgrimes of the holy sepulchre of Iesu Christ and other holy places: the refuge and refreshing of all Christian people: hauing course of marchandise in the parties of Leuant, I promise to all estates that shall see this present booke, that I haue left nothing for feare of any person, nor preferred it for fauour. And first I shall shew the occasions that moued this cruell bloodshedder, emite of our holy Christian faith, Sultan Soliman, now being great Turke, to come with a great hoste by sea and by lande, to besiege and assaile the space of five moneths, night and day, the noble and mightie citie of Rhodes, The yeere of the incarnation of our Lord Iesu Christ, 1522.

The occasions why the great Turke came to besiege the Citie of Rhodes.

The first and principall cause was that he did consider and saue by experience, that there was none other towne nor place in Leuant that warred against him nor kept him in doubt, but this poore rocke of Rhodes: And hearing the continuall complaintes of his subiectes aswell of Syria, as of Turkie, for the domages and prizes dayly done of their bodiees and goods by Christian men of warre receiued into Rhodes: And also of the shippes and gallies of the religion, he tooke conclusion in himselfe, that if he might put the sayde towne in his power and subiection, that then he should be peaceable lord of all the parties of Leuant, and that his subiectes should complaine no moze to him.

The second, that he might followe the doings of his noble predecessours, and shewe himselfe very heire of the mightie and victorious lord Sulcan Selim his father, willing to put in execution the enterprise by him left the yeere one thousand five hundred twentie and one. The which Selim the great Turke put in all redinesse his armie to the number of three hundred thousand souldiers for to send them against Rhodes, if mortalitie had not happened in his host, and he afterward by the will of our lord was surpris'd and taken with death: wherefore he being in the latter ende of his dayes, (as some Turkes and false christian men that were at this siege shewed me) did charge by his testament, or caused to charge his sonne now being great Turke, that after his death hee should make his two first enterprises, the one against Bellegrado in Hungarie, and the other against Rhodes; for to get him honour, and to set his Countries

and subiectes in rest and surerie. The which fatherly motion easilie entered into him and was imprinted in the heart and young will of the sayde Solyman his sonne, the which soone after the death of his father put in effect the first enterpryse, and raised a huge hoste both by water and by land, and went himselfe in person against Bellegrado, a right strong place in Hungarie. And after that hee had besieged it the space of two moneths or thereabout, for fault of ordinaunce and vitayles, it was yielded to him by composition the eight day of September, in the yeere of our lord, one thousand five hundred twentie and one. The sayd Solyman hauing this victorie, being swollen and raised in pride and vaine glory, turned his heart agaynst Rhodes. Neuerthelesse, he not ignorant of the strength of it, and considering the qualities of the people that were within it, of whom he should be well receiued as his predecessours had bene aforesayd, doubted much, and knew not how to furnish his enterpryse. For his capitaines and Bashas turned him from it as much as they might by many reasons, they knowing the force of it, saue onely Mustafa Bashas brother in lawe, the which counsellled and put him in minde to goe thither. Finally, hee purposed entirely to haue it by treason or by force. And also for the same cause and purpose, his father in his dayes had sent a Jewe physician into Rhodes as a spy, to haue the better knowledge of it: the sayd Solyman was informed that he was there yet, wherefore he sent him word that he should abide there still for the same cause. And gaue in charge to one of the chiefe men in Sio, to send vnto the sayd Jewe all things needefull to maintaine him. And the same Jewe wrote to him of Sio, vnder priuie wordes, all that was done in Rhodes to giue knowledge thereof to the great Turke: and the better to hide his treason, the sayd Jewe made himselfe to be baptised. And to bee the more named to be expert in Physicke, he did some faire cures to such as were diseased, where by he began to bee well trusted, and came in fauour with many substantiall folkes of the towne. Among all other things whereof hee aduertised the great Turke, one was of a wall that was taken downe for to be new builded at the bulwarke of Auergne, certifying him that if hee came hastily with his hoste, hee might easilie and at vnawares surpriue the towne in such estate as it was at that time. Many other aduertisements and warnings hee shewed the Turke, which shall bee declared hereafter. But beside his aduertisement, the sayd great Turke stirred and prouoked by a false traitour, a Portugale knight of ours, that time Chancellor of the sayd holy Religion, a man of great authoritie, dignitie, and vnderstanding, and one of the principall lordes of the counsell of the same, named Sir Andrew de Merall, by little and little was moued and kindled to the sayd enterpryse of treason, whereof was no maruell, for it was a great hope and comfort to haue such a person for him, that knew all the estate and rule of the religion and of the towne. And for to declare the occasions of the cursed and unhappie will of the said traitour that had bene occasion of so great losse and damage, and shall be more at the length, if the diuine power set not to his hand.

The taking of Bellegrado.

Forren physicians recourse often times.

A Portugale knight traitor.

And here it is manifestly to bee vnderstood of all men, that after the death of the noble and right prudent lord, Fabricio de Cacetto, great master of Rhodes, the sayd Sir Andrew enflamed with ambition and couetousnesse to bee great master, and seeing himselfe deceiued of his hope, by the election made the xlvj and twentieth day of January, of the right reuerend and illustre lord, Philip de Villiers Lisleadam, before him: from that time hee tooke so great enuie and desperation, enmitie and euill will, not onely agaynst the sayde lord, but agaynst all the holy religion, that hee set all his studie and purpose, to betray and sell his religion and the citie of Rhodes to the cursed misbeleuers, forgetting the great honours and goodnesse that hee hath had of the religion, and hoped to receiue, with many other particuler pleasures that the sayd lord master had done to him. But the denill, vnkindnesse, and wickednesse had so blinded the eyes of his thought, that hee in no wise could retrain him, but at euery purpose that was spoken afoze him, hee was hoze and might not dissemble. And one day among other hee sayde before many knights, that hee would that his soule were at the denill, and that Rhodes and the religion were lost. And many other foolish and dishonest purposes and wordes hee vttered, whereat none tooke heed, nor thought that hee had the courage to doe that thing that hee hath done. Howbeit, obstinate as Judas, hee put in execution his cursed will: for soone after that the tidings of the election was sent Westward to the sayde noble lord, the sayd de Merall did send a Turke prisoner of his to Constantinople, vnder shadowe to fetch his ransom. By whom hee aduertised the great Turke and his counsell, of the maner and degree of Rhodes, and in what state and condicion the towne was in of all maner of things at that time, and what might happen of it, prouoking and stirring him to come with a great hoste to besiege the towne. And after the comming of the sayd reuerend lord great master, he gaue other aduise to the great Turke, shewing him that hee could neuer haue better time to come, seeing that the

Philip de Villiers great master.

great master was new come, and part of the wall taken downe, and that all Rhodes was in trouble by occasion of some Italian knights, rebels agaynst the lord great master: of the which rebellion he was causer, the better to bring his cursed mind to passe: and also gaue the sayde great Turke knowledge that all Chyistian princes were busie, warring each vpon other, and that he should not doubt but if the rebellion lasted among them, the towne should be his without faile, as it is scene by experience. And for lacke of succours of euery part, and especially of such as might easily haue holpen vs beyng our neighbours, with their gallies and men of warre, wherefore it is now in the handes of the enemies of the chyistian faith. The which monitions and reasons of the false traitor being vnderstood and pondered by the great Turke and his counsell, it was considered of them not to loose so good occasion and time. Wherefore hee made most extreme diligence to rigge and apparell many shippes & vessels of diuers sorts, as galliasses, gallies, pallasozes, fustes, and brigantine, to the number of 350. sailes and moe.

When the prisoner that the sayd de Merall did send into Turkie had done his commission, hee returned into Rhodes, wheresof euery man had maruell, And many folkes deemed euil of his coming againe, as of a thing vnaccustomed, but none durst say any thing, seeing the sayd de Merall of so great authoritie and dignitie, and he cherished the sayd prisoner moze then he was wont to doe. Therefore belike hee had well done his message, and had brought good tidings to the damnable and shamefull mind of the sayd traitor de Merall.

How the great Turke caused the passages to be kept, that none should beare tidings of his hoste to Rhodes.

The great Turke intending with great diligence to make readie his hoste both by sea and by land, the better to come to his purpose, and to take the towne vniuersally as he was advertised, thought to keepe his doings as secret as hee might, and commaunded that none of his subiects should goe to Rhodes for any maner of thing. And like wise he tooke all the barkes and brigantines out of the hauens and portes in those coastes, because they should giue no knowledge of his armie. And also hee made the passages by land to be kept, that none should passe. Howbeit, so great apparell of an armie could not be long kept close: for the spies which the lord great master had sent into Turkie, brought tidings to the castle of saint Peter, and to Rhodes, of all that was sayd and done in Turkie. Neuerthelesse, the sayd lord gaue no great credence to all that was brought and told, because that many yeeres before, the predecessors of the great Turke had made great armies: and alway it was sayd that they went to Rhodes, the which came to none effect. And it was holden for a mocke and a by-word in many places, that the Turke would goe to besiege Rhodes. And for this reason doubt was had of this last armie, and some thought that it should haue gone into Cyprus or to Cataro, a land of the lordship of Venice. Howbeit the great master not willing to be taken vniuersally, but the meane while as carefull and diligent for the wealth of his towne, & his people, vnderstanding these tidings of the Turkes armie, did all his diligence to repaire and strengthen the towne. Amongst all other things to build vp, and raise the bulwarke of Auvergne, and to cleanse and make deeper the ditches. And the moze to cause the workemen to haste them in their businesse, the sayd lord ouertawe them twise or thise euery day.

How the lord great master counselled with the lordes for provision for the towne.

When the sayd reuerend lord thought to furnish and store the towne with moze vitailles for the sustenance thereof, and for the same many times hee spake with the lordes that had the handling and rule of the treasure, and of the expenses thereof in his absence, and since his coming: That is to wit, with the great Commander Gabriel de pommerolles, lieutenant of the sayd lord: The Turcoplier Sir Iohn Bourgh of the English nation: and the Chancellor Sir Andrew de Meral, of whom is spoken afoze, and of his vntruth agaynst his religion. The which thre lordes sayd, that hee should take no thought for it, for the towne was well stored with vitailles for a great while, and that there was wheate ynough till new come in: Notwithstanding it were good to haue moze, or the siege were laied afoze the towne, and therefore it were behoouefull to send for wheate and other necessaries into the West for succours of the towne, and at that time to purcyp for euery thing.

Sir Iohn Bourgh
the English
Turcoplier.

Of the prouision for vitailles and ordinance of warre.

AS touching the store and ordinance of warre, the sayd lordes affirmed that there was p^rough for a yeere and moze, whercof the contrary was found, for it failed a moneth or the citie was beleied. It is of trueth that there was great store, and to haue lasted longer then it did, But it was needfull to spend largely at the first conning of the enemies to keepe them from conning neere, and from bringing earch to the ditches sides as they did. And mozeouer you are to consider the great number of them, and their power that was s^hred round about the towne, giuing vs so many assaults and skirmishes in so many places as they did, and by the space of sixe whole moneths day and night assailing vs, that much ordinance and store was wasted to withstand them in all points. And if it failed, it was no maruell. Howbeit the noble lord great master prouided speedily for it, and sent Brigantines to Lango, to the castle of saint Peter, and to the castles of his ille Feraclous and Lyndo, for to bring powder and saltpetre to strength the towne, but it sufficed not.

And for to speake of the prouiciance of vitailles, it was aduised by the lord great master and his thzee lordes, that it was time to send some ships for wheat to places thereabout, before the Turkes hoste were come thither. And for this purpose was appointed a ship named the Galliege, whose captaine hight Brambois, otherwise called Wolfe, of the Almane nation, an expert man of the sea, the which made so good diligence, that within a moneth he perfozmed his voiage, and brought good store of wheat from Naples and Romania, which did vs great comfort.

How a Brigantine was sent to Candie for wine, and of diuers ships that came to helpe the towne.

After this, a motion was made to make prouision of wine for the towne, for the men of Candie durst not saile for to bring wine to Rhodes as they were woont to doe for feare of the Turkes hoste: and also they of the towne would send no ship into Candie, fearing to be taken and enclosed with the sayd hoste by the way. Howbeit some merchants of the towne were willing to haue aduencured themselves in a good ship of the religion, named the Mary, for to haue laden her with wine in Candie. But they could not agree with the thzee lordes of the treasure, and their let was but for a litle thing: and all the cause came of the sayd traitour de Merall, faining the wealth of the treasure; for he intended another thing, and brake this good and profitable enterprise and will of the sayd merchants, seeing that it was hurtfull to the Turke, whose part the said traitour held in his diuelish heart: that notwithstanding, the reuerend lord great master, that in all things from the beginning to the ends, hath alway shewed his good will, and with all diligence and right that might be requisite to a soueraigne captaine and head of warre, found other expedience, and sent a Brigantine into Candie, in the which he sent a brother sergeant named Anthonie of Bosus, a well spighteed man and wise, that by his wisdom brought so well, that within a small time he brought fifteene vessels called Gripes, laden with wine, and with them men of warre the which came vnder shadow of those wines, because the gouernours of Candie durst let none of their men goe to the succour of Rhodes for feare of the Turke. And before those fifteene Gripes came a good ship whose capitaine and owner was a rich pong gentleman Venetian, Messire John Antonio de Bonaldi, which of his good will came with his ship laden with 700. butts of wine to succour the towne with his person and folkes, whose good and lovable will I leave to the consideration of the readers of this present booke. For hee being purposed to haue had his wines to Constantinople, or he was enjoyned of the busines of Rhodes, and was in the porté du Castell in Candie, would not beare his vitailles to the enemies of the faith, but came out and returned his way toward Rhodes, forgetting all particular profite and aduantage. He being arriued at Rhodes, dispatched and sold his wine, which was a great encrease and comfort for the towne. And when he had so done, he presented his person, his ship, and his folke, to the reuerend great master, the which retained him, and set him in wages of the Religion. And during the siege, the sayd capitaine behaued him woorthily in his person, and put himselfe in such places as woorthy men ought to be. Spending his goods largely without demanding any payment or recompense for his doing, of the Religion.

How the corne was shorne downe halfe ripe and brought into the towne for feare of the Turkes hoste.

During these things, the reuerend lord great master carefull and busie to haue euery thing necessary, as men and other strengths, sent vessels called brigantines, for to cause the wafers

tets of the sea to come into Rhodes for the keeping and fortifying of the towne, the which at the first sending came and presented their persons and ships to the service of the religion.

Harnest in
xiii and xlv.

After that the sayd lord caused to shere downe the Rie of his isle, and caused it to bee brought into the towne, which was done in Aprill: and then in May in some places, he made to there the wheate halfe ripe, howbeit the most part was left in the fields, because the Turkes hoste was come out of the streights of Constantinople. And doubting that any number of ships should come befoze to take the people of the sayd Isle unawares, the sayd lord made them to leaue shering of wheate, and caused the people of the furthest part of the Isle to come into the towne.

While that the great master provided for all things after the course of time and tidings that hee had, there arrived a Carak of Genoa laden with spicerte from Alexandria, the which passed befoze the port of Rhodes the eight day of Aprill, and rid at anker at the fosse, 7. or 8. miles from the towne, for to know and heare tidings of the Turkish hoste. Then the lord willing to furnish him with prople as most behoouefull for the towne, sent a knight of Prouence named sir Anastase de sancta Camilla, commander de la Tronquiere to the captaine of the Carak, praying him to come into the haven with his ship for the defence of the towne, profering him what he would, assuring him his ship. The captaine excused him, saying, that the merchandise was not his owne, but belonged to diuers merchants to whom he must preb account. Howbeit at the last after many wordes and promises to him made, hee came into the haven, the which captaine was named messire Domingo de Fournati, and hee in his person behaued him valiauntly in the time of the sayd siege.

How the great master caused generall musters to be made, and sent a vessell to the Turkes naue, of whom he receiued a letter.

After the moneth of Aprill the lord master seeing that the Turkes hoste drew neere, and that he had the most part of the watters within the towne, he caused generall musters of men of armes to be made. And began at the knights, the which vpon holy Rood day in May made their musters befoze the Commissioners ordained by the sayd lord in places deputed to each of them called Aulberge. The which Commissioners made report to the lordes that they had found the knights in good order of harnesse & other things necessary for warre, & their arate faire & proper, with crosses on them. When the muster of the knights was done, the lord master thought to make the musters of them of the towne, and strangers together: but his wisdom perceiued that harme should come thereby, rather then good, doubting that the number of people should not bee so great as he would, or needed to haue, whereof the great Turke might haue knowledge by goers and commers into Rhodes, and therefore he caused them of the towne to make their musters severall by bandes and companies, and the strangers also by themselves, to the end that the number should not bee knowen, notwithstanding that there was good quantitie of good men and well willing to defend themselves. And the moze to hearten and giue them courage and good will, some knights of the Crosse, decked their men with colours and deuises, and tooke with them men of the towne and strangers, and with great noyse of trumpets and timbrels, they made many musters, as enuying each other which should keepe best aray and order, and haue the fairest company. It was a great pleasure to see them all so well agree, and so well willing.

The number of the men of the towne amounted and were esteemed, thert or foure thousand, beside men of the villages, that might be 1500. or 2000.

The eight day of the same moneth, the Turkes hearing of thole tidings, made a fire for a token in a place called le Fisco, in the maine land right against Rhodes. And certaine dayes afoze they had made another, that is to weer, when the ship of a knight named Menerow went thither, and had with him the clarke of the gallies named Iaques truchman, the which vnder shadow to speake with him, was withholden of the Turkes. For the great Turke had commanded to take him or some other man of the Rhodes to haue perfect knowledg in what estate the towne was then in every thing. And they of the towne weening that the second fire was for to deliuer Iaques, the reuerend lord great master sent one of his gallialles, whose patron was called messire Boniface of Prouence, to know the cause thereof. And when hee arrived at the sayd place of le Fisco, he demaunded of the Turkes wherefore they had made the token of fire. And they said that it was because their lord had sent a letter to the great master, but as yet it was not come, and desired him to tary till it were brought. The patron as warie & wise in the businesse of the sea, thought in himselfe that the Turkes made such prolonging to some euill intent, or to surprize his vessell being alone, wherefoze hee had them giue him the letter speedily, or els he would goe his way, and neither tary for letter nor other thing: and told them of the euill and dishonest deed that they had

had done the dayes afoze, to withhold the clarke vnder their woꝝds and safe conduct: and there-
with he turned his galliase to haue gone away. The Turkes seeing that, gaue him the letter,
the which he tooke, and when he was arrived at Rhodes, he presented it to the lord great master,
which assembled the lordes of his counsell, and made it to be red: The tenoꝝ whereof was such
as foloweth.

The copie of the letter that the great Turke sent to the lord great
master, and to the people of the Rhodes.

Sultan Solyman Basha by the grace of God, right mightie emperoz of Constantinople, and of
himselfe holding both the lands of Persia, Arabia, Syria, Mecha, and Ierusalem; of Asia, Eu-
rope, Egypt, and of all the Sea, lord and possessor: To the reuerend father lord Philip, great ma-
ster of Rhodes, to his counsaillors, and to all the other citizens great and small, greeting. Sen-
ding conuenient and woꝝthy salutations to your reuerences, wee giue you to weet, that we haue
receiued your letters sent vnto our imperiall maiestie by George your seruant, the tenoꝝ where-
of we doe well vnderstand; and for this occasion we send vnto you this our present commaunde-
ment, to the end that we will that ye know surely how by our sentence we will haue that Isle of
Rhodes for many damages and euill deeds which we haue, and heare from day to day of the sayd
place done to vs and our subiects, and ye with your good will shall hold it of vs & doe vs obedience,
and giue the citie to mine imperiall maiestie. And we sweare by God that made heauen and earth,
and by 26000. of our prophets, and by the 4. of last that fell from the Skies, and by our first pro-
phet Mahomet, that if ye doe vs homage, and yeeld you with good will vpon these othes, all you
that will abide in the sayd place, great and small, shall not need to feare ye till noꝝ damage of mine
imperiall maiestie, neither you, your goods, noꝝ your men: and who so will goe to any other place
with his goods and houlhold, may so doe, and who so will dwell and inhabite in any other place
vnder mine Imperiall maiestie, may remaine where they like best, without feare of any
person. And if there bee any of the pꝛincipals and woꝝthy men among you that is so dispo-
sed, wee shall giue him wages and pꝛouision greater then hee hath had. And if any of you will
abide in the sayd isle, yee may so doe after your auncient vsages and customes, and much bet-
ter. And therefore if that yee will accept these our othes and intreatings, send vnto vs a man
with your letters to mine Imperiall maiestie, or els know yee that wee will come vpon
you with all pꝛouisions of warre, and thereof shall come as it pleseth God. And this wee doe, to
the end that ye may know, and that ye may not say but we haue giuen you warning. And if ye doe
not thus with your good will, wee shall haunt and vndermine your foundations in such maner,
that they shall be toꝝne vpside downe, and shall make you slaues, and cause you to die, by the grace
of God, as we haue done many, and hereof haue ye no doubt, Written in our court at Constanti-
nople the first day of the moneth of Iune.

How the Turkes came to land in the Isle of *Lango*, and were
driven to their ships againe by the Prior of *S. Giles*.

When the lord gre at master and his counsell had heard the tenoꝝ of the letter, they would
giue none answer to the great Turke, but that he should be receiued with good strokes
of artillerie. So that to a foolishly demaund behoued none answer. And it was very like that he
would haue nothing. For five dayes after, that was the 14. day of the said moneth of Iune, the
Bizantines that went toward Sio to know of the said armie, came againe and sayd, that of a
trutch the said armie was comming, and that night to Lango an Isle of the religion, an 100. mile
from Rhodes, they had scene and told 30. gallees that were most part gallies and fustes: the which
vessels set men on land in y^e isle of Lango. The the pꝛioꝝ of S. Giles, Messire pre Iohn de Bidoux
commander of the sayd place, taried not long from horsebacke with his knights and people of the
isle, and he met so well with the Turkes, that he dꝛoue them to their ships, and slew a certaine
number of them: and of the side of Pre Iohn some were hurt, and his horse was slaine. When the
enemies were entered into their gallies, they went to a place called castle Iudeo on the maine
land, betweene the sayd isle of Lango and the castle of S. Peter.

How part of the nauie and armie of the great Turke came be-
fore the citie of *Rhodes*.

The 18. day of the said moneth of Iune, these 30. gallies went from the sayd place, and passed
by the Cape of Crion, entering the gulfe of Epimes beside Rhodes, and were discouered
from the shade of the hill of Salaco, a castle in the isle of Rhodes. On the mozow they came out of
the gulfe by plaine day, and sailing along by the coasts, they entered into a hauen on maine land

called Malfata, where they abode three dayes. Then they went from thence, and returned to the gulfe of Epimes, where they abode two dayes and two nights,

The 24 day of the same moneth they issued out of Epimes, and trauesing the chanell, they came to the yle of Rhodes in a place before a castle called Fauces, and they went to land, and burnt a great field of coyne the same day, which was the feast of S. Iohn Baptist our patron. The guard of a castle named Absito in the yle of Rhodes discovered and spied the great hoste, and in great haste brought word to the lord master, and sayd that the sayd hoste, that was in so great number of sailes that they might not be numbred, was entered into the gulfe of Epimes. The 30 sailes that lay in the yle arose in the night, and went to the sayd hoste in the gulfe.

The 26 day of June the sayd great hoste arose and went out of Epimes an houre after the sun rising, & trauesing the chanell, they came to a place called the Fosse, eight miles from the towne. And the 30 first sailes turned backe toward the cape of S. Martin and other places to watch for ships of Chyistian men, if any passed by to Rhodes. The great hoste abode still till neene or one of the clocke, and then arose, not all, but about 80 or 100 ships, as gallies, galliasses, and fusts: and passed one after another before the towne and haven of Rhodes three miles off, and came to shore in a place nigh to land, called Perambolin, six miles from the towne. In the which place the sayd hoste abode from that time to the end of that unhappy siege.

The number and names of the vessels that came to besiege Rhodes.

The number of the ships were these: 30 galliasses, 103 gallies, as well bastards as rebitt ma-houniers, 15 cassoues, 20 fusts, 64 great ships, sixe or seuen gallions, & 30 galleres, beside the nauy that waited for Chyistian men, if any came to succour vs. These were the vessels that came at the first to lay the siege. And sith that the sayd hoste came out of Perambolin, there came from Syria 20 other sailes, as well gallies as fusts. And many other ships came sith, and ioynd with the sayd army in the time of the sayd siege. And it was sayd that there were 400 sailes and moe.

The same day that part of the hoste came to the sayd place, the reuerend lord great master ordeined a great byzantine to send into the West, to certifie our holy father the pope, and the Chyistian princes how the Turks army was afoze Rhodes. And in the sayd vessell he sent two knights, one a French man named Sir Claude danfoyuille called Villiers, and Sir Loys de Sidonia a Spaniard: and they went to the pope and to the emperour.

After the coming of the Turks nauy into the sayd place, it was 14 or 15 dayes or they set any ordinance on land, great or small, or any quantity of men came on shore, whereof we marueiled. And it was tolde vs by some that came out of the campe, and also by the spies that the lord great master had sent abroad arayed as Turks, that they abode the commandement of their great lord, vntill the hoste by land were come into the campe. Howbeit there came some number for to view the towne, but they went privately, for the ordinance of the towne shot without cease.

All this while the gallies and galliasses went and came to land, byzinging bitale and people. At the which ships passing nigh the town, were shot many strokes with bombardes, which made some slaughter of our enemies: and when the most part of them was pass, they began to set ordinance on the land with great diligence. Then the lord great master departed from his palacc, and lodged him nigh a church called The victory, because that place was most to be doubted: and also that at the other siege the great businesse and assault was there.

How the lord great master made his petition before the image of S. Iohn, and offered him the keyes of the towne.

The day before were made many predications and sermons, and the last was in the church of S. Iohn Baptist. When the sermon was done, a pontificall Masse was celebrate with all solemnities, and all the reliques taken downe, and the lord great master and all his knights with great deuotions and reuerence heard it. And when the Masse was ended, the lord great master made a pitiuous oration or prayer before Saint Iohn Baptist his protector: and aboue all other wordes, which were too long to tell, he besought him meckly that it would please him to take the keyes of that miserable city. The which keyes he presented and layed vpon the altar before the image, beseeching S. Iohn to take the keeping and protection thereof, and of all the religion, as by his grace he had giuen to him vnworthy, the gouerning vnto that day: and by his holy grace to defend them from the great power of the enemies that had besieged them,

How the women slaues would haue set fire in the towne.

The eight day of July it was knowne that the Turkish women being slaues and seruants in many houses of the towne, had appointed to set fire in their masters houses at the first assault that should be made, to the end that the men should leaue their posterns & defences to go and saue their houses and goods. And it was found that a woman of Marchopora being a slaue, was first moouer thereof, the which was taken and put to execution.

The same day some of our men went out for to skirmish with the Turkes, and many of them were slaine with shot of our artillerie, and of our men but one.

How the Turkes layd their artillerie about the towne, and of the maner and quantitie of their pieces and gunshot.

The 18. day of July, for the beginning and first day they set vp a mantellet, vnder the which they put three or foure meane pieces, as sacres; wherewith they shot against the posterns of England and Prouence. But the mantellet was soone broken and cast downe, and these pieces destroyed with the shot of the wall, and they that shot them were most part slaine. As this first mantellet was broken, by the great and innumerable people that they had they set all their ordnance on land, and caried it to the places where it should be bent, or nigh thereby.

And the 29. day of the same moneth, they set vp two other mantellets. One beside a church of saint Cosme and Damian, and another toward the West. And from these mantellets they shot great pieces, as Culuerings, double gunnes, and great bombardes agaynst the walls of England and Spaine, to the which mantellets the ordnance of the towne gaue many great strokes, and often brake them. And the more to grieue the towne and to feare vs, they set vp many other mantellets in diuers places, almost round about the towne, and they were reckoned foure scoze: the which number was well lessened by the great quantitie of strokes of artillerie shot out of the towne from many places.

The artillerie of the Turkes was such as followeth.

First there were sixe great gunnes, cannons perriers of brasse, that shot a stone of three foote and a halfe: also there were 15. pieces of iron that shot stones of five or sixe spannes about. Also there were 14. great bombardes that shot stones of eleuen spans about. Also there were twelue basiliskes, whereof they shot but with 8. that is to weet, foure shot agaynst the posterns of England and Spaine, and two against the gate of Italy: the other two shot sometime against Saint Nicholas tower. Also there were 15. double gunnes casting bullets as basiliskes. The meane shot, as sacres and pasculans, were in great number. The handgunshot was innumerable and incredible. Also there were twelue potgunnes of brasse that shot vpward, whereof eight were set behind the church of S. Cosme and Damian, and two at saint John de la Fontaine toward the port of Italy, and the other two afore the gate of Auuergne, the which were shot night and day: and there were three sortes of them, whereof the greatest were of sixe or seuen spannes about. And the sayd stones were cast into the towne to make murder of people, which is a thing very inhumane and fearefull, which maner of shooting is little vsed amongst christian men. Howbeit by euident miracle, thanked be God, the sayd pieces did no great harme, and slew not past 24. or 25. persons, and the most part women and children, and they began to shoot with the said pieces from the 19. day of the same moneth, vnto the end of August, & it was accounted that they shot 2000. times, more or lesse.

Then the enemies were warned by the Jewe that wrote letters to them of all that was done and sayd in the towne, that the sayd potgunnes did no harme: wherefore they were angry, for they thought that they had slaine the third part of our people: and they were counselled by him to leaue that shooting, for it was but time lost, and powder wasted, and then they shot no more with them. It is of a crueth that they shot with the sayd potgunnes 12. or 15. times with bullets of brasse or copper, full of wild fire, and when they were in the ayre, they flamed forth, and in falling on the ground, they brake, and the fire came out and did some harme. But at the last wee knew the malice thereof, and the people was warie from conning neere to them, and therefore they did hurt no more folke.

How the captaine *Gabriel Martinigo* came to the succor of Rhodes; and all the slaues were in danger to be slaine.

The 24. day of the same moneth a brigantine arriued that was sent afore into Candie, where in came a worthy captaine named Gabriel Martinigo with two other captaines. And there went

went to receiue him messieur prou Iohn prioz of S. Giles, and the prioz of Nauarre. Then after his honourable receiuing as to him well appertained, they brought him befoze the lord great master, that louingly receiued him, and he was gladly seene and welcommed of the people, as a man that was named very wise and ingenious in feats of warre. Then came a Spaniard rencgado from the host, that gaue vs warning of all that was done in the field, and of the approaching by the trenches that our enemies made.

And in likewise there arose a great noise in the towne, that the slaues Turkes that wrought for vs in the ditches had slaine their keepers, and would haue fled, which was not so. Neuertheless, the rumour was great, and they rang alarmie: wherefoze the sayd slaues coming to prison, as it was ordeined in al the alarmes, were met of the people, which in great anger put them to death: so that there were slain an hundred & moe the same day. And if the lord great master had not commanded that none should hurt them, they had bene all slaine, and there weree fiftene hundredeth of them: which slaues did great seruice in time of the siege: for they laboured dayly to make our defences, and to cast earth out of the ditches, and in all works they were necessary at our needs.

How the great Turke arriued in person before Rhodes.

The 25 day of the sayd moneth many of our men went out for to skirmish in the field and made great murder of Turkes, and in likewise did our arillery. And it is to be noted that the 28 day of the same moneth the great Turke in person passed le Fisco a hauein in the maine land with a galley and a full, and arriued about noone, where his army lay, the which day may be called vnsappie for Rhodes. For his coming, his presence and continuall abiding in the field is and hath bene cause of the victorie that he hath had. When the gallie that he came in was arriued, all the other shippes of the hoste hanged banners aloft in their toppes and on their sayle perdes.

Soone after that the Turke was arriued, he went to land, and mounted on his horse, and rode to his pavilion which was in a high place called Megalandra, foure or five miles fro the towne out of the danger of the gunne shot. And on the morow, as it was reported to vs, hee came to a Church nigh the towne called Saint Steven, for to viewe the Towne and fortresses, whereas they had set up mantellets for to lay their ordinance.

The last day of July, one of our brigandines went out with a good company of men arrayed the Turkes hoste, and demaunded if there were any that would passe ouer into Turkie, that they should haste them to come. The Turkes weening that they had bene of Turkie, there entered a 12. persons, the which were carried to Rhodes, by whom we knew what they did in the campe.

The first day of August the Captaine Gabriel Martinigo was made knight of the order of the religion by the lord great Master, and was made the first auncient of the Italian nation, of the first balliage or priozie that should be vacant. And in the meane season the religion should giue him twelue hundred ducates for pension euery yere, and the same day he was receiued to the Councill in the roome of a baylife.

The fift day of the sayd moneth our master gunner was slaine with a gunne, which was great losse for vs at that time.

The 15. day of the sayd moneth was knowen and taken for a traitor, Messire Iohn Baptista, the physician afoze sayd, which confessed his euil and diuelish doings, and had his head stricken of.

Of the marueilous mounts that the Turkes made afore the towne, and how the capitaines were ordered in the trenches.

After the coming of the great Turke, the enemies began to shoote with ordinance of another sort then they did befoze, and specially with harquebushes and handguns, and also to make their trenches and appzoches. And also they did moze diligence then afoze, to bring y^e earth nigh the towne with spades and pickaxes. And it is to weet, that they mooued the earth from halfe a mile off, and there were shot out of the towne innumerable strokes with ordinance against the sayd earth, and innumerable quantitie of people hid behind the sayd earth, were slaine. Neuertheless they neuer left working till they had brought it to the bymmes of the ditches: and when it was there, they raised it higher and higher in strengthening it behind. And in conclusion the sayd earth was higher then the wals of the towne by 10. or 12. foote, and it seemed a hill. And it was agaynst the gate of Auvergne and Spaine, and beat our men that were at the gates & bulwarks, in such wise, that none durst be seene till certaine defences and repaires were made of planks and boards to couer our people and keepe them from the shot. And at the gate of Italy was made such another heape, and in none other part.

When the trenches were thus made to the ditches, the enemies made holes in the wals of the ditch

ditch outward: wherewith they shot infinitely with handgunnes at our men as well on the walles as on the bulwarke, and slew many of them. Then the basshas and capitaines entred into the trenches, ech to his place after their order and dignity: that is to wit, Mustafa Bassha as chiefe captaine entred the trench direct to the bulwarke of England with his people & capitaines vnder him. Pery Bassha went to the trenches against the gate of Italy with his folkes and capitaines vnder him. Acmek Bassha was in the trenches of Auvergne and Spaine with the Aga of the Janizaires and the Beglarby of Romany with him. The Beglarby of Nacolia was in the trenches of Prouence. Allibey was with his company against the gardins of saint Anthony on the North side, and diuers other capitaines with him; and set his ordinance against the wall of the gate of Almaine, which was but weake, and set vp seuen mantellets by the milles toward the West: and by the space of eight or nine dayes they beat vpon the same wall; which put vs in great feare, if they had continued. Howbeit the noble lord great master forthwith caused repaires to be made within, and planks & tables to be set to fortifie the sayd weake wall: and aboue there from the morning til night, to cause it to be the more hastned. The artillery of the gate of Almaine, and the Bassif of the gate of the campe and of the palais beat so foze and so often vpon the sayd mantellets that it wearied the enemies to make and repaire them so often: and they tooke vp the pieces, and bare them away. And also they could not well beat the sayd wall because the bynimes of the ditch without were almost as hie as the wall that they beat. But of they bare the artillery away, they beat the steeple of S. Johns church so, that the most part was broken and cast downe. The fore sayd mantellets were appointed to beat S. Nicholas tower, and by the space of ten or twelue dayes they shot foze against it: but they had so sharpe and vigozous answere, that there was not one mantellet that abode whole an houre. The captaine of the sayd tower and his folke did such diligence and businesse in shooting off their pieces, that the enemies durst set by no more mantellets by day, nor shoot no more but onely by night, while the spoone did shine, which is a thing worthy of memory, of maruaile, and of praise. At the last when they had beaten against the sayd tower a certaine time, seeing that it furthered nothing, they tooke their ordinance fro thence, and bare it where they thought best.

During the shot in the sayd place, the other capitaines were not idle nor in a sleepe, but without cease night and day they beat the wall of England and Spaine, and set foure or five mantellets against it, shooting great bombards, whereof some of the stones were five or sixe spannes about, and some other of nine or ten: and within a moneth and lesse they cast downe the wall almost euen smooth with the Barbican. And when the sayd wall was so beaten, they set to beat the bulwarke of Spaine so to raise the defences: and in their trenches they set three great bombards, which shot stones of eleuen spannes in compasse, and with the sayd pieces they beat the sayd bulwarke and wall in such wise, that they made great bracks, and the stones and earth that fell, serued the enemies for ladders, so that they might come vpon the plaine ground. In like sort they raised the defences from the height of the bulwarke at the posterne of Prouence, and set three great pieces on the bynime of the ditch, which shot stones of eleuen spannes against the wall, and within a while they made a breach as at the posterne of Spaine. The artillery of the towne did shoot without cease against the mantellets, and brake many of them, but they made other as it was layd in the nightes. For they had all things that belonged to them, & needed. And out of the posterne of England was shot a gunne that brake downe one of the sayd mantellets, and hit vpon one of the pieces, and slew foure or five men, and bare away both the legs of the master of the ordinance, which died soone after: whereof the great Turke was very ill content, and sayd that he had rather haue lost one of his basshas or capitaines then the sayd master. Also it is to knowen that there were three or foure mantellets adressed against the plaine ground of Italy, and by continuall beating of shot that they made, there was also a breach, and by the earth and stones that were fallen, they might come by to it.

Of the politike repaires and defences that the ingenious captaine Gabriel Martinigo made within the towne against the breaches in the walles.

The captaine Gabriel Martinigo, prompt, diligent, and expert to giue remedies to the needfull places, forthwith caused to make the trauerles vpon the wall where as the breach was, with good repaires, and gunnes small and great which were set in the sayd trauerles, the which shot not onely at the breaches but to the trenches, and made great murder of enemies as well at the assaults that they made as other whiles. And beside the trauerles, the sayd captaine planted small artillery, as harquebushes, and handgunnes vpon certaine houses within the towne, that stood

Good open against the breach, with good repaires: and from that place great slaughter of Turks was made at the assaults. Also it is of truth that beside the sayd mantellets that shot against the wall of England and Spaine with great bombards, were two mantellets in an hie place toward the way to the garden of Maupas, in the which were certaine double gunnes, as ballistics with hollow stones and wilde fire in them, which shot against the wall into the towne at all auentures for to make murder of people: howbeit, thanked be God, they did no great harme but to the houses.

After these great & terrible beatings, and that the enemies had way to mount vpon the towne walles, and come to hand with vs by crauersing of their trenches to the fallen earth within the breach moze surely, and without hurt of our gunshot, shooting thow holes that they made in the walles of the ditch without, they cast by much stone and earth, because it should couer them from the shot of the bulwarke of Auvergne. And also they shot feruently against the bulwarke of Spaine, for to raise the defences, of the which at the last they raised the most part, reseruing only a few gunners below in the mine of the sayd bulwarke, which little or nothing damaged them. And this is touching the gunshot, whereof I say not the third part, because it is a thing incredible to them that haue not seene it. For some dayes they shot with those great bombards that were on the hynne of the ditch, and from the mantellets bent against the wall of England and Spaine 20 or 30 times and moze. And I beleue verily that since the creation of the world such artillery, and so great quantity was neuer bent and layed befoze any towne as hath bene against Rhodes at this siege. Wherefoze it is no maruell if the walles be and haue bene beaten downe, and if there be breaches and clefts in many places.

Of the mines that the Turks made: and how they overthrew part of the bulwarke of England.

AND because, as it is sayd befoze, that the greatest hope that the enemies had to get the towne of Rhodes, was by mining, therefore now after that I haue spoken of the gunshot and beatings, I shall shew of the mines that the Turks made, the which were in so great quantity, and in so many places, that I beleue the third part of the towne was mined: and it is found by account made, that there were about 60 mines, howbeit, thanked be God, many of them came not to effect, by occasion of the countermine that they within made, and also trenches that the right prudent lord the great master caused to be made deepe within the ditches, vnto two or thre foot of water. The which trenches and certaine pits that he had caused in the sayd ditches to be wrought, or the host arrived, serued right well since: for night and day there were men in them to watch and hearken when the enemies mined, for to meet them, and cut their way, as was done many times.

And for to speake of the mines that had effect, and damaged vs, it is to wit, that the fourth day of September, about foure houres after noone, the enemies put fire in two mines, one was beewene the posterne of Spaine and Auvergne, which did no hurt but to the Barbican. The other was at the bulwarke of England, which was so fell and strong, that it caused most part of the towne to shake, and cast down a great part of the sayd bulwarke at the spring of the day: and by the earth and stones that fell into the ditches, the enemies came vpon the bulwarke with their banners, and fought foze and mightily with our men, not with hands, but with shot of handgunnes. The lord great master that was come 15 dayes or moze with his succours to the sayd bulwarke, went with his company to helpe them that fought. After that they had fought the space of two or thre houres, the enemies repelled and driuen backe by our men from the sayd bulwarke, and beaten with ordinance on euery side, withdrew them with their losse, shame, and damage. And this was the first victozy that our lord gaue vs, and there abode of our enemies a thousand and moze.

When this assault was done, they made another at the breach in the wall of Spaine, and mounted vpon it, but the ordinance of the traucerses of the walles and of the houses made so faire a riddance, that they were very willing to withdrow themselves: for at the retreat, and also at their comming the sayd ordinance of the bulwarke did them great damage, albeit that they had made some repaire of earth. Of our men died that day 25 or thereabout, as well knights as other. And the same day in the morning departed out of this world Gabriel de Pomerolles lieutenant to the lord master, which on a certaine day befoze fell from the wall as he went to see the trenches in the ditches, and hurt his breast, and for fault of good attendance he fell into a fever, whereof he died.

How the Turks assailed the bulwarke of England, and how they were driuen away.

THE ninth day of the sayd moneth, at leuen in the morning the enemies put fire in two mines; one at the posterne of Prouence, which had none effect: the other was at the bulwarke of England,

3 thousand & more
Turks came before
the English
bulwarke.

England, which felled another piece nigh to that that was cast downe afore. And the sayd mine was as fierce as the other, or moze, for it seemed that all the bulwarke went downe, and almost all they that were in it ranne away. And when the standerd of the religion came into the sayd bulwarke, the enemies were at the breach ready to haue entred: but when they saw the sayd standerd, as people lost and overcome, they went downe againe. Then the artillery of the bulwarke of Quosquino, and of other places, found them well enough, and slew many of them. Howbeit, their captaines made them to returne with great strokes of swardes and other weapons, and to remount vpon the earth fallen from the sayd bulwarke, and pighte seuen banners nigh to our repaires. Then our men fought with moris pikes and fired speares against them the space of thre whole houres, till at the last they being well beaten with great ordinnance and small on euery side, withdrew themselves. And of their banners our men gate one, for it was not possible to get any moze: for all one as any of our men went by on our repaires, he was slaine with small gunnez of the trenches, and holes made in the walles of our ditches. And there was slaine of our enemies that day at the assault 2000 of meane men, and thre persons of estate, which lay dead along in the ditch, with faire and rich harnesse. And it was reported to vs from the campe, they were thre saniaebis, that is to say, great seneschalles or stewards. And of Christian men of our part abode about thirty persons. And this was the second victoery giuen to vs by the grace diuine.

Two thousand
Turks slaine
at the English
bulwarke.

How Sir *John Bourgh* Turcoplier of *England* was slaine at an assault of the English bulwarke.

The 17 day of the same moneth, about midday, the enemy came againe to giue another assault to the sayd bulwarke, at the same place afore sayd, without setting of fire in mines, and brought fise banners with them, nigh to the repaires. Then was there strong fighting on both parts, and there were gotten two of their banners, of the which sir Christopher Valdenare, that time Castellaine of Rhodes, gate one: the other was in the hands of sir John Bourgh Turcoplier of England, chiefe captaine of the succours of the sayd posterne of England, a valliant man & hardy: and in holding of it he was slaine with the stroke of a handgunne, which was great damage. The sayd banner was recouered by one of our men. And after long fighting on both sides, the enemies seeing that they got nothing but stripes, returned into their trenches. At the sayd fray the lord pzi of S. Giles pre John was hurt thorow the necke with a handgun, and was in great danger of death, but he escaped and was made whole. The same day, and the same houre of the sayd assault, the enemies mounted to the breach in the wall of Spaine, and came to the repaires to the hands of our men, and fought a great while: but the great quanticy of artillery that was shot so busily and so sharply from our trauerles on ech side, and out of the bulwarks of Auvergne and Spaine, skirmiss'd them so well, that there abode as many at that assault as at the other of England, well neere to the number of 5000. And they withdrew themselves with their great losse and confusion, which was the third time that they were chased and overcome: thanked be our Lord, which gaue vs the force and power so to doe, for they were by estimation a hundred against one.

Also the 22 day of the same moneth of September they fired a mine betweene Italy and Pro- uence, which did no harme.

Of the terrible mine at the posterne of *Auuergne*.

And the 23 day of the same moneth they fired two mines, one at the posterne of Spaine, and the other by the bulwarke of Auvergne, the which mine by Auvergne was so terrible, that it made all the towne to shake, and made the wall to open from aboute to beneath vnto the plaine ground: howbeit, it fell not, for the mine had bent or breath in two places, by one of the counter-mines, and by a rocke vnder the Barbican, the which did cleaue, and by that cleft the fury and might of the mine had issue. And if the sayd two vents had not bene, the wall had bene turned by side downe. And for truch, as it was reported to vs out of the campe, the enemies had great hope in the sayd mine, thinking that the wall should haue bene ouerthrowen, and then they might haue entred into the towne at their pleasures: but when they saw the contrary, they were very ill pleased. And the captaines determined to giue assault at foure places at once, to make vs the moze adoo, and to haue an entrance into the towne by one of the foure. And the sayd day and night they ceased not to shoot artillery: and there came in hope of the mine thre or foure thousand men and moe into the trenches.

How the bulwarke of Spaine was lost, and
woonne againe.

The 24 day of the same moneth, a little befoze day, they gaue assault at the breach of Spaine, to the bulwarke of England, to the posterne of Prouence, and at the plaine ground of Italy, all at one houre & one time. The first that mounted to the breach of Spaine, was the Aga of the Janissaries, a valiant man, and of great courage with his company, and bare thzee scoze or thzee scoze and tenne banners and signes, and pight them in the earth of the breach, and then fought with our men, and mounted on our repaires, making other maner of fray and more rigorous then the other that were passed, and the sayd skirmish lasted about sixe houres. And forthwith, as the assault was giuen, a great sort of Turkes entred into the bulwarke of Spaine, and set vp eithe or nine signes or banners vpon it, and dzoue our men out, I can not tell how, untwars or otherwise. And they were lords of it thzee houres and moze. Howbeit there were of our men beneath in the mine of the sayd bulwarke, the which bulwarke so lost, geue vs euill hope. But incontinently thz lord great master being at the defence of the posterne of England, hauing knowledge of the sayd losse, and that there was great fighting and resistance on both sides at the breach of Spaine, marched thither with the banner of the crucifur, leauing the charge of the sayd bulwarke in the hands of the bailife de la Moree mesieur Mery Combant. And the lord mounted on the wall of Spaine, whereas then began a great skirmish, and cuery man layed his handes to worke, as well to put the enemies out of the breach, as to recouer the bulwarke that was lost. And the sayde lord sent a company of men into the bulwarke by the gate of the mine, or by the Barbican, the which entred at the sayd gate, and went by, where they found but few Turkes. For the artillery of the posterne of England, right against the bulwarke of Spaine, had so well met and scattered them, that within a while our men had slaine all them that were left. And thus the sayde bulwarke was gotten and recouered againe, and with all diligence were made new repaires and strengths to the sayd place. And in like sort, the enemies were put from the breach, and few of them escaped, and all their banners and signes were left with vs. Surely it may be sayd, that after the grace of God (the trauerfers of Spaine and Auvergne, and the small artillery set on the houses right against the sayd breaches, as it is sayd, with the coming and presence of the lord great master) hath giuen vs this dayes victozy.

As touching the murder of the people, done by the artillery of the bulwarkes of England and Spaine, the quantity was such that a man could not perceiue nor see any ground of the ditches. And the stench of the massifs cartons was so greiuous, that we might not suffer it leuen or eight dayes after. And at the last, they that might saue themselues did so, and withtozeu themselues to the trenches: and the reuerend lord great master abode victorious of the sayd place, and in like sort of the other thzee assaults, the which were but little lesse then that of Spaine, for they fought long. But in conclusion, the enemies beaten on all sides, and in so many sorts, with artillery were put backe, and danquished, that there died that day at all the foure places fiftetne or sixtreen thousand. And the slaughter was so great at the plaine Italy, of the cursed enemies, that the sea was made redde with their blood. And on our side also died the number of an hundred men or moze. And of men of dignity in the towne, hauing charge, died Sir Francis de Frenolz commander of Romania, which Sir Francis was chiefe captaine of the great ship of Rhodes, and he was slaine at the plaine of Italy, wounded with two strokes of harquibuses: it was great damage of his death, for he was a worthy man, perfect, and full of vertues. There died also messieur Nastaty de sancta Camilla asozenamed, hauing two hundred men vnder him of the lord great masters succours. There died also diuers other worthy men that day, and many were mained. Among all other that lost any member, mesieur Iohn de Le Touz called Pradines, being at the sayd bulwarke, with a stroke of artillery had his arme smitten away, in great danger to haue lost his life; howbeit by the helpe of God he died not. In like sort the same day was hurt Sir William Weston aboue sayd, captaine of the posterne of England, and had one of his fingers stricken away with an harquebus: which knight behaued himselfe right woorthily at all the assaults. Of the Turkes part, of great men, were two pyncipall captaines slaine vnder the Aga of the Janissaries, and another captaine that was come out of Surey to the campe certaine dayes befoze, with sixe hundred Hamelukes, and two or thzee thousand Poozes. And of them that were hurt of great men the Beglarby of Nacolia had a stroke with an arrow as he was in the trench of Prouence. And many other were wounded, whose names be not rehearsed here, because of shortnesse.

Sir William
Weston captaine
of the English
posterne hurt.

How the great Turke for anger that he could not get the towne, would haue put his chiefe captaine to death, and how they made 11 mines vnder the bulwarke of England.

During this assault, the great Turke was by his patullion in a place that he had caused to be made, and saw all the businesse, and saw his people were so sharply put backe, and the victory lost on his side, & was very soze displeas'd, and halfe in despaire: and he sent for Mustafa Bassha with whom he was angry, and chid him bitterly, saying that he had caused him to come thither, and had made him to beleue that he should take the towne in fiftieent dayes, or a moneth at the furthest; and he had bene there already three moneths with his army, and yet they had done nothing. And after these wordes he was purposed to put him to death in the campe: but the other Basshas shewed him that he ought not to do iustice in the land of his enemies, for it would cost them and giue them courage. Whereby he did moderate his anger, and left him for that time, and thought to send him to Cairo, least the people there would rebell, by occasion of the captaine of Cairo which died a few dayes before. Howbeit he departed not so suddenly, and or he went he thought to assay if he might do some thing for to please the Turke, as well for his honour as for to saue his person, and was maruellous diligent to make mines at the bulwarke of England for to ouerthrow it. And by account were made 11 mines as well to the sayd bulwarke as elsewhere, beside them spoken of before, and that they had fired. But the most part of the sayd mines came to no purpose though they put fire in them, and many were met with countermines, and broken by our men by the good diligence and sollicitude of sir Gabriel Du-chef steward of the house of the lord great master, which had the charge of the sayd countermines at the same bulwarke. In the which businesse he behaued himselfe well and worthily, and spared not his goods to cause the people to worke and trauell, but spent thereof largely.

How the Turks were minded to haue gone their way, and of the traitours within the towne, and of many great assaults.

The Turks seeing that by mining they were nothing furthered, nor might not come to their intentions, and hauing but small store of gunpowder, were in deliberation and minde to haue raised the siege, and gone their way. And indeed some of them bare their cariages toward the shippes: and also certaine number of people went out of the trenches with their standards straight to the shippes. And it was written vnto vs from the campe how the Jaullaries and other of the host would fight no moze: and that they were almost all of one opinion for to go away, saue some of the captaines of the foresayd Mustafa Bassha or Acmek Bassha. And in the meane season the false traitours that were in the towne wrote letters to the campe, giuing them knowledge of all that was sayd and done among vs. And also an Albanese fled to the enemies campe, and warned them not to go, for the gunshot was nigh wasted, and that the most part of the knights and people should be theirs shortly.

In like sort then wrote the abouesayd Chancellor Sir Andrew de Merall, whose treason as then was not known: but when it cometh to the effect of his treason, I shall shew the knowledge that he gaue to the enemies at diuers times.

When the basshas and captaines of the hoste vnderstood the sayd warnings, they all purposed for to tary, and caused those tidings of the towne to be known ouer all the army. And beganne againe to shoot artillery faster then euer they did, for new shot was come into the campe. Then Mustafa Bassha being in despaire that he could do nothing by mines, by gunshot, nor by assaults, he being ready to depart for to goe into Surey by the great Turkes commandement, before his departing hee thought once againe to assay his aduventure, and made three assaults three dayes together. The first was on a Saturday the fourth day of October an houre before night. The other on Sunday in the morning. And the third on Monday after dinner. And the sayd three assaults were made to the bulwarke of England. And it was assailed but with stones and bagges full of artificiall fire. And at these three assaults many of our men were hurt with the sayd fire, and with the stones that came as thicke as raine or haile. But in the end the enemies got nothing but strokes, and returned into their trenches euill contented, and murmuring, and sware by their Mahomet that Mustafa Bassha should not make them to mount any moze to the sayd bulwarke. And that it was great folly for them to cause them to be slaine at the will and fantasie of one man. These wordes sayd in Greeke by some of the enemies were heard of our men as they went downe from the bulwarke. And because (as it is sayd) that the enemies at the assaults that were made, came by by the earth and stones that fell from the breaches, some

of our men aduised to cleanse the barbican, and take the earth out of the ditch, to the end that the enemies should not easily come vpon the wall. And in effect weening that it were well and behoouefull to be done, by great diligence night and day by mines they voided the barbican, and the most part of the earth that lay in the ditch was brought into the towne, the which was hurtfull afterward, and was cause that the enemies got the foot of the wall. Notwithstanding, they had it but scarcely. But this cleansing furthered the time, and caused them to get it sooner then they should haue done if the earth had lien still: but their small intent was to raise the defence of the bulwarks, and then passe at their pleasure, and enter into the barbican, as they haue done: for the enemies seeing that the barbican was cleansed, thought to get into it by trenches, and so they did, howbeit they were certaine dayes letted by our handgun shot. The enemies seeing that they might not come neere it, covered their trenches with tables to saue themselves: and then they made a mine whereby they might goe to the barbican. So by these two meanes, afterward they were repaired with earth and with a certaine wall that they made for to eschew the shot of the bulwarks of Auvergne and Spaine: and in the mine they found but two gunners, which they slew by force of men. By this maner they being covered on all parts and without any danger, passed thorow and lept into the barbican, and got the foot of the wall; which was the 17 day of October, an unhappy day for the pooze towne, and occasion of the ruine thereof, and winning of the same.

At this point they slept not, but lightly and with great delight they began to picke and hew the wall. And weening to make remedy therfore, and to finde meanes to ouercome them from the sayde barbican with engins of fire and bartels of gunpowder, wee slew many of them, but it auailed nothing: for the quantity and multitude of people that trauelled there was so great, that they cared not for losse of them. And if we had had men enow within the towne, there might haue bene remedy to haue raised them from thence: but considering that our force and all hope was in people, wee left to doe many things that might haue bene done, and that should haue bene good then and other times also, for fault of men of warre. At the last it was pondered by Sir Gabriel Martiningo, that there was no remedy but to hew the wall for to meet them, and beat them with ordinance and with engins of fire to burne and vndo them. Then our men began to hew the wall, and made some holes to shoot at the enemies that slept not, but did as wee did, and shot at vs, and indeed they slew & hurt many of our men. Then Sir Gabriel Martiningo ordeined to make repairs within the towne at the front where they did cut the wall, to the end that after the walles were cut, the enemies should know with whom to meet. The traueses were made on each side with good artillery great and small: and the sayd traueses and repairs were of the length that the enemies had cut the wall, and beganne at the massise of Spaine made by the reuerend lord great master Mery d'Amboise, & ended at the church of S. Saluador. The which traueses and repairs the vulgar people call the Mandra, that is to say, the field.

The meane time that the repairs and traueses were made with all diligence, Sir Gabriel Martiningo neuer ceased going to euery place to puruey for all things: and he being on the bulwark of Spaine to ordeine all things that were needfull, there came a stroke of a handgun from the trenches that smote out his eye, and put him in danger of his life, but thanked be God, he recovered his health within a moneth and a halfe. His hurt came ill to passe, for the need that we had of him that time in all things, and specially to the repairs of the breaches. Neuertheless the lord priour of S. Giles (not ignorant in all such things) with other men expert in warre, attended to the sayd repairs and traueses, there and elsewhere. The enemies on the other side night and day without rest (for the great number of labourers that they had hourly and newly ready) hewed and vndermined the sayd wall.

And the 20 day of October they put fire in the vndermines, weening to haue cast downe the wall, but they could not: then they would haue pulled it downe with great ropes and ankers, but the artillery of the bulwark of Auvergne brake their ropes, and sent them away lightly.

At the last they made a mine vnder the sayd wall and breach: and the 26 day of the same moneth they did put fire to the same mine, weening to haue ouerthrowen the wall, which it did not, but raised it, and made it to fall almost straight vpright, which was more disadvantage to the enemies then profit. Then they shot artillery at it, which in fewe dayes beat it downe, and they had opening and way to come into the Towne. Neuertheless it was not necessary for them as then to enter: for the artillery of our repairs beat them in the forepart, and the artillery lying at the two milles at the posterne of Quosquino, and in that of England, whereas was a basillike that beat right vpon the breach with other pieces: and therefore the enemies sought other meanes, and beganne to raise the earth betweene our two walles, drawing toward the bulwark of England on the one side, and toward Auvergne on the other side, and would haue cut the wall

wall further then our traueses were for to come in unbeaten of our artillery. Then were the repaires enlarged and made greater with the wall that was cut, of the height of twelue, & 16 foot in bredth: and so the enemies might goe no further forward, but shot great artillery against our repaires, for to breake and cast them downe, and also they made trenches for to come right to the breach, and vnto the repaires: and certainly we looked day by day, and houre by houre for to haue some assault. The reuerend lord great master, the which, as it is sayd, had left the bulwarke of England the day that the great assault was made, and since that time he moued not from thence while they hewed the wall, & where as the breach was, because that they were most dangerous & most vnquiet places: And continually the sayd lord kept him behinde the sayd repaires with his knyghts and men of succours, intentiuely ready and prepared to liue and die, and to receiue his enemies as they ought to bee receiued. And he abode three or foure dayes at the sayd breach, continuing since it was made, vnto the end, fighting with his enemies euery day in great perill of his body: for oftentimes hee put himselfe further in the pcease then needed for the danger of his person, but he did it for to hearten and strengthen the courage of his people, being so well willing to defend and die for the faith.

How the enemies assailed the posternes of *Prouence* and *Italy*, and how they were driuen away.

By the will of our Lord, the enemies alway in feare and dread, would giue none assault, but continually shot against our repaires, and made trenches for to passe forward into the towne: by the which trenches they shot infinitely with harquebushes and handgunnes, and slew many of our folke, and specially of them that wrought and made the repaires that were broken and crased. And they put vs in such extremity, that we had almost no more slaues nor other labouring people for to repaire that which they brake night and day, which was a great hinderance for vs, and the beginning of our perdition. And if we had much to doe in that place, there was not lesse at the gate of *Prouence*, and at the plaine of *Italy*: for dayly they were doing either with assault or skirmish, and most at the plaine of *Italy*. Notwith by the helpe of our Lord with the good conducting of the captaine of succours of the same place, the yriour of *Navarre*, that was prompt and intentiue, and could well incourage his men, the enemies had alway the woodst, and were driuen from the sayd plaine, and from the breach of *Prouence*.

How the treason of Sir *Andrew de Merall* was knowen, and of the maruellous assaults that the *Turks* made.

Vpon these termes and assaults, the treason of the chancellour Sir *Andrew de Merall*, of whom I spake before, was perceiued: for a seruaunt of his, named *Blasie*, was found shooting a quarrell of a crossebow with a letter, whereof he was accused to the lord great master, which commanded to take him and examine him by iustice, and he confessed the shot of that letter & of other before, at the commandment of his master: and sayd that he had great acquaintance with the *Turks* bashas, and that it was not long since he had written a letter to them, warning them that they should not go, for gunshot began to faile, and the men were wasted by slaying and hurting at the assaults in great quantity: and if they abode still and gaue no more assaults, at the last the towne should be theirs. And diuers other things the seruant sayd of his master, of the which I haue spoken part before at the beginning, and of the warning that he gaue to the great *Turke* for to come.

But to returne to the plaine of *Italy*. After many battels and assaults done in the sayd place, by continuall shot of seuentene great gunnes that be at the sayd plaine, the repaires and traueses were almost broken and lost. And by trenches the enemies were come iopning to the breach, and neuer ceased to grate the earth and scrape the earth to cause the repaires & traueses to fall: and at the last the most part fell downe, & our men were constrained to leane the sayd plaine, saue a cancell that was toward the sea, as it were the third part thereof. Certaine dayes afore the enemies came to the foot of the plaine, and did cut it, and cased the earth, & at the last they passed thorough vnto the towne wall: and anon began to hew and cut as they did at that of *Spaine*. The lord great master seeing that, anon cast down a part of the church of our Lady de la *Victoria*, and of another church of *S. Panthalion*. And within they began to make the repaires and traueses as at the place of *Spaine*, whereto was made extreme diligence, but not such as the lord would, and as was needfull, because there were no labourers for to helpe. After that the enemies had woon the most part of the bulwarke of England & the plaine of *Italy*, they purposed to make assault to the

sayd plaine, and to the breach of Spaine, and to enter into our repaires to winne them for to make an end of vs. And for euer to affeeble the repaires and for to abash vs, the 28 day of Nouember all along the day and night they ceased not to shoot great artillery, both from the bynnes of the ditches with those great pices, casting stones of nine & eleuen foot about; and from the mantellets without. And as it was reckoned; they shot the same day and night 150 times or moze against our repaires and trauerles of the wall.

And in the morning the 29 day of the same moneth, the bigill of S. Andrew at the spring of the day, the enemies went thozow the breach with their banners, and entered into the repaires with greater number of people then they did at the great battell in September, hardily and furiously for to fight with vs. But at their coming in, the artillery of the trauerles, and the hand-gummes, and the gunshot of the milles found them so well and so sharply, that he that came in, was anon dispatched and ouerthrowen, and there abode aboue 2000 of the Turks slaine, The other that came after seeing their fellowes so euill welcommed; as people that were astonied and lost, they turned againe to their trenches: at whome the artillery of the milles shot victoriously, and halted them to go apace: and by report from the campe there died sixe thousand or mo that day: the which day might be called very happy, and well fortunat for vs, thanked be God, for there was none that thought to escape that day, but to haue died all, and lost the towne: howbeit, the pleasure of our Lord was by euident miracle to haue it othertwise, and the enemies were chased and overcome. And it is to be noted, that the same day the raine was so great and so strong, that it made the earth to sincke a great deale that they had cast into the ditches, for to couer them from the shot of Auvergne. And the sayd earth being so suncken, the artillery of the sayde bulwarke (vnwares to them) smote them going and coming, and made great murder of the sayd dogges. The sayd day also the enemies came to the plaine of Italy for to assault it; but when they understood that their fellowes had bene put backe so rudely; and with so great slaughter, they were afrayd, and so they returned againe to their trenches.

How the Turks got the plaine ground of Spaine.

And that done, Acmeke Basha seeing their businesse euery day goe from woorse to woorse, and that at the assaults were but losse of people, without doing of any good, and that there was no man that willingly would go to it any moze, he intended to giue no moze assaults, but to follow his trenches, and by them enter couertly without losse of a man from the breach to the other end of the towne. Semblably he intended for to winne the plaine earth beside Spaine: the which to get, he came at pleasure to the foot of the wall, & began to beat downe the plaine ground, and to giue many skirmishes and conflicts to our folke that kept it. And there were slaine many good men. And at the last, for default of moze helpe and of gunshot, it was left and giuen vp of our men, and so lost. That done, the enemies came thither as in other places. And this is the third place where they came nere to the foot of the wall. And who so wri considered in what estate the poore towne was at that time, seeing their enemies haue so great aduantage, might well say, and iudge, that at length it should be taken, and a lost towne.

How a Genouois came to the gate of the towne for to speake for a treaty, and deliuerance of the same.

A few dayes after the saide iourney a Chyristian man that was in the campe, the which by his speech was a Genouois or Siotis, came to the gate of Auvergne, and demanded to parle, and after that he was demanded what he would haue, he sayd that he had maruell of vs why we would not yeeld our selues, seeing the pitious estate the towne was in: and he as a Chyristian man counsell'd vs to yeeld our selues with some agreement: and that if we would looke thereto, that some should be found expedient to do some what for our safegard. And it is very like that he sayd not such woords, nor spake so farforth in the matter, without commission fro some of the chiefe of the campe, or of the great Turke himselve. To the which Siotis was answered, that he should go away with an euill hap, and that it needed not to speake of appointment: and that though the enemies had great aduantage, there was yet enough wherewith to receiue and feast them, if they made any assault. These woords heard, he went away: and two dayes after he came againe, and demanded to speake with a marchant Genouois of the towne, named Matthew de Vra, and he was answered that he which he demanded, was sicke, and might not come, but that he should deliuer the letter, and it should be giuen to him. The sayd Siotis sayd nay, and that he would giue it himselve, and speake with him: and sayd that he had also a letter of the Grand signior, for the lord master. Upon this he was bidden to go his way: and to set him parking, they shot after him a picce

piece of artillery. The next day after Ballantis Albanic that was fled thow the breach of Spaine to the campe, came from the sayd Genouois proposing such words, or like as the other had sayd, saying likewise that the Grand signior had sent a letter to the lord master. To whom no words were spoken, nor ans were made, for the lord great master as wise and prudent considering that a towne that will heare intreatings is halfe lost, defended upon the paine of death such that Siotis had spoken these two times, that none should be so hardy to speake nor answeere them of the campe, without his knowledge & commandement: but seeing they were such ambassadoers, they repoerted the words of the sayd Albanese, or euer the sayd lord had knowledge of the words of the Siotis. The which words spread thow the towne put many folke in thought, and would haue vndone that that the Siotis said: the which is no marvell whereas is much people, for with good will and most oftē they regard sooner to saue the liues of them and their children, then they doe to the honour of the residue. Howbeit not one durst speake a word openly of that businesse, but all secretly; and some came and spake to certaine lords of the great crosse for to speake to y lord great master. And in effect some lords spake therof to him perswading him that it should be good to thinke thereon, seeing that the towne went to losse. To whom the sayd lord shewed many things for his honoꝝ and the Religion: and that no such things ought to be done or thought for any thing in the world, but rather he and they to die. The lords hearing this answer, went their wayes, and then returned againe to the sayd lord, aduising him moze to thinke well on all things, and to the saluation of his towne and of his religion. And they sayd mozeouer, that they doubted that the people would rather haue a peace then to die themselves, their wiues and children. The lord seeing that such words were as things inforced, as who should say, if thou do it not, we shall do it as wise men and prudent, willing to make remedies of needfull things by counsell, called the lords of his Councell for to haue aduise in these doings, and other. And when they were assembled, the lord proposed the words that were to him denounced, and sayd: With these termes and wordes came two or three marchants and citizens of the towne that knocked at the doore of the Councell, and presented a supplication to the great master, and lords of the Councell, whereby they required and besought meekeley the sayd reuerend lord to haue respect to them and their pooze houtholds, and to make some appointment with the great Turke, seeing that the sayd matter was already forward in purpose, that he would do it; and that it would please him to consider the pitious & sorrowfull estate that the towne was in; & that there was no remedy to saue it: and at the lest way, if the lord would not make appointment, to giue them leaue (of his goodnesse) to haue their wiues and their children out of the Rodes to saue them, for they would not haue them slaine nor made slaues to the enemies. And the conclusion was, that if the sayd lord would not puruey therfore, they would puruey for it themselves. And there was written in the said request the names of eight or ten of the richest of the towne. Which words of the sayd supplication being heard, the sayd lord and his councell were abashed and ill content as reason would, seeing that it was but a courle game, and thought on many things to make answer to the sayd citizens, for to content and appeale them: and also to see if they should intend to the appointment, as they required, and after as the Genouois had repoerted: and the better to make the sayd answer, and to know moze plainly in what estate the towne was in all things: that is to wit, first of gunpowder, and then of men of warre, and of the katteries. Also were demanded and asked the lord of S. Giles pre Iohn, which had the charge of the gunpowder, and then the captaine Sir Gabriel Martinigo, for being ouer their men of warre (as it is said) as to him that knew the truth; if the towne might holde or not, or there were any meanes to saue it. The sayd lord of S. Giles arose, saying and affirming vpon his honour and his conscience that almost all the slaues and labourers were dead and hurt, and that scantly there were folke enow to remaue a piece of artillery from one place to another, and that it was vnpossible without folke any moze to make or set by the repairs the which every day were broken and crushed by the great, furious, and continuall shot of the enemies artillery. As for gunpowder the sayd lord sayd, that all that was for stoz in the towne, was spent long agoe, and that which was newly bzought, was not to serue & furnish two assaults. And he seeing the great advantage of the enemies being so farre within the towne, without power to put or chase them away, for default of men, was of the opinion that the towne would be lost, and that there was no meanes to saue it. The words of the sayd lord finished, the captaine Gabriel Martinigo for his discharge sayd and declared to the reuerend lord and them of the Councell, that seeing and considering the great beatings of the shot that the towne had suffered, and after seeing the entering which the enemies had so large, and that they were within the towne by their trenches both endlong and ouerthwart; seeing also that in two other places they were at the foot of the wall, and that the most part of our knights and men of warre and other were slaine and hurt, and the gunpowder wasted, and that it was vnpossible for them

to resist their enemies any more, that without doubt the towne was lost if there came no succours for to helpe and resist the siege. The which opinions and reasons of these two woorthy men and expert in such feats, vnderstood and pondered by the lord great master and the lords of the Councell, they were most part aduised for to accept and take treaty if it were offered, for the sauergard of the common people, and of the holy reliques of the church, as part of the holy crosse, the holy throne, the hand of S. Iohn, and part of his head, and diuers other reliques. Howbeit the lord great master to whom the businesse belonged very nere, and that tooke it most heauily, and was more sorrowfull then any of the other, as reason required, was alway steadfast in his first purpose, rather willing to die then to consent to such a thing, and sayd againe to the lordes of the Councell: Aduise you, and thinke well on euery thing, and of the end that may happen, and he proposed to them two points: that is to wit, Whether it is better for vs to die all, or to saue the people and the holy reliques. The which two points and doubts were long time disputed, and there were diuers opinions: neuertheless, at the last they sayd all, that howbeit that it were well and safely done to die for the faith, and most honoz for vs, not withstanding seeing and considering that there is no remedy to resist against our enemies, and meanes to saue the towne; and on the other part, that the great Turke would not oppresse vs to forsake our faith, but only would haue the towne, it were much better then, and tending to greater wealth to saue all the iewels about sayne, that should be defiled and lost if they came in the handes of the enemies of the faith. And also to keepe so much small people, as women and children, that they would torment and cut some in pieces, other take, and perforce cause them to forsake their faith, with innumerable violences, and shamefull sinnes that should be committed and done, if the towne were put to the sword, as was done at Modon, and lately at Bellegrado. Whereby they did conclude, that it were better, and more agreeable to God, for to take the treaty, if it were proffered, then for to die as people desperate, and without hope.

How the great Turke sent two of his men to the towne, to haue it by intreating. And how the lord great master sent two knights to him, to know his assurance.

Vpon these consultations and words almighty God that sauech them which trust in him, and that would not that so many euils and cruelties should come to the poore city & inhabitants of it, and also that the great Turke might not arise in ouer great pride and vainglory, put him in minde to seeke to haue the sayd towne by treaty, which he ought not to haue done for his honour, nor by reason, for the towne was in a maner his. And in like sort he ought not to haue let vs goe as he did, seeing that we were his moztall enemies euer, and shall be still in the time coming, considering the great slaughter of his people that we haue made in this siege. Howbeit, the eternall goodnesse hath blinded him, and hath pleased that these things should be thus, for some cause vnknewen of vs. And for conclusion, the great Turke sent to haue a communication and parle in following the words of the Genouese aforesayd. Then was a signe set vpon the churche of the abbey without the towne, to the which was made and were with another at the milles of Quosquino. And forthwith came two Turkes to speake with them of the towne. Then the lord great master sent the Priour of S. Giles pre Iohn, and the captaine Gabriel Martinigo to know the cause of their coming. And when they came to them, without holding of long speech, the two Turkes deliuered them a letter for to beare to the lord great master from the great Turke, and then returned safely into their tents. When the two lordes had receiued it, they bare & presented it to the reuerend lord great master, which caused it to be read. By the which the great Turke demanded of the lord great master to yeeld the towne to him, and in so doing he was content to let him go & all his knights, and all the other people of what condition soeuer they were, with all their goods & iewels safe without feare of any harme or displeasure of his folks. And also he sware and promised on his faith so to do. The sayd letter was sealed with his signet that he vseth, that is as it were gilded. And he sayde after ward, that if the lord great master would not accept the sayde treaty, that none of the city, of what estate soeuer he were, should thinke to escape, but that they all vnto the cats should passe by the edge of the sword, and that they should send him an answer forthwith, either yea or nay. After the sight of the contents of the sayd letter of so great weight, and the time so short for to giue so great an answer, and with demand, the sayd lord great master, and all the lordes of the Councell were in great thought, howbeit they determined to giue an answer, seeing the estate of the towne so ill that it could be no woorse. Wearing the report and opinions a day or two before of the two lordes ordeined to view the defects of the towne, saying that the towne was lost without remedy: considering also that the principalles of the towne would

haue appointment. And in likewise, at the other counsell all the tozdes had already willed and declared, that it were better to saue the towne for respect of the pooze people, then to put it all whole to the furie of the enemies, whereupon they agreed and concluded to take the foresayd treatie. After the conclusion taken, answere was made readily for a good respect; that is to weet, to take the Turke at his worde, to the ende that he should not repent him of it, nor change his opinion. For enery houre his people wanne and entered further and further into the towne. And for to goe vnto the great Turke were obtained these two knights, sir Passin afore named, and he bare the token of the White crosse: and another of the towne named Robert de Perruse iudge D^r dinarle.

When these two ambassadours had made them readie, they went out at the gate of Quosquino, and went to the tent of Acmek basha, capitaine generall. And because it was late, and that they might not goe that day to the great Turke, on the next day in the morning the foresaid capitaine Acmek led and conuiced our sayd ambassadours to the great Turkes hauillion, that they might haue the moze knowledge plainely, and for to heare his will as touching the wordes which were reported to the reuerend lord great master, and after, the contents of his letter and writings.

When the sayd two ambassadours were departed out of the towne, there did enter two men of authoritie of the campe; one was nephew or kinsman of the sayd Acmek, the other was the great Turkes truchman, which the lord master caused to be well receiued, and they were lodged nigh the sayd gate of Quosquino. And then truce was taken for 3. dayes, and the enemies came to our repaires, and spake with our folke and dranke one with another.

How the ambassadours of Rhodes spake with the great Turke, and what answere they had.

When our ambassadours had made reuerence to the great Turke, they sayd that the lord great master of Rhodes had sent them to his Imperiall maiestie to know what he requested, and desired that they might talke together, and how the great master had receiued his letter. The great Turke answered them by his truchman, that of demanding to speake together, nor writing of letter to the great master he knew nothing. Nowbeit, sith the great master had sent to him for to know his will, he bade say to them that the great master should yecle him the towne. And in so doing he promised by his faith for to let him goe with all his knights, and all other that would goe with their goods, without receiuing any displeasure of his people of the campe. And if he accepted not the sayd treatie, to certifie him that he would neuer depart from Rhodes till he had taken it, and that all his might of Turkie should die there, rather then hee would faile of it, and that there should neither great nor litle escape, but vnto the cats they should be all cut in pices, and sayd that within 3. dayes they should giue him an answere, for hee would not that his people should loose time, and that during the sayd truce they should make no repaires nor defences within the towne.

When the great Turke had ended his wordes, our ambassadours tooke their leaue of him, and returned to the towne, and there was giuen to each of them a rich garment of branched velvet, with cloth of gold of the Turkish fashion. Then Acmek basha tooke sir Passin, and led him to his pauillion, and increating him right well, caused him to abide all that day and night: and in eating and drinking they had many discourtes of things done at the siege, questoning each with other. And among all other things our ambassadour demaunded of Acmek, and prayed him to tell for truely how many men died of the campe while the siege was laied. The said Basha sware vpon his faith and certified, that there were dead of the campe of violent death, that is to say, of gunshot and other wayes, 64000. men or moze, beside them that died of sicknesse, which were about 40. or 50. thousand.

64000. Turkes
slaine at the
Siege of Rhodes.

How one of the ambassadours made answere of his message, and how the Commons would not agree to yeeld the towne.

Returne we now to our purpose and to the answere that our ambassadours brought to the lord great master. The sayd Robert Perruse made the answere, and told what the great Turke had sayd, certifying that he would haue an answere quickly either yea or nay. The which answere after the demaund of the great Turke hath bene purposed and concluded by the whole counsell, and his offer & treatie accepted, howbeit the sayd ambassadours had it not to do so soone nor the first time that they went for good reasons, but yet they would not deferre it, for feare least he

he should repent him. And vpon these determinations that they would haue sent the sayd Peruse to heare the answer, came some of the common people of the towne to the lord great master, that was with the lordes of the counsell, and sayd that they were aduertised of the appointment that he had made with the great Turke, and that he would yeeld the towne with couenaunts by him taken, which they supposed ought not to be done without calling of them. And because they were not called to it, they sayd that they would not agree thereto, and that it were better for them to die, for the great Turke by some way would put them all to death, as was done in Bellegrado in Hungarie.

How the lord great master sent two ambassadors for the Commons to the great Turke.

When the reuerend lord great master had heard their wordes, he sayd graciously to them, that as touching the acceptation of the great Turkes offer, it was needful so to do in the degree that the towne was, and the causes wherefore he had done it the counsell had seene and discusse, and that it was a thing that might not, nor ought not to be sayd nor published in common, for reporting of it to the enemies by traitours, but be kept still and secret. And moreover, that it was concluded to make an answer shortly, for to take the great Turke at his word, least he repented him. For if they had bene called, or the answer had bene giuen, it had bene overlong businessse, and in the meane time the Turke might haue changed his mind, and that that he had done and concluded with the great Turke, the lordes of the counsell had well regarded and considered in all things, and for their profite and aduantage, as much or more as for that of the Religion. And that they would send to the great Turke againe other ambassadours, the better to know his will, and to be surer of his promise. Then the lord great master ordained two other ambassadours for to goe to the great Turke, which were two Spaniards, the one named sir Raimon Marker, and the other messire Lopez, at whose issuing entered Sir Passin the first ambassadour, and the other two went to the tent of Acmek basha, for to leade them to the great Turke. And when they were within the Turkes pauillion, and had done him reuerence as appertained, our ambassadours sayd that the great master had heard and seen his demaund to yeeld the towne. And for y^t it is a thing of great weight, and that he had to doe and say with many men of diuers nations, and because the time of answer was so short, hee might not doe that that hee demaunded so soone. Howbeit hee would speake with his people, and then hee would giue him an answer.

How the Turke began the assault, and how the Commons agreed to yeeld the towne.

When the great Turke heard the answer of our ambassadours, he sayd nothing, but commaunded his Basha that they should begin the battell againe to the towne, the which was done, and then the truce was broken, and the shot of the enemies was sharper then it was afore. And on the other side nothing, or very litle for fault of powder: for that that there was left, was kept for some great assault or neede. Howbeit the sayd Amek Basha kept one of the ambassadours, and messire Lopez onely entered. The great master seeing the warre begun, and the shot thicker then it was afore, and the enemies entred hourly by their trenches further into the towne, called them that before had sayde to him, that they would not the towne should be yeelded, but had rather for to die. And therefore the sayd lord sayd that he was content for to die with them, and that they should dispose them to defend themselves well, or to doe their endeuour better then they had done in times past. And to the ende that each one of them should haue knowledge of his will (for as then he spake but to foure or fiue of them that gaue sayd him) he made a cry through all the towne, that all they that were holden to be at the posternes or gates should giue attendance, and not to come away day nor night on payne of death: for afore, the Rhodians came but litle there. And that the other that were not of the posternes, or that were of his succours, should goe to the beach of Spaine where the sayd lord was continually, and not to goe away day nor night on the abouesayd payne. The sayd cry made, each one were obedient for a day or twaine, howbeit a poong Rhodian left his posterne and went to his house, which on the next day was hanged for breaking of the lordes commaundement. Notwithstanding that, by litle and litle the people annoyed them, and their heartes failed, and left the posternes and beaches: in such wise, that the enemies might come in without finding great resistance, but of a fewe that the lord master caused to abide there (that is to weet) knightes of his succours, And in the night he sought out more people for to keepe y^t watch at the said beach, and

and paid to them as much as they would. The sayd lord seeing himself thus abandoned and left of his people, he sent to aske them againe wherefoze they did not their endeour, and why they came not to day, as they sayd before. Which made answer that they sawe and knew well that the towne was lost for certaine reasons that were told them: by occasion whereof they had gauesaid the ordinaunce of the sayd lord, and sayd that they had bene wrong enforced of diuers things: and on the other side, that they feared that the Turke would not hold his word. But sithens they sawe that there was none other remedie but to abide the aduventure and fortune, they sayd that they put all to the sayd lord to doe what he thought good, and that hee would see what were best for them. And required the lord to doe them so much fauour as to let them choose one or two among them for to goe to the great Turke with his ambassadours for to haue surtie of him, The which was granted, and two ordinarie ambassadours were chosen for them; one Nicholas Vergocie, and the other Piero of saint Cretice, and the foresayd Passin should returne with them for to make the sayd answer. Then the great master or they departed (prolonging the time as much as he might) aduised to send a letter to the great Turke, the which his grandfather had written or caused to be written. In the which letter he gaue his malediction or curse to his childzen and successours, if they enterprised to besiege Rhodes. The sayd Robert Perruse bare the sayd letter, and as he was accustomed, he went to Acmek Basha for to cause him to haue audience, and to present the sayd letter. And the Basha sayd hee would see the letter: for it is the guile in the great Turkes court, that none may speake to him nor giue him a letter, but he be aduertised first what shall be said, or what shall be written. When the Basha had seene the wordes written in the said letter, he brake it and cast it on the ground, and did tread vpon it, saying many iniurious and villanous wordes to the sayd iudge. And bade him returne apace to his great master, and bid him to thinke on his businesse, and to make answer to the great lord (as he had sent and commaunded) or els it should not be long or he sawe his dolorous and woofull ende. And that same day were taken two men of ours that bare earth toward the bulwarke of England. Of whom the sayd Acmek caused an officer to cut off their noses, fingers and eares, and gaue them a letter to beare to the lord great master, wherein were great wordes and threathings. After the sayd Perruse was returned, messire Passin was sent againe to the sayde Basha, for to know of him if the great Turke would be content with any summe of money for his costes and expences, that he had made for his armie. The which answered that such wordes or offers of siluer were not to bee sayd nor presented to the great lord on paine of life, and that hee set more by honour then by siluer. And therefoze hee bade him returne and say to the great master that hee should make answer to the great lord after his demaund, to yeeld or not yeeld the towne. The sayd Passin made relation of the wordes of the Basha to the great master: the which for the great sorrow that hee had deferred alwayes, saw himselfe in such pitious estate. Notwithstanding, the sayd lord putting all to the wil of our lord, & considering that there was no remedie to do otherwise, nor to resist any more his enemies: and being constrained on all sides to make the appointment, with great heavinesse, inestimable dolours and bewailings, at the last gaue his voyce to yeeld the towne (with the treatise or offers to him presented) which was the 20. day of December, the yeere of our lord a thousand five hundredeth and two and twentie.

An answer to such as will make question for the deliuerance of the citie of Rhodes.

And if by any it were demanded wherefoze the sayde lord great master hath yeelded the towne to the great Turke, requesting it with treatie and couenants, which was a signe that he feared and would no more fight, but goe his way. To this I answer: Notwithstanding that the great Turke was aduertised by some traitours, and by other that fled into the campe, that the powder almost failed, and that there were but fewe men of warre within the towne, yet he beleued not, nor gaue credence of all that was reported to him, but thought verily that we had ynough for a great while, and considered that hee must tary till they were wasted and spent, whereto behoued time. And seeing all his estate entered into strange places, and into the lands of his enemies, and had bene there already sixe moneths, (and not without great danger of his owne person) thinking on the other side, that taking the towne by assault, he should tole many of his folke; and yet when hee had ouercome and wonne the towne, they should fall each vpon other in departing of the bootie or pillage, doubting finally the hazard of warre. For these reasons and other that may be alleaged, the great Turke had much rather to haue the towne by composition and treatie, then other wise. And it sufficed him to driue his olde enemies out of the countreys of Leuant, and set the subiects of his countreys in rest and surtie. And we of the towne that

that knew our weaknesse, & that we might do no more, it seemed better to saue so much small people, then we and they to fall into the furie of our enemies, for other wise could we not haue done, but tempt God, and died as in dispaire.

How the citie of Rhodes was yeilded to the great Turke, and of the euil behauiour of certaine Turkes.

BUt to returne to our principall: After that the reuerend great master had giuen his voyce to the yeilding of the towne, he sent the sayd Passin againe for to beare it to the great Turke. And with him went the two men that were chosen of the Commons, and they went all three together to the tent of Acmeck Basha. To whom the sayd Passin first made this pitious answer and conclusion to yeeld the towne. Notwithstanding, he sayd the people had ordained two men among them for to goe to the great Turke, to speake of their particular doings, and to haue some suretie of their persons, wiues, and children, to the ende that it were not done to them, as to those of Bellegrado. The sayd Acmeck led the three ambassadours toward the great Turke. And when they were entered into the pauillion, the sayde messire Passin made the report of his ambassade to the sayd lord, and sayd that the great master yeelded him the towne vnder the promise made by his Imperiall maiestie, with the treatie promised. Of the which promise hee held him sure and certaine, and that hee would doe no lesse: howbeit, the people had required him to giue them licence to goe to his maiestie for to aske some request of him. Then the two citizens besought the great Turke that he would for suretie remooue his campe from the towne, to the ende that they should haue no maner of harme to their bodies nor goods, and that they that would goe, should goe, and that they that would abide still, might be well entreated. The great Turke answered by his interpyter to messire Passin, that hee accepted the towne, and promised a gayne vpon his faith, and on his honour to the lord great master, that he would performe that he had promised, and sent to him by the same Passin that he should not doubt of the contrary: and if he had not thys ynough for to carie his people and their goods, that hee would let them haue of his, and that he would deliuer the artilerie that was wont to be in the ships of Religion. And as touching the request of the people, he sayd that he would remooue the campe, and that they that would abide, might abide, and they should be well entreated, and should pay no tribute in five yeeres, and their children should not be touched; and who so would goe within the sayd space of five yeeres, they should goe in good time. These wordes ended, our ambassadours tooke leaue of him, & when they were departed, they spake againe with the sayd Acmeck Basha for to haue a letter of the contents of the promise of the sayd lord. And by his commandement the sayd letter was made, whereby he promised to let go the great master with all his knights, strangers and men of the towne that would go with their goods, without hauing displeasure of any of his people of the campe, or by the wayes. When the letter was made, it was deliuered to messire Passin. And as touching withdrawing of the campe, the sayd Basha promised againe that he would do it, since the great lord would so: howbeit he remooued but from the trenches, and some of his people wente a litle way off. And the sayd Basha demaunded in the Turkes behalfe, that they should send to him in hostage foure and twentie knights, whereof two should be of the great Crosse, and two and twentie citizens. And the sayd lord should send onely a captaine with three or foure hundred Familiars, for to keepe the towne when the campe were withdrawn. And so it was done; and before this hee gaue twelue dayes respite to the lord great master, to prepare him and depart out of Rhodes. And in conclusion all this done, our ambassadours returned and made the report to the reuerend great master of all that they had done and practised with the great Turke, and the sayd Basha, and gaue him the letter for to goe surely. Then the great master with his counsell ordained the foure and twentie persons, and other of the towne. When they were ready, they went to the campe, where they were well intreated foure dayes. During this time, Ferrra Basha passed fro the maine land to the campe, with foure and twentie or five and twentie thousand Janissaries, which by the commandment of the great Turke was gone vpon the borders of the countreys of the Sophie. For the Turke seeing the people of the campe discouraged and willing no more to goe to the assaults, sent to the sayde Basha to come to Rhodes with his people, which would haue withstood vs soze, as freshmen. And it was the worke of God and a wonderfull miracle, that they came after that the appointment was made: for if they had come afore, it is to be supposed that the deed had gone other wise; and there had bene many strokes giuen: but I beleeue that the ende should haue bene pitious for vs, but God would not that the Turke should haue victoery vpon vs as hee might haue had, seeing the great aduantage that he had in all things, but he blinded him and would not that he should know his might. And on the other part it may be

said and marueiled how it was possible alway to haue ouercome our enemies in all assaults & skirmishes, and at the end to loose the towne, it was the will of God that so hath pleased for some cause to vs unknowne. It is to bee thought, that lacke of men and gunshot, and the enemies to faere within the towne, and ready to enter at other places, with the treasons, haue caused the towne to be lost. Two or three dayes after the coming of the sayd Basha, his Janissaries and other of the campe entered into the Towne, which was on Christmas day, within the time giuen to vs, and then the Turkes word was broken, if it were his will or not, I cannot tell. Neuer thelesse there was no sword drawen, and in that respect promise was kept. But they made pillage, and entered by force into the houses of the castle, and tooke all that they might and would. After that they had ransacked the houses, they entered into the churches, and pilld all that they found, and brake the images. And there was no crucifix, nor figure of our lady, nor of other saints, that were left whole. Then with great inhumanitie they went into the hospitall of poore and sicke folke, called the *Sfermozie*, and tooke all the siuer vessel that the sicke folke were serued with, and raised them out of their beds, and vpon them away, some with great strokes and stauces, and some were cast downe from the galleries. When these hounds had done that acte, they went to the church of saint Iohn and tooke downe the tombes of the great masters, and sought if there were any treasure hid in them, and they forced certaine women and maidens. And all they that were christened and had bene Turkes afore, were they men, women or children, and children that the sayd men had made christians, they led into Turkie, which thing is of greater importance then any of the other. The morrow after Christmas day, the reuerend lord great master went to the great Turkes paullion for to visite him, and to be better assured of his promise, the which lord he made to be wel & graciously receiued. And he signified vnto him by his interpreter, that the case so happened to him was a thing vsuall and common; as to loose townes and lordships, and that hee should not take ouer much thought for it: and as for his promise, he bade that he should not doubt in any thing, and that he should not feare any displeasure to his person, and that he should goe with his people without feare. With these wordes the sayd lord thanked him, and tooke his leaue and departed.

FINIS.

¶ Lenuoy of the Translator.

Goe little booke, and woefull Tragedie,
Of the *Rhodian* fearefull oppugnation,
To all estates complaining ruthfully
Of thine estate, and sudden transmutation:
Excusing me if in thy translation
Ought be amisse in language or in werke,
I me submit with their supportation,
To be correct, that am so small a clerke.

An ambassage from *Don Ferdinando*, brother to the emperor *Charles* the 5. vnto king *Henry* the 8. in the yere 1527. desiring his aide against *Solyman* the great Turke. *Holinshed. pag. 894.*



In the 14. day of March, 1527. were conueied from London to Greenwich by the earle of Rutland and others, the lord Gabriel de Salamanca, earle of Ottonburge, Iohn Burgrau of Syluerberge, and Iohn Faber a famous clerke, after bishop of Vien, as ambassadours from Don Ferdinando, brother to Charles the emperor, newly elect king of Hungarie and Beame, after the death of his brother in law king Lewes, which was slaine by *Solyman* the Turke the last Sommer. This company was welcommed of the high officers, and after brought into the kings presence, all the nobilitie being present; and there after great reuerence made, M. Faber made a notable oration, taking his ground out of the Gospell, *Exijt seminator seminare semen suum*: and of that hee declared how Christ and his disciples went forth to sowe, and how their seed was good that fel into the good ground, and brought forth good fruit, which was the Christian faith. And then he declared how contrary to that sowing, Mahomet had sown seed, which brought forth euill fruit. He also shewed from the beginning, how the Turkes haue increased in power, what realmes they had conquered, what people they had subdued euen to that day. He declared further what actes the great Turke then liuing had done; and in especiall, he noted the getting of Belgrade and of the Rhodes, and the slaying of

the

the king of Hungarie, to the great rebuke (as he sayd) of all the kings christened. Wee see forth also what power the Turke had, what diuersities of companies, what capitaines he had, so that he thought, that without a maruelous great number of people, hee could not be ouerthrowen. Wherefore he most humbly besought the king as S. Georges knight, and defender of the faith, to assist the king his master in that godly warre and vertuous purpose.

To this oration the king by the mouth of Sir Thomas Moore answered; that much hee lamented the losse that happened in Hungarie, and if it were not for the warres which were betwene the two great princes, he thought that the Turke would not haue enterprised that acte: wherefore he with all his studie would take paine, first, to let an vniue and peace throughout all Christendome, and after that, both with money and men he would be readie to helpe toward that glorious warre, as much as any other prince in Christendome. After this done, the ambassadours were well cherished, and diuers times resorted to the court, and had great cheere and good rewards, and so the third day of May next following, they tooke their leaue & departed homeward.

The antiquitie of the trade with English ships into the *Leuant*.

In the yeeres of our Lord, 1511, 1512, &c. till the yeere 1534. diuers tall ships of London, namely, The Christopher Campion, wherein was Factor one Roger Whitcome; the Mary George, wherein was Factor William Gresham; the great Mary Grace, the Owner whereof, was William Gunson, and the master one John Hely; the Trinitie Fitz-williams, whereof was master Laurence Arkey; the Mathew of London, whereof was master William Capling, with certaine other ships of Southampton and Bristow, had an ordinarie and vsuall trade to Sicilia, Candie, Chio, and somewhiles to Cyprus, as also to Tripolis and Barutim in Syria. The commodities which they carried thither were fine Kerlics of diuers colours, course Kerlics, white Westerne dozens, Cottons, certaine clothes called Statutes, and others called Cardinal-whites, and Caluelkins which were well sold in Sicilie, &c. The commodities which they returned backe were Silks, Chamlets, Rubarbe, Palmesies, Nutkadeis and other wines, sweete oyles, cotten woolle, Turke carpets, Galles, Pepper, Cinamon, and some other spices, &c. Besides, the naturall inhabitants of the foresayd places, they had, euen in those dayes, traffique with Iewes, Turkes, and other foreigners. Neither did our merchants onely employ their owne English shipping before mentioned, but sundry Strangers also: as namely, Candiors, Raguseans, Sicilians, Genouezes, Venetian galliasses, Spanish and Portugale ships. All which particulars doe more evidently appeare out of certaine auncient Ligier bookes of the R. W. Sir William Locke Barrer of London, of Sir William Bowyer Alderman of London, of master John Gresham, and of others; which I Richard Hakluyt haue diligently perused and copied out. And here for authoritie sake I doe annex, as a thing not impertinent to this purpose, a letter of king Henry the eight, vnto Don Iohn the thirde, king of Portugale,

A letter of the king of England *Henry* the eight, to *John* king of *Portugale*, for a *Portingale* ship with the goods of *John Gresham* and *Wil. Locke* with others, vnladen in *Portugale* from *Chio*.



Erenissimo Principi, domino Ioanni Dei gratia Regi Portugallie, & Algarbiorum citra & vltra mare in Africa, ac domino Guineæ, & conquestæ, navigationis, & commercij Æthiopiæ, Arabiæ, Persiæ, atque Indiæ, &c. Fratri, & amico nostro charissimo.

Henricus Dei gratia, Rex Angliæ & Franciæ, fidei defensor, ac dominus Hiberniæ, Serenissimo Principi; domino Ioanni eadem gratia Regi Portugallie, & Algarbiorum citra & vltra mare in Africa, ac domino Guineæ, & conquestæ navigationis, & commercij Æthiopiæ, Arabiæ, Persiæ, atq; Indiæ, &c. Fratri, & amico nostro charissimo, salutē. Tanto libentiùs, promptiùsq; iustas omnes causas vestre Serenitati commendandas suscipimus, quanto apertiori indici nostrorum, qui in eiusdem vestre Serenitatis regno ac ditione negotiantur, subditorum testimonio cognoscimus, ipsam ex optimi principis officio ita accuratē, exactēq; ius suum cuiq; præbere, vt ad eā nemo iniuriæ consequendæ gratia frustrā vnquam confugiat. Cū itaque dilectus ac fidelis subditus noster Ioannes Gresham mercator Londoniensis nuper nobis humiliter exposuerit, quod quidā Willielmus Heith ipse Factor, & negotiorum gestor nauim quandam Portugallensem, cui nomen erat Sancto Antonio, præeratque Diego Peres Portugallensis superioribus mensibus in Candia conduxit,

rit, cum nauisq; p̄fecto conuenerit, vt in insulam Chium ad quosdam diuersi generis merces onerandas primò nauigaret, in Candiàmque mox aliarum mercium onerandarum gratia rediret, omnes quidem in hoc nostrum regnum postmodum aduecturus ad valorem circiter duodecim millium ducatorum, quemadmodum ex pactionis, conuentionisque instrumento apertius constat, accidit, vt p̄fectus Diego vestra Serenitatis subditus, dictis susceptis mercibus, & iam in itinere parùm fidelitèr, & longè p̄ter initas conuentiones, grauissimo certe nostrorum subditorum detrimento, vbi in Portugallia portum diuertisset, sententia huc nauigandi mutata, in eodem portu commoretur, nostrorumque etiam subditorum merces detineat: quam iniuriam (quum subditis nostris in vestra Serenitatis regno, & ab eius subdito illata sit) ex æquitate, ac iustitia ab ipsa corrigi, emendarique confidimus, nostro quoque potissimum intuitu, qui vestra Serenitatis ipsiusque subditorum causas, mercè que, si quando in hoc nostrum regnum appulerint, temper commendatissimas habemus, id quod superiori anno testati sumus: proinde ipsam vehementer rogamus, vt Iohannem Rathse presentium latorem, & dicti Iohannis Gresham nouum constitutum procuratorem, huiusrei causa istuc venientem, velit in suis agendis, in dictisque bonis recuperandis, impuneque asportandis remittendisque vectigalibus (quod nos in vestros subditos fecimus) quum per nauis p̄fectum fraude, ac dolo istuc merces fuerint aduectæ, nisi istic vendantur, ac toto denique ex æquitate conficiendo negotio, sic commendatum suscipere, sicque ad suos, quos opus fore intellexerit magistratus missis literis rem omnem iuare, & expedire, vt perspiciamus ex hac nostra commendatione fuisse nostrorum subditorum iuri, & indemnitati quàm maximè consulum. Quod nobis gratissimum est futurum, & in re consimili, aut grauiori vestra Serenitas nos sibi gratificandi cupidissimos experietur, quæ feliciter valeat. Ex Regia nostra de Waltham, Die 15. Octobr. 1531.

The same in English.

TO the high and mighty prince, Iohn by the grace of God, king of Portugale, and of Algarue on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, lord of Ghinea, and of the conquest, nauigation, and traffique of Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia, India, &c. our most deere and welbeloued brother.

Henry by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, and lord of Ireland: to Iohn by the same grace, king of Portugale and Algarue, on this side and beyond the sea in Africa, and lord of Ghinea, and of the conquest, nauigation, and traffique of Æthiopia, Arabia, Persia, India, &c. our most deare and welbeloued brother, sendeth greeting. So much þ more willingly and readily we undertake the recommending of all iust causes vnto your highnesse, because by the daily testimony of our subiects which traffike in your kingdoms and dominions, we are informed, that according to the dutie of a most worthy prince, so carefully and exactly you minister iustice vnto every man, that all men most willingly repaire vnto your highnesse, with full trust to obtaine the same. Whereas therefore our welbeloued and trustie subiect Iohn Gresham merchant of London, of late in humble maner hath signified vnto vs, that one William Heich his Factor and Agent, certaine moneths agoe had hired in Candie a certaine Portugale ship called Sanco Antonio, (the patron whereof is Diego Perez) and couenaunted with the patron of the said ship, that he should first saile to the Isle of Sio, to take in merchandize of sundry sorts, & then elswoones returne to Candie, to be freighted with other goods, all which he was to bring into our kingdome of England, to the value of 12000 ducats, as by their billes of couenant & agreement more plainly appeareth: it so fel out, that þ aforesaid Diego your highnes subiect hauing receiued the said goods, very trecherously & much contrary to his couenant, to the exceeding great losse of our subiects, putting in by the way into an haue of Portugale, & altering his purpose of coming into England, he remaineth still in that haue, & like wise detaineth our subiects goods. Which iniury (seeing it is done in your Highnes kingdome) we hope your Highnes will see reformed according to equity & right, the rather at our request, which alwayes haue had a speciall care of the causes & goods of your Highnes, & of your subiects whensoever they come into our kingdome, whereof we made p̄pose the last yeere. Therefore we instantly request your Highnes, þ you would so rectifie Iohn Rathse the bearer of these present letters, & the new appointed agent of Iohn Gresham, which cometh into your dominions about this business, being thus commended vnto you in this business, & recovering & freely bringing home of the said goods, & in remitting of the customs, unless they were sold there (the like whereof we did towards your subiects) seeing by the fraud & deceit of the patron of the ship, the wares were brought thither, & finally in dispatching þ whole matter, according to iustice, & so further the same by directing your highnes letters to your officers who it may concerne, that we may perceiue, that our subiects right and liberty hath especially bene maintained vpon this our commendation. Which we will take in most thankfull part, and your highnes shall find vs in the like or a greater matter most ready to gratifie you, whom we wish most heartily well to fare. From our Court at Waltham the 15. of October 1531.

A voyage made with the shippes called the *Holy Crosse*, and the *Mathew Gonson*, to the Iles of *Candia* and *Chio*, about the yeere 1534, according to a relation made to Master *Richard Hackluit*, by *John Williamson*, Cooper and citizen of *London*, who lived in the yere 1592, and went as cooper in the *Mathew Gonson* the next voyage after.

The Holy Crosse and the Mathew Gonson depart for Turkie.



The shippes called the *Holy Crosse*, and the *Mathew Gonson*, made a voyage to the Ilandes of *Candia* and *Chio* in *Turkie*, about the yeere 1534. And in the *Mathew* went as Captaine *H. Richard Gonson*, sonne of old *Master William Gonson*, paymaster of the kings nauic. In this first voyage went *William Holstocke* (who after wards was *Controuller* of her *Majesties Nauie*, lately deceased) as page to *H. Richard Gonson* aforesaid, which *H. Gonson* died in *Chio* in this his first voyage. The ship called the *Holy Crosse* was a short shippe, and of burden 160 tunnes. And hauing becne a full yeere at the sea in performance of this voyage, with great danger she returned home, where, vpon her arriual at *Blackwall*, in the riuer of *Thames*; her wine and oyle caske was found so weake, that they were not able to hope them out of the ship, but were constrained to draw them as they lay, and put their wine and oyle into new vessels, and so to valade the shippe. Their chiefe fraight, was very excellent *Pulcatels* and red *Maline*, the like whereof were seeldome scene befoze in *England*. They brought home also good quantitie of sweete oyles, cotton woollcs, *Turkie Carpets*, *Galles*, *Cynamon*, and some other spices. The saide shippe called the *Holy Crosse* was so shaken in this voyage, and so weakened, that she was layd vp in the docke, and neuer made voyage after.

Another voyage to the Iles of *Candia* and *Chio* made by the shippe the *Mathew Gonson*, about the yeere 1535, according to the relation of *John Williamson*, then Cooper in the same ship, made to *M. Richard Hackluit* in the yeere 1592.

The Mathew Gonson goeth into Turkie.



The good shippe called the *Mathew Gonson*, of burden 300 tunnes, whereof was owner old *H. William Gonson*, pay-master of the kings *Nauie*, made her voyage in the yeere 1535. In this ship went as Captaine *Richard Gray*, who long after died in *Russia*. *Master William Holstocke* afterward *Controuller* of the *Queenes Nauie* went then as purser in the same voyage. The *Master* was one *John Picher*, seruant to old *H. William Gonson*, *James Rumioie* was *Master* mate. The master cooper was *John Williamson* citizen of *London*, lining in the yeere 1592, and dwelling in *Sant Dunstons parish* in the *East*. The *H. Gunner* was *John Godfrey* of *Bristol*. In this ship were 6 gunners and 4 trumpeters, all which foure trumpeters at our returne home wards went on land at *Messina* in the *Iland* of *Sicilia*, as our ship rood there at anker, & gat them into the Gallies that lay neere vnto vs, & in them went to *Rome*. The whole number of our companie in this ship were about 100. men, we were also furnished with a great hote, which was able to cary 10 tunnies of water, which at our returne home wards we towed all the way from *Chio* vntill we came through the straight of *Gibaltar* into the maine Ocean. We had also a great long boat and a skiff. We were out vpon this voyage eleuen moneths, yet in all this time there died of sicknesse but one man, whose name was *George Forrest*, being seruant to our *Carpenter* called *Thomas Plummer*.

In a great *logier booke* of one *William Eyms*, seruant vnto *Sir William Bowyer Alderman* of *London*, bearing date the 15 of *November* 1533, and continued vntill the 4 of *July* 1544. I find that he the said *William Eyms* was factor in *Chio*, not only for his *Master*, but also for the duke of *Norfolkes* grace, & for many other worshopful marchants of *London*, among whom I find the accounts of these especially, to wit, of his said *Master*, *Sir William Bowyer*, of *William & Nicholas Wilford* *Merchant-taylor*s of *London*, of *Thomas Curtis* *peunter*, of *John Starky* *Petcer*, of *William Ostrige* *Merchant*, & of *Richard Field* *Draper*. And further I find in the said *logier booke*, a note of the said *Eyms*, of all such goods as he left in the hands of *Robert Bye* in *Chio*, who became his *Master* factor in his roome, and another like note of particulers of goods that he left in the hands of *Oliver Lesson*, seruant to *William* and *Nicholas Wilford*. And for prooffe of the continuance of this trade vntill the end of the yeere 1552. I found annexed vnto the former note of the goods left with *Robert Bye* in *Chio*, a letter being dated the 27 of *November* 1552 in *London*.

The Epitaph of the valiant Esquire M. Peter Reade in the South Ile of Saint Peters Church in the citie of Norwich, which was knighted by Charles the fift at the winning of Tunis in the yeere of our Lord 1538.

Here under lyeth the corpes of Peter Reade Esquire, who hath worthily serued, not onely his Prince and Countrey, but also the Emperour Charles the fift, both at his conquest of Barbarie, and at his siege at Tunis, as also in other places. Who had giuen him by the sayd Emperour for his valiant deedes the order of Barbary. Who dyed the 29 day of December, in the yeere of our Lord God 1566.

The voyage of Sir Thomas Chaloner to Alger with Charles the fift
1541, drawn out of his booke *De Republica*
Anglorum instauranda.

Thomas Chalonerus patria Londinensis, studio Cantabrigensis, educatione aulicus, religione pius, verèque Christianus fuit. Itaque cum inuenilem ætatem, mentemq; suam humanioribus studijs roborasset, Domino Henrico Kneuetto à potentissimo rege Henrico eius nominis octauo ad Carolum quintum imperatorem transmissio legato, vnà cum illo profectus est, tanquam familiaris amicus, vel eidem à consilijs. Quo quidem tempore Carolo quinto nauali certamine à Genua & Corsica in Algyram in Africa contra Turcas classem soluente ac hostiliter proficiscente, ornatissimo illo Kneuetto legato regis, Thoma Chaloner, Henrico Knolle, & Henrico Isamo, illustribus viris eundem in illa expeditione suapte sponte sequentibus, pariterque militantibus; mirifice vitam suam Chalonerus raturus est. Nam triremi illa, in qua fuerat, vel scopulis allisa, vel grauissimis procellis conuassata, naufragus cum se diu natatu defendisset, deficientibus viribus, brachijs manibusque languidis ac quasi eneruatis, prehensa dentibus cum maxima difficultate rudenti, quæ ex altera triremi iam propinqua tum fuerat eiecta, non sine dentium aliquorum iactura ac fractura sese tandem recuperauit, ac domum integer relapsus est.

The same in English.

Thomas Chaloner was by birth a Londiner, by studie a Cantabrigian, by education a Courtier, by religion a deuout and true Christian. Therefore after he had confirmed his youth and minde in the studies of good learning, when Sir Henry Kneuer was sent ambassadour from the mighty Prince Henry the 8. to the Emperour Charles the fift, he went with him as his familiar friend, or as one of his Councell. At which time the said Charles the 5. passing ouer from Genoa and Corsica to Alger in Africa in warlike sort, with a mighty army by sea, that honorable Kneuer the kings ambassadour, Thomas Chaloner, Henry Knolles, and Henry Isam, right worthy persons, of their owne accord accompanied him in that expedition, & serued him in that warre, wherein Thomas Chaloner escaped most wonderfully with his life. For the gally wherein he was, being either dashed against the rockes, or shaken with mighty stormes, and so cast away, after he had saued himselfe a long while by swimming, when his strength failed him, his armes & hands being faint and weary, with great difficulty laying hold with his teeth on a cable, which was cast out of the next gally, not without breaking and losse of certaine of his teeth, at length recovered himselfe, and returned home into his countrey in safety.

The voyage of M. Roger Bodenham with the great Barke Aucher
to Candia and Chio, in the yeere 1550.

In the yeere 1550. the 13 of Nouember I Roger Bodenham Captaine of the Barke Aucher entered the said ship at Grauesend, for my voyage to the Islands of Candia and Chio in the Leuant. The master of my ship was one William Sherwood. From thence we departed to Tilbery hope, and there remained with contrarie windes vntill the 6. of Ianuary 1551. The 6 of Ianuarie, the ship came to Tilbery, and I had prouided a skillfull pilot to carry me ouer the lands end, whose name was M. Wood, and with all speede I valed downe that night 10 miles to take the tide in the morning, which happily I did, and that night came to Douer, and there came to an anchor, and there remained vntill tuesday, meeting with the worthy knight sir Anthony Aucher owner of the saide ship.

The Barke
Aucher goeth
for Leuant.

The 11 day we arrived in Plimoth, and the 13 in the morning we set forward on our voyage with a prosperous winde, and the 16 we had sight of Cape Finister on the coast of Spaine.

The 30 we arrived at Cades, and there discharged certaine marchandise, and tooke others aboard.

Mallorca.

The 20 of February we departed from Cades, & passed the Straights of Gibraltar that night, and the 25 we came to the Ile of Mallorca, and staid there five daies with contrary windes.

Messina.

The first of March, we had sight of Sardenna, and the fift of the said month we arrived at Messina in Sicilia, and there discharged much goods, and remained there untill good Fryday in Lent.

The Turke
prepareth an
army to bes-
sege Malta.

The chiefe marchant that laded the sayd Barke Aucher was a marchant stranger called Anselm Saluago, and because the time was then very dangerous, and no going into Leuant, especially to Chio, without a safe conduct from the Turke, the said Anselm promised the owner Sir Anthony Aucher, that we should receive the same at Messina. But I was posted from thence to Candia, and there I was answered that I should send to Chio, and there I should have my safe conduct. I was forced to send one, and hee had his answer that the Turke would giue none, willing me to looke what was best for me to doe, which was no small trouble to me, considering I was bound to deliuer the goods that were in the ship at Chio, or send them at mine adventure. The marchants without care of the losse of the ship would haue compelled me to goe, or send their goods at mine adventure, the which I denied, and sayd plainly I would not goe, because the Turkes gallies were come forth to goe against Malta, but by the French kings means, he was perswaded to leaue Malta, and to goe to Tripoly in Barbary, which by the French he wan. In this time there were in Candia certaine Turkes vessels called Skyrafas, which had brought wheat thither to sell, and were ready to depart for Turkie. And they departed in the morning betimes, carrying newes that I would not goe forth: the same night I prepared beforehande what I thought good, without making any man priuie, untill I sawe time. Then I had no small businesse to cause my mariners to venture with the ship in such a manifest danger. Neuerthelesse I wan them to goe all with me, except thzee which I set on land, and with all diligence I was ready to set forth about eight of the clocke at night, being a faire moone shine night, & went out. Then my 3 mariners made such requests vnto the rest of my men to come aboard, as I was constrained to take them in. And so with good wind we put into the Archipelago, & being among the Ilands the winde scantred, & I was forced to anker at an Iland called Micone, where I tarried 10 or 12 daies, hauing a grecke Pilot to carrie the ship to Chio. In this meane season, there came many small botes with mysson sayles to goe for Chio, with diuerse goods to sell, & the Pilot requested me that I would let them goe in my company, to which I yeelved. After the sayde dayes expired, I wayed & set saile for the Iland of Chio, with which place I fel in the after noone, whereupon I call to seawards againe to come with the Iland in the morning betimes. The foresaid small vessels which came in my company, departed from me to win the hore, to get in y night, but vpon a sudden they espied 3 foystes of Turkes comming vpon them to spoyle them. My Pilot, hauing a sonne in one of those small vessels, entreated me to cast about towards them, which at his request I did, and being some thing farre from them, I caused my Gunner to shoot a dym-colouring at a foyst that was ready to enter one of the botes. This was so happy a shot, that it made the Turke to fall a sterne of the bote and to leaue him, by the which meanes hee escaped. Then they all came to me, and requested that they might hang at my sterne untill day light, by which time I came before the Hole of Chio, and sent my bote on land to the marchants of that place to send for their goods out of hand, or else I would returne back with all to Candia, & they should fetch their goods there. But in fine, what by perswasion of my merchants English men, & those of Chio, I was entreated to come into the harbour, and had a safe assurance for 20 dayes against the Turkes army, with a bond of the citie in the summe of 12000 ducats. So I made hast & solde such goods as I had to Turkes that came thither, & put all in order, with as much speede as I could, fearing the comming of the Turkes nauie, of the which, the chiefe of the citie knew right wel. So vpon the sudden they called me of great friendship, & in secret told me, I had no way to saue my selfe but to be gone, for said they, we be not able to defend you, that are not able to help our selues, for the Turke where he commeth, taketh what he will, & leaueth what he list, but the chiefe of the Turkes set order y none shal do any harme to the people or to their goods. This was such newes to me, that indeed I was at my wits end, & was brought into many imaginations how to do, for that the winde was contrarie. In fine, I determined to goe forth. But the marchants English men and other regarding moze their gaires then the ship, hindered me very much in my purpose of going forth, and made the mariners to come to me to demand their wages to be payed them out of hande, and to haue a time to employ the same there. But God provided for me,

The Barke
Aucher at Mi-
cone.

The towne of
Chio is bound
in 12000 ducats
for the safegard
of the Barke
Aucher.

me, that I paid them their money that night, and then charge them, that if they would not in the ship forth, I would make them to answer the same in England, with danger of their heads. Many were married in England and had some what to loose, those did sticke to me. I had twelue gunners: the Master gunner who was a madde brayned fellow, and the owners seruant had a parliament betweene themselves, and he upon the same came vp to me with his sword drawn, sweauing that hee had promised the owner Sir Anthony Aucher, to lue and die in the sayde shippe against all that should offer any harme to the shippe, and that he would fight with the whole armie of the Turkes, and neuer yeelde: with this fellow I had much to doe, but at the last I made him confesse his fault and followe mine aduise. Thus with much labour I gat out of the Hole of Chio, into the sea by warping forth, with the helpe of Venoules bates, and a French bote that was in the Hole; and being out God sent mee a speciall gale of winde to goe my way. Then I caused a peece to be shotte off for some of my men that were yet in the towne, & with much a doe they came aboard, and then I set sayle a little before one of the clocke, and I made all the sayle I could, and about halfe an houre past two of the clocke there came seuen Gallies into Chio to stay the shippe: and the admirall of them was in a great rage because he was gone. Whereupon they put some of the best in prison, and tooke all the men of the three ships which I left in the port, and put them into the Gallies. They would haue followed after mee, but that the townes men found meanes they did not. The next day came thither a hundred more of Gallies, and there tarried for their whole companie, which being together were about two hundred & 50 sayle, taking their voyage for to surprize the Island of Malta. The next day after I departed, I had the sight of Candia, but I was two dayes after or euer I could get in, where I thought my selfe out of their daunger. There I continued vntill the Turkes armie was past, who came within the sight of the towne. There was preparation made as though the Turkes had come thither. There be in that Island of Candia many banished men, that liue continually in the mountaines, they came downe to serue, to the number of foure or five thousand, they are good archers, euey one with his bowe and arrowes, a sword and a dagger, with long haire, and bootes that reach vp to their greine, and a shirt of male, hanging the one halfe before, and the other halfe behinde, these were sent away againe as soone as the armie was past. They would drinke wine out of all measure. Then the armie being past, I laded my shippe with wines and other things: and so after I had that which I left in Chio, I departed for Messina. In the way I found about Zante, certaine Gallions of Turkes, laying aboard of certaine vessels of Venice laden with Sulcatels: I rescued them, and had but a barrell of wine for my powder and shot: and within a few dayes after I came to Messina. I had in my shippe a Spanissh pilot called Noblezia, which I tooke in at Cades at my coming forth: he went with me all this voyage into the Leuant without wages, of good will that he bare me and the shippe, he stood me in good steede vntill I came backe againe to Cades, and then I needed no Pilot. And so from thence I came to London with the shippe and goods in safetie, God be prayesd. And all those Partners that were in my sayd shippe, which were, besides voyes, threescore and tennie, for the most part were within five or six yeeres after, able to take charge, and did, Richard Chancellor, who first discovered Russia, was with me in that voyage, and Mathew Baker, who after ward became the Queenes Maiesties chiefe ship-wright.

The companie
doe mutinure
against their
Captaine.

The Turkes
Gallies come
to seeke the
Barke Aucher

Fine thousand
banished liue
in Candia.

Master Richard
Chancellor
Master Mathew
Baker.

The voyage of M. John Locke to Ierusalem.



In my voyage to Ierusalem, I embarked my selfe the 26 of March 1553 in the good shippe called the Mathew Gonson, which was bound for Liorno, or Legorne and Candia. It fell out that we touched in the beginning of Aprill next ensuing at Cades in Andalozia, where the Spaniards, according to their accustomed maner with all shippes of extraordinarie goodnes and burden, picked a quarrell against the companie, meaning to haue forfeited, or at the least to haue arrested the said shippe. And they grew so malicious in their wrongfull purpose, that I being utterly out of hope of any speedie release, to the ende that my intencion should not be overthrowen, was inforced to take this course following. Notwithstanding this hard beginning, it fell out so luckily, that I found in the roade a great shippe called the Caualla of Venice, wherein after agreement made with the patron, I shipped my selfe the 24. of May in the said yere 1553, and the 25 by reason of the winde blowing hard and contrary, we were not able to enter the straits of Gibraltar, but were put to the coast of Barbarie, where we ankered in the maine sea 2 leagues from thore, and continued so vntill two houres before sunne set, and then we weighed againe, and turned our course towards the Straits, where we entered the 26 day aforesayd, the winde being

very calme, but the current of the Straites very favourable. The same day the winde beganne to rise somewhat, and blew a furthering gale, and so continued at North-west untill we arrived at Legorne the third of June. And from thence riding ouer land vnto Venice, I prepared for my voyage to Jerusalem in the Pilgrimes shippe.

The ship Fila
Cauena departs
teth for Ierusa-
lem.
Rouignio a port
in Istria.

I John Locke, accompanied with Maister Anthony Rastwold, with diuers other, Hollanders, Zealanders, Almains and French pilgrimes entered the good shippe called Fila Cauena of Venice, the 16 of July 1553. and the 17 in the morning we weighed our anker and layed towards the coast of Istria, to the port of Rouigno, and the said day there came aboard of our ship the Percevena of the shippe named Familiar, for to receiue the rest of all the pilgrimes money, which was in all after the rate of 55. Crownes for euery man for that voyage, after the rate of five shillings sterling to the crowne: This done, he returned to Venice.

Santa Eufemia,

The 19 day we tooke fresh victuals aboard, and with the boate that brought the fresh provision we went on land to the Towne, and went to see the Church of Santa Eufemia, where we sawe the bodie of the sayd Saint.

Monte de An-
cona.

The 20 day wee departed from Rouignio, and about noone we had sight of Monte de Ancona, and the hills of Dalmatia, or else of Sclauonia both at one time, and by report they are 100. miles distant from each other, and more.

Il pomo.

Sant Andrea.

Lissa an Island.

Lezina Island.

The 21 we layed still in sight of Dalmatia, and a litle before noone, we had sight of a rocke in the midst of the sea, called in Italian, il Pomo, it appeareth a farre off to be in shape like a sigar loose. Also we sawe another rocke about two miles compasse called Sant Andrea: on this rocke is onely one Monasterie of Friers: we layed betwene them both, and left S. Andrea on the left hand of vs, and we had also kenning of another Island called Lissa, all on the left hande, these three Islands lie East and West in the sea, and at sunne setting we had passed them. Il pomo is distant from Sant Andrea 18 miles, and S. Andrea from Lissa 10 miles, and Lissa from another Island called Lezina, which standeth betwene the maine of Dalmatia and Lissa, tenne miles. This Island is inhabited, and hath great plentie of wine and frutes, and here against we were becalmed.

Carza.

Pelagosa.

Augusta.

Melleda.

Monte Sant
Angelo.

The 22 we had sight of another small Island called Carza, which is desolate and on the left hand, and on the right hand, a very dangerous Island called Pelagosa, this is also desolate, and lyeth in the midst of the sea betwene both the maines: it is very dangerous and low land, and it hath a long ledge of rockes lying out six miles in to the sea, so that many ships by night are cast away vpon them. There is betwene Carza and Pelagosa 30 miles, and these two Islands are distant from Venice 400 miles. There is also about twelue miles eastward, a great Island called Augusta, about 14 miles in length, somewhat hillie, but well inhabited, and fruitefull of vines, cozne and other fruit, this also we left on the left hand: & we haue hitherto kept our course from Rouignio East southeast. This Island is vnder the Signiorie or gouernement of Ragusa, it is distant from Ragusa 50 miles, and there is by that Island a greater, named Melleda, which is also vnder the gouernement of Ragusa, it is about 30 miles in length, and inhabited, and hath good portes, it lyeth by East from Augusta, and ouer against this Island lyeth a hill called Monte S. Angelo, vpon the coast of Puglia in Italy, and we had sight of both landes at one time.

Ragusa payeth
14000. Sc
chinos to the
Turke perely.

Il Cromo.

The 23 we layed all the day long by the bowline alongst the coast of Ragusa, and towards night we were within 7 or 8 miles of Ragusa, that we might see the white walles, but because it was night, we cast about to the sea, minding at the second watch, to beare in againe to Ragusa, for to know the newes of the Turkes armie, but the winde blew so hard and contrary, that we could not. This citie of Ragusa payeth tribute to the Turke perely fourtene thousand Sechini, and euery Sechino is of venetian money eight liuers and two soldes, besides other presents which they giue to the Turkes Bassas when they come thither. The Venetians haue a rocke or cragge within a mile of the said towne, for the which the Raguseos would giue them much money, but they doe keepe it more for the namesake, then for profite. This rocke lieth on the Southside of the towne, and is called Il Cromo, there is nothing on it but onely a Monasterie called Sant Ieronimo. The maine of the Turkes countrie is bordering on it within one mile, for the which cause they are in great subiection. This night wee were put backe by countrie windes, and ankered at Melleda.

Zupanna.

Isla de Mezo.

Sant Andrea.

The 24 being at an anker vnder Melleda, we would haue gone on land, but the winde came so faire that we presently set sayle and went our course, and left on the right hand of vs the forenamed Island, and on the left hand betwene vs and the maine the Island of Zupanna, and within a mile of that vnder the maine by East, another Island called Isla de Mezo. This Island hath two Monasteries in it, one called Santa Maria de Bizo, and the other Sant Nicholo. Also there is a third rocke with a Frierie called Sant Andrea: these Islands are from the maine but

two miles, and the channell betweene Melleda and Zupanna is but foure or five miles ouer by gesse, but very deepe, for we had at an anker forty fathoms. The two Ilands of Zupanna and Mezo are well inhabited, and very faire buildings, but nothing plentie saue wine onely. This night toward sunne set it waied calme, and we sayled little or nothing.

The 24 we were past Ragusa 14 miles, and there we metie with two Venetian ships, which came from Cyprus, we thought they would haue spoken with vs, for we were desirous to talke with them, to knowe the newes of the Turkes armie, and so haue sent some letters by them to Venice. About noone, we had seant sight of Castel nouo, which Castell a fewer yeeres past the Turke tooke from the Emperour, in which sight were slaine three hundred Spanish souldiers, besides the rest which were taken prisoners, and made gallie slaues. This Castell is hard at the mouth of a channell called Boca de Cararo. The Venetians haue a hold within the channell called Cararo, this channell goeth by to Budoa, and further by into the countrey. About sunne set we were ouer against the hill of Anriueri in Sclauonia, in the which hill the Venetians haue a towne called Anriueri, and the Turkes haue another against it called Marcheueti, the which two townes continually skirnish together with much slaughter. At the end of these hills endeth the Countrey of Sclauonia, and Albania beginneth. These hills are thirtie miles distant from Ragusa.

The 27 we kept our course towards Puglia, and left Albania on the left hand. The 28. we had sight of both the maines, but we were neerer the coast of Puglia, for feare of Foyttes. It is betweene Cape Chimera in Albania and Cape otranto in Puglia 60 miles. Puglia is a plaine low lande, and Chimera in Albania is very high land, so that it is seene the further. Thus sayling our course along the coast of Puglia, we saw diuerse white Towers, which serue for sea-markes. About three of the clocke in the after noone, we had sight of a rocke called Il fano, 48 miles from Corfu, and by sunne set we discovered Corfu. Thus we kept on our course with a prosperous winde, and made our way after twelue mile euery houre. Most part of this way we were accompanied with certaine fishes called in the Italian tongue Palomide, it is a fish three quarters of a yard in length, in colour, eating, and making like a Dakarell, somewhat bigge and thicke in body, and the tayle forked like a halfe moone, for the which cause it is said that the Turke will not suffer them to be taken in all his dominions.

The 29 in the morning we were in sight of an Iland, which we left on our left hande called Cephalonia, it is vnder the Venetians and well inhabited, with a faire towne strongly situated on a hill, of the which hill the Iland beareth her name, it hath also a very strong fortresse or Castle, and plentie of coyne and wine, their language is Greeke, it is distant from the maine of Morea, thirtie miles, it is in compasse 80 miles. One houre within night we sayled by the towne standing on the South cape of Cephalonia, whereby we might perceiue their lightes. There come oftentimes into the creekes and riuers, the Turkes foyttes and gallies where at their arriuall, the Countrey people doe signifie vnto their neighbours by so many lightes, as there are foyttes or gallies in the Iland, and thus they doe from one to another the whole Iland ouer. About three of the clocke in the afternoone the winde scanted, and wee minded to haue gone to Zante, but we could not for that night. This Iland of Zante is distant from Cephalonia, 12 or 14 miles, but the towne of Cephalonia, from the towne of Zante, is distant forty miles. This night we went but little forward.

The 30 day we remained still turning by and downe because the winde was contrary, and towards night the winde mended, so that we entered the channell betweene Cephalonia, & Zante, the which channell is about eight or tenne miles ouer, and these two beate East and by South, and West and by North from the other. The towne of Zante lieth within a point of the land, where we came to an anker, at nine of the clocke at night.

The 31 about sixe of the clocke in the morning, I with five Hollanders went on land, and hoisted at the house of Pedro de Veneria. After breakfast we went to see the towne, and passing along we went into some of the Greeke churches, wherein we sawe their Altars, Images, and other ornaments. This done, wee went to a Monasterie of friers called Sancta Maria de la Croce, these are westerne Christians, for the Greekes haue nothing to doe with them, nor they with the Greekes, for they differ very much in religion. There are but 2. Friers in this Friery. In this Monasterie we sawe the tombe that M. T. Cicero, was buried in, with Terentia Antonia, his wife. This tombe was founde about sixe yeeres since, when the Monasterie was built, there was in time past a streete where the tombe stood. At the finding of the tombe there was also found a yrd vnder ground, a square stone somewhat longer then broad, vpon which stone was found a writing of two severall handes writing, the one as it seemed, for himselfe, and the other for his wife, and vnder the same stone was found a glasse somewhat proportioned like an yrdinall,

Castle nouo.

Boca de Cararo.
The towne
Cararo.
Budoa.
Anriueri.
Marcheueti.
The end of
Sclauonia and
the beginning
of Albania.

Puglia.

Cape Chimera.
Cape Otranto.

Il fano.

Corfu.

Palomide.

Cephalonia.

Morea.

Zante.

John Locke, and
five Hollan-
ders goe on
land.Santa Maria
de la Croce.The tombe of
M. T. Cicero.

small, but that it was eight square and very thicke, wherein were the ashes of the head and right arme of Mar. T. Cicero, for as stories make mention he was beheaded as I remember at Capua, for insurrection. And his wife having got his head and right arme, (which was brought to Rome to the Emperour) went from Rome, and came to Zante, and there buried his head and arme, and wrote upon his tombe this stile M. T. Cicero. *Hæue. Then followeth in other letters, *Et in Terentia Antonia*, which difference of letters declare that they were not written both at one time. The tombe is long and narrowe, and deepe, walled on every side like a graue, in the botome whereof was found the sayd stone with the writing on it, & the said glasse of ashes, and also another litle glasse of the same proportion, wherein, as they say, are the teares of his friends, that in those dayes they did vse to gather and bury with them, as they did vse in Italy and Spaine to teare their haire, to bury with their friends. In the sayd tombe were a fewe bones. After dinner we rested untill it drew towards evening by reason of the heat. And about foure of the clocke we walked to another Frierie a mile out of the towne called Sanc Elia, these are white Friers, there were two, but one is dead, not five dayes since. This Frierie hath a garden very pleasant, and well furnished with Oranges, Lemons, pomegranates, and diuers other good fruites. The way to it is somewhat ragged, by hill and downe, and very stonie, and in winter very durtie. It standeth very pleasantly in a chise betweene two hilles, with a good prospect. From thence we ascended the hill to the Castle, which is situated on the very toppe of a hill. This Castle is very strong, in compasse a large mile and a halfe, which being victualed, (as it is neuer unfurnished) and manned with men of trust, it may defend it selfe against any Princes power. This Castle taketh the iust compasse of the hill, and no other hill neere it, it is so steepe downe, and so high and ragged, that it will tye any man or euer he be halfe way by. Very nature hath fortified the walles and bulwarkes: It is by nature foure square, and it commandeth the towne and port. The Venetians haue alwayes their Podesta, or Governour, with his two Counsellours resident therein. The towne is well inhabited, & hath great quantitie of householders. The Island by report is threescore and tenne miles about, it is able to make twentie thousand fighting men. They say they haue alwayes sixe or seue hundred horsemen readie at an hours warning. They say the Turke hath assayed it with 100. Gallies, but he could neuer bring his purpose to passe. It is strange to mee how they should maintaine so many men in this Island, for their best sustentance is wine, and the rest but miserable.

* D1, Aue.

The description of the tombe.

Sanc Elia, but one Frier.

The description of the Castle of Zante.

The Turke hath attempted the Island of Zante.

The Castle of Torneste.

Twelve turks gallies at Modon, and Coron, and Candia.

Modon. Coron.

Cauo Mattapan.

Candia.

Gozi.

Candia.

Cape Spada. C. Salomon.

Ponta Malora. Basso. Cauo Bianco.

The first of August we were warned aboard by the patron, and towards euening we set saile, and had sight of a Castle called Torneste, which is the Turkes, and is ten miles from Zante, it did belong to the Venetians, but they haue now lost it, it standeth also on a hill on the sea side in Morea. All that night we bare into the sea, because we had newes at Zante of twelue of the Turkes gallies, that came from Rhodes, which were about Modon, Coron, and Candia, for which cause we kept at the sea.

The second of August we had no sight of land, but kept our course, and about the third watch the winde scanted, so that we bare with the steepe, and had sight of Modon and Coron.

The third we had sight of Cauo Mattapan, and all that day by reason of contrary windes, which blew somewhat hard, we lay a hull untill morning.

The fourth we were still vnder the sayd Cape, and so continued that day, and towards night there grew a contention in the ship amongst the Hollanders, and it had like to haue bene a great inconuenience, for we had all our weapons, yea euen our knives taken from vs that night.

The fifth, we sayled by the Bowline, and out of the toppe we had sight of the Island of Candia, and towards noone we might see it plaine, and towards night the winde wared calme.

The sixth toward the bryake of day we saw two small Islands called Gozi, and towards noone we were betweene them: the one of these Islands is fiftene miles about, and the other 10 miles. In those Islands are nourished stoe of cattell for butter and cheese. There are to the number of fiftie or sixtie inhabitants, which are Greeks, and they liue chiefly on milke and cheese. The Island of Candia is 700 miles about, it is in length, from Cape Spada, to Cape Salomon, 300 miles, it is as they say, able to make one hundred thousand fighting men. We sayled betweene the Gozi, and Candia, and they are distant from Candia 5 or 6 miles. The Candians are strong men, and very good archers, and shoot neere the marke. This Islande is from Zante 300 miles.

The seuenth we sayled all along the sayd Island with little winde and vnbtable, and the eight day towards night we drew to the East end of the Island.

The 9 and 10 we sayled along with a prosperous winde and saw no land.

The 11 in the morning, we had sight of the Island of Cyprus, and towards noone we were thwart the Cape called Ponta Malora, and about foure of the clocke we were as farre as Basso, and about sunne set we passed Cauo Bianco, and towards nine of the clocke at night we doubled

Cauo

Cauo de la gatte, and ankered afoze Limisso, but the wind blew so hard, that we could not come neere the towne, neither durst any man goe on land. The towne is from Cauo de la gatte twelue miles distant.

Cauo de la gatte.

The 12. of August in the morning we went on land to Limisso: this towne is ruinated and nothing in it worth writing, saut onely in the mids of the towne there hath bene a fortress, which is now decayed, and the wals part oucrhrowen, which a Turkish Rouer with certaine gallies did destroy about 10. or 12. yeeres past. This day walking to see the towne, we chanced to see in the market place, a great quantitie of a certaine vermine called in the Italian tongue Cavalette. It is as I can learne, both in shape and bignesse like a grasshopper, for I can iudge but little difference. Of these many yeeres they haue had such quantitie y they destroy all their cozne. They are so plagued with them, y almost euery yeere they doe well nic loose halfe their cozne, whether it be the nature of the countrey, or the plague of God, that let them iudge that best can define. But that there may no default be laied to their negligenc for the destruction of the, they haue throughout the whole land a constituted order, that euery Farmoz or husbandman (which are euen as Haues bought and sold to their lord) shall euery yeere pay according to his certitozie, a measure full of the seede or egges of these fornamd Cavalette, the which they are bound to bring to the market, and present to the officer appointed for the same, the which officer taketh of them very straight measure, and writeth the names of the presenters, and putteth the sayd egges or seed, into a house appointed for the same, and hauing the house full, they beate them to powder, and cast them into the sea, and by this policie they doe as much as in them lieth for the destruction of them. This vermine breedeth or ingendereth at the time of cozne being ripe, and the cozne being hat away, in the clods of the same ground do the husbandmen find y nestes, or, as I may rather terme them, cases of the egges of the same vermine. Their nestes are much like to the keies of a haelnut tree, when they be dried, and of the same length, but somewhat bigger, which case being broken you shall see the egges lie much like vnto antes egges, but somewhat lesser. Thus much I haue written at this time, because I had no more time of knowledge, but I trust at my returne to note more of this island, with the commodities of the same at large.

Limisso.

Cavalette, is a certaine vermine in the Island of Cyprus.

The 13. day we went in the morning to the Greekes church, to see the order of their ceremonies, & of their communion, of the which to declare the whole order with the number of their ceremonious crossings, it were to long. Wherefoze least I should offend any man, I leaue it unwritten: but onely that I noted well, that in all their Communion or seruite, not one did euer kneele, nor yet in any of their Churches could I euer see any grauen images, but painted or portrayed. Also they haue store of lampes alight, almost for euery image one. Their women are alwayes seperated from the men, and generally they are in the lower ende of the Church. This night we went aboord the ship, although the wind were contrary, we did it because the patrone should not find any lacke of vs, as sometimes he did: when as taryng vpon his owne businesse, he would colour it with the delay of the pilgrimes.

The pilgrimes going to the Greeke church.

The 14. day in the morning we set saile, and lost sight of the Island of Cyprus, and the 15. day we were likewise at Sea, and sawe no land: and the 16. day towards night, we looked for land, but we sawe none. But because we supposed our letues to be neere our port, we tooke in all our sailes except onely the foresaile and the millen, and so we remained all that night.

The 17. day in the morning, we were by report of the Mariners, some fire miles from Iaffa, but it prooued contrary. But because we would be sure, wee came to an anker seuen miles front the shoze, and sent the skiffe with the Pilot and the master gunner, to learne the coast. but they returned, not hauing seen tree nor house, nor spoken with any man. But when they came to the sea side againe, they went by a litle hill standing hard by the brinke, whereon as they thought they sawe the hill of Ierusalem, by the which the Pilot knew (after his iudgement) that wee were past our port. And so this place where we rode was, as the mariners sayd, about 50. mile from Iaffa. This coast all along is very lowe, plaine, white, sandie, and desert, for which cause it hath fewe markes or none, so that we rode here as it were in a gulfe betwene two Capes.

The 18. day we abode still at anker, looking for a gale to returne backe, but it was contrary: and the 19. we set saile, but the currant hauing more force then the winde, we were driuen backe, insomuch, that the ship being vnder saile, we call the sounding lead, & (notwithstanding the wind) it remained befoze the shippe, there wee had muddie ground at fiftene fadome. The same day about 4. of the clocke, we set saile againe, and sayled West alongst the coast with a fresh side-winde. It chanced by fortune that the shippes Cat leapt into the Sea, which being downe, kept her selfe very valiantly aboue water, notwithstanding the great waues, still swimming, the which the master knowing, he caused the Skiffe with halfe a dosen men to goe towards her and fetch her againe, when she was almost halfe a mile from the shippe, and all this while the

A great currant.

A Cat fallen into the sea and recovered.

Ship

Shippe lay on stakes. I hardly beleue they would haue made such haste and means if one of the company had bene in the like perill. They made the more haste because it was the patrons care. This I haue written onely to note the estimation that cars are in, among the Italians, for generally they esteeme their cates, as in England we esteeme a good Spanicll. The same night about tenne of the clocke the winde calmed, and because none of the Shippe knewe where we were, we let fall an anker about 6 mile from the place we were at before, and there we had muddie ground at twelue fathome.

The 20 it was still calme, and the current so strong still one way, that we were not able to stemme the streame: moreouer we knew not where we were, whereupon doubting whether we were past, or short of our port, the Master, Pilot, and other Officers of the Shippe entered into counsell what was best to doe, whereupon they agreed to send the bote on lande againe, to seeke some man to speake with all, but they returned as wise as they went. Then we set sayle againe and sounde euery mile or halfe mile, and found still one depth, so we not knowing where we were, came againe to an anker, seuen or eight miles by West from the place we were at. Thus still doubting where we were, the bote went on land againe, and brought newes that we were short 80 miles of the place, whereas we thought we had bene ouershot by east fiftie miles. Thus in these doubts we lost foure dayes, and neuer a man in the shippe able to tell where we were, notwithstanding there were sixte in the shippe that had bene there before. Then sayd the Pilot, that at his coming to the shore, by chance he saw two wayfaring men, which were Moores, and he cryed to them in Turkish, insomuch that the Moores, partly for feare, and partly for lacke of vnderstanding, (seeing them to be Christians) beganne to flie, yet in the end with much a doe, they stayed to speake with them, which men when they came together, were not able to vnderstand ecb other, but our men made to them the signe of the Crosse on the lande, to giue them to vnderstand that they were of the shippe that brought the pilgrims. Then the Moores knowing (as al the country else doth) that it was the vse of Christians to go to Ierusalem, they led them to be yet by west of Iassa. Thus we remained all that night at anker, and the farther west that we sayled, the lesse water we had.

The 21 we set sayle againe, and kept our course North-east, but because we would not goe along the shore by night, we came to an anker in foure and twentie fathome water. Then the next morning being the 22 we set sayle againe, and kept our course as before, and about thre of the clocke in the afternoone we had sight of the two towers of Iassa, and about siue of the clocke, we were with a rocke, called in the Italian tongue, Scolio di Santo Petro, on the which rocke they say he fished, when Christ bid him cast his net on the right side, and caught so many fishes. This rocke is now almost woyn away. It is from Iassa two or thre mile: here before the two towers we came to an anker. Then the pilgrims after supper, in salutation of the holy lande, sang to the praise of God, Te Deum laudamus, with Magnificat, and Benedictus, but in the shippe was a Friar of Santo Francisco, who for anger because he was not called and warned, would not sing with vs, so that he stood so much upon his dignitie, that he forgot his simplicitie, and neglected his deuotion to the holy land for that time, saying that first they ought to haue called him yet they did beginne, because he was a frayer, and had bene there, and knewe the orders.

The 23 we sent the bote on land with a messenger to the Padre Guardian of Ierusalem. This day it was notified vnto mee by one of the shippe that had bene a slaue in Turkie, that no man might weare greene in this land, because their prophet Mahomet went in greene. This came to my knowledge by reason of the Scriuanello, who had a greene cap, which was forbidden him to weare on the land.

The 24, 25, and 26 we taried in the shippe still looking for the coming of the Padre guardian, and the 26 at night we had a storme which lasted all the next day.

The 27 in the morning, came the Cadi, & Subassi, & the Benite, with the Padre guardian, but they could not come at vs by reason of the stormy weather: in the afternoone we allaped to send the bote on land, but the weather would not suffer vs. Then againe toward night the bote went a shoze, but it returned not that night. The same day in the afternoone we sawe in the element, a cloud with a long tayle, like vnto the tayle of a serpent, which cloud is called in Italian Cion, the tayle of this cloud did hang as it were into the sea: and we did see the water vnder the sayde cloud ascend, as it were like a smoke or myste, the which this Cion dyed by to it. The Warri-ners reported to vs that it had this proprietie, that if it should happen to haue lighted on any part of the shippe, that it would rent and wretch sayles, mast, shroudes and shippe and all in manner like a wyth: on the land, trees, houses, or whatsoeuer else it lighteth on, it would rent and wretch.

These mariners did vse a certaine coniuration to bzeake the sayd tayle, or cut it in two, which

They met
with two
spoores on
land.

The two
towers of
Iassa.
Scolio di Santo
Petro.

A messenger
deparieth for
Ierusalem.
Mahomet is clo-
thed in greene.

The Guardian
of Ierusalem
commeth to
Iassa, with
the Cadi and
Subassi.

A cloud called
of the Italians
Cion most
dangerous.

A coniuration.

as they say doth pretaile. They did take a blacke hasted knife, and with the edge of the same did crosse the said taile as if they would cut it in twain, saying these words, Hold thou Cion, eat this, and then they strucke the knife on the ship side with the edge towards the said cloude, and I saw it therewith vanish in lesse then one quarter of an houre. But whether it was then consumed, or whether by vertue of the Inchantment it did vanish I knowe it, but it was gone. Hereof let them iudge that knowe moze then I. This afternoone we had no winde, but the Sea very stormy, inso-much that neither chesse, pot, nor any thing else could stand in the shippe, and wee were driven to keepe our meate in one hand, and the pot in the other, and so sit downe vpon the hatches to eat, & stand we could not, for that the Seas in the very port at an anker went so high as if wee had bene in the bay of Portugall with stormy weather. The reason is, as the Mariners said to me, because that there meete all the waues from all places of the Straights of Gibraltar, and there breake, and that in most calmes there goe greatest seas, whether the winde blowe or not.

The 28. the weather growing somewhat calme, wee went on land and rested our selues for that day, and the next day we set forward toward the city of Ierusalem.

What I did, and what places of deuotion I visited in Ierusalem, and other parts of the Holy land, from this my departure from Iaffa, vntill my returne to the said port, may briefly be scene in my Testimoniall, vnder the hand & seale of the Vicar generall of Mount Sion, which for the contentment of the Reader I thought good here to interlace,

VNiuersis & singulis presentis litteras inspecturis salutem in Domino nostro Iesu Christo. Attestamur vobis ac alijs quibuscunq; qualiter honorabilis vir Iohannes Lok ciuis Londoniensis, filius honorabilis viri Guilielmi Lok equitis aurati, ad sacratissima terræ sanctæ loca personahter se conculit, sanctissimum Domini nostri Iesu Christi sepulchrum, e quo die tertia gloriosus à mortuis resurrexit, sacratissimum Caluarix montem, in quo pro nobis omnibus cruci affixus mori dignatus est, Sion etiam montem vbi cœnam illam mirificam cum discipulis suis fecit, & vbi spiritus sanctus in die sancto Pentecostes in discipulos eisdem in linguis igneis descendit, Oliuetiq; môtém vbi mirabiliter cœlos ascendit, intemeratè virginis Mariæ Mausoleum in Iosaphat vallis medio situm, Bethaniam quoq; Bethlehém ciuitatem David in qua de purissima virgine Maria natus est, ibique inter animalia reclinatus, pluraq; loca alia tam in Hierusalem ciuitate sancta terre Iudæe, quàm extra, à modernis peregrinis visitari solita, deuotissimè visitauit, pariterq; adorauit. In quorum fidem, ego frater Anthonius de Bergamo ordinis fratrum minorù regularis obseruantie, prouinciæ diui Anthonij Sacri conuentus montis Sion vicarius (sicut indignus) necnon aliorum locorum terre Sanctæ, apostolicæ autoritate commissarius & rector, has Sigillis maiori nostri officij nostraque subscriptione muniri volui. Datum Hierosolymis apud sacratissimum domini coenaculum in sepè memorato monte Sion, Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo, quinquagesimo tertio, die vero sextò mensis Septembris.

Frater Antonius qui supra.

The 15. of September being come from our pilgrimage, we went aboarde our shippe, and set saile, and kept our course West toward the Island of Cyprus, but at that night it was calme, and the 16. the winde freshed, and we passed by Mount Carmel.

The 17. the winde was very scant, yet we kept the sea, and towards night wee had a gulle of raine whereby wee were constrained to strike our sailes, but it was not very stormie, nor lasted very long.

The 18. 19. 20. and 21. we kept still the sea and saw no land because we had very little winde, and that not very fauourable.

The 22. at noone the Boatswaine sent some of the Mariners into the boat, (which we toed a sterne from Iaffa) for certaine necessaries belonging to the ship, wherein the Mariners found a certaine fish in proportion like a Dace, about 6. inches long (yet the Mariners said they had scene the like a foote long and moze) the which fish had on euery side a wing, and toward the taile two other lesser as it were finnes, on either side one, but in proportion they were wings and of a good length. These wings grow out betweene the gills and the carkasse of the same fish. They are called in the Italian tongue Pesce columbini, for in deede, the wings being spred it is like to a flying doue, they say it will flie farre, and very high. So it seemeth that being weary of her flight, she fell into the boate, and not being able to rise againe died there.

The 23. 24. and 25. we sailed our direct course with a small gale of winde, and this day we had sight of the Island of Cyprus. The first land that we discovered was a headland called Cauo de la Griega, and about midnight we anchored by 20. of the Cape. This cape is a high hill, long and square, and on the East corner it hath a high cop, that appeareth vnto those at the sea, like a white cloud, for toward the sea it is white, and it lieth into the sea Southwest. This coast of Cyprus is high declining toward the sea, but it hath no cliffes.

The pilgrimes
returne from
Ierusalem,
Mount Carmel.

Pesce columbini.

Cauo de la
Griega.

Salini.
Arnacho di Salini.
Casalia.

The 26. we set saile againe, and toward noone we came into the port of Salini, where we went on land and lodged that night at a towne one mile from thence called Arnacho di Salini, this is but a village called in Italian, Casalia. This is distant from Iassa 250. Italian miles.

Sire horsemen
to watch the
salt pit.

The 27. we rested, and the 28. we hired horses to ride from Arnacho to Salina, which is a good mile. The salt pit is very neere two miles in compasse, very plaine and leuell, into the which they let runne at the time of raine a quantitie of water coming from the mountaines, which water is let in until the pit be full to a certaine marke, which when it is full, the rest is conveyed by a trench into the sea. This water is let runne in about October, or sooner or later, as the time of the yeere doth afforde. There they let it remaine untill the ende of July or the middelt of August, out of which pits at that time, in stead of water that they let in they gather very faire white salt, without any further art or labour, for it is only done by the great heate of the sunne. This the Venetians have, and doe maintaine to the vse of S. Marke, and the Venetian ships that come to this Island are bound to cast out their ballast, and to lade with salt for Venice. Also there may none in all the Island buy salt but of these men, who maintaine these pits for S. Marke. This place is watched by night with 6. horsemen to the end it be not stolne by night. Also under the Venetians deminions no towne may spende any salt, but they must buy it of Saint Marke, neither may any man buy any salt at one towne to carie to another, but every one must buy his salt in the towne where he dwelleth. Neither may any man in Venice buy moze salt then he spendeth in the city, for if he be knowne to carie but one ounce out of the citie and be accused, hee loseth an eare. The most part of all the salt they haue in Venice cometh from these Salines, and they haue it so plentifull, that they are not able, neuer a yeere to gather the one halfe, for they onely gather in July, August, and September, and not fully these three monthes. Yet notwithstanding the abundance that the shippes carie away yeerely, there remaine heapes like hills, some heapes able to lade nine or tenne shippes, and there are heapes of two yeeres gathering, some of three and some of nine or tenne yeeres making, to the value of a great summe of golde, and when the ships do lade, they neuer take it by measure, but when they come at Venice they measure it. This salt as it lyeth in the pit is like so much ice, and it is six inches thicke: they digge it with axes, and cause their slaues to carry it to the heapes. This night at midnight we rode to Famagusta, which is eight leagues from Salina, which is 24 English miles.

Famagusta.

The 29 about two houres before day, we alighted at Famagusta, and after we were refreshed we went to see the towne. This is a very faire strong holde, and the strongest and greatest in the Island. The walles are faire and new, and strongly rampired with foure principall bulwarkes, and betwene them turrions, responding one to another, these walles did the Venetians make. They haue also on the hauen side of it a Castle, and the hauen is chained, the citie hath onely two gates, to say, one for the lande and another for the sea, they haue in the towne continually, be it peace or warres, 800 souldiers, and fortye and sixe gunners, besides Captaines, petty Captaines, Governour and Generall. The lande gate hath alwayes fiftie souldiers, pikes and gunners with their harnes, watching there at night and day. At the sea gate five and twentie, vpon the walles euery night doe watch fiftene men in watch houses, for euery watch house five men, and in the market place 30 souldiers continually. There may no soldier serue there aboue 5. yeeres, neither will they without friendship suffer them to depart afoze 5. yeeres be expired, and there may serue of all nations except Greekes. They haue euery yare, which is 45. dayes, 15 Mozenigos, which is 15 shillings sterling. Their horsemen haue onely sixe golde Venetian a day, and prouender for their horses, but they haue also certaine lande threewith to plow and sowe for the maintenance of their horses, but cruely I maruell how they liue being so hardly fed, for all the sommer they feede onely vpon chopt strawe and barley, for hey they haue none, and yet they be faire, fat and seruiciable. The Venetians send euery two yeeres new rulers, which they call Castellani. The towne hath allowed it also two gallies continually armed and furnished.

Mozenigo.
Golde of Venice.

Castellani.

Saint Katherens
Chappel in old
Famagusta.

Diuers coines
vnder ground.

The 30 in the morning we ride to a chappell, where they say Saint Katherin was bozne. This Chappell is in olde Famagusta, the which was destroyed by Englishmen, and is cleane ouerthrowne to the ground, to this day desolate and not inhabited by any person, it was of a great circuit, and there be to this day mountaines of faire, great, and strong buildings, and not onely there, but also in many places of the Island. Moreover when they digge, plowe, or trench they finde sometimes olde anient coines, some of golde, some of silver, and some of copper, yea and many tombes and vauces with sepulchers in them. This olde Famagusta is from the other, foure miles, and standeth on a hill, but the new towne on a plaine. Thence we returned to new Famagusta againe to dinner, and toward euening we went about the towne, and in the great Church we sawe the tombe of king Iaques, which was the last king of Cyprus, and was buried in the yere of Christ one thousand foure hundred seuentie & three, and had to wife one of the daughters of

Venice

Venice, of the house of Cornari, the which family at this day hath great revenues in this Island, and by means of that marriage, the Venetians challenge the kingdom of Cyprus.

Cornari, a familie of Venice married to King Iaquet.

The first of October in the morning, we went to see the reliefe of the watches. That done, we went to one of the Greekes Churches to see a pot of Jarre of Stone, which is sayd to bee one of the seven Jarres of water, the which the Lord God at the marriage conuerted into wine. It is a pot of earth very faire, white enamelled, and fairely wrought vpon with drawn worke, and hath on either side of it, instead of handles, eares made in fountne as the Painters make angels wings, it was about an elle high, and small at the bottome, with a long necke and correspondent in circuit to the bottome, the belly very great and round, it holdeth full twelue gallons, and hath a tap-hole to drawe wine out thereat, the Jarre is very auncient, but whether it be one of them or no, I know not. The aire of Famagusta is very wholesome, as they say, by reason of certaine marshy ground adioyning vnto it. They haue also a certaine yeerely sicknesse raigning in the same towne, aboue all the rest of the Island: yet neuertheless, they haue it in other townes, but not so much. It is a certaine rednesse and paine of the eyes, the which if it bee not quickly holpen, it taketh away their sight, so that yeerely almost in that towne, they haue about twentie that lose their sight, either of one eye or both, and it cometh for the most part in this moneth of October, and the last moneth: for I haue met diuers times thre and foure at once in companies, both men and women. Their liuing is better cheape in Famagusta then in any other place of the Island, because there may no kinde of prouision within their libertie bee sold out of the Citie.

As vitalles must be sold out of the city of Famagusta.

The second of October we returned to Arnacho, where we rested vntill the sixt day. This towne is a pretty Village, there are thereby toward the Sea side diuers monuments, that there hath bene great ouerthrow of buildings, for to this day there is no yere when they finde not, digging vnder ground, either coines, caues, and sepulchres of antiquities, as we walking, did see many, so that in effect, all alongt the Sea coast, throughout the whole Island, there is much ruine and ouerthrow of buildings: for as they say, it was disinhabited fixe and thirtie yeres before Saint Helens time for lacke of water. And since that time it hath bene ruinated and ouerthrowen by Richard the first of that name, king of England, which he did in reuenge of his sisters rauishment comming to Ierusalem, the which inforcement was done to her by the king of Famagusta.

Great ruines in Cyprus.

Cyprus 36. yeres disinhabited for lacke of water. Cypr. ruinated by Rich. the 1.

The sixt day we rid to Nicosia, which is from Arnacho seven Cyprus miles, which are one and twentie Italian miles. This is the ancientest citie of the Island, and is walled about, but it is not strong neither of walles nor situation: It is by report thre Cyprus miles about, it is not thoroughly inhabited, but hath many great gardens in it, and also very many Date trees, and plenty of Pomegranates and other fruites. There dwell all the Gentilitie of the Island, and there hath euery Cauallier or Conte of the Island an habitation. There is in this citie one fountaine rented by saint Marke, which is bound euery eight dayes once, to water all the gardens in the towne, and the keeper of this fountaine hath for euery tree a Bizantin, which is twelue soldes Venice, and six pence sterling. He that hath that to farme, with a faire and profitable garden there, to belonging, payeth euery yeere to saint Marke, fifteene hundred crownes. The streets of the citie are not paved, which maketh it with the quantitie of the gardens, to seeme but a rurall habitation. But there be many faire buildings in the Citie, there be also Donateries both of Franks & Greekes. The Cathedral church is called Santa Sophia, in the which there is an old tombe of Ialysis stone, all of one piece, made in forme of a carriage coffe, twelue spannes long, sixe spannes broad, and seven spannes high, which they say was found vnder ground. It is as faire a stone as euer I haue seene.

Nicosia.

A fountaine that watereth all the gardens in the citie. A Bizantin is 6. d. sterling.

S. Sophia is a Cathedral church of Nicosia.

The seventh day we rid to a Greeke frierie halfe a mile without the towne. It is a very pleasaunt place, and the friers feasted vs according to their abilitie. These friers are such as haue bene Priests, and their wines dying they must become friers of this place, and neuer after eate flesh, for if they do, they are deppriued from saying masse: neither, after they haue taken vpon them this order, may they marry againe, but they may keepe a single woman. These Greekish friers are very continent and chast, and surely I haue seldome seene (which I haue well noted) any of them fat.

The 8. day we returned to Arnacho, and rested there. The 9. after mid night my company rid to the hill called Monte de la Croce (but I not disposed would not go) which hill is from Arnacho 15. Italian miles. Upon the sayd hill is a certaine crosse, which is, they say, a holy Crosse. This Crosse in times past did by their report of the Island, hang in the ayre, but by a certaine earthquake, the crosse and the chappell it hung in, were ouerthrowen, so that neuer since it would hang againe in the aire. But it is now covered with silver, and hath 3. drops of our lordes blood

Monte de la Croce.

on it (as they say) and there is in the midit of the great crosse, a little crosse made of the crosse of Christ, but it is closed in the silver, you must (if you will) beleuee it is so, for see it you cannot. This crosse hangeth now by both endes in the wall, that you may swing it up and downe, in token that it did once hang in the aire. This was told mee by my fellow pilgrimes, for I sawe it not.

The 10. at night we went aboard by warning of the patron: and the 11. in the morning we set saile, and crept along the shore, but at night we ankered by reason of contrary windes.

Limisso.

The 12. we set saile toward Limisso, which is from Salines 50. miles, and there we went on land that night.

The 13. and 14. we remained still on land, and the 15. the pagrone sent for vs; but by reason that one of our company was not well, we went not presently, but we were forced afterward to hire a boate, and to ouertake the ship some miles into the sea. At this Limisso all the Venetian ships lade wine for their prouision, and some for to sell, and also vineger. They lade also great store of Carrobi: for all the country thereabout adjoining, and all the mountaines are full of Carrobi trees, they lade also cotton wooll there. In the sayd towne we did see a certaine foule of the land (whereof there are many in this Island) named in the Italian tongue Vulture. It is a foule that is as big as a Swanne, and it liueth vpon carion. The skinne is full of soft downe, like to a fine furre, which they vse to occupie when they haue euill stomacks, and it maketh good digestion. This bird (as they say) will eate as much at one meale as shall serue him forrie dayes after, and within the compasse of that time careth for no more meate. The countrey people, when they haue any dead beaſt, they carry it into the mountaines, or where they suppose the sayd Vultures to haunt, they seeing the carion doe immediately greedily seaze vpon it, and doe so ingraſt their talents, that they cannot speedily rise agayne, by reason wherof the people come and kill them: sometimes they kill them with dogs, and sometimes with such weapons as they haue. This foule is very great and hardy, much like an Eagle in the feathers of her wings and backe, but broader her great feathers she is onely downe, her necke also long and full of downe. She hath on the necke bone, betweene the necke and the shoulders, a heape of feathers like a Cassell, her thighs vnto her knees are couered with downe, her legs strong and great, and darcth with her talents assault a man. They haue also in this Island a certaine small bird, much like vnto a Wagtaile in feathers and making, these are so extreme fat that you can perceiue nothing els in all their bodies: these birds are now in season. They take great quantitie of them, and they vse to pickle them with vineger and salt, and to put them in pots and send them to Venice and other places of Italy for presents of great estimation. They say they send almost 1200. Jarres or pots to Venice, besides those which are consumed in the Island, which are a great number. These are so plentifull that when there is no shipping, you may buy them for 10. Carchies, which coine are 4. to a Venetian Soldo, which is penny farthing the dozen, and when there is store of shipping, 2. pence the dozen, after that rate of their monny. They of the limites of Famagusta do keep the statutes of the Frenchmen which sometimes did rule there. And the people of Nicofia obserue the order of the Genoueses, who sometimes also did rule them. All this day we lay in the sea with little wind.

Carrobi,
Vulture.Great plenty
of very fat
birds.The Famagu-
stans obserue
the French
statutes.

The 16. we met a Venetian ship, and they willing to speake with vs, and we with them, made towards each other, but by reason of the euill strirage of the other ship, we had almost boorded each other to our great danger. Toward night we ankered vnder Cauo Bianco, but because the winde grew faire, we set saile againe presently.

Cauo Bianco.

The 17. 18. 19. and 20. we were at sea with calme sommer weather, and the 20. we had some raine, and saw another Cion in the element. This day also we sawe, and spake with a Venetian ship called el Bonna, bound for Cyprus.

Another Cion.
The ship called
el Bonna.

The 21. we sailed with a reasonable gale, and saw no land until the 4. of Nouember. This day we had raine, thunder, lightning, and much wind and stormie weather, but God be praised we escaped all dangers.

A great tem-
pest.

The 4. of Nouember, we had first sight of the Island of Candia, and we fell with the Islands called Gozi, by South of Candia. This day departed this present life, one of our company named Anthonie Gelber of Prussia, who onely tooke his surfet of Cyprus wine. This night we determined to ride a trie, because the wind was contrary, and the weather troublesome.

Candia, Gozi.
Anthonie Gelber
departed this
life.

The 5. we had very rough stormie weather. This day was the sayd Anthonie Gelber sowed in a Chauina filled with stones and throwen into the sea. By reason of the freshnes of the wind we would haue made toward the shore, but the wind put vs to the sea, where we endured a great storme and a troublesome night.

The 6. 7. and 8. we were continually at the sea, & this day at noone the wind came faire, where- by we recovered the way which we had lost, and sailed out of sight of Candia.

The

The 9. we sailed all day with a prosperous wind: after 14. mile an houre: and the 10. in the morning, we had sight of Cauo Matapan, and by noone of Cauo Gallo, in Morea, with which land we made by reason of contrary wind, like wise we had sight of Modon, under the which place we ankered. This Modon is a strong towne, and built in the sea, and ioincth on the North side to the land. It hath a litle castle built into the sea, with a peere for litle shyps and galleis to harbour in. It hath on the South side of the channell, the Island of Sapientia, with other litle Islands all disinhabited. The channell lieth South-west and North-east betweene the Islands and Morea, which is firme land. This Modon was built by the Venetians, but as some say it was taken from them by force of the Turke, and others say by composition: in like case Coron, and Napolis de Romania, which is also in Morea. This night the Flemmish pilgrimes being drunke would haue slaine the patrone because he ankered here.

Cauo Matapan.
Cauo Gallo,
Modon.

Sapientia.

Coron.
Napolis de Romania.

The 11. day we set saile againe, and as we passed by Modon, we saluted them with ordinance, for they that passe by this place, must salute with ordinance, (if they haue) or els by striking their top sailes, for if they doe not, the towne will shoot at them. This day toward 2. of the clocke we passed by the Island of Prodeno, which is but litle, and desert, under the Turke. About 2. houres before night, we had sight of the Islands of Zante and Cephalonia, which are from Modon one hundredth miles.

Prodeno.

Zante and Cephalonia.

The 12. day in the morning, with the wind at West, we doubled between Castle Torneste, and the Island of Zante. This castle is on the firme land vnder the Turke. This night we ankered before the towne of Zante, where we that night went on land, and rested there the 13. 14. and 15. at night we were warned aboard by the patrone. This night the ship tooke in vitailles and other necessaries.

Castle Torneste
under the
Turke.

The 16. in the morning we set saile with a prosperous wind, and the 17. we had sight of Cauo de sancta Maria in Albania, on our right hand, and Corfu on the left hand. This night we ankered before the castles of Corfu, and went on land and refreshed our selues.

Cauo S. Maria on
the coast of Al-
bania,
Corfu Island.

The 18. by meanes of a friend we were licenced to enter the castle or fortrese of Corfu, which is not onely of situation the strongest I haue seene, but also of edification. It hath for the Inner warde two strong castles situated on the top of two high craggess of a rocke, a bowe shoot distant the one from the other: the rocke is vnassailable, for the second warde it hath strong walles, with rampiers and trenches, made as well as any arte can deuise. For the third warde and vttermoſt, it hath very strong walles with rampiers of the rocke it selfe cut out by force, and trenched about with the Sea. The bulwarkes of the vttermoſt warde are not yet finished, which are in number but two: there are continually in the castle seuen hundred souldiours. Also it hath continually foure wardes, to wit, for the land entrie one, for the sea entrie another, and two other wardes. Artillerie and other munition of defence alwayes readie planted it hath sufficient, besides the stoz remaining in their stozehouses. The Venetians hold this for the key of all their dominions, and for strength it may be no lesse. This Island is very fruitfull and plentifull of wine and cozne very good, and oliues great stoz. This Island is parted from Albania with a channell, in some places eight and ten, and in other but three miles. Albania is vnder the Turke, but in it are many Christians. All the horsemen of Corfu are Albanesses; the Island is not about 80. or 90. miles in compass.

The description
of the fortre
of Corfu.The Island of
Corfu is very
plentifull.

The 19. 20. and 21. we remained in the towne of Corfu.

The 22. day we went aboard and set saile, the wind being very caline wee toed the ship all that day, and toward Sunne set, the castle sent a Fragatta vnto vs, to giue vs warning of thre Foistes comming after vs, for whose comming wee prepared and watched all night, but they came not.

The 23. day in the morning being caline, wee toed out of the Streight, vntill wee came to the olde towne, whereof there is nothing standing but the walles. There is also a new Church of the Greekes called Santa Maria di Cassopo, and the townes name is called Cassopo. It is a good porte. About noone wee passed the Streight, and drew toward the ende of the Island, hauing almost no wind. This night after supper, by reason of a certaine Hollander that was drunke, there arose in the ship such a trouble some disturbance, that all the ship was in a vproze with weapons, and had it not bene rather by Gods helpe, and the wiseome and patience of the patrone, more then by our procurement, there had bene that night a great slaughter. But as God would, there was no hurt, but onely the beginner was put vnder hatches, and with the fall hurt his face very sore. All this night the wind blew at Southeast, and sent vs forward.

Cassopo.

A dangerous
tumult in the
ship.

The 24. in the morning wee found our selues before an Island called Safeno, which is in the entrie to Valona, and the wind prosperous.

Safeno.

Valona.

The 25. day we were before the hills of Antiueri, and about sunne set wee passed Ragusa,

Meleda,

and three houres within night we ankered within Meleda, hauing Sclauonia or Dalmatia on the right hand of vs, and the winde Southwest.

Curzola a stritt full Island.

The 26 in the morning we set sayle, and passed the channell between Sclauonia and Meleda, which may be eight mile ouer at the most. This Island is vnder the Raguses. At after noone with a hard gale at west and by north we entered the channell betweene the Island Curzola and the hills of Dalmatia, in the which channell be many rockes, and the channell not past 3 miles ouer, and we ankered befoze the towne of Curzola. This is a pretie towne walled about and built vpon the sea side, hauing on the toppe of a round hill a faire Church. This Island is vnder the Venetians, there grow very good vines, also that part toward Dalmacia is well peopled and husbanded, especially for wines. In the said Island we met with the Venetian armie, to wit, tenne gallies, and three foppes. All that night we remained there.

In the Island of Lesina, are taken some of Sardinia.

The 27 we set sayle and passed along the Island, and towards afternoone we passed in befoze the Island of Augusta, and about sunne set befoze the towne of Lesina, whereas I am informed by the Italians, they take all the Sardinias that they spend in Italy. This day we had a prosperous winde at Southeast. The Island of Lesina is vnder the Venetians, a very fruitfull Island adioyning to the maine of Dalmatia, we left it on our right hand, and passed along.

The gulfe of Quernero. Rouignio.

The 28 in the morning we were in the Gulfe of Quernero, and about two houres after noone we were befoze the cape of Istria, and at sunne set we were at anker afoze Rouignio which is also in Istria and vnder the Venetians, where all ships Venetian and others are bound by order from Venice to take in their Pilots to goe for Venice. All the sommer the Pilots lie at Rouignio, and in winter at Parenzo, which is from Rouignio 18 miles by West.

Parenzo.

The 29 we set sayle and went as farre as Parenzo, and ankered there that day, and went no further.

S. Nicolo an Island.

The 30 in the morning we rowed to Sane Nicolo a litle Island hard by uninhabited, but only it hath a Monastery, it is full of Oliue trees, after masse wee returned and went aboard. This day the patron hired a Barke to imbarke the pilgrims for Venice, but they departed not. In the afternoone we went to see the towne of Parenzo, it is a pretie handsome towne, vnder the Venetians. After supper wee imbarked our selues againe, and that night wee sayled towardes Venice.

Caorle standing at the entrie of the marches of Venice.

The first of December we past a towne of the Venetians, standing on the entery to the Palude or marches of Venice: which towne is called Caorle, and by contrary windes we were diuen thither to take port. This is 60 miles from Parenzo, and forty from Venice; there we remayned that night.

Our arrivall at Venice.

The second two houres befoze day, with the winde at Southeast, we sayled towards Venice, where we arrived (God be praised) at two of the clocke after dinner, and landed about foure, we were kept so long from landing, because we durst not land untill we had presented to the Prouidor de la Sanita, our letter of health.

The manner of the entring of *Soliman* the great Turke, with his armie into *Aleppo* in *Syria*, marching towards *Persia* against the Great Sophie, the fourth day of Nouember, 1553, noted by Master *Anthony Ienkinson*, present at that time.



Were marched befoze the Grand Signior, other wise called the Great Turke, 6000 Esperes, other wise called light hoylemen very braue, clothed all in scarlet.

After, marched 10000 men, called Nortans, which be tributaries to the Great Turke, clothed all in yellow veluet, and hats of the same, of the Tartary fashion, two foote long, with a great roale of the same colour about their foreheads, richly decked, with their botwes in their hands, of the Turkish fashion.

After them marched foure Captaines, men of armes, called in Turkish Saniaques, clothed all foure in crimson veluet, euery one hauing vnder his banner twelue thousand men of armes well armed with their morrions vpon their heads, marching in good order, with a shoyt weapon by their sides, called in their language, Simitero.

After came 16000 Ianizaries, called the slaues of the Grand Signior, all a foote, euery one hauing his harquebush, who be his garb, all clothed in violet silke, and apparelled vpon their heads with a strange forme, called Cuocullucia, fashioned in this sort: the entering in of the forehead is like a skull made of white veluet, & hath a traine hanging downe behind, in manner of a french hooode, of the same colour, and vpon the forepart of the said skull, iust in the middes of his forehead there is standing bolt vpright like a trunk of a foote long of siluer, garnished most richly with Gold.

Goldsmiths worke, and precious stones, and in the top of the said crunke a great bulke of fetters, which waueth vp and downe most brauely when he marche th.

After this, there cam 1000. pages of honour, all clothed in cloth of gold, the halfe of them carrying barques bushes, and the other halfe Turkish bowes, with their trusses of arrowes, marching in good order.

Then came thre men of armes well armed, and vpon their harness coates of the Turkes fashion, of Libard skines, and murrions vpon their heads, their speares charged, and at the end of their staffe hard by y head of the speare, a hoyle talle died in a bloody colour, which is their ensigne: they be the chalengers for the Turkes owne person.

After them came seuen pages of honour in cloth of siluer, vpon seuen white horses, which horses were covered with cloth of siluer, all embzodered and garnished with precious stones, emerauds, diamonds, and rubies most richly.

After them also came fire moze pages of honour, clothed in cloth of gold, euery one hauing his bowe in his hand, and his sawehine of the Turkes fashion by his side.

Immediately after them came the great Turke himselfe with great pompe & magnificence, vsing in his countenance and gesture a wonderfull maicstie, hauing onely on each side of his person one page clothed with cloth of gold: he himselfe was mounted vpon a goodly white horse, adorned with a robe of cloth of gold, embzodered most richly with the most precious stones, and vpon his head a goodly white tucke, containing in length by estimation fiftene yards, which was of silke and linnen wouen together, resembling something Callicut cloth, but is much moze fine and rich, and in the top of his crowne, a litle pinnach of white Dstirich feathers, and his horse most richly apparelled in all points correspondent to the same.

After him folowed fire goodly pong ladies, mounted vpon fine white hackneis, clothed in cloth of siluer, which were of the fashion of mens garments, embzodered very richly with pearle and precious stones, and had vpon their heads caps of Goldsmiths worke, hauing great flackets of haire, hanging out on each side, died as red as blood, and the nailes of their fingers died of the same colour, euery of them hauing two eunuches on each side, and litle bowes in their hands, after an Antike fashion.

After marched y great Basha chiefe conductor of the whole army, clothed with a robe of Dolyphant crimson, and vpon the same another shorze garment very rich, and about him fiftie Janizaries afoote, of his owne gard, all clothed in crimson veluet, being armed as the great Turks owne Janizaries.

Then after ensued thre other Bashes, with slaues about them, being afoote, to the number of thre thousand men.

After came a companie of horsemen very braue, and in all points well armed, to the number of foure thousand.

All this aforesayd army, most pompous to behold, which was in number foure seore and eight thousand men, encamped about the cite of Aleppo, and the Grand Signior himselfe was lodged within the towne, in a goodly castle, situated vpon a high mountaine: at the foote whereof runneth a goodly riuer, which is a bzaunch of that famous riuer Euphrates.

The rest of his armie passed ouer the mountaines of Armenia called now the mountaines of Camarie, which are foure dayes journey from Aleppo, appointed there to tary the coming of the Grand Signior, with the rest of his armie, intending to march into Persia, to giue battel to the great Sophie. So the whole armie of the Grand Signior, containing as well those that went by the mountaines, as also those that came to Aleppo in company with him, with horsemen & foote-men, and the conductors of the camels and vittuals, were the number of 300000. men.

The camels which carried munitiion and vittalles for the said army, were in number 200000.

A note of the presents that were giuen at the same time in Aleppo, to the grand Signior, and the names of the presenters.

First the Basha of Aleppo, which is as a Uiceroy, presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, and 25. horses.

The Basha of Damasco, presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, and twentie horses, with diuers sorts of counfits, in great quantitie.

The Basha of Aman presented 100. garments of cloth of gold, 20. horses, and a cup of gold, with two thousand duckets.

The Saniaque of Tripolis presented six camels, charged all with silkes, 20. horses, and a litle clocke of gold, garnished with precious stones, esteemed worth two hundred duckets.

The Consul of the company of the Venetians in Tripolis, came to kisse the grand Signiors hand, and presented him a great basin of gold, and therein 4000. duckets Venetians.

The safeconduct or priuiledge giuen by *Sultan Solyman* the great Turke, to master *Anthony Ienkinson* at *Aleppo* in *Syria*, in the yeere 1553.



Sultan Solyman, &c. to all Viceroys, Saniaques, Cadies, and other our Iusticers, Officers, and subiects of Tripolis in Syria, Constantinople, Alexandria in Egypt, and of all other townes and cities vnder our deminion and iurisdiction: We will and commaund you, that when you shall seee Anthony Ienkinson, bearer of these present letters, merchant of London in England, or his factor, or any other bearing the sayd letter for him, arriue in our ports and hauens, with his ship or ships, or other vessels whatsoeuer, that you suffer him to lade or unlade his merchandise wheresoeuer it shall seeme good vnto him, traffiking for himselfe in all our countreys and dominions, without hindering or any way disturbing of him, his ship, his people or merchandise, and without enforcing him to pay any other custome or toll whatsoeuer, in any sort, or to any persons whatsoeuer they be, saue onely our ordinarie buties contained in our custome houses, which when he hath payed, we will that he be franke and free, as well for himselfe as for his people, merchandise, ship or ships, and all other vessels whatsoeuer: and in so doing that he may craffike, bargain, sell and buy, lade and unlade, in all our foresayd Countreys, lands and dominions, in like sort, and with the like liberties and priuiledges, as the Frenchmen and Venetians be, and enjoy, and moze if it bee possible, without the hinde tance or impeachment of any man. And furthermore, wee charge and commaund all Viceroys, and Consuls of the French nation, and of the Venetians, and all other Consuls resident in our Countreys, in what port or prouince soeuer they be, not to constraîne, or cause to constraîne by them, or the sayd Prinaiffers and Officers whatsoeuer they be, the sayd Anthony Ienkinson, or his factor, or his seruants, or deputies, or his merchandise, to pay any kind of consullage, or other right whatsoeuer, or to intermeddle or hinder his affaires, and not to molest nor trouble him any maner of way, because our will and pleasure is, that he shall not pay in all our Countreys, any other then our ordinarie custome. And in case any man hinder and impeach him, aboue, and besides these our present letters, wee charge you most expelly to defend and assist him agaynst the sayd Consuls, and if they will not obey our present commandement, that you aduertise vs thereof, that we may take such order for the same, that others may take example thereby. Moreover, we commaund all our Captaines of our Gallies, and their Lieutenants, be they Foildes or other Vessels, that when they shall finde the sayd Ienkinson, or his factor, or his ship or ships, with his seruants and merchandise, that they hurt him not neither in body nor goods, but that rather they assist and defend him agaynst all such as seeke to doe him wrong, and that they ayde and helpe him with bitailes, according to his want, and that whosoever shall see these presents, obey the same, as they will auoyd the penaltie in doing the contrary. Dade in Aleppo of Syria, the yeere 961. of our holy prophet Mahomer, and in the yeere of Iesus, 1553, signed with the scepter and signet of the grand Signior, with his owne proper hand.

A discourse of the trade to *Chio*, in the yeere 1569. made by *Gaspar Campion*, vnto master *Michael Locke*, and vnto master *William Winter*, as by his letters vnto them both shall appeare. Written the 14. of February.

1569.



Whipfull Sir, &c. As these dayes past I spake vnto you about the procurement of a safe conduct from the great Turke, for a trade to Chio: The way and maner how it may be obtained with great ease shall plainly appeare vnto you in the lines following. Sir, you shall vnderstand that the Island of Chio in time past hath bene a Signiorie or lordship of it selfe, and did belong vnto the Genowaies. There were 24. of the that governed the Island which were called Mauncles. But in continuance of time the Turke waxed so strong and mightie, that they, considering they were not able to keepe it, vnlesse they should become his tributaries, because the Island had no corne, nor any kind of bitailes to sustaine themselves, but onely that which must of necessitie come out of the Turkes dominions, and the sayd Island being inclosed with the Turks round about, and but 12. miles from the Turkes Continent, therefore the said Genowaies did compound and agree to be the Turkes tributaries, and to pay him 14000. thousand ducates yearly. Alwayes prouided, that they should keep their lawes both

Spirituall

spirituall and temporall, as they did when the Island was in their owne hands. Thus he granted them their priuiledge, which they intaped for many yeeres, so that all strangers, and also many English men did trade thither of long continuance, and went and came in safety. In this meane time, the prince Pedro Doria (being a Genouois) became a captaine to serue the Emperour with 30 or 40 gallies against the Turke. And since that time diuers other capitaines belonging to Genoa haue bene in the seruice of king Philip against the Turke. Moreover, whensoever the Turke made out any army, he perceiued that no nation did him more hurt then those Genouois, who were his tributaries. Likewise at the Turkes siege of Malta, before which place he lay a great while, with losse of his men, and also of his gallies, he found none so troublesome vnto his force, as one Iuanette Doria a Genouois, and diuers others of the Island of Chio, who were his tributaries. At which sight, he tooke such displeasure against them of Chio, that he sent certaine of his gallies to the Island, for to seise vpon all the goods of the 24 Maunefes, and to turne them with their wiues and children out of the Island, but they would let none other depart, because the Island should not be vnpeopled. So that now the Turke hath sent one of his chiefe men to rule there: whereby now it will be more easie for vs to obtaine our safeconduct then euer it was before. For if the towncsmen of Chio did know that we would trade thither (as we did in times past) they themselves, and also the customer (for the Turke in all his dominions doth rent his customs) would be the chiefe procurer of this our safeconduct for his owne gaine: which is no small matter: for we can pay no lesse then ten in the hundred thowout the Turks whole dominion. Inasmuch, that if one of our shippes should go thither, it would be for the customers profit 4000 bucats at least, whereas if we should not trade thither, he should lose so much. Also the burgeses, and the common people would be very glad of our trade there, for the Community do get more by our countrey men then they do by any other nation whatsoeuer: for we do vse to buy many of their silke quilts, and of their Scamato and Dimite, that the poore people make in that towne, more then any other nation; so that we would not so gladly trade, but the people of the countrey would be twise so willing. Wherefore they themselves would be a meanes vnto their gouernour, by their petition to bring this trade to passe: giuing him to vnderstand that of all nations in the world we do him least hurt, and that we may do his countrey great good in consuming those commodities which his countrey people make. Furthermore, it were farte more requisite that we should cary our owne commodities, then to suffer a stranger to cary them thither, for that we can affoord them better cheape then a stranger can. I write not this by hearesay of other men, but of mine own experience, for I haue traded in the countrey about this 30 yeeres, and haue bene married in the towne of Chio full 24 yeeres, so that you may assure yourselfe that I will write nothing but truth. Now I will declare vnto you the wares and commodities that are in the countreyes neere about Chio. There are very good galles, the best sort whereof are sold in England five shillings deerer then any other countrey galles. There is also cotten wooll, tanned hides, hides in the haire, ware, chamlets, mocapares, grogerams, silke of diuers countreyes, cordouan skinned tanned white, to be made blacke, of them great quantity, and also course wooll to make beds. The naturall commodities growing in the Island it selfe are silke rawe, and masticke. Of these commodities there are laden yeerely ten or twelue great ships of Genoa, besides five or sixe that do belong to the towne of Chio, which ships are fraughted for Genoa, Messina, and Ancona. And now that the Maunefes and the chiefe merchants of Genoa are banished, the trade is cleane lost, by reason whereof merchandise must now of necessity be better cheape then they haue bene in times past. But yet when all those ships did trade to the countrey, & also our ships, we neuer had lesse then thzee kintals of galles for a carlie, and in England we sold them for 35 and 36 shillings the hundred. And whereas now they are brought by the Venetians, they sell them vnto vs for thzee pound tenne shillings, and foure pound the hundred. Also we had thzee kintals of cotten wooll for a carlie, and sold the wooll in England for 50 shillings or 3 pound at the most, whereas now the Italians sell the same to vs for 4 pound 10 shillings and 5 pound the hundred. In like maner chamlets, whereas we had thzee picces, and of the best sort two and a halfe for a carlie, and could not sell them about 20 shillings and 22 shillings the picce, they sell them for 30 and 35 shillings the picce. Also grogerams, where we had of the best, two picces and a halfe for a carlie, they sell them for foure shillings and foure shillings and sixe pence the yard. Carpets the smaller sort which serue for cupboozes, we had thzee for a carlie: whereas we at the most could not sell them but for 20 shillings the picce, they sell them for 35 shillings the picce. And so all other commodities that the Venetians do bring, they sell them to vs for the third part more gaine then we our selues in those dayes that we traded in those parts. Likewise the barrels of oile that they bring from Candia, we neuer could sell them about foure nobles the barrell, where they sell them at wapes for 50 shillings & 3 pound the barrell. What great pity is this, that we should lose so good

The Prince Pedro Doria is captaine of 40 gallies under the Emperour.

Iuanette Doria.

The Maunefes put out of the Island of Chio by the Turke.

The custome thowout all Turke is ten in every hundred.

English men do buy more commodities at Chio then any other nation.

Great store of sundry commodities to be had in Chio.

a trade, and may haue it in our owne hands, and be better welcome to that countrey then the Venetians. Moreover, the Venetians come very little to Chio, for their most trade is into Alexandria. And for to assure you that we had these commodities in barter of our carlies, looke into your fathers books, and the booke of Sir Iohn Gresham, and his brethren, and you shall finde what I haue sayd to be true.

Diuers places where we may haue sweete oiles for our clothing farre cheaper then out of Spaine.

Also you know, that we are forced to seeke oiles out of Spaine, and that for these many yeeres they haue bene solde for 25 pound and 30 pound the tunne: whereas, if we can obtaine the foresayd safeconduct from the Turke, there are diuers places in his dominions, where we may lade 500 tunnes, at 5 pound sterling the tunne. The places are Modon, and Coron, which are but twelue miles distant the one from the other, and do stand in our way to Chio, as you may plainly see by the Card. Also these are places where we may vtter our owne commodities, and not onely these two places, but many others, where we may haue oiles, and be better vsed then we are in Spaine, where we pay very deare, and also are very euill intreated many wayes, as to you is not vnknewen. So that by these meanes (if the marchants will) we may be eased, and haue such a trade as the like is not in Christendome. Now, as for getting the safeconduct, if I were but able to spend one hundred pounds by the yeere, I would be bound to lose it, if that I did not obtaine the foresayd safeconduct. For I know that if the inhabitants of Chio did but thinke that we would trade thither againe, they at their owne cost would procure to vs a safeconduct, without any peny of charges to the marchants. So that if the marchants will but beare my charges to solicit the cause, I will undertake it my selfe. Wherefore I pray you speake to M. Winter and the other marchants, that this matter may take effect. And let me haue your answer herin as soone as conueniently you may, for that the time of the yeere draweth nigh that this businesse must be done. Thus I commit you to God, and rest alwayes yours to command.

Yours as your seruant *Gaspar Campion.*

To the worshipfull M. *William Winter.*



It may please your worship to vnderstand, that as concerning the voyage to Chio, what great profit would be gotten, both for marchants, and also for owners of shippes (as it was well knowen in those dayes when the Mathew Gonson, the Tribitie Fitzwilliams, and the Sauour of Bristow, with diuers other shippes which traded thither perely, and made their voyage in ten or twelue moneths, and the longest in a yeere) M. Francis Lambert, M. Iohn Brooke, and M. Drauer can truly informe you heereof at large. And by reason that we haue not traded into those parts these many yeeres, and the Turke is growen mightie, whereby our shippes doe not trade as they were wont, I finde that the Venetians doe bring those commodities thither, and doe sell them for double the value that we our selues were accustomed to fetch them. Wherefore, as I am informed by the aboue named men, that there is none so fit to furnish this voyage as your selfe: my request is that there may be a shippe of conuenient burthen prepared for this voyage, and then I will satisfie you at large what is to be done therein. And because the Turke, as I sayd before, is waken strong, and hath put out the Christian rulers, and placed his owne subiects, we may doubt whether we may so peaceably trade thither as we were wont: therefore I dare undertake to obtaine a safeconduct, if my charges may be borne to goe and come. Of the way how this may be done, M. Locke can satisfie you at large. Moreover, I can informe you moze of the trade of that countrey, then any other, for that I haue bene in those parts these thirtie yeeres, and haue bene married in the very towne of Chio full foure and twenty yeeres. Furthermore, when one of our shippes cometh thither, they bring at the least sixe or eight thousand carlies, so that the custome thereof is profitable for the prince, and the returne of them is profitable to the common people: for in barter of our wares, we tooke the commodities which the poore of that towne made in their houses: so that one of our shippes brought the prince and countrey moze gaines then sixe shippes of other nations. The want of this our trade thither was the onely cause why the Christian rulers were displaced: for when they payd not their perely tribute, they were put out by force. Touching the ship that must go, she must obserue this order, she must be a ship of countenance, and she must not touch in any part of Spaine, for the times are dangerous, nor take in any lading there: but she must lade in England, either goods of our owne, or els of strangers, and go to Genoa or Legorno, where we may be wel intreated, and from thence she must make her money to buy wines, by exchange to Candia, for there both custome & exchange are reasonable: and not do as the Math. Gonson & other shippes did in time past, who made sale of their

Gaspar Campion married in Chio 24 yeeres.

their wares at *Messina* for the laving of their wines, and payed for turning their white money into golde after foure and five in the hundred, and also did hazzard the losse of shippe and goods by carping away their money. Thus by the aforesayd course we shall trade quietly, and not be subiect to these dangers. Also from *Legorno* to *Castilla de la mar*, which is but 16 miles from *Naples*, and the ready way to *Candia*, you may lade hoops, which will cost carolins of *Naples* 27 and a halfe the thousand, which is ducats two and a halfe of *Spaine*. And in *Candia* for euery thousand of hoops you shall haue a but of *Malmeley* cleare of all charges. In so much that a ship of the burden of the *Mathew Gonson* will carry foure hundred thousand hoops, so that one thousand ducats will lade her, and this is an vsual trade to *Candia*, as *H. Michael Locke* can testifie, furthermoze, it is not vnknownen to you, that the oiles which we do spend in *England* for our cloth, are brought out of *Spaine*, and that very deare, and in *England* we cannot sell them vnder 28 pound and 30 pound the tunne: I say we may haue good oile, and better cheape in diuers places within the streights. Wherefore if you thinke good to take this voyage in hand, I will informe you moze particularly when you please. In the meane time I rest your worshipp to command.

Store of
hoops laden
at *Castilla de la
mar* for *Candia*.

Yours at your pleasure *Iasper Campion*.

The true report of the siege and taking of *Famagusta*, of the antique writers called *Tamassus*, a city in *Cyprus* 1571.

In the which the whole order of all the skirmishes, batteries, mines, and assaults giuen to the sayd fortresse, may plainly appeare. Englished out of Italian by *William Malim*.

To the right honourable and his singular good Lord, and onely Patron the Earle of *Leicester*, Baron of *Denbigh*, Knight of the honourable order of the Garter, one of the Queenes Maiesties most honourable priuy Councell &c. *William Malim* wisheth long health with increase of honour.



I hath bene a naturall instinct (right honourable and mine especiall good lord) ingrafted in noble personages hearts, much approved and confirmed also by custome, for them to seeke from time to time, by some meanes in their life, by the which they after their death might deliuer ouer their name to their posteritie: least otherwise with their body, their fame also altogether might perchance be buried. Vpon the which consideration we reade many notable and famous things to haue bene erected in time past of noble personages (having had wealth at will) in such sort, that not onely certaine ruines of the same sumptuous works builded so many hundred yeres past, do still remaine, but also the most part of those princes, the authours of them, do continually by them dwell in our memories. As the *Pyramides* made at *Memphis*, or neere the famous riuer of *Nilus*, by the great expenses of the kings of *Egypt*: the tower called *Pharia*, made in the Iland of *Pharos* by king *Ptolomee*: the walles of *Babylon*, made or at the least reedified by queene *Semiramis*: *Dianas* church at *Ephesus* builded by all the noble persons of *Asia*: *Manfolus* toome or sepulchre, made by his wife queene of *Caria*: *Colossus Solis* placed at *Rhodes*, I remember not by what Princes charge, but made by the hands of *Cares Lindius* scholar to *Lysippus*: and the image of *Iupiter*, made of Yuory by the hands of the skilfull workman *Phydias*. The which monuments made of barbarous and heathen Princes to redeeme themselues from obliuion deserued both for the magnificence, and perfect workmanship of the same, to be accounted in those dayes as the seuen woonders of the world. Since the which time, an easier, readier, and lighter way, being also of more continuance then the former, hath bene found out, namely, Letters, which were first inuented by the *Caldies* and *Egyptians*, as we reade, and augmented since by others, to our great benefit, and now last of all (no long time past) the same to haue bene commuted to Printers presses, to the greatest perfection of the same: men being first inforced to write their actes and monuments in beasts skinned, in barks of trees, or otherwise perchance as vnreadily. By the which benefit of letters (now reduced into print) we see how easie a thing it is, and hath bene for noble persons, to liue for euer by the helpe of learned men. For the memory of those two woorthy and valiant captaines *Scipio* and *Hannibal* had bene long before

before this present quite forgotten, except *Titus Livius*, or some such learned Historiographer had written of them in time. And *Alexander Magnus* himselfe that great conquerour had nothing beene spoken of, had not *Q. Curtius*, or some other like by his learned stile reuiued the remembrance of him, and called backe againe his doings to his posteritie. For the which cause we see commonly in all ages learned men to be much made of by noble personages, as that rare patterne of learning, *Aristotle* to haue bene greatly honoured of that former renowned Monarch *Alexander*: who affirmed openly, that he was more bound to his Master *Aristotle*, then to king *Philip* his father, because the one had well framed his minde, the other onely his body. Many other like examples I could alledge at this present, if I knew not vnto whom I now wrote, or in what: for your honour being skilfull in histories, and so familiarly acquainted with the matter it selfe, that is in still entertaining learned men with all curtesie, I should seeme to light a candle at noone tide, to put you in remembrance of the one, or to exhorte you to doe the other, dayly being accustomed to performe the same. *Craffus* sayth in *Tullies* first booke, *De Oratore*: that a Lawyers house is the oracle of the whole citie. But I can iustly witness, that for these five yeeres last past, since my returne from my trauell beyond the seas, that your lodging in the Court (where I through your vnderferued goodnesse to my great comfort do dayly frequent) hath bene a continuall receptacle or harbour for all learned men comming from both the eyes of the realme, *Cambridge*, and *Oxford* (of the which Vniuersity your lordship is Chancellor) to their great satisfaction of minde, and ready dispatch of their tutes. Especially for Preachers and Ministers of true religion: of the which you haue beene from time to time not onely a great fauourer, but an earnest furtherer, and protectour: so that these two nurseries of learning (in one of the which I haue before this spent part of my time, that I may speake boldly what I thinke) should wrong your honour greatly, and much forget themselues, if by all meanes possible they should not hereafter (as at this present to their small powers many well learned gentlemen of them do) labour and trauell in shewing of themselues thankfull, to reuerence and honour your lordship, and honest their owne names: whose studies certainly would suddenly decay and fall flat, if they were not held vp by such noble proppes, and had not soine sure ankerholds in their distresse to leane vnto. How ready dayly your trauell is, and hath long beene besides to benefit all other persons, in whom any sparke of vertue or honesty remaineth, I need not labour to expresse, the world knowing already the same. But whosoeuer they be, that in all their life time haue an especiall care by all meanes to profit as many as they be able, and hurt none, do not onely a laudable act, but leade a perfect and very godly life. Whereupon *Strabo* affirmeth this most truely to be spoken of them: *Mortales tum demum Deum imitari, cum benefici fuerint*. That is, Mortall men then specially to follow the nature of God, when they are beneficiall and bountifull to others. Great commendation vndoubtedly it bringeth to any noble personage, that as the Moone, that light and brightnesse which she receiueh of the Sun, is wont presently to spread abroad vpon the face of the earth, to the refreshing and comforting of all inferiour and naturall things bearing life: so for him, to bestow all that fauour and credit, which he hath gotten at the princes handes, to the helpe and reliefe of the woorthy and needy. Great is the force (my right honourable lord) of true vertue, which causeth men, as *Tully* writeth in his booke *De Amicitia*, to be loued & honored oft of those persons, which neuer saw them. Whereof I neuer had better prooffe (I take God & mine one conscience to witness, the which I declared also to certaine of my friends as soone as I returned) then at my last being at *Constantinople*, in the yere of our Lord 1564, whereas I oft resorting (as occasion serued) to the right honorable Christian ambassadors, while I made my abode there (namely vnto *Monsieur Antonio Petrimol*, lieger there for the French king, *Sig. M. Uistor Bragadino*, for the seigniory of *Venice*, *Sig. Lorenzo Giustiniano*, for the state of *Scio*, or *Chios*, and *Sig. Albertacio della Alberti*, for the duke of *Florence*) heard them often report and speake very honorably of your lordship, partly for your other good inclinations of nature, but especially for your liberality, & courteous intreating of diuers of their friends & countrymen, which vpon sundry occasions had bene here in this our realme. So that to conclude, all men iustly fauour your honourable dealings and deserts: and I for my part haue reuerenced and honoured the same euermore both here at home, and elsewhere abroad, wishing often to haue had some iust occasion to pay part of that in good will, which my slender abilitie will neuer suffer me fully to discharge. For vnto whom should I sooner present any thing any way, especially concerning matters done abroad, then vnto your lordship, by whom I was much cherished abroad in my trauell, and maintained since my returne here at home? For the which cause I haue enterprised (hoping greatly of your lordships fauour herein) to clothe and set forth a few Italian newes in our English attire, being first moued thereunto by the right worshipfull M.

D. Wilson Master of her Maesties Requestes, your honours assured trully friend, a great & painfull furtherer of learning, whom I, and many other for diuers respects ought to reuerence: who remembering that I had bene at *Cyprus*, was willing that my pen should trauell about the Christian and Turkish affaires, which there lately haue happened: perswading himselfe, that somewhat thereby I might benefit this our native country. Against whose reasonable motion I could not greatly wrestle, hazzarding rather my slender skill in attempting and performing this his requested taske, then he through my refusal should seeme to want any iot of my good will. In offering vp the which newes, although I shall present no new thing to your honour, because you are so well acquainted with the Italian copy, as I know: yet I trust your lordship will not mislike, that the same which is both pleasant to reade, and so necessary to be knowne for diuers of our captaines and other our countrey men, which are ignorant in the Italian tongue, may thus now shew it selfe abroad, couered vnder the wing of your lordships protection. Certainly it moueth me much to remember the losse of those three notable Ilands, to the great discomfort of all Christendome, to those hellish Turkes, horseleeches of Christian blood: namely *Rhodes* besieged on *S. Iohn Baptists* day, and taken on *Iohns* day the *Euangelist*, being the 27 of December 1522, *Scio* or *Chios* being lost since my being there, taken of *Piali Basba* with 80 gallies, the 17 of April 1566. And now last of all not only *Famagusta* the chiefe holde & fortresse in *Cyprus* to haue bene lost of the Venetians the 15 of August last past 1571 (the chiefe gouernors & captaines of the being hewen in sunder by the comandement of that tyrant *Mustafa Basba*) but all the whole Iland also to be conquered by those cruell Turks, ancient professed enemies to all Christian religion. In the which euill successe (comming to vs as I take it for our offences) as I lament the generall losse: so I am surely pensue to vnderstand by this too true a report of the vile death of two particular noble gentlemen of *Venice*, *Sig. M. Lorenzo Tiepolo*, and *Sig. M. Gionanni Antonio Querini*: of both the which I in my trauaile was very courteously vsed, the former of them being then (as now also he was in this ouerthrow) gouernour of *Baffo* in *Cyprus*, the other captaine of one of the castels at *Corcyra* in Greece, now called *Corfu*. But things past are past amendment, and they could neuer die more honourably, then in the defence of their country. Besides that the late blowes, which the Turkes haue receiued since this their fury, in token of Gods wrath against them, do much comfort euery Christian heart. Moreouer this vniforme preparation which is certainly concluded, and forthwith looked for, by very many Christian Princes (would God by all generally) against these barbarous Mahometists: whose cruelty and beastly behauiour I partly know, and am able to iudge of, hauing bene in Turkey amongst them more then eight moneths together. Whose vnfaithfulnesse also and breach of promise, as the Venetians manly courage in defence of themselves, and their fortresse, your honour may easily reade in this short treatise and small handfull of leaues, I hauing set downe also a short description of the Iland of *Cyprus*, for the better vnderstanding of the whole matter. The which I not onely most humbly beseech your honour now fauourably to accept as an earnest peny of more to come, and of my present good will: but with your accustomed goodnesse towards me, to defend the same against such persons, whose tongues too readily roule sometime against other mens painfull trauels, perswading themselves to purchase the sooner some credit of learning with the ruder sort, by controlling and ouerdaintie sifting of other mens laboured tasks. For I know in all ages to be found as well Basilisks as Elephants. Thus nothing doubting of your ready ayd heerein, as I assuredly trust of your honours fauourable acceptation of this my poore present, wishing long life with the increase of Gods holy spirit to your lordship and to all your most honourable familie (vnto whom I haue wholly dedicated my selfe by mine owne choise and election for euer) I, craving pardon for my former boldnesse, most humbly thus take my leaue. From *Lambeth* the 23 of March. *Ann. 1572.*

Rhodes lost.
Scio lost.

Cyprus lost.

Your honours most humble and faithfull seruant
for euer, *William Malim.*

A briefe description of the Iland of *Cyprus*: by the which not onely the Venetians title why they haue so long enioyed it, but also the Turks, whereby now he claimeth it, may plainly appeare.



The Iland of *Cyprus* is inuironed with diuers seas: for Westward it is washed with the sea called *Pamphilius*: Southward, with the sea *Egyptium*: on the East part, with the sea *Syrium*: and Northward, with the sea called *Cilicium*. The which Iland in time past had diuers names: called once *Acamantis*, as *Sabellicus* witnesseth.

seth. *Philonides* maketh mention, that it was called sometime *Cerastis*. *Xenogoras* writeth, that it was named *Aspelia*, *Amathusa*, & *Macaria*. There were in times past fiteene cities or famous townes in it, but now very few, amongst the which *Famagusta* is the chiefest & strongest, situated by the sea side. There is also *Nicosia*, which was woont, by the traffike of Marchants, to be very wealthy: besides the city of *Baffo*, *Arnica*, *Saline*, *Limisso*, *Melipotamo*, & *Epi-scopia*. *Timosthenes* affirmeth, that this Iland is in compasse 429 miles: and *Artemidorus* writeth the length of the same to be 162 miles, measuring of it from the East to the West, betwixt two promontories named *Dinaretta* and *Acamanta*. This Iland is thought to be very rich, abundant of Wine, Oile, Graine, Pitch, Rozin, Allum, Salt, and of diuers precious stones, pleasant, profitable, and necessary for mans vse, and much frequented of Marchants of *Syria*, vnto the which it lieth very nere. It hath bene, as *Plinie* writeth, joyned sometime with *Syria*, as *Sicilia* hath bene also with *Italy*. It was a long time subiect vnto the Romans, after to the Persians, and to the Soldan of *Egypt*. The selfesame Iland was sometime also English, being conquered by king *Richard* the first, in his voyage to *Hierusalem* in the yeere of our Lord 1192. Who (as *Polydore* writeth in his fourteenth booke of our English hitorie) being prohibited by the Cypriottes from arriuall there, inuaded and conquered the same soone after by force: and hauing left behinde him sufficient garrisons to keepe the same, departed from thence to *Prolemyda*: who afterward exchanged the same with *Guy* of *Lusignan*, that was the last christened king of *Hierusalem*, for the same kingdome. For the which cause the kings of *England* were long tyme after called kings of *Hierusalem*. And last of all, the Venetians haue enioyed it of late a long time, in this order following. In the yeere of our Lord 1470, *Iohn* king of the sayd Iland, sonne to *Ianus* of *Lusignan*, had by *Helene* his wife, which was of the Emperiall house of *Paleologus*, one daughter only called *Charlotta*, and a bastard called *James*: the which *James* was afterward consecrated Bishop of *Nicosia*. This *Charlotta* was married first to the king of *Portingall*, of whom he had no issue, so that he being dead, *Lewes* Duke of *Saroy* (to whom shee was the second time married) sonne to *Lewes* the second of that name (vnto whom the said Iland by the right of this his wife *Charlotta* did appertaine) had the possession of the same. *James* the bastard as soone as his father was dead, of a Bishop became a souldiour, and with an army wanne the Iland, making it his owne by force. This Duke of *Saroy* hearing these newes, with a number of well appointed souldiers, arriued shortly after in *Cyprus*, and recouering againe the Iland, compelled the bastard to flie forthwith ouer to the Soldan of *Egypt*. Who making himselfe his subiect, in time so wrought and tempered the matter, that the Soldan in person at his request passed ouer into *Cyprus*, besieged Duke *Lewes* in the castle of *Nicosia*, and at length compelled him to depart, leauing his kingdome. So that this Bishop became againe King of this Iland: who shortly after cleauing to the Venetians hauing made a league of friendship with them, married by their consent one *Catherina* the daughter of *Marco Cornaro*, which *Catherin* the Senate of *Venice* adopted vnto them soone after as their daughter. This Bishop not long after sickened, and died, leauing this his wife with child, who liued not long after his fathers death. By the which means the Venetians making themselues the next heires to *Catherina* by the law of adoption, tooke vnto them the possession of this kingdome, and haue kept and enioyed the same almost this hundred yeeres. Now this great Turke called *Sultan Selim* in the right of the Soldan of *Egypt*, whom his grandfather (called also *Sultan Selim*) conquered, pretenderh a right title vnto it, and now, as you may vnderstand by reading of this short Treatise, hath by conquest obtained the same. Whom I pray the euerliuing God, if it be his holy will, shortly to roct out from thence,

To the Reader.



Am not ignorant (gentle Reader) how hard a matter it is for any one man to write that, which should please and satisfie all persons, we being commonly of so diuers opinions and contrary iudgements: againe *Tully* affirmeth it to be a very difficult thing, to finde out any matter which in his owne kinde may be in all respects perfect. Wherefore I trust by your owne iudgement I ought of reason to be the sooner pardoned (my translation being precisely ried to mine authours meaning) if any thing heerein besides be thought to be wanting: I haue learned by the way how comberous a thing it is to turne the selfesame matter out of the Italian language into our countrey speech. But who so deeth what he possibly can is bound to no more. And I now at the request of others (who put me in minde, that I was not onely borne vnto my selfe) haue accomplished that in the ende, which I promised and was required

required. With what paine and diligence, I referre me to them which are skilfull in the Italian tongue, or may the better iudge, if it please them to trie the same, casting aside this exemplar, I speake it not arrogantly, I take God to witnesse: but mens painefull trauels ought not lightly to be condemned: nor surely at any time are woont to be of the learned, or discreet. By whose gentle acceptation if these my present doings be now supported, I will perswade my selfe that I haue reaped sufficient fruit of my trauell. Vnto whome with all my heart I wish prosperous successe in all their affaires,

Ann. Dom. 1572. W. M.

In Turchas precatio.

Summe Deus, succurre tuis, misereſce tuorum,
 Et ſubeat gentis te noua cura tua.
 Quem das tantorum ſinem, Rex magne, laborum?
 In nos vibrabit tela quouſque Saiban?
 Antè Rhodum, mox inde Chinm, nunc denique Cyprum,
 Turcharum cepit ſanguinolenta manus:
 Muſtafa ſædiſragus parte graſſatur in omnes,
 Et Veneta Cypriam ſtrage cruentat humum.
 Nec ſinem imponit ſceleri, mollitine furorem,
 Nec niſi potato ſanguine paſtus abit.
 Qualis, que nunquam niſi plena tumensque cruore
 Sanguis ſuga obſeſſam mittit hirudo cutem.
 Torturam ſequitur tortura, et norque cruorem,
 Et eadem admiſſam cadis alius amor.
 Scuit inops animi, nec vel ſe temperat ipſe,
 Vel manus indomitum noſtra domare poteſt.
 At tu, magne Pater, tumidum diſperde Tyrannum,
 Nec ſine maclari ſemper ouile tuum.
 Exulet hoc monſtrum, ne ſanguine terra redundet.
 Excutiantque nouum Cypria regna iugum.
 Et quod Chriſticolæ ſædus pepigere Monarchæ,
 Id fauſtum nobis omnibus eſſe velis.
 In pugna illorum pugnas, & bella ſecundes,
 Captiuoſque tibi ſubde per arma Scythas.
 Sic tua per totum fundetur gloria mundum,
 Vnus ſic Chriſtus fiet, & vna fides.

Gulielmus Malini.

The true report of all the ſucceſſe of Famaguſta, made by the
 Earle Neſtor Martiningo, vnto the renowned
 Prince the Duke of Venice.



The ſixteenth day of February, * 1571, the fleet which had brought the ayde vnto Famaguſta, departed from thence, whereas were found in all the army, but foure thouſand footmen, eight hundred of them choſen ſouldiers, and three thouſand (accounting the Citizens and other of the Villages) the reſt two hundred in number were ſouldiers of Albania. After the arriual of the which ſuccour, the fortification of the City went more diligently forward of all hands, then it did beſore, the whole garriſon, the Grecian Citizens inhabiting the Towne, the Governours and Captaines not withholding themſelues from any kinde of labour, for the better encouragement and good example of others, both night and day ſearching the watch, to the intent with more carefull heed taking they might beware of their enemies, againſt whom they made no ſally out of the City to ſkirmiſh but very ſeldome, eſpecially to vnderſtand when they might learne the intent of the enemies. Whilſt we made this diligent prouiſion within the Citie, the Turks without made no leſſe preparation of all things neceſſary, ſit to batter the fortrefſe withall, as in bringing out of Caramania and Syria with all ſpeed by the Sea, many woollpacks, a great quantitie of wood and timber, diuers pieces of artillery, engines, and other things expedient for their purpoſe.

* In Italy and other places the date of the pere of y Lord is alwayes changed the ſiſt of January, or on ſeueres day, and from that day reckoned vpon: although wee heere in England, eſpecially the remporall lawyers ſoz certaine caules are not woont to alter the ſawe vntill the Annuntiation of our Lady.

At the beginning of April Halli Baſha landed there with foureſcoze gallies or thereabout in

his company, who brought thither that, which of our enemies was desired, who soone after departing from thence, and leaving behinde him thirty gallies, which continually transported soul-dours, munition, fresh victuals, and other necessaries, besides a great number of * Caramulians, or Bigandines, great Hulkes called * Maones, and large broad vessels termed of them * Palandrie, which continually passed to and fro betwene Cyprus and Syria, and other places thereabout, which they did with great speed, standing in feare of the Christian Army. And about the middle of the same moneth the Turkes caused to be brought out of the Citie of Nicofia, which they had woone a little before, fiftene pieces of artillery, and raising their army from whence they were before, making ditches and trenches necessary, incamped themselves in gardens, and toward the West part of Famagusta neere a place called Precipola.

The five and twentieth day of the same moneth they raised by mounts to plant their artillery upon, and caused trenches to be made for harquebuzers, one very nigh another, approaching still very neere the Citie, in such order, as was almost impossible to stay the same, forie thousand of their Souldiers continually labouring there the most part of all the night. The intent of the ennemie being then knownen, and in what part of the Citie he minded most to plant his battery, we tooke diligent heed on the other part, to repaire and fortifie all places necessary within. For the which cause wee placed a great watch in that way, which was couered with a counterscharfe, and in the sallies of their priuy Posternes, for the defence of the said counterscharfe, there were new flankers made, also Trauerles called Butterisses made upon the Coztaine, with one trench of Turues two foot high and broad, the which was made on that side of the wall of the Citie, which was already battered with the shot of the Turkes, with certaine loope holes for our Harquebuzers, by the which they defended the counterscharfe. Two noble personages Bragadino and Baglione personally tooke this charge on them, by the which meanes the Christian affaires passed in very good order. All the head for our Souldiers was made in one storehouse, of the which the noble gentleman Lorenzo Tiepolo captaine of * Basso had charge, who refused no paine, where he thought his travell might pzeuaile. In the castle was placed that famous gentleman Andrea Bragadino, who with a diligent gard had charge on that part of the castle principally, next vnto the sea side, trimming and digging out new flankers for the better defence of the * Arsenall.

A valiant knight named Foito was appointed Master of the Ordnance, who was slain within few dayes after in a skirmish, whose garrison the noble Bragadino Proueditore before named presently deliuered ouer to me. Three other captaines were appointed ouer the wild-fire with twentie footmen for euery one of them, chosen out of the armie, to vse and execute the same as occasion should serue. The best pieces of Ordnance were brought forth vnto that side of the Towne, where the battery was looked for to be made: and they made priuy fences to couer the better their cannon shot withall. There was no want in the Christians to annoy their enemies in issuing often out of euery side against them, as well to hinder their determinations, as to hurt them otherwise at diuers times. They also rendered to vs the like. For three hundred of the inhabitants of Famagusta one time issuing out of the citie, armed onely with their swords and targets, with so many Italian Harquebuzers also in their company, receiued great damage, because the trenches of the enemies were made about so thicke, although at the same present wee compelled them to flie, and slew also many of them: yet they increased to such number, that they killed presently thirty, and hurt there the selfe some of our company. For the which cause order was taken, that our men should no moze come forth of their holde, committing themselves to manifest perill to bid their enemies the base.

The Turkes in pprocess of time by little and little with their trenches, came at length to the toppe of the counterscharfe, and hauing furnished their forces the nineteenth day of May, began their battery with ten forts, hauing threescore and foureteene pieces of great artillery within their custody, amongst the which there were foure Ballistikes (for so they terme them) of an immeasurable greatnesse, and began to batter from the gate Limisso vnto the Arsenall, and layed five batteries against the towne, the one against the great high Turret of the Arsenall, which was battered with five pieces of Ordnance mounted vpon that fort of the rocke, the other against the Coztaine it selfe of the Arsenall, battered by one fort with eleuen pieces: another against the Keype of Andruzzi with two commanders, or caualiers, which were about with one fort of eleuen other pieces: another battery against the Turret of S. Nappa, the which was battered with foure Ballistikes. The gate of Limisso, which had one high commander or caualier alone, and a Brey and Coztaine without was battered by the forts with thye and thirty pieces of artillery, whereas Mustafa himselfe Generall of the Turkes army tooke the charge in person. At the first they seemed not to care much to spoile the walles, but shot still into the city, and against

* Caramuliani
he vessels like
unto y^e French
Sabards, sailing
daply vps
on the river
of Bordeaux,
white saile is
a misen or tri-
angle saile.
* Maone he ves-
sels like unto
y^e great hulks,
which come
hither fro Den-
marke, some of
the which car-
ry 7 or 8 hun-
dred tunnes a
piece, flat and
broad, which
saile some of
them with se-
uen misens a
piece.

* Palandrie he
great flat ves-
sels made like
French boats to
transport
hoyle.

Nicofia, others
wise called
Licofia.

Sig. Bragadino
was Prouedi-
tore, that is,
Gouernour,
and Sig. Baglio-
ne Generall of
the Christian
armie.

* Basso of the
ancient Wis-
tizers named
Paphos, in the
which Citie
there was a
sumptuous
Church dedi-
cated to Venus.

* Arsenall in
Constantinople
and Venice is
the place for
munition and
artillery to lie
in.

gainst our Ordnance, which greatly galled them. Whereupon they, who were within the city, aswell our souldiours, as the Grecians, asloone as the battery began, withstanding themselves, came and dwelt by the wallcs of the citie, whereas they continued from that time to the end of the siege. The noble Bragadino lodged in the Keepe of Andruzzi, Baglioni in that ward of S. Nappa. The honourable Tiepolo in that which was called Campo Santo. Wherefoze they being present at all that was done, both encouraged, and punished the souldiers at coriding to their deserts. The right worshipfull Luigi Marinigo was appointed chiefe ouer the Ordnance, who answering all mens expectation of him, with great courage diuided the charge thereof vnto sixe other inferior captaines, who tooke order and care for that company, and for the prouision of things necessary for the gunners: one company of the Grecians being appointed to euery gate of the Citie for to attend vpon the seruice of the artillery. The valiant captaine Francesco Bagone warded at the Keepe, and at the great Commander of the Arsenall, Captaine Pietro Conte attended vpon the Coztaine, at the Commander of the Volti, and at the Keepe of Campo Santo. I for my part attended vpon the Commander of Campo Santo, and vpon the Conuaunder of Andruzzi, and of the Coztaine, vnto the Turret of Santa Nappa. The Earle Hercole Martiningo attended vpon the Commander of Santa Nappa, and to the whole Coztaine, vnto the gate of Limisso. Horatio Captaine of Veletri attended vpon the Brey and Coztaine, toward the Bulwarke. Vpon the high Commander of Limisso, which was more troubled then all the rest, attended the Captaine Roberto Maluezzi. At the same time, when the battery began (by the commission of the honourable Bragadino) victuals were appointed, and giuen to all the souldiers, aswell Grecians, as Italians, and Gunners: namely Wine, Portage, Cheese, and Bakkon: all the which things were brought to the wallcs as need did require in very good order, so that no souldier there spent any more in bread then two soules a day. They were payed at the end of euery thirty dayes with the great trauell of that right worshipfull Venetian gentleman M. Giouanni Antonio Querini, who besides this his ordinary charge was found present in all weighty and dangerous affaires to the great encouragement of our souldiours. And we made a counterbattery against our enemies for ten dayes space, with so great rage, that we choked and destroyed sixteene of their best pieces, also we killed and dispatched of them about thirtys thousand at that season, so that they were disappointed at that time of their battery in that place, and were greatly dismayed. But we foresceing that we had no great store of powder left, there was made a restraint, and such order taken, that thirty pieces should not shoot off but thirty shot a piece euery day, and that in the presence of the Captaines, who were still present, because the Souldiers and Gunners should not shoot off in baine.

Two Venetian
an soules of
Soldi amount
but to one pe-
ny English.

The nine and twentieth day of May there came towards vs from Candia a Fregat or Pin-
nace, the which giuing vs great hope and lightening of ayde, encreased maruellously euery mans
courage. The Turks with great trauell and slaughter of both sides, had woone at the last the
counterscharfe from vs, with great resistance and mortalitie on both parts. Whereupon they
began on the oether side of the silt battery to fill by the ditch, with the earth that they threwe downe,
which was taken weere the wall of the counterscharfe. But all that earth and falling downe of
the wall made by the shot of their artillery, was caried away of vs within the city, all our com-
pany labouring continually aswell by night as day, vntill our enemies had made certaine loope-
holes in the wall, thozow the which they flanking and scouring all the ditch with their harque-
bustie, stopped our former course of carrying, or going that way any more, without certaine and
expresse danger. But M. Giouanni Marmorio, a fortifier, had deuiled a certaine kinde of topned
hoopds, the which being caried of the souldiers, defended them from the shot of the Harque buzers,
so that some other quantity of earth, but no great store, was caried also away: in the which place
this foresayd fortifier was slaine, who had done especiall good seruice in all our necessary af-
fares. And our enemies hauing cast so much earth into the ditch, as filled it vp againe, and made
it a firme way to the wall of the counterscharfe, and casting befoze them the earth by little and lit-
tle, they made one trauctse euen vnto the wall on two sides in all their batteries, the which they
made thicke and strong with woolpacks, and other fagots, to assure themselves the better of our
flankers.

When they had once possessed the ditch, that they could not be hurt of vs but by chance, they
began forthwith to cast and digge out vndermines to vndermine the Brey, the Turret of Santa
Nappa, the Commander of Andruzzi, the Keepe of Campo Santo, the Coztaine, and the Turri-
on of the Arsenall: so that being able no longer to serue our turne and inioy those fewe flank-
ers, we threwe downe wide-fire into our enemies campe, the which annoyed them very soze, be-
cause it fired their woolpacks, & also their fagots. And for the better encouragement of the sould-
iers, the right honorable Bragadino gaue to euery souldier one buckat, by which could gaine or re-

cover any of the former woolpackes, making countermines in all places. To the which charge Maggio the fourthier knight was appointed, who in all our businesse served with such diligence and courage, as he was able, or was requisite. But the countermines met not, saving those of the Commander of S. Nappa, of Andruzzi, and that of Campo Santo, because they were open, and our men sallied out often both by day and night into the ditch to perceiue better the way of the mines, and to fire the fagots and wooll. For we ceased at any time through the unspeakable travell of the Lord Baglione (who had the oversight of all these matters) to trouble our enemies intents, by all manner of wit and policie, diuiding the companies for the barteties, ioyning and planting in all places a garrison of the * Albanois souldiours, who as well on foot as on horsebacke, shewed alwayes notable courage and manhood.

* Albanois souldiers, souldiers of Albans, otherwise called Epirus, who commonly serve the Venetians both on horsebacke and foot, very skilfull & painfull.

The first assault.

The one and twentieth day of June they put fire to the mine of the Turret of the Arsenall, whereas Giambelar Bey tooke charge, who with great ruine rent in sunder a most great and thicke wall, and so opened the same, that he threw downe more then halfe thereof, breaking also one part of the vaimure, made before to vpholde the assault. And suddenly a great number of the Turkes skipping vpon the ruines thereof, displayed their Ensignes, euen to the toppe of the same. Captaine Pietro Conte with his company was in that ward, the which was much shaken and terrified by that sudden ruine. With my company came first thither, so that they hozely tooke the repulse, and although they refreshed themselves with new supplies fire or fire times, yet they failed of their purpose. There fought personally the Lord Baglione: Bragadino and Querini being armed stood not farre off to refresh and comfort our Souldiours, and the Captaine of the Castell with the Ordinance, that was planted vpon the Butteries, destroyed many of our enemies, when they gaue vs assaile, the which endured five houres together: so that of Turkes were slaine very many, and of our side betwene them that were slaine and hurt one hundred: most part of the which number were cast away by a mischance of our wilde-fire, the which being vnadvisedly and negligently handled, burnt by many of our owne company. There died at that present the Earle Gio. Francesco Goro, the Captaine Barnardino Agubio: and by the throwing of stones Hercole Malatesta, Captaine Pietro Conte, with other Captaines and Standardbearers, were very soze hurt.

Of this noble & painfull Venetian gentleman M. Gio. Antonio Querini (who was afterwards shewen in sunder by the commandment of Mustafa) I was entertained very courteously in my tranell at Corcyra, now called Corfu, he being then there Mag. Castellano or Captaine of one of the castles.

There remittes me here no regard to spare titles.

Whomident & careful gournours of magistrates seldom sleep all the night at any time, much lesse in dangerous seasons.

The night following arriued in Cyprus a Pinnasse from Candia, which bringing newes of most certaine ayde, greatly increased both the mirth and courage of vs all, so that we made soone after, with the helpe of the Captaine Marco Criuellatore, and Maggio the knight, certaine retreats flanked to all the places beaten downe, and whereas they suspected that the enemy had digged by any mines, with Hogsheds, Chests, Tikes, and Sacks stuffed full of moist earth (the Grecians with all speed hauing already brought almost all that which they had) because they hauing dispatched their Canues about necessary vses, they brought their hangings, carpets, euen to their very sheets, to make and stuffe vp their foresayd sacks, a very good and ready way to make vp againe their vaimures, the which were thrown downe with the fury of the artillery, which neuer stinted, so that we made vp againe still that in the night, the which was thrown downe and broken in the day, sleeping very seldom: all the souldiers standing alwayes vpon the walles, visited continually of the Gournours of the Citie, which slept at no time, but in the extreme heat of the day, hauing no other time to take their rest, because the enemy was at hand, giuing vs continually alarmes, not suffering vs long to breathe.

The second assault.

The nine and twentieth day of the same moneth they set the mine made towards the Brey on fire, the which mine was digged in stone, which broke and cleft all things in pieces, and caused great ruine, making an easie way for the enemy to assault vs, who with an outrageous fury came to the toppe, whereas Mustafa their Generall was also together present, which assault was retarded, and stayed at the beginning of the Earle Hercole Marzingo with his garrison, and so were repulsed by our company, who fought without any aduantage of couert, the vaimure being thrown downe by the mine. There were slaine of our company Captaine Meani the Sergeant Maior of our armie, Captaine Celio de Fuochi, Captaine Erasmo da Fermo: and Captaine Soldatello, Antonio d'Ascoli, Captaine Gio. d'Istria, Standardbearers, with many other officers, were soze wounded, there died also 30 other of our common souldiers. At the Arsenall they were beaten backe with greater dammage of our enemies, and small hurt to vs.

A small thing at the beginning, or in due time done, preventeth much.

If oneely of our part being slaine there, whereas Captaine Giacomo de Fabriano also was killed, and I was wounded in my left legge with an harquebush shot. The which assault continued sixe houres, the Bishop of Limisso standing by there, encouraging the Souldiours. Where also were found present at that women, who came thither with weapons, stones, and water, to helpe the Souldiours. Our enemies vnderstanding how great hinderance they had received at these two assaults, changed their mindes, and began againe with greater fury then euer they had before accustomed to lay batterry to all places, and into our retreats, so that they labouring more speedily then euer they bid, made seuen other forts more, vnder the castle, and taking away the artillery from them which were farther off, planting of it somewhat neerer, to the number of fourefcore, they battered the holde with so great rage, that on the eighth day of July, with the same night also were mumbled sixethousand Canon shot, and after that fort they ouerthrew to the ground the vaimures, that scarcely with great traucell and paine we could repaire them againe, because our men that laboured about them were continually slaine by their Ordnance, and by reason of the endlesse tempest of the shot of their Harquebuzers. And our men beganne to decrease. For the Turkes called vs to retire from our Bzezes, by the violence of their artillery and mining, in each fort, that there being no more standing left for our Souldiours, because we making our vaimures more thicke, our standing began to wape narrower, the which presently we of necessitie enlarged with boozds as a scaffolde to the vaimure, whereby we might haue more elbow roome to fight. Captaine Maggio also made one mine vnder the sayd Bzey, to the intent, that we being not able any longer to keepe it, the same might be left to our enemies to their great hinderance.

That certaine women in this Island be vragos, or making, a saw sufficient to fell at any last being there, in a city called Saline.

It is accounted a good warlike shift, to learne that to our enemies with hinderance, which we can not any longer keepe, and ble to our owne commodity.

The third assault.

The sayd Bzey the ninth day of July they gaue the third assault, to the Currión of Santa Nappa, to that of Andruzzi, to the Coztaine, to the Keepe of the Arsenall: the which assault hauing continued more then sixe houres, they were beaten backe in foure places, but we left the Bzey to their great losse, and ours also: because we being assaulted, our company being not able to mannage their Pikes in good order, by reason of the narrowness of the standing where they were, being willing to retire in that order, as the L. Baglione had prescribed vnto them, and could not, cast themselves at the last into a confuse order, and retired, they being mingled amongst the Turkes: so that fire being giuen to our mine, the same (with a terrible sight to beholde) slew presently of our enemies more then one thousand, and aboute one hundred of vs. There was slaine Roberto Maluezzi, and Captaine Marchetto de Fermo was grievously wounded. At the assault of the Arsenall was slaine Captaine Dauid Noce master of the Campe, & I my selfe was hurt by the rasing of a Cannon shot. This assault continued sixe houres, and the Citizens of Famagusta shewed great courage in euery place, with their women also, and young striplings. The Bzey was so defaced by reason of this mine set on fire, that no body any more attempted to recover the same: because there was no apt place remaining to stay vpon. The left flanker onely remained still, whereas another mine was made, The gate of Limisso was ouer against this foresayd Bzey, and somewhat lower, which was alwayes open, hauing made to the same a Portall, with a Percollois annexed to it, the which Percollois by the cutting of a small cord, was a present defence to the gate, and our Souldiours gaue their attendance by that gate to bying in the battered earth, which fell in the ditches from the rampaire: and when they saw that their enemies in foure dayes came not thither, they beganne to entrench aboute the Bzey, and by the flankers aboute they suffered no person to passe out of the gate, the which thing brought great suspicion vnto our enemies, because they were often times assailed of our company.

The fourth assault.

Wherefore they came the foureteenth day of July to assault the gate of Limisso, and laying their batterry to all other places, they came and planted their Ensignes euen before the gate, whereas the L. Baglione, and Sig. Luigi were in readinesse, who had taken vpon them to defend that gate of the Citie. Who alsoone as they had encouraged their Souldiours, sallying swiftly forth, killed, and put to flight the greater part of them, and at the last giuing fire to the mine of the flanker slew foure hundred Turkes, and Sig. Baglione at the same time woun an Ensigne of our enemies, wraisting it violently out of one of the Ensigne bearers hands. The day following they gaue fire to the mine of the Coztaine, the which thing not falling

The forwardnes of the captaine at dangerous times not only much comforteth the common soldier, but also increaseth greatly his credit & commendation to all men.

out greatly to their purpose, they followed not their prepared assault. Wherefore they beganne to fortifie, and aduance higher their trauerles in the ditches, for their better assurance against they should giue the assault: and they had emptied and carried away all the earth neere vnto the counter-skarfe, where they lodged in their pavillions, so that we could not descric them. They shot seuen pierces of artillery vpon the wall of the counterscharfe so couertly, that they were not scene: two from the Brey of the Turriou of Santa Nappa, one from Andruzzi, and two other all along the battery of the Coztaine. And they came with certaine boozdes couered with rawe and greene hides, vnder which they brought their men to digge in the vaimures, we being nothing behinde of forgesfull to cast wilde-fire amongst them, and sometime to issue forth of our sallies called Posternes, to offend their Pioners, although to our great hinderance. And we still repaired the vaimures by all meanes possible, with Buffe skinned, being moist and wet, throwing in also earth, threads, and cotton with water, being well bound together with cordes: all the women of Famagusta gathering themselues together into companies in euery street (being guided of one of their Honkes called Caloiero) resorted dayly to a certaine place appointed, to labour, gathering and providing for the souldiers, stones and water, the which was kept for all assaults in halfe butts to quench the fire, which the Turks threw amongst them.

Having had no great successe in taking of the gate, they found out a newe way, neuer heard of before, in gathering together a great quantitie of certaine wood called Teglia, which easily burned, and smelt very euill, the which they throwing before the former gate of the Citie, and sagots fastened to the same, with certaine beames besmeered with Pitch, kindled suddenly to great a fire, as was not possible for vs to quench the same, although we threw vpon it whole Butts of water, which were throwen downe from an high Commander, which Butts presently brake in sunder.

This fire continued foure dayes, wherefore we were enforced by reason of the extreme heat and stinch, to withdraw our selues further inward, and they descending towards their lower flankers, beganne other mines, so that the gate was shut vp, because it could be no longer kept open, and suddenly (a thing maruellous to be spoken) the standing of the Brey being repaired, and made vp againe, they planted one piece ouer against the gate, the which of vs with stones, earth and other things, was suddenly buried vp. By this time we were dzinen to an exigent, all our provision within the Citie stooping very lowe, sauing onely hope, the noble courage of the Governours and Captaines, and the stout readinesse of the Souldiours: our wine, and flesh as well powdered as vnpowdered was spent, nor there was any Cheese to be gotten, but vpon an vreasonable price, our company hauing eaten by their Horses, Asses, and Cats, for lacke of other victuals: there was nothing left to be eaten, but a small quantitie of Bread, and Beanes, and we drank water and Ainger together, whereof was not much left. When that we perceived that our enemies had digged and cast vp three mines in the Commander of the gate, they labouring in all places more diligently then euer they did before, bringing into the ditch, ouer against the battery of the Coztaine, a hill of earth, as high as the wall: and already they came to the wall about the Counter-scharfe ouer against the Turriou of the Arsenall, and had made one Commander complete, fenced with shares, like vnto plough shares, in proportion and height correspondent to ours.

Within the Citie were remaining but fine hundred Italian Souldiours, who were not hurt, yet very faint and weary by their long watching and paines in fighting in those feruent and burning heates, which are in those parts. And the greater and better part also of the Grecians were by this time slaine, whenas the chiefe of those Citizens remaining did fully resolve themselues (the which was about the twentieth day of July) to present a supplication in writing to that noble gentleman Bragadino Proueditore, desiring and beseeching him, that seeing their Citie and Fortresse was thus battered and brought to extremitie, without sufficient ayde to defend the same, without substance or sustenance, hauing no hope of succour, or any newe supply, they hauing spent and consumed not onely their goods, but also their liues for the defence of them, and in testifying of their dutifull seruice towards the noble and royal State of the Segniorie of Venice, that it might nowe please him, and the rest of the honourable Governours, that were present, and put in trust, hauing a carefull eye vnto some honourable conditions, to haue now at the last a respect to the credit and honour of their long travelled wiues, and the safeguard of their poore children, which other wise were shortly very like to be a pray to their bloudthirsting and rauening enemies. To the which letter of supplication speedy answer was made by the sozenamed honourable Bragadino, comforting them, that they should by no meanes abate their courage, and that shortly he looked for succour from the Segniorie, diminishing as much as hee might, the feare which they had conceiued in their hearts.

Teglia in Latine called Teda is a certaine wood which burneth easily, and is vnderly vnpleasantly, of the which there is great store in Sicilia: sometimes it is used for a torch.

No necessarie thing to be done was left vnto either part.

Spains courage oft abateth, but hope selfe doth forsake.

In July the heat is so extreme in this Island, that the inhabitants thereof are not wont to travel, but by night onely. A letter of supplication exhibited by the Cyppriotes vnto Sig. Bragadino.

The answer of the former letter.

hearts, dispatching and sending away suddenly from Cyprus into Candia, a Pinnelle to certifie the duke and gouernours there, in what extremitie they were. The Turkes by this time had ended their mines, and set them on fire, the 29. of July: in the which space our men, according as they were wosnt to doe, renewed and made by againe the baimures ruined befoze by the Ordinance, and hauing no other stufte left to aduance them with, made lackes of Kerlie, vnto the which the noble Tiepolo dillgently looked. The three mines of the Commander did great damage to vs, hauing thzowen downe the greater part of the earth, whereas the gouernour Randaacchi was slaine. The mine of the Arsenall ouerthrew all the rest of the Turcion, hauing smothered and choked one whole garrison of our souldiers, the two flankers onely still remaining.

It standeth with reason, the hope of sauing the greater, to let the lesser go.

The fift Assault.

The enemies trauelled much to become masters of those foresayd flankers, and to fall y^e fourth by the other batteries, and this assault lasted from thzee of the clocke in the after noone vntill night, where, and at what time were slaine very many of our enemies. In this assault Sig. Giacomo Strambali, amongst the rest, shewed much worthinesse, as hee had done befoze in other conflicts,

The sixt and last assault.

The next morning following, at the beake of the day, they assailed all places, the which assault continued moze then sixe houres, with very little hurt on our side, because our enemies fought moze coldly then they were wont to doe, annoyng of vs continually on the Sea side with their Gallies, shooting in all their assaults and batteries continually Cannon shot in all parts of the Citie, as neere as they might. After we had defended and repulsed this assault, and perceived things broughe to a narrower strait then they were wont to be at, wee hauing left in all the whole Citie but seuen barrels of powder, the gouernours of the Citie fully determined to yeelde by themselves and the Citie, with honourable conditions. Wherefoze the first of August in the after noone, they tooke a truce, one being come for that purpose from Mustafa the Generall, with whom they concluded the next morning following to giue two hostages a piece, vntill such time as both armies were agreed. For our hostages (by the appointment of the right honourable Bragadino) were sent fourth the earle Hercole Martinengo, and Signior Matteo Colli a Citizen of Famagusta, and from our enemies came into the Citie the Lieutenant of Mustafa, and the Aga of the Giannizzers, the which were met, euen vnto the gate of the Citie, of Signiour Baglione with two hundzeth harquebusers: ours also were met in like maner with great pompe with horsemen and harquebusers, with the sonne also of Mustafa in person, who made very much of them.

It fell out oft times y^esserly vs in the end to that, which our will continually spurneth against.

Giannizeri be the gard of the great Turke, so that Aga de Giannizeri is the captaine of the Turkes gard.

The Lord Baglione imparid with these hostages, which were then come for that purpose of the articles of peace, requiring by them of their Generall, their liues, armour, and goods, siue peeces of Ordinance, thzee of the best hozses, and safe passage from thence vnto Candia accompanied with their Gallies, and last of all, that the Grecians inhabiting the Island, might dwell there still quietly, and enioy peaceably their owne goods and possessions, lining still Chzistians hereafter, as they had done befoze. All the which requests and articles were agreed vpon, granted, and subscribed vnto by the hand of Mustafa. Fourthwith were sent Gallies, and other vessels into the hauen, so that our souldiers immediatly began to imbarke themselves, of the which the greater part were already gone aboord, the Nobilitie and our chiefe Captaines also being likewise very desirous to depart.

Just Turkish dealing, to speake and not to meane: so dauidly to promise, and neuer to performe the same.

The 15. of August in the morning, the worthy Bragadino sent me with a letter vnto Mustafa, by the which hee signified, that the same night hee would come vnto him to deliuer by the keyes of the Citie, and that he would leaue in the holde the honourable gentleman Tiepolo, praying him therefore, that whilest hee should haue iust cause thus to bee abroad, that there might be no harme done at home, and in the Citie. The Turkes from our truce taking vntill that time, practised with vs all familiarly, and without any suspicion of sinister or double dealing, they hauing shewed vs much courtesie both in word and deede. Mustafa himselfe by woze of mouth presently answered me to this letter, in this sort, that I should returne, and make relation to this noble man Bragadino, who had sent mee, that he should come ouer to him at his owne pleasure, for hee was very desirous both to see and know him, for his great worthinesse and p^rowesse, that hee had tried to be in him, and in the other of his Captaines and Souldiers, of whose manhood and courage he would honourably report, where soeuer he came, as occasion should serue thereunto: and to conclude, that hee should nothing doubt of any thing: because in no maner of condition hee would suffer

lesser any violence to be done to those, which remained behind within the Citie. So I speedily returning, made true report of the same: and towards night about foure of the clocke, the right honourable Bragadino accompanied with the L. Baglioné, with Signior Aluigi Martinengo, with the right worshipfull Signior Gio. Antonio Querini, with the right worshipfull Signior Andrea Bragadino, with the knight of Haste, with the captaine Carlo Ragonasco, with captaine Francesco Straco, with captaine Hector of Brescia, with captaine Girolomo di Sacile, and with other gentlemen and souldiours, the Governours and Noble men with their swordes, and the souldiours with their harquebuzes came forth of their hold, and went vnto the pavillion of Mustafa, of whom, all they at the beginning were courteously receiued, and caused to sit downe by him, he reasonung and discoursing with them of diuers things, a certaine time, and drawing them from one matter to another, at the last vpon a sudden picked a quarrell vnto them, especially burdning that noble Bragadino with an vntrueth, laying to his charge y^e he had caused certaine of his slaues in the time that the truce continued betweene the, to be put to death. The which thing was most false. So that hee being angry therewith, suddenly stept forth, and commaunded them to bee bound. Thus they being vnarmed (not suffered at that time to enter into his pavillion, with their former weapons) and bound, were led one by one into the market place, before his pavillion, being presently cut and hewen in sunder in his presence, and last of all from that woorty and noble Bragadino (who being bound as the rest, and being commaunded twice or thyle to stretch forth his necke, as though hee should haue bene beheaded, the which most boldly hee did without any sparke of feare) his eares were cut off, and causing him to bee stretched out most vitley vpon the ground, Mustafa talked with him, and blasphemmed the holy name of our Saviour, demanding him, where is now thy Christ, that hee helpeth thee not? To all the which no answer at all was giuen of that honourable gentleman. The earle Hercole Martinengo, which was sent for one of the hostages, who was also bound, was hidden by one of Mustafas eunuches vntill such time as his furie was past, afterward his life being graunted him, hee was made the eunuches slaue. Three Grecians which were vnder his pavillion were left vntouched. All the souldiers which were found in the campe, and all sortes of Christians to the number of three hundred, were suddenly slaine, they nothing mistrusting any such treason, or tirannie. The Christian souldiers which were embarked a litle before, were linked and fettered with iron chaines, made slaues, all things being taken from them, and stripped into their shirtes.

The second day after this murder was committed, which was the 17. of August, Mustafa entered the first time into the Citie, and caused the valiant and wise gouernour Tiepolo to bee hanged, who remained behind, waiting the returne of Signior Bragadino. I being in the citie at that present, when other of my countreyemen were thus miserably slaine and made slaues, hid my selfe in certaine of the Grecians houses the space of five dayes, and they not being able to keepe mee in covert any longer for feare of the great penaltie, which was proclaimed agaynst such transgressors and concealers, I offered, and gaue my selfe slaue to one Sangiaccho del Bir, promising him five hundred * Zechins for my ransome, with whom I remained in the Campe. The Friday following (being the Turkes sabboth day) this woorty and patient gentleman Bragadino was led still in the presence of that vnfaithfull tirant Mustafa, to the batteries made vnto the Citie, whereas he being compelled to cary two baskets of earth, the one vpon his backe, the other in his hand slaue-like, to euery sundry battrie, being enforced also to kisse the ground as oft as he passed by him, was afterward brought vnto the sea side, where he being placed in a chaire to leane and stay vpon, was winched vp in that chaire, and fastened vnto the maineyard of a galley, and hoisted by with a crane, to shew him to all the Christian souldiours and slaues (which were in the haven already shipped) hee being afterward let downe, and brought to the market place, the tormentors tooke of his clothes from him, and tacked him vnto the pillozie, whereas he was most cruelly staied quicke; with so great constancie and faith on his part, that he neuer lost or abated any jot of his stedfast courage, being so farre from any fainting, that hee at that present with most stout heart reproched them, and spake much shame of his most traitorous dealing in breaking of his faithfull promise. At the last without any kind of alteration of his constancie, he recommending his soule vnto almightie God, gaue vp the ghost. When hee had thus ended his life (thanks be to God) his skin being taken and filled with strawe, was commaunded forthwith to be hanged vpon the bowspyt of a * Foist, and to be caryed alongst the coast of Syria by the sea side, that all the port townes might see, and vnderstand who he was.

This is now so much as I am able to declare to your highnesse by that I sawe my selfe, and can remember whilist that I was in the Foxresse: that also which by true relation of others I could vnderstand, and sawe also my selfe in the campe, whilist I was slaue, I will likewise briefly

vicer

The proprietie of true fortitude is, nor to be broken with sudden terrours. Mustafa, cousin germaine to this, which hang on the left side of our Saviour at his Passion.

* Zechini, be certaine pieces of fine gold comed in Venice, every one of the which is in value five shillings eight pence of our money, & some what better: & equal altogether to a Turkish Byrahom.

This death and suerable to his former life * Foist is as it were a 231st gaine, being somewhat larger then halfe a galley, much bred of the Turkish Curfars, or as we call them Rates of Rovers.

brer vnto you. The enemies arme was in number two hundred thousand persons of all sortes and quantities. Of souldiers which tooke pay there were 80. thousand, besides the which number, there were 14. thousand of Giannizzers taken out from all the holdes of Syria, Caramania, Nacolia, and part of them also which came from the * gate of the great Turke. The venturers with the sword were 60. thousand in number. The reason, why there were so many of this sort, was because Mustafa had dispersed a rumour through the Turkes dominion, that Famagusta was much more wealthy and rich, then the citie of Nicosia was: so for that cause, and by the commodious and easie passage from Syria ouer into Cyprus, these venturers were easly induced to come thither. In 75. dayes (all the which time the batterie still continued) 140. thousand iron pelles were shot of, numbred, and serued. The chiefe personages which were in their arme neere vnto Mustafa, were these following: the Bassa of Aleppo, the Bassa of Nacolia, Mustafa Bassa of Nicosia, the Bassa of Caramania, the Aga of the Giannizzers, Giambelata *Bey, the Sangiaccho of Tripolis, the *Begliarbei of Grect, the Bassa of Sciassif and of Marasco, Ferca Framburaro, the *Sangiaccho of Antipo, Soliman Bey, three Sangiacchos of Arabia, Mustafa Bey generall of the Venturers, Fergat gouernour of Malathia, the Framburaro of Diuerie, the Sangiaccho of Arabia and other Sangiacchos of lesser credite, with the number of foure score thousand persons besides, as by the muster made by his Commission might well appeare.

The Framburaro which was at Rhodes, was appointed and left gouernour at Famagusta, and the report was that there should bee left in all the Island of Cyprus, twentie thousand persons, with two thousand horses, many of the which I saw, being very leane and euill appointed for seruice. It seemeth also a thing not impertinent to the matter, to signifie to you, how I, by the especiall grace of God, was deliuered out of their cruel hands, I hauing paid within two & fortie dayes (all the which time I was slaue) siue hundred Zechins for my ransome to him, whose prisoner I was, by the meanes of the Consul for the French merchanes, a lighter then at Tripolis, who a litle before came from Tripolis in Syria vnto Cyprus, into the Turkes campe. Yet for all that I had paid this summe of money to him, hee would not so let me at libertie, but fed mee by still with faire wordes, and promised mee that hee would first bring mee vnto his gouernement, which abuted vpon a piece of the famous riuier of Euphrates, and afterward dismiss me. The which malice and falsehood of his I perceiuing, determined with my selfe to giue him the slip, and to flie: so I waiting my time, and repairing often to the Citie, at length met with a small fisher boate, of the which a pooze Grectian was Owner and master, with whom in one night with two onely oares and a small saile made of two shires, I passed ouer from Cyprus vnto Tripolis, being in very great danger of drowning, whereas I remained in couert in the house of certaine Christians, untill the siue and twentie of September, at what time I departed from thence in a litle French shippe called Santa Victor, which came into these partes, and as wee rode, wee touched at a part of Cyprus Westward, called Capo delle Garce, where as I came on land, and talking with certaine of the inhabitants of the Villages, who were then by chauce a Hauking, demanded of them, how they were intreated of the Turkes, and after what sort the Island was tilled: to the which they answered, that they could not possiblie bee in worse pickle then they were at that present, not enioying that quietly which was their owne, being made villaines and slaues, and almost alwayes carrying away the Bastonados, so that now (they sayd) they knew by triall too perfectly the pleasant and peaceable gouernment of the Christians, wishing and praying God that they might shortly returne. And concerning the tillage of the Island they made answere mozeouer, that no part of it was plowed or laboured, sauing onely that mountaine which was towards the West, and that because they were litle troubled with the crueltie of the Turkes, but as for the plaine and East part of the Island, there was small seede sown therein, but became in a maner desert, there being left but few inhabitants, and lesse stoze of cattell there. Afterward wee departing from thence arriued in * Candia, I for my part being clothed in sackcloth, whereas soone after by the great curtesie of the right honourable Signior Latino Orsino, I was new apparellled accordingly, friendly welcommed, and my necessitie relieved. From whence I shortly after sayling in a Cypriotes ship (thanks be to almightie God) arriued in this Citie in health, and am safely come home now at the honorable seete of your highnesse.

*The gate of the great Turke, is as much to say, as Constantinople: the which they call in the Turkish language Scamboll. Gli Venturieri da spada, are a kind of being serving souldiers, who commonly are wout to follow the army in hope of the spoile. Aleppo, a famous citie vnto Antiochia, otherwise called in Grecte, Ἰδύπυτος, the city of the Sunne. *Bey in Turkish language, signifiech knight with vs. *Begliarbei signifiech lord Admirall. *Sangiaccho, is that person is the Turkes, that gouerneth a province of countrey. God suffereth much to be done to his seruants, but hee will not forsake them. Necessitie oft times shapes men's wits, & causeth boldnes.

The nature of every common ditie is sooner understood by lacking, then by continuall enioying of the same.

*Candia, of the old writers called Creta in latin, Exarctopos in Grecte, because it had once a 100. Cities in it, now there remaining but onely 4. thus commonly named, Candia, la Cania, Retima, and Seychia.

¶ The Captains of the Christians slaine in Famagusta.

The lord Estor Baglione.
 The lord Aluigi Martinengo.
 The lord Federico Baglione.
 The knight of Asta Uicogouerno.
 The capitaine Dauid Noce Master of the
 Campe.
 The capitaine Meani of Perugia Serieant
 Major.
 The earle Sigismond of Casoldo.
 The earle Francesco of Lobi of Cremona.
 The capitaine Francesco Troncauilla.
 The capitaine Hannibal Adamo of Fermo.
 The capitaine Scipio of the citie of Castello.
 The capitaine Charles Ragonasco of Cre-
 mona.
 The capitaine Francesco Siraco.

The capitaine Roberto Maluezzo.
 The capitaine Caesar of Aduersa.
 The capitaine Bernardin of Agubio.
 The capitaine Francesco Bugon of Verona.
 The capitaine James of Fabiano.
 The capitaine Sebastian del Sole of Flo-
 rence.
 The capitaine Hector of Brescia, the succes-
 sour to the capitaine Caesar of Aduersa.
 The capitaine Flaminio of Florence, succes-
 sor vnto Sebastian del Sole.
 The capitaine Erasmus of Fermo, successor to
 the capitaine of Cernole.
 The capitaine Bartholomew of Cernole.
 The capitaine Iohn Battista of Riuarole.
 The capitaine Iohn Francesco of Venice.

¶ The names of Christians made slaues.

The Earle Herocles Martinengo, with
 Iulius Caesar Ghelfo a Souldiour of
 Bressa.
 The earle Nestor Martinengo, which fled.
 The capitaine Marco Criuellatore.
 The lord Herocles Malatesta.
 The capitaine Peter Conte of Montalber-
 to.
 The capitaine Horatio of Veletri.
 The capitaine Aluigi Pezano.
 The Conte James of Corbara.
 The capitaine Iohn of Istria.
 The capitaine Soldarelli of Agubio.
 The capitaine Iohn of Ascoli.
 The capitaine Antonie of the same towne.
 The capitaine Sebastian of the same towne.
 The capitaine Salgano of the citie of Castel-
 lo.
 The capitaine Marcheso of Fermo.
 The capitaine Iohn Antonio of Piacenza.
 The capitaine Carletto Naldo.
 The capitaine Lorenzo Fornaretti.
 The capitaine Barnardo of Brescia.

The capitaine Barnardino Coco.
 The capitaine Simon Bagnese, successor to
 the capitaine Dauid Noce.
 The capitaine Tiberio Ceruto, successor vnto
 Conte Sigismond.
 The capitaine Ioseph of Lanciano, succes-
 sour vnto capitaine Francesco Tronca-
 uilla.
 The capitaine Morgante, successor to captaine
 Hannibal.
 The Licutenant, successor vnto the capitaine
 Scipio.
 The Standerbearer, successor to capitaine
 Roberto.
 The capitaine Ortauio of Rimini, successor
 to the capitaine Francesco Bugon.
 The capitaine Mario de Fabiano, successor
 to capitaine Iacomo.
 The capitaine Francesco of Venice, successor
 vnto capitaine Antonio.
 The capitaine Matteo of Capua.
 The capitaine Iohn Maria of Verona.
 The capitaine Mancino.

¶ The Fortifiers.

Iohn Marmor, slaine.

The knight Maggio, slaue.

¶ Turkish Captaines at *Famagusta*.

Mustafa Generall.
 The Bassa of Aleppo.
 The Bassa of Narolia, slaine.
 Musafes Bassa of Nicosia.

The Bassa of Caramania.
 The Aga of the Giannizers.
 Giambelat Bey.
 The Sangiaccho of Tripolis, slaine.

The Begliarbei of Greece.

The Bassa of Sciuaffi and Marasco,
Ferca Framburaro.

The Sangiaccho of Antipo, slaine.
Soliman Bey, slaine.

Three Sangiacchos of Arabia, slaine,

Multafa Bey, General of the Venturers, slaine,
Fergar, ruler of Malachia, slaine.

The Framburaro of Diuerie, slaine.

The woorthy enterprise of *John Foxe* an English man in deliue-
ring 266. Christians out of the captiuitie of the Turkes at *Alexandria*,
the 3. of Ianuarie 1577.



When our merchants here in England it is a common voiage to traffike in-
to Spaine: whereunto a ship, being called The three halfe Moones, man-
ned with 38. men, and well furnished with munitions, the better to encounter
their enemies withall, and hauing wind & tide, set from Portsmouth, 1563.

John Foxe the
1563.

and bended her iourney toward Siuilla a citie in Spaine, intending there to tra-
ffique with them. And falling neere the Streights, they perceiued theselues
to be beset round with eight gallies of the Turkes, in such wise, that there
was no way for the to flie or escape away, but that either they must yeeld or els be sunke. Which
the owner perceiuing, manfully encouraged his company, exhorting them valiantly to shew their
manhood, shewing them that God was their God, and not their enemies, requesting them also
not to faint in seeing such a heape of their enemies ready to deuour them; putting them in mind
also, that if it were Gods pleasure to giue them into their enemies hands, it was not they ought
to shew one displeasane looke or countenance there against; but to take it patiently, & not to pre-
scribe a day and time for their deliuerance, as the citizens of Bethulia did, but to put themselues
vnder his mercy. And againe, if it were his mind and good will to shew his mighty power by the,
if their enemies were ten times so many, they were not able to stand in their hands; putting them
likewise in mind of the old and ancient woorthinesse of their countrey men, who in the hardest ex-
tremities haue alwayes most preuailed and gone away conquerors, yea, and where it hath bene
almost impossible. Such (quoth he) hath bene the valiantnesse of our countrey men, and such hath
bene the mightie power of our God.

With other like encouragements, exhorting them to behaue themselues manfully, they fell all
on their knees making their prayers vnto God: who being all risen vp againe perceiued
their enemies by their signs and defiance bent to the spoyle, whose mercy was nothing els but
crueltye, whereupon euery man tooke him to his weapon.

Then stood vp one Grove the master, being a comely man, with his sword and target, holding
them vp in defiance agaynst his enemies. So likewise stood by the Owner, the Masters mate,
Boateswaine, Purser, and euery man well appointed. Nowe likewise sounded by the drums,
trumpets and flutes, which would haue encouraged any man, had he neuer so litle heart or cou-
rage in him.

Then taketh him to his charge John Foxe the gunner in the disposing of his pieces in order
to the best effect, and sending his bullets towards the Turkes, who likewise bestowed their pieces
thuse as fast toward the Christians. But shortly they dyed neere, so that the bowmen fel to their
charge in sending forth their arrowes so thicke amongst the Gallies, & also in doubling their shot
so soze vpon the gallies, that there were twise so many of the Turkes slaine, as the number of the
Christians were in all. But the Turkes discharged twise as fast agaynst the Christians, & so long,
that the ship was very soze stricken & bruised vnder water. Which the Turkes perceiuing, made
the moze haste to come aboord the Shippe: which ere they could doe, many a Turke bought it
deerely with the losse of their liues. Yet was all in vaine, and booyed they were, where they found
so hote a skirmish, that it had bene better they had not medled with the feast. For the English men
shewed themselues men in deed, in working manfully with their browne bills and halbardes:
where the owner, master, boateswaine, and their company stode to it so lustily, that the Turkes
were halfe dismaied. But chiefly the boateswaine shewed himself valiant aboute the rest: for he fa-
red amongst the Turkes like a wood Lion: for there was none of them that either could or durst
stand in his face, till at the last there came a shot from the Turkes, which brake his whistle a-
vnder, and smote him on the brest, so that he fell downe, bidding them farewell, & to be of good com-
fort, encouraging them likewise to winne praise by death, rather then to lue captiues in misery
and shame. Which they hearing, in deed intended to haue done, as it appeared by their skirmish:
but the prease and store of the Turkes was so great, that they were not able long to endure, but
were so ouerpressed, that they could not wield their weapons: by reason whereof, they must needs
be

The valour &
death of their
Boateswaine.

be taken, which none of them intended to haue bene, but rather to haue died: except onely the maisters mate, who shynke from the skirmish, like a notable coward, esteeming neither the valure of his name, nor accounting of the present example of his fellows, nor hauing respect to the miseries, whereunto he should be put. But in fine, so it was, that the Turkes were victors, whereof they had no great cause to reioyce, or triumph. Then would it haue grieued any hard heart to see these Infidels so violently intrating the Christians, not hauing any respect of their manhood which they had talked of, nor yet respecting their owne state, how they might haue met with such a bootie, as might haue giuen them the ouerthrow: but no remorse hereof, or any thing els doth bytule their fierce and tyrannous dealing, but that the Christians must needs to the gallies, to serue in new offices: and they were no sooner in them, but their garments were pulled ouer their eares, and tozne from their backs, and they set to the oares.

I will make no mention of their miseries, being now vnder their enemies raging stripes. I thinke there is no man will iudge their fare good, or their bodies vnloaden of stripes, and not pestered with too much heate, and also with too much cold: but I will goe to my purpose, which is, to shew the ende of those, being in meere miserie, which continually doe call on God with a Redfall hope that he will deliuer them, and with a sure faith that he can doe it.

Nigh to the citie of Alexandria, being a hauen towne, and vnder the dominion of the Turkes, there is a roade, being made very sensible with strong wals, whereinto the Turkes doe customably bring their gallies on shoare euery yeere, in the winter season, and there doe trimme them, and lay them by against the spring time. In which roade there is a prison, wherein the captiues & such prisoners as serue in the gallies, are put for all that time, until the seas be calme and passable for the gallies, euery prisoner being most grieuouly laden with irons on their legges, to their great paine, and soze disabling of them to any labour taking. Into which prison were these Christians put, and fast warded all the Winter season. But ere it was long, the Master and the Owner, by meanes of friends, were redeemed: the rest abiding still by the miserie, while that they were all (though reason of their ill vsage and worse fare, miserably started) sauing one John Fox, who (as some men can abide harder and moze miserie, then other some can, so can some likewise make moze shift, and worke moze deuises to helpe their state and liuing, then other some can doe) being somewhat skilfull in the craft of a Barbour, by reason thereof made great stift in helping his fare now and then with a good meale. Inasomuch, til at the last, God sent him fauour in the sight of the keeper of the prison, so that he had leaue to goe in and out to the roade, at his pleasure, paying a certaine stipend vnto the keeper, and wearing a locke about his leg: which libertie likewise, sure moze had vpon like sufferance: who by reason of their long imprisonment, not being feared or suspected to start aside, or that they would worke the Turkes any mischiefe, had libertie to goe in and out at the sayd roade, in such maner, as this John Fox did, with irons on their legs, and to returne againe at night.

In the yeere of our Lord 1577. in the Winter season, the gallies happily comming to their accustomed harborow, and being discharged of all their masts, sailes, and other such furnitures, as vnto gallies doe appertaine, and all the Masters and mariners of them being then nested in their owne homes: there remained in the prison of the said roade two hundred threescore and eight Christian prisoners, who had bene taken by the Turkes force, and were of sixteen sundry nations. Among which there were three Englishmen, whereof one was named John Foxe of Woodbridge in Suffolke, the other William Wickney of Portsmouth, in the Countie of Southhampton, and the third Robert Moore of Harwich in the Countie of Essex. Which John Fox hauing bene thirteene or foureteene yeres vnder their gentle entreatance, and being too too weary thereof, minding his escape, weighed with himselfe by what meanes it might be brought to passe: and continually pondering with himselfe thereof, tooke a good heart vnto him, in hope that God would not be not alwayes scourging his childezen, and neuer ceassed to pray him to further his pretended enterprize, if that it should rebound to his glory.

Not farre from the roade, and somewhat from thence, at one side of the Citie, there was a certaine victualling house, which one Peter Vnicaro had hired, paying also a certaine fee vnto the keeper of the roade. This Peter Vnicaro was a Spaniard bozne, and a Christian, and had bene prisoner about thirtie yeres, and neuer practised any meanes to escape, but kept himselfe quiet without touch or suspect of any conspiracie: vntill that nowe this John Foxe vsing much thither, they brake one to another their mindes, concerning the restraint of their libertie and imprisonment. So that this John Fox at length opening vnto this Vnicaro the deuise which he would fauour put in practise, made priuie one moze to this their intent. Which thre debated of this matter at such times as they could compass to meete together: insomuch, that at seven weekes ende they had sufficiently concluded how the matter should be, if it pleased God to farther them there-

The Englishmen called prisoners vnto an Haueu nere Alexandria.

to: who making sine more priute to this their deuise, whom they thought they might safely trust, determined in three nightes after to accomplish their deliberate purpose. Whereupon the same Iohn Fox, and Peter Vnticaro, and the other sire appointed to meete all together in the prison the next day, being the last day of December: where this Iohn Fox certified the rest of the prisoners, what their intent and deuise was, and how and when they minded to bring their purpose to passe: who therunto perswaded them without much a doe to further their deuise. Which the same Iohn Fox seeing, deliuered vnto them a sort of files, which he had gathered together for this purpose, by the meanes of Peter Vnticaro, charging them that euery man should be readie discharged of his prons by eight of the clocke on the next day at night.

The last of Dec
cembre.

On the next day at night, this said Iohn Fox, and his sire other companions, being all come to the house of Peter Vnticaro, passing the time away in mirth for feare of suspect, till the night came on, so that it was time for them to put in practise their deuise, sent Peter Vnticaro to the master of the roade, in the name of one of the Masters of the citie, with whom this keeper was acquainted, and at whose request he also would come at the first: who desired him to take the paines to meete him there, promising him, that he would bring him backe againe. The keeper agreed to goe with him, willing the warders not to barre the gate, saying, that he would not stay long, but would come againe with all speede.

Januarie.

In the meane season, the other seuen had prouided them of such weapons, as they could get in that house: and Iohn Fox tooke him to an olde rustie sword blade, without either hilt or pomell, which he made to serue his turne, in bending the hand ende of the sword, in steed of a pomell, and the other had got such spits and glaiues as they found in the house.

The keeper now being come vnto the house, and perceiuing no light, nor hearing any noyse, straight way suspected the matter: and returning backward, Iohn Fox standing behind the corner of the house, stepped forth vnto him: who perceiuing it to be Iohn Fox, saide, O Fox, what haue I deserued of thee, that thou shouldst seeke my death? Thou villaine (quoth Fox) hast bene a bloodsucker of many a Christians blood, and now thou shalt know what thou hast deserued at my handes: where with he lift up his bright shining sword of true yeeeres rust, and stroke him so maine a blowe, as there withall his head claue a sunder, so that he fell sturke dead to the ground. Whereupon Peter Vnticaro went in, and certified the rest how the case stood with the keeper: who came presently forth, and some with their spits ranne him through, and the other with their glaiues hewed him in sunder, cut off his head, and mangled him so, that no man should discerne what he was.

Then marched they toward the roade, whereinto they entered softly, where were six warders, whom one of them asked, saying, who was there: quoth Fox & his company, all friendes. Which when they were all within, proued contrary: for, quoth Fox, my masters, here is not to euery man a man, wherefore looke you play your parts. Who so behaued themselues in deceit, that they had dispatched these sire quickly. Then Iohn Fox intending not to be barred of his enterprize, and minding to worke surely in that which he went about, barred the gate surely, and planted a Canon against it.

Then entred they into the Gailers lodge, where they found the keyes of the fortreffe & prison by his bed side, and there had they all better weapons. In this chamber was a chest, wherein was a rich treasure, and all in duckats, which this Peter Vnticaro, & two more, opening, stuffed themselues so full as they could, betweene their shirts and their skinne: which Iohn Fox would not once touch, and saide, that it was his and their libertie which he sought for, to the honour of his God, & not to make a marke of the wicked treasure of the Infidels. Yet did these words sinke nothing into their stomakes, they did it for a good intent: so did Saul saue the fattest Oxe, to offer vnto the Lord, and they to serue their owne turne. But neither did Saul see the wrath of God therefore, neither had these that thing which they desired so, and did thirt after. Such is Gods iustice. He that they put their trust in, to deliuer them from the tyrannous handes of their enemies, he (I say) could supply their want of necessaries.

Nowe these eight being armed with such weapons as they thought well of, thinking themselues sufficient champions to encounter a stronger enemy, and coming vnto the prison, Fox opened the gates and doores thereof, and called forth all the prisoners, whom he set, some to ramming vp the gate, some to the dressing vp of a certame gallie, which was the best in all the roade, and was called the captaine of Alexandria, whereinto some caried masts, sailes, oares, and other such furniture as doth belong vnto a gallie.

At the prison were certaine warders, whom Iohn Fox and his company slew: in the killing of whom, there were eight more of the Turkes, which perceiued them, and got them to the toppe of the prison: vnto whom Iohn Fox, and his company, were faine to come by ladders, where they

they found a hot skirmish. For some of them were there slaine, some wounded, and some but scared, and not hurt. As John Fox was thise shot through his apparell, and not hurt, Peter Vnicaro, and the other two, that had armed them with the duckats, were slaine, as not able to weild themselves, being so pestered with the weight and vneasie carping of the wicked and prophane treasure: and also diuerse Christians were aswell hurt about that skirmish, as Turkes slaine.

Amongst the Turkes was one thrust thozowe, who (let vs not say that it was ill fortune) fell off from the toppe of the prison wall, and made such a lowing, that the inhabitants thereabout (as here and there scattering stode a house or two) came and dazed him, so that they vnderstood the case, how that the prisoners were paying their ransomes: where with they raised both Alexandria which lay on the west side of the roade, and a Castle which was at the Cities end, next to the roade, and also an other Fortresse which lay on the Northside of the roade: so that now they had no way to escape, but one, which by mans reason (the two holdes lying so vpon the mouth of the roade) might seeme impossible to be a way for them. So was the red sea impossible for the Israelites to passe through, the hills and rockes lay so on the one side, and their enemies compassed them on the other. So was it impossible, that the wals of Iericho should fall downe, being neither vndermined, nor yet rammed at with engines, nor yet any mans wisdome, pollicie, or helpe set or put therunto. Such impossibilities can our God make possible. We that helde the Lyons iawes from renting Daniel asunder. yea, or yet from once touching him to his hurt: can not he hold the roaring canons of this hellish force? We that kept the fiers rage in the hot burning Duen, from the three childzen, that praised his name, can not he keepe the fiers flaming blastes from among his elect?

Now is the roade fraught with lustie souldiers, labozers, and mariners, who are faine to stand to their tackling, in setting to euery man his hand, some to the carping in of victuals, some munitions, some oares, and some one thing, some another, but most are keeping their enemy from the wall of the road. But to be short, there was no time mispent, no man idle, nor any mans labour ill bestowed, or in vaine. So that in thozet time, this gally was ready trimmed vp. Whereinto euery man leaped in all haste, hopping vp the sayles lustily, yee doing themselves to his merrie and grace, in whose hands are both winde and weather.

Now is this gally on floce, and out of the safetie of the roade: now haue the two Castles full powder vpon the gally, now is there no remedy but to sinke: how can it be auoided? The canons let lie from both sides, and the gally is euen in the middelt, and betwene them both. What man can deuise to saue it: there is no man, but would thinke it must neces be sinke.

There was not one of them that feared the shotte, which went thundring round about their eares, nor yet were once scarred or touched, with five & forty shot, which came from the Castles. Here did God hold forth his buckler, he shieldeth now this gally, and hath tried their faith to the vttermost. Now commeth his speciall helpe: yea, euen when man thinks them past all helpe, then commeth he himselfe downe from heauen with his mightie power, then is his present remedie most readie prest. For they saile away, being not once touched with the glaunce of a shot, and are quickly out of the Turkish canons reach. Then might they see them comming downe by heapes to the water side, in companies like vnto swarmes of bees, making them to come after them with gallies, in buikking themselves to dresse by the gallies, which would be a swift peece of worke for them to doe, for that they had neither oares, mastes, sailes, gables, nor any thing else ready in any gally. But yet they are carping them into them, some into one gally, and some into another, so that, being such a confusion amongst them, without any certaine guide, it were a thing impossible to ouertake them: beside that, there was no man that would take charge of a gally, the weather was so rough, and there was such an amasednes amongst them. And verely I thinke their God was amased therat: it could not be but he must blush for shame, he can speake neuer a word for vnlnes, much lesse can he helpe them in such an extremitie. Well, howsoeuer it is, he is very much to blame, to suffer them to receiue such a gibe. But howsoeuer their God behaued himselfe, our God shewed himselfe a God in deede, and that he was the onely liuing God: for the seas were swift vnder his faithfull, which made the enemies agast to behold them, a skilfull Pilot leades them, and their mariners bestirre them lustily: but the Turkes had neither mariners, Pilot, nor any skilfull Pilot, that was in a readinesse at this pinch.

When the Christians were safe out of the enemies coast, John Fox called to them all, willing them to be thankfull vnto almighty God for their deliuerie, and most humbly to fall downe vpon their knees, beseeching him to aide them vnto their friends land, and not to bring them into another daunger, sith hee had most mightily deliuered them from so great a chaldome and bondage.

Thus when euery man had made his petition, they fell straight way to their labour with the oates,

sares, in helping one another, when they were wearied, and with great labour straining to come to some Christian land, as neere as they could gesse by the starres. But the windes were so diuers, one while driuing them this way, another while that way, that they were now in a newe maze, thinking that God had forsaken them, and left them to a greater danger. And sozasmuch as there were no victuals now left in the gally, it might haue benee a cause to them (if they had benee the Israelites) to haue murmured against their God: but they knew how that their God, who had deliuered them out of Egypt, was such a loving and mercifull God, as that hee would not suffer them to be confounded, in whom he had wrought so great a wonder: but what calamitie soeuer they sustained, they knew it was but soz their further triall, and also (in putting them in mind of their farther miserie) to cause them not to triumph and glozy in themselves therefore. Hauing (I say) no victuals in the gally, it might seeme that one miserie continually fel vpon an others neck: but to be briefe, the famine grew to be so great, that in 28 dayes, wherein they were on the sea, there died eight persons, to the astonishment of all the rest.

Extremity of
famine.

So it fell out, that vpon the 29 day, after they set from Alexandria, they fell on the Isle of Candie, and landed at Gallipoli, where they were made much of by the Abbot and Monks there, who caused them to stay there, while they were well refreshed and eased. They kept there the sworde, wherewith Iohn Fox had killed the keeper, esteeming it as a most precious iewel, and hung it by soz a monument.

Iohn Fox his
sword kept as
a monument
in Gallipoli.

When they thought good, hauing leaue to depart from thence, they sayled along the coast, till they arriued at Tarento, where they solde their gally, and deuided it, euery man hauing a part thereof. The Turkes receiving so shamefull a foile at their hand, pursued the Christians, and scoured the seas, where they could imagine that they had bent their course. And the Christians had departed from thence on the one day in the morning, and seuen gallies of the Turkes came thither that night, as it was certified by those who followed Fox, and his companie, feacing least they should haue bene met with. And then they came a foote to Naples, where they departed a sunder, euery man taking him to his next way home. From whence Iohn Fox tooke his iourney vnto Rome, where he was well entertayned of an Englishman, who presented his worthy deede vnto the Pope, who rewarded him liberally, and gaue him his letters vnto the king of Spaine, where he was very well entertained of him there, who soz this his most worthy enterprise gaue him in fee twentie pence a day, from whence, being desirous to come into his owne countrie, he came thither at such time as he conueniently could, which was in the yeere of our Lorde God, 1579. Who being come into England, went vnto the Court, and shewed all his trauell vnto the Councell: who considering of the state of this man, in that hee had spent and lost a great part of his youth in thalborne and bondage, extended to him their liberalitie, to helpe to maintaine him now in age, to their right honour, and to the encouragement of all true hearted Christians.

The copie of the certificate for Iohn Fox; and his companie, made by the Prior, and the brethren of Gallipoli, where they first landed.

WE the Prior, and Fathers of the Couent of the Amerciates, of the city of Gallipoli, of the order of Preachers doe testifie, that vpon the 29 of Ianuary last past, 1577, there came in to the said citie a certaine gally from Alexandria, taken from the Turkes, with two hundred fiftie and eight Christians, whereof was principal Master Iohn Fox, an Englishman, a gunner, and one of the chiefest that did accomplish that great worke, whereby so many Christians haue recovered their liberties. In token and remembrance whereof, vpon our earnest request to the same Iohn Fox, he hath left here an olde sworde, wherewith he slewe the keeper of the prison: which sword we doe as a monument and memoriall of so worthy a deede, hang vp in the chiefe place of our Couent house. And for because all things aforesaid, are such as we will testifie to be true, as they are orderly passed, and haue therefore good credite, that so much as is aboue expressed is true, and for the more faith thereof, we the Prior, and Fathers aforesaide, haue ratified and subscribed these presents. Geuen in Gallipoly, the third of Februarie 1577.

I Erier Vincent Barba, Prior of the same place, confirme the premisses, as they are aboue written.

I Erier Albert Damaro, of Gallipoly, Subprior, confirme as much.

I Erier Anthony Cellerer of Gallipoly, confirme as aforesaid.

I Erier Bartlemew of Gallipoly, confirme as aboue said.

I Erier Francis of Gallipoly, confirme as much.

The Bishop of Rome his letters in the behalfe of

John Foxe.

BE it knowen vnto all men, to whom this writing shall come, that the bringer hereof Iohn Foxe Englishman, a Gunner, after he had serued captiue in the Turkes gallies, by the space of foureteene yeeres, at length, thorough God his helpe, taking good oportunitie, the third of Ianuarie last past, slew the keeper of the prison, (whom he first stroke on the face) together with foure and twentie other Turkes, by the assistance of his fellow prisoners: and with 266. Christians (of whose libertie he was the author) launched from Alexandria, and from thence arriued first at Gallipoly in Candie, and afterwardes at Tarento in Apulia: the written testimony and credite of which things, as also of others, the same Iohn Foxe hath in publike tables from Naples.

Vpon Easter eue he came to Rome, and is now determined to take his iourney to the Spanish Court, hoping there to obtaine some reliefe toward his liuing: wherefore the poore distressed man humbly beseecheth, and we in his behalfe do in the bowels of Christ, desire you, that taking compassion of his former captiuitie, and present penurie, you doe not onely suffer him freely to passe throughout all your cities and townes, but also succour him with your charitable almes, the reward whereof you shall hereafter most assuredly receiue, vnto which we hope you will afford to him, whom with tender affection of pittie wee commend vnto you. At Rome, the 20 of Aprill 1577.

Thomas Grolos Englishman Bishop of Astraphen.

Richard Silleum Prior Anglia.

Andreas Ludonicus Register to our Soueraigne Lord the Pope, which for the greater credite of the premises, haue set my seale to these presents. At Rome, the day and yeere aboue written.

Mauricius Clement the gouernour and keeper of the English Hospitall in the citie.

The King of Spaine his letters to the Lieutenant, for the placing
of *John Foxe* in the office of a Gunner.

TO the illustrious Prince, Vespasian Gonfaga Colonna, our Lieutenant and Captaine Generall of our Realme of Valencia. Hauing consideration, that Iohn Foxe Englishman hath serued vs, and was one of the most principall, which tooke away from the Turkes a certaine gallie, which they haue brought to Tarento, wherein were two hundred, fiftie, and eight Christian captiues: we licence him to practise, and giue him the office of a Gunner, and haue ordained, that he goe to our said Realme, there to serue in the said office in the Gallies, which by our commandement are lately made, And we doe commaund, that you cause to be payed to him eight ducats pay a moneth, for the time that he shall serue in the saide Gallies as a Gunner, or till we can otherwise prouide for him, the saide eight duckats monethly of the money which is already of our prouision, present and to come, and to haue regarde of those which come with him, From Escuriall the tenth of August, 1577.

I the King.

Iuan del Gado.

And vnder that a confirmation of the Councell.

The renuing and increasing of an ancient and commodious trade vnto diuerse places in the Leuant seas, and to the chiefeest partes of all the great Turkes dominions, by the meanes of the Right worsh. citizens Sir *Edward Osborne* Alderman, and M. *Richard Staper* marchant of London.



Lhe trade into the Leuant (as is before mentioned, page 96 of this present volume, whereunto I referre the Reader) was very vsuall and much frequented from the yeere of our Lord 1511, till the yeere 1534, and after ward also, though not so commonly, vntill the yeere 1550, when as the barke *Aucher* vnder the conduct of M. *Roger Bodenham* made a prosperous voyage vnto Sicilia, Candia, Sio, and other places within the Leuant. Since which time the foresaid trade (notwithstanding the Grand Signiors ample priuilege granted to M. *Anthony Ienkenson* 1553, and the wrong

strong and weighty reasons of Gaspar Campion for that purpose) was utterly discontinued, and in maner quite forgotten, as if it had neuer bene, for the space of 20 yeares and more. Howbeit the discrete and worthy citizens Sir Edward Osborne and *W.* Richard Stapet seriously considering what benefite might grow to the common wealth by renewing of the foresaid discontinued trade, to the enlarging of her Maiesties customes, the furthering of nauigation, the venting of diuerse generall commodities of this Realme, and the enriching of the citie of London, determined to vse some effectuall meanes for the reestablishing and augmenting thereof.

Wherefore about the yeere 1575 the foresaid R. W. marchants at their charges and expences sent John Wight and Ioseph Clements by the way of Poland to Constantinople, where the said Ioseph remained 18 monethes to procure a safe conduct from the grand Signior, for *W.* William Harborne, then factor for Sir Edward Osborne, to haue free access into his Highnes dominions, and obtained the same.

The voyage of John Wight and Ioseph Clements to Constantinople.

Which businesse after two yeres chargeable trauell and suit being accomplished, the sayd *W.* Harborne the first of July 1578 departed from London by the sea to Hamburg, and thence accompanied with Ioseph Clements his guide and a seruant, he traualled to Leopold in Poland, and then apparelling himselfe, his guide, and his seruant after the Turkish fashion (having first obtayned the king of Poland his safe conduct to passe at Camieniec the frontier towne of his dominions next vnto Turkey) by good means he obtained fauour of one Acmet Chaus the Turks ambassadour then in Poland, and readie to returne to Constantinople, to bee received into his companie and carouan. And so the fourth of September 1578 he departed with the said Acmet from Leopold in Poland, and traueilling through Moldauia, Valachia, Bulgaria, and Romania, gratifying the Voiaudes with certaine courtesies, he arriued at Constantinople the 28 of October next ensuing. Where he behaued himselfe so wisely and discretely, that within few moneths after he obtained not onely the great Turkes large and ample priuiledge for himselfe, and the two worshipfull persons aforesaid, but also procured his honourable and friendly letters vnto her Maiestie in maner following.

The first voyage of *W.* William Harborne to Constantinople.

The letters sent from the Imperiall Musulmanlike highnesse of *Zuldan Murad Can*, to the sacred regall Maiestie of *Elizabeth* Queene of *England*, the fifteenth of March 1579, containing the grant of the first priuiledges.

L greatness and gloyp most renowned *Elizabeth*, most sacred Queene, and noble prince of the most mightie worshippers of *Iesus*, most wise gouernoz of the causes and affaires of the people and family of *Nazareth*, cloud of most pleasant raine, and sweetest fountaine of noblenesse and vertue, ladie & heire of the perpetuall happinesse & gloyp of the noble Realme of *England* (whom all forts seeke vnto and submit themselues) we with most prosperous successe and happie ends to all your actions, and do offer vnto you such pleasures and curtesies as are worthy of our mutuall and eternall familiaritie: thus ending (as best becometh vs) our former salutations.

In most friendly maner we giue you to vnderstand, that a certaine man hath come vnto vs in the name of your most excellent Regall Maiestie, commending vnto vs from you all kindnesse, curtesie and friendly offices on your part, and did humbly require that our Imperiall highnesse would vouchsafe to giue leaue and libertie to him and vnto two other merchants of your kingdom, to resort hither and returne againe, and that by way of traffike they might be suffered to trade hither with their goods and merchandizes to our Imperiall dominions, and in like sort to make their returne.

These two were Sir Edward Osborne and *W.* Richard Stapet.

Our stately Court and Countrey hath bene euer open for the access both of our enemies and friends. But because we are informed that your most excellent Regall Maiesty doth abound with good will, humanitie, & all kind of louing affection towards vs, so much the rather shall the same our Countrey be alwayes open to such of your subiects, as by way of merchandize shall trade hither: and we will neuer faile to aide & succo any of them that are or shall be willing to esteeme of our friendship, fauour, & assistance: but will reckon it some part of our dutie to gratifie them by all good meanes. And soasmuch as our Imperiall highnesse is giuen to vnderstand that your most excellent Regall Maiestie doth excell in bountie & curtesie, we therfore haue sent out our Imperiall commandement to all our kings, iudges, and traellers by sea, to all our Captaines and voluntarie seafaring men, all condemned persons, and officers of Ports and customes, straightly charging and commanding them, that such foresaid persons as shall resort hither by sea from the

Realme of England, either with great or small vessels to trade by way of marchandize, may lawfully come to our imperiall Dominions, and freely returne home againe, and that no man shall dare to molest or trouble them. And if in like sort they shall come into our dominions by land, either on foote or on horsebacke, no man shall at any time withstand or hinder them: but as our familiar and confederates, the French, Venetians, Polonians, and the King of Germany, with diuers other our neighbours about vs, haue libertie to come hither, & to returne againe into their owne countreys, in like sort the marchants of your most excellent Regall Maiesties Kingdome shall haue safe conduct and leaue to repaype hither to our Imperiall dominions, and so to returne againe into their owne Country: straightly charging that they be suffered to vse and trade all kind of marchandize as any other Christians doe, without let or disturbance of any.

He calleth the Germane emperor but king of Germanie.

Therefore when these our Imperiall letters shall be brought to your most excellent Regall Maiestie, it shall be meet, according to our beneuolence, humanity, and familiarity towards your most excellent Maiestie, that you like wise bethinke your selfe of your like beneuolence, humanitie and friendshippe towards vs, to open the gate thereof vnto vs, and to nourish by all good meanes this kindnesse and friendship: and that like libertie may be granted by your Highnesse to our subiects and merchants to come with their merchandizes to your dominions, either by sea with their ships, or by land with their wagons or horses, and to returne home againe: and that your most excellent Regall Maiestie do alwayes declare your humanitie, good will, and friendship towards vs, and alwayes keepe open the doore thereof vnto vs.

The Turke demandeth like priuileges for his subiects in the Diuities dominions.

Giuen at our citie of Constantinople the fifteenth day of March, and in the yeere of our most holy Prophet Mahomet ¶ 987.

With vs the yeere 1579.

The answer of her Maiestie to the aforesaid Letters of the Great Turke, sent the 25 of October 1579, in the Prudence of London by Master Richard Stanley.



LIZABETHA Dei ter maximi, & vnicū cæli terrarū; Conditoris gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ regina, fidei Christianæ contra omnes omnium inter Christianos degentium, & Christi nomen falso profitentium Idololatrias inuictissima & potentissima Defensatrix, augustissimo, inuictissimoque principi Sultan Murad Can, Turcici regni dominatori potentissimo, Imperiū; orientis Monarchæ supra omnes soli & supremo, salutē, & multos cum rerum optimarū affluentia felices, & fortunatos annos, Augustissime & inuictissime Cæsar, accepimus inuictissimæ Cæsareæ vestræ celsitudinis literas, die decimo quinto Martij currentis anni ad nos scriptas Constantinopoli, ex quibus intelligimus quàm benignè quàmque clementer, literæ supplices quæ Cæsareæ vestræ celsitudini a quodam subdito nostro Guilhelmo Hareborno in Imperiali Celsitudinis vestræ ciuitate Constantinopoli commorante offerbantur, literæ professionis pro se & socijs eius duobus hominibus mercatoribus subditis nostris cum mercibus suis ad terras ditionesque Imperio vestro subiectas tam per mare quàm per terras, indeque reuersionis veniē potestatisque humillimam complexæ petitionem, ab inuictissima vestra Cæsareæ celsitudine, acceptæ fuerunt, Neque id solum, sed quàm mira cum facilitate, dignaque augustissima Cæsareæ clementia, quod erat in dictis literis supplicibus positum, ei socijsque suis donatum & concessum fuit, pro ea, vti viderur, solum opinione, quam de nobis, & nostra amicitia vestra celsitudo concepit. Quod singulare beneficium in dictos subditos nostros collarum tam gratè tamque beneuolè accepimus (maximas celsitudini vestræ propterea & agentes, & habentes gratias) nullo vt vnquam patiemur tempore, pro facultatum nostrarum ratione, proque ea quam nobis in seuit ter maximus mundi monarcha Deus (per quem & cuius auspicijs regnamus) naturæ bonitate, qua remotissimas nos esse voluit, & abhorreutes ab ingratitude omni vel minima suspitione, docuitque; nullorum vnquam vt principum, vllis in nos meritis, ne sineremus vinci, aut superari, vt apud ingratam principem tantum beneficium deposuisse, se vestra Celsitudo existimet. Proptereaque; animum nostrum in præsentiarum vestræ celsitudini emeritimus, benè sentiendo & prædicando, quantopere nos obstrictas beneficij huius in subditos nostros collati putemus memoriâ sempiternâ: longè vberiozem, & ampliozem gratitudinis erga vestram celsitudinem nostræ relictificationem daturæ, cum tempora incident vt possimus, & à nobis desiderabitur. Quoniam autem quæ nostris paucis subditis, eaque; suis ipsorum precibus, sine vlla intercessionem nostra concessa donatio est, in æquè libera potestate sita est ad omnes terras ditionesque; Imperio vestro subiectas, cum mercibus suis tam per mare quàm per terras eundi & redeundi, atque; inuictissime Cæsareæ vestræ celsitudinis confederatis, Gallis, Polonis, Venetis, atque; adeo regis Romanorum subditis largita vnquam aut donata

nata fuit, celsitudinem vestram rogamus ne tam singularis beneficentiæ laus in tam angustis terminis duorum aut trium hominum concludatur, sed ad vniuersos subditos nostros diffusa, propagatæque, celsitudinis vestræ beneficium eò reddat augustius; quò eiuſdem donatio latius patebit, & ad plures pertinebit. Cuius tam singularis in nos beneficij meritum, eò erit celsitudini vestræ minus pœnitendum, quò sunt merces illæ, quibus regna nostra abundant, & aliorum principum ditiones egent, tam humanis vsibus commodæ tamq; necessarie, nulla gens vt sit, quæ cis carere queat, proptereaq; longissimis, difficillimisq; itineribus conquisitis non vehementer gaudeat. Carius autem distrahunt alij, quo ex labore suo quisq; victum & quæstum quaritat, adeo vt in earum acquisitione vtilitas, in emptione autem ab alijs onus sit. Vtilitas celsitudinis vestræ subditis augebitur liberâ hac paucorum nostrorum hominum ad terras vestras profectio: onus minuetur, profectiois quorumcunq; subditorum nostrorum donatione. Accedet præterea quæ à nobis in celsitudinis vestræ subditos proficiscitur, par, æquæque mercium exercendarum libertas, quoties & quando voluerint ad regna dominiæq; nostra mercaturæ gratia accedere. Quam celsitudinem vestræ pollicemur tam amplam latèque patentem fore; quam est vlla à confœderatorum vestrorum vllis principibus antedictis, regibus videlicet Romanorum, Gallorum, Polonorum, ac republica Veneta, celsitudinis vestræ subditis vllò vquam tempore concessa & donata. Quia in re si honestæ petitioni nostræ inuidiſſima Cæsarea vestra celsitudo dignabitur auscultare, faciêtque vt acceptis nostris literis intelligamus gratum nê habitura sit quod ab ea contendimus & rogamus, ea proposita præstita que securitate, quæ subditos nostros quoscunq; ad dominia sua, terra, mari que proficiscentes, indèq; reuertentes tutos & securos reddat ab omni quorumcunq; subditorum suorum iniuria, efficiemus, vt quæ Deus opt. max. in regna dominiæq; nostra contulit commoda (quæ tam singularia sunt, omnium vt principum animos pellicent ad amicitiam, summæq; necessitudinis coniunctionem nobiscum contrahendam, stabilendamque quo, liberius tantis summi Dei beneficij fruantur, quibus carere nequeunt) nostri subditi ad regna dominiæque Celsitudinis vestræ aduehant tam affluenter tamque cumulate, vt vtrique incommodo prædicto necessitatis & oneris plenissimè succurratur. Facit præterea singularis ista Celsitudinis vestræ in nos Gentemque nostram summæ beneuolentiæ significatio ac fides, vt eandem, in causam quorundam subditorum nostrorum, qui captiui irremediabilibus vestris detinentur, interpellemus, rogemusque, vt quoniam nullo in celsitudinem vestram peccato suo, siuè arma in eam ferendo, siuè iniquis præter fas & ius gentium se gerendo in suos subditos, in hanc calamitatem inciderint, soluti vinculis, & libertate donati, nobis pro sua fide & obsequio inseruientes, causam vberiore præbeant vestræ Celsitudinis in nos humanitatem prædicandi: & Deum illum, qui solus, & supra omnia & omnes est acerrimus idololatriæ vindicator, futque honoris contra Gentium & aliorum falsos Deos Zelotes, præcābimur, vt vestram inuidiſſimam Cæsaream Celsitudinem omni beatitate eorum donorum fortunet, quæ sola & summè iure merito habentur desideratissima.

Datæ è Regia nostra Grenouici, prope ciuitatem nostram Londinum, quintodecimo Mensis Octobris, Anno Iesu Christi Saluatoris nostri 1579, Regni verò nostri viceſimo primo.

The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of the most mightie God, and onely Creatour of heauen and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, the most inuincible and most mighty defender of the Christian faith against all kinde of idolatries, of all that liue among the Christians, and falsly profess the Name of Christ, vnto the most Imperiall and most inuincible pynce, Zuldā Murad Can, the most mightie ruler of the kingdome of Turkie, sole and aboue all, and most soueraigne Monarch of the East Empire, greeting, and many happy and fortunat peeres, with abundance of the best things.

Most Imperiall and most inuincible Emperour, wee haue receiued the letters of your mightie highnesse written to vs from Cōstantinople the fifteneenth day of March this present yere, whereby we vnderstand how gratiofully, and how fauorably the humble petitions of one William Hareborne a subiect of ours, resident in the Imperiall citie of your highnesse presented vnto your Maestie for the obtaining of acceſſe for him and two other Marchants moze of his company our subiects also, to come with marchandizes both by sea and land, to the countreys and territories subiect to your gouernment, and from thence againe to returne home with good leaue and libertie, were acceptd of your most inuincible Imperiall highnesse, and not that onely, but with an extraordinary speed and woꝛthy your Imperiall grace, that which was craued by petition was granted to him, and his company in regard onely (as it seemeth) of that opinion which your highnesse conceiued of vs and our amitie: which singular benefite done to our aforesaid subiectes, wee take so thankefully, and in so good part (yeelding for the same our greatest thanks to your highnesse) that

We will neuer giue occasion to your said highnesse (according as time, and the respect of our affaires will permit) once to thinke so great a pleasure bestowed vpon an vngracefull Prince, For the Almighty God, by whom, and by whose grace we reigne, hath planted in vs this goodnesse of nature, that wee detest and abhorre the least suspicion of ingratitude, and hath taught vs not to suffer our selues to bee ouermatched with the good demerites of other Princes. And therefore at this time wee doe extende our good minde vnto your highnesse, by well conceiuing, and publishing also abroad, how much we repute our selve bound in an euerlasting remembrance for this good pleasure to our Subiects, meaning to peebe a much moze large and plentifull certification of our thankfulness, when time conuenient shall fall out, and the same shall bee looked for at our handes.

But whereas that graunt which was giuen to a fewe of our Subiects, and at their onely request without any intercession of ours, standeth in as free a libertie of coming and going to and from all the lands and kingdoms subiect to your Maiestie, both by land & sea with marchandizes, as euer was granted to any of your Imperiall highnesse confederates, as namely to the French, the Polonians, the Venetians, as also to the subiects of the king of the Romanes, wee desire of your highnesse that the commendation of such singular courttesie may not bee so narrowly restrained to two or thre men onely, but may be enlarged to all our subiects in generall, that thereby your highnesse goodnesse may appere the moze notable, by reason of the graunting of the same to a greater number of persons. The bestowing of which so singular a benefite your highnesse shall so much the lesse repent you of, by howe much the moze fit and necessary for the vse of man those commodities are, where with our kingdomes doe abound, and the kingdomes of other princes doe want, so y^e there is no nation that can be without them, but are glad to come by them, although by very long and difficult trauels: and when they haue them, they sell them much deerer to others, because euery man seeketh to make profite by his labour: so that in the getting of them there is profit, but in the buying of them from others there is losse. But this profite will be increased to the subiects of your highnesse by this free access of a fewe of our subiects to your dominions, as also the losse and burden will be eased, by the permission of generall access to all our people. And furthermore we will graunt as equall and as free a libertie to the subiects of your highnesse with vs for the vse of traffike, when they wil, and as often as they wil, to come, and go to and from vs and our kingdomes. Which libertie wee promise to your highnesse shalbe as ample, and as large as any was euer giuen or granted to your subiects by the aforesaide princes your confederates, as namely the king of the Romanes, of France, of Poland, and the common wealth of Venice. In which matter, if your most inuincible Imperiall highnesse shall vouchsafe to incline to our reasonable request, and shall giue order vpon these our letters, that wee may haue knowledge how the same is accepted of you, and whether it will be granted, with sufficient securitie for our subiects to go, and returne safe and secure from all violences and iniuries of your people, we on the other side wil giue order, that those commodities which Almighty God hath bestowed vpon our kingdomes (which are in deed so excellent, that by reason of them all princes are drawn to enter, and confirme leagues of amitie and good neighborhood with vs, by that meanes to enjoy these so great blessings of God, which we haue, and they can in no case want) our subiects shall bring them so abundantly and plentifully to the kingdomes and dominions of your highnesse, that both the former inconueniencies of necessitie, and losse, shall most sufficiently be taken away.

Moreouer the signification and assurance of your highnesse great affection to vs and our nation, doeth cause vs also to intreat and vse mediation on the behalfe of certaine of our subiects, who are deteined as slaves and captiues in your Gallies, for whom we craue, that forasmuch as they are fallen into that misery, not by any offence of theirs, by bearing of armes against your highnesse, or in behauing of themselves contrary to honestie, and to the law of nations, they may be deliuered from their bondage, and restored to libertie, for their seruice towards vs, according to their duetie: which thing shall peebe much moze abundant cause to vs of commending your clemencie, and of beseeching that God (who onely is aboue all things, and all men, and is a most seuerer reuenger of all idolatry, and is ielous of his honour against the false gods of the nations) to adozne your most inuincible Imperiall highnesse with all the blessings of those gifts, which onely and beneficently are accounted most worthy of asking.

Giuen at our palace of Greenwich, nere to our Citie of London, the five and twentieth day of October, in the yeere of Iesus Christ our Sauour one thousand, five hundred, seuentie and nine, and of our reigne the one and twentieth.

The charter of the priuileges granted to the English, & the league of the great Turke with the Queenes Maiestie in respect of traffique, dated in Iune 1580.

IMmensa & maxima ex potestate potentissimi, terribilibusque verbis & nunquam finienda innumerabilie clementia & ineffabili auxilio sanctissimi & pura mente colendissimi tremendissimiq; vniuersitatum creatoris, princeps temporum presentium, vnicus modernæ ætatis monarcha, totius orbis terrarum potentibus scepra diuidere potens, clementiæ, gratiæq; diuinæ vmbra, regnorum prouinciarum, & vrbium ciuitatumue distributor permultarum: Nos sacratissimus Cæsar Muzulmanicus, Mecchæ, id est domus diuinæ, Medinæ, gloriosissimæ & beatissimæ Ierusalem, Aegypti fertilissimæ, Iemen & Zouan, Eden & Canan, Sami paciferæ & Hebes, Iabza & Pazra, Zeruzub & Halepiæ, Caramariæ & Diabekituan & Dulkadiriz, Babyloniæ, & totius triplicis Arabiæ, Euzorum & Georgianorum, Cypro diuitis, & regnorum Asiæ, Ozakior, Camporum Maris albi & nigri, Græciæ & Mesopotamiæ, Africa & Goletæ, Algeris & Tripolis occidentalis, selectissimæq; Europæ, Budæ, & Temeswar, & regnorum transalpinorum, & his similibus permultorum princeps Cæsarue sacerrimus, potentissimus Murad Can, filius principis Zelim Can, qui fuit Zoleiman Can, qui fuit Zelim Can, qui fuit Paiezid Can, qui fuit Mehemmed Can, &c.

Nos princeps potentissimus Murad Can hoc in signum nostræ Cæsareæ amicitie significamus manifestamus, quod in temporibus modernis Regina Angliæ, Franciæ & Hiberniæ Elizabetha in Christianitate honoratissima Regina (cuius mercatorum exitus sit felicissimus) ad nostram excelsam, & iustitiæ plenam, fulgidissimamue portam, quæ omnibus principibus mundi est refugium & requies, per egregium Gulielmum Harboroughum literas misit suas, quibus sua maiestas significauit, quod tempore præterito quidam subditi sui venissent ad nostram portam excelsam, & suam obedientiam erga eam demonstrauissent, & ob eam causam illis quoque ad nostras ditiones mercandi gratia venire & redire poscerent, venia & potestas fuisset data: & quod in locis & hospitij eorum per mare & terram nemo auderet impedire & illis damnum facere, mandatum Cæsareum fuisset datum: & quod hanc nostram gratiam quam paucis hominibus suæ maiestatis demonstrauissemus, vniuersis suis subditis concedere inuis, petebat, Quare, quemadmodum cum serenissimis beneuolentiam & obedientiam, seruitiæ suæ demonstrantibus erga nostram portam excelsam regibus & principibus confœderatis (vt sunt rex Gallorum, Veneti, & rex Polonorum, & cæteri) pacem & scœdus sanctissimum pepigimus: sic etiam cum præfata Regina amicitiam custodiendam, pacem & scœdus coniunximus. Illius igitur homines, & vniuersi mercatores, sine aliquo impedimento cum suis mercibus & oneribus cunctis ad nostras ditiones Cæsareas pacificè & securè veniant, & suam exerceant mercaturam, manent in suis statibus, & secundum suos mores negocientur. Et adhæc, sua maiestas significabat ex hominibus suis aliquos iam dudum captos fuisse, & in captiuitate detineri, & quod hi dimitterentur petebat, & quod sicut alijs principibus nobiscum confœderatis priuilegia & mandata Cæsareæ super scœdus sanctissimum dedissemus, sic præfata quoque Reginiæ priuilegium & mandata Cæsareæ vt daremus, nostræ Cæsareæ celsitudini placeret. Quare secundum nostram beneuolentiam & gratiam innatam, optata suæ maiestatis apud nos grata fuere: Et hoc nostrum priuilegium iustitijs plenum dedimus maiestati suæ: Et Beglerbegis, Zanziacbegis famulis nostris, & Kazijs, id est, iudicibus, & omnibus teloniarioribus omnium locorum, portuum, & vadorum firmiter mandamus, vt donec ex parte præfate reginæ scœdus, & pax, & eorum conditiones articuli que (vt conuenit) custodiuntur & seruantur, nostræ quoque Cæsareæ celsitudinis mandata sunt:

- 1 Vt præfate Regine homines, & subditi eius quibusuis rebus & mercibus, oneribus & suppellectilibus per mare in magnis & paruis nauibus, per terram autem homines cum oneribus & pecoribus, securè & pacificè ad nostras ditiones Cæsareas veniant, & nemo illis noceat, sed securè & sine aliquo impedimento negocientur, & in suis statibus & conditionibus permaneant.
- 2 Item, si præfati homines & mercatores in suis rebus vijs & negociationibus aliquo modo caperentur, sine aliqua tergiversatione dimittantur, liberenturque.
- 3 Item, si naues eorum ad aliquos portus & loca venire voluerint, pacificè omni in tempore, & sine impedimento veniant, & discedant in sua loca.
- 4 Item, si in tempestatibus maris naues eorum essent in periculo & auxilio opus esset illis, naues nostræ Cæsareæ celsitudinis, earumque homines, & aliorum naues hominesque statim auxilium & opem ferant illis, mandamus,

Scœdus Turcici
Imperatoris cum
Regina initum.

Articuli huius
priuilegij.

5 Item, si edulia suis pecunijs emere voluerint, nemo resistat illis, sed sine impedimento edulia emanent.

6 Item, si infortunium maris naues eorum in terram proiecerit, Begi & iudices, & ceteri nostri subditi sint auxilio illis, merces & res eorum que remanserint iterum reddantur illis, & nemo impediatur illos.

7 Item, si præfata reginæ homines, eorum interpretes, & mercatores, siue per terram, siue per mare mercandi gratiâ ad nostras ditiones venire velint, legitimo telonio, & vectigali reddito, pacificè vagentur, capitanei & reges maris & nauium, & aliud genus hominum per mare vagantium in personis, & rebus eorum, pecoribusque, ne noceant illis.

8 Item, si aliquis ex Anglis debitor, aut ex alieno esset obstrictus, inueniri que non possit, ratione debitorum alterius nullus nisi esset fideiussor capiatur aut impediatur.

9 Item, si Anglus testamentum fecerit, & sua bona cuiuscunque legauerit, illi dentur bona illius, & si sine testamento moreretur, consul eorum cuiuscunque sociorum mortui hominis dixerit debere dari, illi dentur bona mortui hominis.

10 Item, si Angli, & ad Angliam pertinentium locorum mercatores & interpretes, in vendendis & emendis mercibus fideiussionibus & rebus aliquid negocij habuerint, ad iudicem veniant, & in librum inscribi faciant negotium, & si voluerint, literas quoque acceptant à iudice, propterea quod si aliquid incidit, videant librum & literas, & secundum tenorem eorum perficiantur negocia eorum suspecta: si autem neque in librum inscriberentur, neque literas haberent, iudex falsa testimonia non admittat, sed secundum iustitiam legem administrans non sinat illos impedi.

11 Item, si aliquis diceret, quod isti Christiani nostræ fidei Muzulmanicæ maledixerint, & eam vituperijs affecerint, in hoc negotio etiam & alij, testes falsi minimè admittantur.

12 Item, si aliquis eorum aliquod facinus patraet, & fugiens non possit inueniri, nullus nisi esset fideiussor pro alterius facto retineatur.

13 Item, si aliquod mancipium Anglicum inueniretur, & consul eorū peteret illud, examinetur diligenter mancipium, & si inuentum fuerit Anglicum, accipiat, & reddatur Anglis.

14 Item, si aliquis ex Anglis huc venerit habitandi aut mercandi gratiâ, siue sit vxoratus, siue sit sine vxore, non soluat censum.

15 Item, si in Alexandria, in Damasco, in Samia, in Tunis, in Tripoli occidentali, in Aegypti portibus & in alijs omnibus locis, vbicunque voluerint facere Consules, faciant: Et iterum si voluerint eos mutare, & in loco priorū consulum alios locare, liberè faciant, & nemo illis resistat.

16 Item, si illorum interpres in arduis negotijs occupatus abesset, donec veniret interpres, expectetur, & interim nemo illos impediatur.

17 Item, si Angli inter se aliquam litem haberent & vellent ad suos consules ire, nemo resistat illis, sed liberè veniant ad Consules suos, vt secundum mores eorum finiatur lis orta.

18 Item, si post tempus aut datum huius priuilegij, piratæ, aut alij aliqui liberi gubernatores nauium per mare vagantes, aliquem ex Anglis ceperint, & trans mare vel cis mare venderint, secundum iustitiam examinetur: & si Anglus inuentus fuerit, & religionem Muzulmanicam assumpserit, liberè dimittatur: si autem adhuc esset Christianus, Anglis reddatur, & emptores suam pecuniam ab illo petant, à quo emerant.

19 Item, si nostræ Cæsareæ Celsitudinis naues armatæ exiuerint ad mare, & ibi inuenierint naues Anglicas merces portantes, nemo impediatur illas, imò amice tractentur, & nullum damnum faciant illis: Quemadmodum Gallis, Venetis, & cæteris nobiscum confederatis regibus, & principibus priuilegium, & articulos priuilegij dedimus, & concessimus, simili modo his quoque Anglis priuilegium & articulos priuilegij dedimus & concessimus, & contra legem diuinam, & hoc priuilegium, nemo vnquam aliquid audeat facere.

20 Item, si naues magnæ, & parvæ in itinere & loco vbi stant detinebuntur, nemo illos audeat impedi, sed potius auxilio sint illis.

21 Item, si latrones & fures vi raperent naues illorum, nauiumque merces, magna diligentia quarantur latrones & fures, & seuerissimè puniantur.

22 Ad extremum, Beglerbegij, & Zanziaebegi, Capitanei nostri, Mancipia, & per mare nauigantes serui Capitaneorum, & Iudices, & Teloniatore, & Gubernatores nauium Reiz dicti, & liberi Reiz, omnes isti præfati, secundum tenorem huius priuilegij, tenoremue articulorum eius, omnia facere teneantur, & debeant. Et donec hoc in priuilegio descriptum fuerit, & pax illius Maiestatis ex parte sanctæ seruabitur, & custodietur, ex parte etiam nostra Cæsareæ custodiri, & obseruari mandamus.

Datum constantinopoli, anno nostri prophetæ Sanctissimi 988, in principio mensis Iunij, anno autem Iesu 1580.

The interpretation of the letters, or priuilege of the most mightie and *Musumanlike* Emperour *Zuldan Murad Can*, granted at the request of *Elizabeth* by the grace of the most mightie God, and only Creator of heauen and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, confirming a peace and league betwixt both the said Princes and their subiects.



We most sacred Musulmanlike Emperour, by the infinite and exceeding great power, by the euerlasting and wonderfull clemencie, & by the vnspcakable helpe of the most mightie & most holy God, creator of all things, to be worshipped and feared with all purenesse of minde, and reuerence of speech, The prince of these present times, the onely Monarch of this age, able to giue scepters to the potentates of the whole world, the shadow of the diuine mercy and grace, the distributor of many kingdoms, prouinces, townes and cities, Prince, and most sacred Emperour of Mecca, that is to say, of Gods house, of Medina, of the most glorious and blessed Ierusalem, of the most fertile Egypt, Iemen and Iouan, Eden and Canaan, of Samos the peaceable, and of Hebes, of Iabza, and Pazra, of Zeruzub and Halepia, of Caramaria and Diabekiruan, of Dulkadiria, of Babylon, and of all the thre Arabias, of the Euzians and Georgians, of Cyprus the rich, and of the kingdomes of Asia, of Ozakior, of the tracts of the white and blacke Sea, of Grecia and Mesopotamia, of Africa and Goleta, of Alger, and of Tripolis in the West, of the most choise and principall Europe, of Buda and Temeswar, and of the kingdomes beyond the Alpes, and many others such like, most mightie Murad Can, the sonne of the Emperour Zelim Can, which was the sonne of Zoleiman Can, which was the sonne of Zelim Can, which was the sonne of Paizid Can, which was the sonne of Mehemed Can, &c.

The most mightie prince Murad Can, in token of our Imperiall friendship, doe signifie and declare, that now of late Elizabeth Queene of England, France and Ireland, the most honourable Queene of Christendom (to whose marchants we with happy successe) sent her letters by her worthy seruant William Hareborne vnto our state, and most magnificent Prince replenished with iustice, which is a refuge and Sanctuary to all the princes of the world, by which letters her Maiestie signified, that whereas heretofore certaine of her subiects had repaired to our saide state, and had shewed their obedience to the same, and for that cause had desired that leaue and libertie might also be granted vnto them, to come and goe for traffiques sake too and from our dominions, and that our Imperiall commandement might be giuen, that no man should presume to hurt or hinder them, in any of their abodes or passages by sea or land, and whereas shee requested that we would graunt to all her subiects in generall, this our fauour, which before wee had extended onely to a fewe of her people: therefore as wee haue entered into amitie, and most holy league with the most excellent kings and princes our confederats, shewing their deuotion, and obedience or seruices towards our state, (as namely the French king, the Venetians, the king of Polonia and others) so also we haue contracted an inuolable amitie, peace and league with the aforesaid Queene. Therefore wee giue licence to all her people, and marchants, peaceably and safely to come vnto our Imperiall dominions, with all their marchandise and goods without any impeachment, to exercise their traffique, to vse their owne customes, and to buy and sell according to the fashions of their owne countrey.

And further her Maiestie signified vnto vs, that certaine of her people had heretofore bene taken prisoners, and were detained in captiuitie, and required that they might bee set at libertie, and that as we had graunted vnto other Princes our confederats, priuileges, and Imperiall decrees, concerning our most inuolable league with them, so it would please our Imperiall Maiesty to graunt and confirme the like priuileges, and princely decrees to the aforesaid Queene.

Therefore according to our humanitie and gracious ingrassed disposition, the requests of her Maiestie were accepted of vs, and we haue granted vnto her Maiestie this priuilege of ours agreeable to reason & equitie. And we straightly commaund all our Beglerbegs, and Zauziabegs our seruants, and our Reyze, that is to say, our Judges, and all our custoners in all places, hauens and passages, that as long as this league and amitie with the conditions, and articles thereof, are kept and obserued on the behalfe of the aforesaid Queene, Our Imperiall commandement and pleasure is, that the people and subiects of the same Queene, may safely and securely come to our princely dominions, with their goods and marchandise, and ladings, and other commodities by sea, in great and smal vessels, and by land with their carriages and cattels, and that no man shall hurt them, but they may buy and sell without any hinderance, and obserue the customes and orders of their owne countrey.

2 Item, if the aforesaid people and marchants shalbe at any tyme in the course of their iourneys and dealings by any meanes taken, they shall be deliuered and enlarged, without any excuse or cauillation.

3 Item, if their ships purpose to arriue in any of our portes and hauens, it shalbe lawfull for them to do in peace, and from thence againe to depart, without any let or impediment.

4 Item, if it shall happen that any of their ships in tempestuous weather shall bee in danger of losse and perishing, and thereupon shall stand in need of our helpe, we will, and commaund that our men and ships be ready to helpe and succour them.

5 Item, if they shalbe willing to buy any victuals for their money, no person shall withstande them, but they shall buy the same without any disturbance to the contrary.

6 Item, if by any casualtie their shippes shall bee dzruen on Shoare in perill of shipwracke, our Begs and Judges, and other our Subiects shall succour them, and such wares, and goods of theirs as shall bee recouered from the losse, shall bee restoyed to them, and no man shall wrong them.

7 Item, if the people of the aforesayd Queene, their interpreters and marchants, shall for traffique sake, either by lande or Sea repaire to our dominions paying our lawfull toll and custome, they shall haue quiet passage, and none of our Captaines or gouernours of the Sea, and shippes, nor any kinde of persons, shall either in their bodies, or in their goods and cattels, any way molest them.

8 Item, if any Englishman shall grow in debt, and so owe money to any other man, and thereupon doth absent himselfe that he can not be found, let no man be arrested or apprehended for any other mans debt, except he be the surty.

9 Item, if any Englishman shall make his will and testament, to whom soeuer by the same hee shall giue his goods, the partie shall haue them accordingly, and if hee die intestate, hee to whom the Consull or gouernour of the Societie shall say the goods of the dead are to bee giuen, hee shall haue the same.

10 Item, if the Englishmen or the marchants and interpreters of any places vnder the iurisdiction of England shall happen in the buying and selling of wares, by promises or otherwise to come in controuersie, let them go to the Judge, and cause the matter to be entred into a booke, and if they wil, let them also take letters of the Judge testifying the same, that men may see the booke and letters, whatsoeuer thing shall happen, and that according to the tenour thereof the matter in controuersie and in doubt may be ended: but if such things be neither entred in booke, nor yet the persons haue taken letters of the Judge, yet he shall admit no false witnesse, but shall execute the Law according to iustice, and shall not suffer them to be abused.

11 Item, if any man shall say, that these being Christians haue spoken any thing to the derogation of our holy faith and religion, and haue slandered the same, in this matter as in all others, let no false witnesses in any case be admitted.

12 Item, if any one of them shall commit any great crime, and flying thereupon cannot bee found, let no man be arrested, or detained for another mans fact, except he be his surty.

13 Item, if any slaue shall be found to be an Englishman, and their Consull or gouernour shall sue for his libertie, let the same slaue be diligently examined, and if hee be found in deed to be English, let him be discharged and restoyed to the Englishmen.

14 Item, if any Englishman shall come hither either to dwel or traffique, whether hee be married or unmarried, he shall pay no polle or head money.

15 Item, if either in Alexandria, Damasco, Samos, Tunis, Tripolis in y^e west, the port townes of Egypt, or in any other places, they purpose to choose to themselves Consuls or gouernours, let them doe so, and if they will alter them at any tyme, and in the roome of the former Consuls place others, let them do so also, and no man shall restraine them.

16 Item, if their interpreter shalbe at any tyme absent, being occupied in other serious matters, let the thing then in question bee stayed and deferred till his coming, and in the meane time no man shall trouble them.

17 Item, if any variance or controuersie shall arise among the Englishmen, and thereupon they shall appeale to their Consuls or gouernours, let no man molest them, but let them freely doe so, that the controuersie begonne may be finished according to their owne customes.

18 Item, if after the time and date of this priuilege, any pirats or other free gouernours of ships trading the Sea shall take any Englishman, and shall make sale of him, either beyonde the Sea, or on this side of the Sea, the matter shalbe examined according to iustice, and if the partie shalbe found to be English, and shall receiue the holy religion, then let him freely be discharged, but if he wil still remaine a Christian, let him then be restoyed to the Englishmen, and the buyers shall

shall demand their money againe of them who solde the man.

19 Item, if the ships of warre of our Imperiall highnesse shal at any time goe forth to Sea, and shall finde any English ships laden with marchandise, no man shall hinder them, but rather shall vse them friendly, and doe them no wrong, euen as wee haue giuen and granted articles, and priuileges to the French, Venetians, and other Kings and princes our confederats, so also wee haue giuen the like to the English: and contrary to this our diuine lawe and priuilege, let no man presume to doe any thing.

20 Item, if either their great or small ships shall in the course of their voyage, or in any place to which they come, bee stayed or arrested, let no man continue the same arrest, but rather helpe and assist them.

21 Item, if any theues and robbers shall by force take away any of their ships, and marchandise, let the same theues and robbers be sought, and searched for with all diligence, and let them be punished most seuerely.

22 Last of all the Beglerbegs, and Zanziacbegs, our Captaines, our slaues and seruants of Captaines vsing the sea, and our Judges, custumers and gouernours of ships called Reiz, and fee Reiz, all these, according to the tenor of this priuilege and articles, shalbe bound to doe accordingly: and, as long as the Queene of England on her part shall duely keepe and obserue this league and holy peace, expressed in this priuilege, we also for our Imperiall part, do charge and commaund the same so long to be straightly kept and obserued.

Giuen at Constantinople, in the 988. yeere of our most holy prophet, in the beginning of the month of Iune, And in the yeere of IESVS 1580.

Her Maiesties letter to the Turke or Grand Signior 1581. promising redresse of the disorders of Peter Baker of Ratcliffe, committed in the *Leuant*.



Lizabeth by the diuine grace of the eternall God, of England, France and Ireland most sacred Queene, and of the most Christian faith, against all the prophaners of his most holy Name the zealous and mightie defendour, &c. To the most renowned and Emperious Cæsar, Sultan Murad Can, Emperour of all the dominions of Turkie, and of all the East Monarchie chiefe aboue all others whosoever, most fortunate yeeres with the successe of a true happinesse. As with very great desire we wish and embrace the loue and amicitie of foereine Princes, and in the same by al good ducties and meanes we seeke to be confirmed: so to vs there may bee nothing moze grieuous and disliking, then that any thing should happen through the default of our Subiects, which any way might bring our faith and fidelitie into suspition: Although wee are not ignorant how many good princes by the like misadventure be abused, where the doings of the Subiects are imputed to the want of good gouernment. But such matters of importance and so well approued we may not omit: such is to vs the sacred estimation of our honour, and of our Christian profession, as we would the same should appeare as well in the concluding of our promises and agreements, as in the faithfull performing of the same.

The matter which by these our letters wee specially beholde, is a most inuiouus and grieuous wrong which of late came vnto our vnderstanding, that should be done vnto certaine of your Subiects by certaine of our Subiects, as yet not apprehended: but with all seueritic vpon their apprehension they are to be awarded for the same. And as the deed in it selfe is most wicked, so is it much moze intollerable, by how much it doeth infringe the credit of our faith, violate the force of our authoritie, and impeach the estimation of our word faithfully giuen vnto your Imperiall dignitie. In which so great a disorder if wee should not manifest our hatred to wardes so wicked and euil disposed persons, we might not onely most iustly be repproued in the iudgement of all such as truly fauour Justice, but also of all Princes the patrones of right and equitie, might no lesse be condemned. That therefore considered, which of our parts is ordaine in this cause which may be to the good liking of your highnesse, we are most especially to request of your Imperiall Maiestie, that through the default and disorder of a sort of euill and wicked disposed persons, you wil not withdraw your gracious fauour from vs, neither to hinder the traffique of our Subiects, which by vertue of your highnesse sufferance, and power of your licence are permitted to trade into your dominions & countreys, or that either in their persons or goods they be prejudiced in their traueyling by land or by water, promising vnto your greatnesse most faithfully, that the goods whereof your Subiects by great wrong and violence haue bene spoyled, shall wholly againe be restored, if either by the lines or possessions of the robbers it may any way be brought to passe: And

This was Baker of Ratcliffe, who with the barke called the Roce, robbed certaine Grecians in the *Leuant*.

that hereafter (as now being taught by this euill example) wee will haue speciall care that none vnder the title of our authoritie shall be suffered to commit any the like wronges or iniuries.

Neither they which haue committed these euill parts had any power vnder your highnesse safe-conduct graunted vnto our Subiects, but from some other safe-conduct, whether it were true or fained, we knowe not, or whether they bought it of any person within the government of Marseils: but vnder the colour thereof they haue done that, which the truth of our dealing doeth vterly abhorre. Notwithstanding howsoeuer it be, wee will surely measure their euill proceedings with most sharpe and iust correction, and that it shall repent them of the impeachment of our honours, as also it shall be an example of our indignation, that others may dread at all times to commit the like offence. Wherefoze that our amitie might be continued, as if this vnfortunat hap had neuer chanced, and that the singular affection of our Subiects towardes your Imperiall Maiestie bowed, and dayly more and more desired, might be conserved and defended, we thereunto do make our humble suite vnto your greatnesse: And for so great goodnesse towardes vs and our people granted, doe most humbly pray vnto the Almighty creatour of heauen and earth, euer to maintaine and keepe your most renowned Maiestie in all happinesse and prosperitie.

Dated at our palacc of Greenwich the 26. of June, Anno 1581.

The letters patents, or priuileges graunted by her Maiestie to Sir Edward Osborne, Master Richard Staper, and certaine other Marchants of London for their trade into the dominions of the great *Turke*, in the yeere 1581.



Lizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the faith, &c. To all our Officers, ministers, and Subiects, and to all other people as well within this our Realme of England, as else where vnder our obedience, iurisdiction, or otherwise, vnto whom these our letters shall be serued, he wed or read, greeting. Where our welbeloued Subiects Edward Osborne Alderman of our Citie of London, and Richard Staper of our sayde City Marchant, haue by great aduenture and industrie, with their great costes and charges, by the space of sundry late yeeres, trauailed, and caused trauaile to bee taken, as well by secret and good meanes, as by dangerous wayes and passages both by lande and Sea, to finde out and set open a trade of Marchandize and traffique into the Lands, Islands, dominions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signior, nor heretofore in the memozy of any man nowe liuing knowne to be commonly vsed and frequented by way of marchandise, by any the Marchants or any Subiects of vs, or our progenitours; and also haue by their like good meanes and industrie, and great charges procured of the sayde Grand Signior (in our name,) amitie, safetie, and freedome, for trade and traffique of Marchandise to bee vsed, and continued by our Subiects within his sayde Dominions, whereby there is good and apparent hope and likelyhoode both that many good offices may bee done for the peace of Christendome, and reliefe of many Christians that bee or may happen to bee in thalboode or necessitie vnder the sayde Grand Signior, his vassals or Subiects, and also good and profitable bent and vtterance may be had of the commodities of our Realme, and sundry other great benefites to the aduancement of our honour, and dignitie Royall, the increase of the reuenues of our Crowne, and generall wealth of our Realme: Knowe ye, that hereupon wee greatly tendering the wealth of our people, and the incouragement of our Subiects in their good enterpises for the aduancement of the Common weale, haue of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, doe giue and graunt vnto our sayd trustie, and welbeloued Subiects Edward Osborne, and vnto Thomas Smith of London Esquier, Richard Staper, and William Garret of London Marchants, their executors, and administrators, and to the executors and administrators of them, and of euery of them, that they, and euery of them, and such other person and persons Englishmen bozne, not exceeding the number of twelue, as they the sayde Edward, and Richard shall appoint, nominate, or admit to be parteners, aduenturers, or doers with them the sayde Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, in their societie by themselves, their seruants, factours or deputies, and to such others as shall bee nominated according to the tenour of these our letters Patents, shall and may during the terme of seuen yeeres from the date of these Patents, freely trade, traffique, and vse feates of Marchandise into, and from the dominions of the sayde Grand Signior, and euery of them, in such order, and maner, foyme, liberties and condition to all intents and purposes as shall be betweene them limited and agreed, and not otherwise, without any molestation, impeachment, or disturbance, any Lawe, statute, vsage, diuersitie of religion

oꝝ faith, oꝝ other cause oꝝ matter what soeuer to the contrary notwithstanding.

And that it shall be lawful to the said Edward and Richard their executoꝝ and administrators, (during the said terme) to appoint oꝝ admit to be partners and aduencurers with them the sayde Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, such persons not exceeding the number of twelue (as afoze is said) to traffique and vse the said trade & feate of marchandise according to our saide graunt. And that all and euery such person and persons, as shall hereafter fortune to bee appointed oꝝ admitted as partners in the said trade oꝝ traffique according to these our letters patents, shall and may from the time of such appointment oꝝ admittance, haue and enioy the freedome and libertie of the said trade and traffique, during the residue of the said terme of seuen yeeres, according to such limitation and agreement as is afoze said, and that it shall and may be lawful to and foꝝ the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executoꝝ and administrators, seruants, factours and deputies, and all such as shall be so appointed, nominated oꝝ admitted, to bee partners oꝝ aduencurers in the saide trade, oꝝ so many of them as can and will, to assemble themselves foꝝ oꝝ about any the matters, causes, affaires oꝝ businesse of the saide trade in any place oꝝ places foꝝ the same conuenient, from time to time during the said terme of 7. yeeres, within our dominions oꝝ elsewhere, and to make, ordeine, and constitute reasonable lawes and ordinaunces, foꝝ the good gouernment of the said Company, and foꝝ the better aduancement and continuance of the said trade and traffique, not being contrary oꝝ repugnant to the lawes, estatutes, oꝝ customes of our Realme, and the same lawes oꝝ ordinaunces so made to put in vse, and execute accordingly, and at their pleasures to reuoke the same lawes and ordinaunces, oꝝ any of them, as occasion shall require.

And in consideration that the said Edward Osborne hath bene the principall letter foozth and doer in the opening, & putting in vse of the said trade, we do therfoze especially ordeine, constitute, and provide by these patents, that the saide Edward Osborne shall be gouernour of all such as by vertue of these our letters patents, shall be partners, aduencurers, oꝝ traffiquers in the said trade, during the said terme of seuen yeeres, if hee so long liue: And that if the said Edward shall happen to decease during the saide terme, the saide Richard Scaper then liuing, then the sayd Richard Scaper shall likewise be gouernour during the residue of the said terme (if he so long liue) and that if the said Edward and Richard shall both happen to decease during the said terme, then the partners oꝝ aduencurers foꝝ the time being, oꝝ the greatest part of them, shall from time to time as necessitie shall require, choole and elect a gouernour of the said Company,

Provided alwayes, that if there shall happen any great oꝝ vrgent occasion to remooue oꝝ displace any person that shall be gouernour of the saide fellowship, that then it shall, and may be lawful foꝝ vs, our heires and successours, to remooue, and displace euery such gouernour, and to place another of the said fellowship in the same office, during such time as such person should haue enioyed the same, according to this our graunt, if there had bene no cause to the contrary.

And we further foꝝ vs, our heires, and successours, of our especiall grace, certaine knowlege, and meere motion, do graunt to the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Scaper, and William Garret, their executoꝝ and administrators, that nothing shall bee done to be of force oꝝ validitie touching the sayde trade oꝝ traffique, oꝝ the exercise thereof, without oꝝ against the consent of the said Edward, during such time as hee shall bee Gouernour as afoze is saide. And after that time without the consent of the Gouernour foꝝ the time being, and the moze part of the said Company,

And further, wee of our moze ample and abundant grace, meere motion and certaine knowlege, haue graunted, and by these patents foꝝ vs, our heires and successours, doe graunt to the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executoꝝ and administrators, that they, the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executoꝝ and administrators, and the said person and persons, by them the said Edward and Richard to be nominated, oꝝ appointed as afoze is said, together, with such two other persons, as wee our heires oꝝ successours from time to time during the sayd terme shall nominate, shall haue the whole trade and traffique, and the whole entire onely libertie, vse and priuilege of trading, and traffiquing, and vsing feate of marchandise, inco, and from the said dominions of the said Grand Signior, and euery of them. And when there shall be no such persons so nominated oꝝ appointed by vs, our heires oꝝ successours, that then the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Scaper, and William Garret, their executoꝝ and administrators, and such persons by them so to be appointed, shall haue the saide whole trade and traffique, and the whole entire, and onely libertie, vse, and priuilege of trading and traffiquing afoze said. And that they the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executoꝝ & administrators, and also all such as shall be nominated oꝝ appointed to be partners oꝝ aduencurers in the said trade, according to such agreement as is abouesaid, and euery of them, their seruants, factours and deputies, shall haue full and free authoritie, libertie, facultie, licence and power to trade and traffique into and

from all and every the saide dominions of the saide Grand Signior, and into, and from all places where, by occasion of the saide trade, they shall happen to arrive or come, whether they be Christians, Turkes, Gentiles or other, and into, and from all Seas, rivers, ports, regions, territories, dominions, coastes and places with their ships, barks, pinnacles and other vessels, and with such mariners and men, as they will lead with them or send for the saide trade, as they shall thinke good at their owne proper cost and expences, any law, statute, usage, or matter whatsoeuer to the contrary notwithstanding. And that it shall be lawful for the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, and to the persons aforesaid, and to and for the mariners and sea men to be vsed and employed in the saide trade and voyage to set and place in the tops of their ships and others vessels the armes of England with the red crosse over the same, as heretofore they haue vsed the red crosse, any matter or thing to the contrary notwithstanding.

And we of our further royal fauor, and of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion haue graunted, and by these presents doe graunt to the saide Edward Osburne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors and administrators by these presents, that the saide lands, territories, and dominions of the saide Grand Signior, or any of them, shall not be visited, frequented, nor haunted by way of marchandise by any other our subjects during the saide terme, contrary to the true meaning of these patents.

And by vertue of our high prerogative royall (which wee will not haue argued or brought in question) we straightly charge and commaund, and prohibite for vs, our heires, and successours, all our subjects (of what degree or qualitie soeuer they be) that none of them directly, or indirectly, do visite, haunt, frequen or trade, trafique, or aduventure by way of marchandise into, or from any of the Dominions of the sayde Grand Signior, or other places abouesayde by water or by lande (other then the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, their executors or administrators, or such as shall be admitted, and nominated as is aforesaid) without expresse licence, agreement, and consent of the saide Governour, and company or the moze part of them, whereof the saide Governour alwayes to be one, vpon paine of our high indignation, and of forfeiture and losse, as well of the ship and shippes, with the furniture thereof, as also of the goods, marchandizes, and things whatsoeuer they be of those our Subjects which shall attempt, or presume to saile, trafique, or aduventure, to or from any the dominions, or places abouesaid, contrary to the prohibition aforesaid: the one halfe of the same forfeiture to be to the vse of vs, our heires & successours, and the other halfe to the vse of the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, and the saide companie, and further to suffer imprisonment during our pleasure, and such other punishment as to vs, for so high contempt, shall seeme meete and conuenient.

And further of our grace speciall, certaine knowledge, and meere motion we haue condescended and graunted, and by these patents for vs our heires and successours, doe condescend and graunt to the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard & William, their executors and administrators, that we our heires & successours during the saide terme, will not grant liberty, licence or power to any person or persons whatsoeuer, contrary to the tenor of these our letters patents, to saile, passe, trade, or trafique into or from the saide dominions of the saide Grand Signior or any of them, without the consent of the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard & William, and such as shall be named or appointed as aforesaid, or the most of them. And that if at any time hereafter during the saide terme, by saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the survivors of them, shall admit or nominate any of our subjects to be partners & aduenturers in the saide trade to the number of 12. or vnder as aforesaid, that then we our heires and successours at the instance and petition of the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the survivors of them in our Chancerie to be made, and vpon the sight of these presents, will grant and make to the saide Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or to the survivors of them, and to such persons as so shall be nominated or appointed by their speciall names, surnames, & additions as is aforesaid, new letters patents vnder the great seale of England in due forme of law with like agreement, clauses, prohibitions, prouisoes and articles (mutatis mutandis) as in these our letters patents are contained, for, and during the residue of the saide terme of seuen yeres then remaining vntire. And that the sight of these presents shall be sufficient warrant to the Lord Chancellor, or Lord keeper of the great seale for the time being, for the making, sealing and passing of such new letters patents, without further writ or warrant for the same to be required, had, or obtained.

And the saide Edward Osburne, Thomas Smith, and Richard Staper, and William Garret and such others as shall be nominated and appointed, as is aforesaid, to be of their trade or companie, shall yeerely during 6. of the last yeres of the saide 7. yeres, lade out of this our Realme, and bring home yeerely, for, and in the feate and trade of marchandizing aforesaid, so much goods and marchandizes, as the custome, and subsidie inwards and outwards, shall amount in the whole to the summe

Summe of 500. li. secretly. So that the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret and the said persons so to be nominated as is aforesaid, or any of them, or their ship or shippes be not barred, stayed, restrained or let by any reasonable occasion from the sayde trade or traffique; and so that the said ship or shippes do not perish by any misfortune, or bee spoiled by the way in their voyage.

And further, the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, and such others as shall be appointed as aforesaid to be of their saide trade or Company, shall giue notice vnto the Lord Admirall of England, or to some of the principall officers of the Admiraltie for the time being, of such ship or shippes as they shall set forth in the same voyage, and of the number of Harmers appointed to goe in the same ship or shippes; by the space of fiftene dayes before the setting or going forth of the same ship or shippes. And also the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper and William Garret, and such other as shall be by them the saide Edward and Richard, nominated to be of the said trade, shall and will at the setting forth of their ship, or shippes, for the same voyage, permit and suffer the Master of the Ordinance of vs, our heires and successors, or some others, our or their principall officers of the Ordinance, to take a view of the number and quantitie of such Ordinance, powder, and munition, as shall be caried in the said ship, or shippes, and shall also at the returne of the same ship, or shippes, suffer a view to be taken, and vpon request made, make an accompt to the saide officers of our Ordinance, of the expenles, and waxes of the said Ordinance, powder, and munition, so to bee caried in the same ship, or shippes.

¶ Provided alwayes, that if any of the said trade or Company, or their seruants, factors, or sailers, in any ship by them laden, shall commit any piracie or outrage vpon the seas, and that, if the said Company or societie shall not, or do not, within reasonable time, after complaint made, or notice giuen to the said Company, or to any of them, either satisfie or recompense the parties that so shall fortune to be robbed, or spoiled by any of the said Company, or sailers, in the said ships, or els shall not do their ende uour to the bittermost of their reasonable power, to haue the parties so offending punished for the same their offences, that then, and from thenceforth, these present letters patents shall be utterly voyd, cease, and determine.

¶ Provided likewise, that if it shall hereafter appeare vnto vs, our heires, or successors, that this grant, or the continuance thereof in the whole, or in any part thereof, shall not be profitable to vs, our heires, our successors, or to this our Realme, that then, and from thenceforth, vpon, and after one full yeeres warning, to be giuen vnto the said Company, or to the Gouvernour thereof, by vs, our heires, or successors, this present grant shall cease, be voyd, and determine, so all intents, constructions, and purposes.

¶ Provided also, that we, our heires and successors, from time to time, during the said 7. yeeres, may lawfully nominate, appoint, and authorize two persons, being fit men, to be of the saide company, and for want or lacke of them, two others to be aduenturers in the said trade, for such stocke and summe of mony, as they shall put in, so that the said persons to bee nominated, or authorized, shall be contributory to all charges of the said trade & aduenture indifferently, according to their stockes: and as other aduenturers of the said trade shall doe for their stockes, and so that likewise they doe obserue the orders of the said Company, allowable by this our graunt, and that such persons so to be appointed by vs, our heires or successors, shall, and may, with the saide Company, and fellowship, vse the trade and seate of marchandise aforesaid, and all the liberties and priuileges herein before granted, according to the meaning of these our letters patents, any thing in these our letters patents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, we haue condescended and granted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, doe condescend, and grant to the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, their executors, and administrators, that if at the ende of the said terme of seuen yeeres, it shall seeme meete, and conuenient vnto the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the suruiuer of them, that this present grant shall be continued: and if that also it shall appeare vnto vs, our heires, or successors, that the continuance thereof shall not be prejudiciall, or hurtfull to this our Realme, that then we, our heires, or successors, at the instance and petition of the said Edward Osborne, Thomas Smith, Richard Staper, and William Garret, or the suruiuer of them, to be made to vs, our heires, or successors, wil grant and make to the said Edward, Thomas, Richard and William, or the suruiuer of them, and to such other persons, as so shall be by the said Edward and Richard nominated and appointed, new letters patents, vnder the great seale of England, in due forme of lawe, with like covenants, grants, clauses, and articles, as in these presents are contained, or with addition of other necessary articles, or change of these in some part, for

and during the full terme of seven yeeres then next following. Willing, and straightly commanding, and charging all and singular our Admirals, Viceadmirals, Iudices, Maiors, Sheriffes, Echeaters, Constables, Bailiffes, and all and singular our other officers, ministers, liege men, and subiects whatsoeuer, to be aiding, fauouring, helping, and assisting vnto the said Governour, and company, and their successors, and to their Deputies, officers, seruants, assignes, and ministers, and euery of them, in executing, and enjoying the premisses, as well on land as on sea, from time to time, and at all times when you, or any of you, shall be thereunto required, any statute, act, ordinance, pꝛouiso, pꝛoclamation, or restraint heretofore had, made, set forth, ordained, or pꝛouided, or any other matter, cause or thing to the contrary, in any wise notwithstanding.

In witness whereof we haue caused these our letters to be made patents, witness our selfe, at Westminster, the 11. day of September, in the 23. yeere of our raigne.

The first voyage or journey, made by Master *Laurence Aldersey*, Marchant of *London*, to the Cities of *Ierusalem*, and *Tripolis*, &c. In the yeere 1581. Penned and set downe by himselfe.

He departed from London the first day of April, in the yeere of our Lord 1581, passing through the Nether-land and vꝑ the riuer Rhene by Colen, and other cities of Germanie. And vpon Thursday, the thirde day of May, I came to Augusta, where I deliuered the letter I had to Master Ienise, and Master Castler, whom I found very willing to pleasure me, in any thing that I could or would reasonably demand. He first furnished me with a horse to Venice, for my money, and then tooke me with him a walking, to shew me the Citie, for that I had a day to tary there, for him that was to be my guide. He shewed me first the Stare-house, which is very faire, and beautifull: then he brought mee to the finest garden, and orchard, that euer I sawe in my life: for there was in it a place for Canarie birdes, as large as a faire Chamber, trimmed with wiew both aboue and beneath, with fine little branches of trees, for them to sit in, which was full of thole Canarie birdes. There was such an other for Turtle dooues: also there were two pigeon houses ioyning to them, hauing in them stozes of Turtle dooues, and pigeons. In the same garden also were five or seuen fishponds, all railed about, and full of very good fish. Also, seuen or eight fine fountaines, or water springs, of diuers fashions: as for fruite, there wanted none of all sorts, as Oranges, figges, rasons, walnuts, grapes, besides apples, peares, fillbirds, small nuts, and such other fruite, as wee haue in England.

Then did hee bring mee to the water tower of the same Citie, that by a sleight and deuise hath the water brought vꝑ as high, as any Church in the towne, and to tel you the strange deuises of all, it passeth my capacitee. Then he brought me to another faire garden, called the Shooters hoole, where are butts for the long bowe, the crosse bowe, the stone bowe, the long peece, and for diuers other exercises moze.

After this, we walked about the walles of the Citie, where is a great, boade, and deepe ditch, vpon one side of the towne, so full of fish, as euer I sawe any pond in my life, and it is reserued onely for the States of the Citie. And vpon the other side of the Citie is also a deepe place all Greene, wherein Deere are kept, and when it pleaseth the States to hunt for their pleasure, thither they resort, and haue their courses with grayhounds, which are kept for that purpose.

The fift of May, I departed from Augusta towards Venice, and came thither vpon Whitsunday, the thirteenth of the same moneth. It is needlesse to speake of the height of the mountaines that I passed ouer, and of the banger thereof, it is so well knowne already to the world: the height of them is marueilous, and I was the space of five dayes in passing them.

I came to Venice at the time of a Faire, which lasted foureteene dayes, wherein I sawe very many, and faire shewes of wares. I came thither too thort for the first passage, which went away from Venice about the seuenth or eight of May, and with them about thre score pilgrims, which shippe was cast away at a towne called Ekria, two miles from Venice, and all the men in her, sauing thirtie, or ther about, lost.

Within eight dayes after fell Corpus Christi day, which was a day amongst them of procession, in which was shewed the plate and treasure of Venice, which is esteemed to be worth two millions of pounds, but I do not accompt it woorth halfe a quarter of that money, except there be moze then I sawe. To speake of the sumptuousnesse of the Copes, and Vestments of the Church, I leaue, but the trueth is, they bee very sumptuous, many of them set all ouer with pearle, and made of cloth of golde. And for the Iesuits, I thinke there be as many at Venice, as there be in Colen.

The Description
of Augusta
in Germanie.

Venice.

The number of Iewes is there thought to be 1000, who dwell in a certaine place of the Citie, and haue also a place, to which they resort to pray, which is called the Iewes Synagogue. They all, and their offspring vse to weare red caps, (so they are commaunded) because they may thereby be knowne from other men. For my further knowledge of these people, I went into their Synagogue vpon a Saturday, which is their Sabbath day: and I found them in their seruice of prayers, very deuoute: they receiue the fine bookes of Moises, and honour them by carrying them about their Church, as the Papists doe their crosse.

The number
of Iewes in
Venice.

Their Synagogue is in forme round, and the people sit round about it, and in the midst, there is a place for him that readeth to the rest: as for their apparell, all of them weare a large white lawne ouer their garments, which reacheth from their head, downe to the ground.

The Psalmes they sing as wee doe, hauing no image, nor vsing any maner of idolatrie: their error is, that they beleue not in Christ, nor yet receiue the New Testament: This Citie of Venice is very faire, and greatly to be commended, wherein is good order for all things: and also it is very strong and populous: it standeth vpon the maine Sea, and hath many Islands about it, that belong to it.

To tell you of the duke of Venice, and of the Seignioz: there is one chosen that euer beareth the name of a duke, but in truely hee is but seruant to the Seignioz, for of himselfe hee can doe little: it is no other wise with him, then with a Priest that is at Masse vpo a festiual day, which putting on his golden garment, seemeth to be a great man, but if any man come vnto him, and craue some friendship at his handes, hee will say, you must goe to the Pastors of the Parish, for I can not pleasure you, other wise then by preferring of your suite: and so it is with the duke of Venice, if any man hauing a suite, come to him, and make his complaint, and deliuer his supplication, it is not in him to helpe him, but hee will tell him, You must come this day, or that day, and then I will preferre your suite to the Seignioz, and doe you the best friendship that I may. Furthermore, if any man bring a letter vnto him, hee may not open it, but in the presence of the Seignioz, and they are to see it first, which being read, perhaps they will deliuer it to him, perhaps not. Of the Seignioz there be about thre hundred, and about fourtie of the priuie Counsell of Venice, who vsually are arrayed in gownes of crimisen Satten, or crimisen Damaske, when they sit in Counsell.

In the Citie of Venice, no man may weare a weapon, except he be a souldier for the Seignioz: or a souldier of Padua, or a gentleman of great countenance, and yet he may not do that without licence.

As for the women of Venice, they be rather monsters, then women. Every Shoemakers or Taylors wife will haue a gowne of silke, and one to carie vpher traine, wearing their hooes very neere halfe a yard high from the ground: if a stranger meete one of them, he will surely thinke by the face that she goeth with, that he meeteth a Lady.

The excess of
the women of
Venice.

I departed from this Citie of Venice, vpon Midsummer day, being the foure and twentieth of Iune, and thinking that the ship would the next day depart, I stayed, and lay a shippeboord all night, and we were made beleue from time to time, that we should this day, and that day depart, but we caried still, till the fourteenth of Iuly, and then with scant winde wee set sayle, and sayled that day and that night, not aboue fiftie Italian miles: and vpon the sixteene day at night, the winde turned flat contrary, so that the Master knewe not what to doe: and about the fift houre of the night, which we reckon to be about one of the clocke after midnight, the Pilot descried a saille, and at last perceiued it to be a Gallie of the Turkes, wherempon we were in great feare.

His embars
king at Venice
for Ierusalem.

The Master being a wise fellowe, and a good sayler, beganne to deuise howe to escape the danger, and to loose little of our way: and while both he, and all of vs were in our dunnys, God sent vs a merry gale of winde, that we ranne threescore and tenne leagues before it was twelue a clocke the next day, and in sixe dayes after we were seuen leagues past Zante. And vpon Monday morning, being the thre and twentie of the same moneth, we came in the sight of Candia which day the winde came contrary, with great blasts, and stormes, vntill the eight and twentie of the same moneth: in which time, the Mariners cried out vpon me, because I was an Englishman, & sayd, I was no good Christian, and wished that I were in the midst of the Sea, saying, that they, and the shippe, were the worse for me. I answered, truely it may well be, for I thinke my selfe the worst creature in the worlde, and consider you your selues also, as I doe my selfe, and then vse your discretion. The Frier preached, and the sermon being done, I was demaunded whether I did vnderstand him: I answered, yea, and tolde the Frier himselfe, thus you sayde in your sermon, that we were not all good Christians, or else it were not possible for vs to haue such weather: to which I answered, be you well assured, that we are not indeede

all

all good Christians, for there are in the ship some that hold very unchristian opinions: so for that time I satisfied him, although (they said) that I would not see, when they said the procession, and honoured their images, and prayed to our Lady, and S. Marke.

There was also a Gentleman, an Italian, which was a passenger in the ship, and he tolde me what they said of me, because I would not sing, *Salve Regina*, and *Aue Maria*, as they did: I told them, that they that praised to so many, or sought helpe of any other, then of God the Father, or of Iesus Christ his onely sonne, goe a wrong way to worke, and robbed God of his honour, and wrought their owne destructions.

All this was told the friers, but I heard nothing of it in three daies after: and then at eurning prayer, they sent the purser about with the image of our Lady to euey one to kisse, & I perceiuing it went another way from him, and would not see it: yet at last he fetched his course about, so that he came to me, & offered it to me as he did to others, but I refused it: whereupon there was a great sicke: the patron and all the friers were told of it, and euey one saide I was a Lutheran, and so called me: but two of the friers that were of greatest authoritie, seemed to beare mee better good will then the rest, and trauelled to the patron in my behalfe, and made all well againe.

The second day of August we arrived in Cyprus, at a towne called *Missagh*: the people there be very rude, and like beasts, and no better, they eat their meat sitting vpon the ground, with their legges a crosse like tailors, their beds for the most part be hard stoness, but yet some of them haue faire mattraces to lie vpon.

Cyprus,
Missagh.

Ioppa.

The Bascha
of Ioppa.

Upon thursday the eight of August we came to Ioppa in a small barke, which we hired betwixt *Missagh* and *Salina*, and could not be suffered to come on land till noone the next day, and then we were permitted by the great *Bascha*, who sat vpon the top of a hill to see vs sent away. Being come on land, we might not enter into any house for victuals, but were to content our selues with our owne prouision, and that which we bought to carie with vs was taken from vs. I had a paire of stirrups, which I bought at Venice to serue me in my iourney, and trying to make them fit for me, when the *Bascha* saw me vpon before the rest of the companie, he sent one to dismount me, and to strike me, whereupon I turned me to the *Bascha*, and made a long legge, saying, *Grand mercie Signior*: and after a while we were horsed vpon little asses, and sent away, with about fiftie light horsemen to be our conduct through the wildernesse, called *Deserta foelix*, who made vs good sport by the way with their pikes, gunnes, and sauchins.

Rama.

That day being *S. Laurence* day, we came to *Rama*, which is tenne Italian miles from *Ioppa*, and there we stayed that night, and payed to the captaine of the castell, euey man a chekin, which is seuen shillings and two pence sterling. So then we had a new gard of souldiers, and left the other.

The house we lodged in at *Rama* had a dooze so low to enter into, that I was faine to creepe in, as it were vpon my knees, & within it are thre roomes to lodge traouellers that come that way: there are no beds, except a man buy a mat, and lay it on the ground, that is all the prouision, without stooles or benches to sit vpon. Our victuals were brought vs out of the towne, as hennes, egges, bread, great store of fruite, as pomgranates, figges, grapes, oyringes, and such like, and drinke we drue out of the well. The towne it selfe is so ruinated, that I take it rather to be a heape of stoness then a towne.

Then the next morning we thought to haue gone away, but we could not be permitted that day, so we stayed there till two of the clocke the next morning, and then with a fresh gard of souldiers we departed toward *Ierusalem*. We had not ride sine English miles, but we were incountred with a great number of the Arabians, who stayed vs, and would not suffer vs to passe till they had somewhat, so it cost vs for all our gard aboute twentie shillings a man betwixt *Ioppa* and *Ierusalem*. These Arabians troubled vs oftentimes. Our *Truchman* that payed the money for vs was stricken downe, and had his head broken because he would not giue them as much as they asked: and they that should haue rescued both him and vs, stood still, and durst doe nothing, which was to our cost.

Troopes of
the Arabians.

His arriuall
in the sight of
Ierusalem.

Being come within sight of *Ierusalem*, the maner is to kneele downe, and giue God thanks, that it hath pleased him to bring vs to that holy place where he himselfe had bene: and there we leaue our horses, and go on foote to the towne, and being come to the gates, there they tooke our names, and our fathers names, and so we were permitted to go to our lodgings.

The gouernoz of the house met vs a mile out of the towne, and very courteously bade vs all welcome, and brought vs to the monastrie. The gates of the citie are all couered with yron, the entrance into the house of the Christians is a very low & narrow dooze, barred or plated with yron, and then come we into a very darke entrey: the place is a monastrie: there we lay, & dieted of free roff, we fared reasonable well, the bread and wine was excellent good, the chambers cleane, & all the

the meat well serued in, with cleane linnen.

We lay at the monasterie two dayes, friday and saturday, and then we went to Bethlem with two or three of the friers of the house with vs: in the way thither we saw many monuments, as:

The mountaine where the Angell tooke by Abacuck by the haire, and brought him to Daniel in the Lions denne.

The monuments in and about Ierusalem

The fountaine of the prophet Ieremie.

The place where the wise men met that went to Bechlem to worship Christ, where is a fountaine of stone.

Being come to Bethlem we sawe the place where Christ was bozne, which is now a chappell with two altars, whereupon they say masse: the place is built with gray marble, and hath bene beautifull, but now it is partly decayed.

Neere thereto is the sepulchze of the innocents slaine by Herod, the sepulchzes of Paul, of Ierome, and of Eusebius.

Also a litle from this monasterie is a place vnder the ground, where the virgine Mary abode with Christ when Herod sought him to destroy him.

We stayed at Bethlem that night, and the next day we went from thence to the mountaines of Iudea, which are about eight miles from Ierusalem, where are the ruines of an olde monasterie. In the mid way from the monasterie to Ierusalem is the place where Iohn Baptist was bozne, being now an olde monasterie, and cattell kept in it. Also a mile from Ierusalem is a place called Inuentio sanctæ crucis, where the wood was found that made the crosse.

In the citie of Ierusalem we saw the hall where Pilat sate in iudgement when Christ was condemned, the staires whereof are at Rome, as they told vs. A litle from thence is the house where the virgin Mary was bozne.

There is also the piscina or fishpoole where the sicke folkes were healed, which is by the wals of Ierusalem. But the poole is now dry.

The mount of Caluarie is a great church, and within the dooze therof, which is litle, and barred with yron, and five great holes in it to looke in, like the holes of cauerne doozes in London, they sit that are appointed to receiue our money with a carpet vnder them vpon a banke of stone, & their legs a crosse like tailors: hauing paid our money, we are permitted to go into the church: right against the church dooze is the graue where Christ was buried, with a great long stone of white marble ouer it, and rayled about, the outside of the sepulchze is very soule, by meanes that euery man scrapes his name and marke vpon it, and is ill kept.

Within the sepulchze is a partition, & in the further part thereof is a place like an altar, where they say masse, and at the dooze thereof is the stone whereupon the Angell sate when he sayde to Marie, He is risen, which stone was also rowled to the dooze of the sepulchze.

The altar stone within the sepulchze is of white marble, the place able to containe but foure persons, right ouer the sepulchze is a deuise or lancerne for light, and ouer that a great loue, such as are in England in ancient houses. There is also the chappell of the sepulchze, and in the mid of thereof is a canopic as it were of a bed, with a great sort of Estridge egges hanging at it, with castles of silke and lampes.

Behinde the sepulchze is a litle chappell for the Chaldeans and Syrians.

Vpon the right hand comming into the church is the tombe of Baldwine king of France, and of his sonne: and in the same place the tombe of Melchisedech.

There is a chappell also in the same church erected to S. Helen, through which we go vpon to the place where Christ was crucified: the stayes are fiftie steps high, there are two altars in it: before the high altar is the place where the crosse stood, the hole whereof is trimmed about with siluer, and the depth of it is halfe a mans arme deepe: the rent also of the mountaine is there to be seene in the creuis, wherein a man may put his arme.

S. Helens chappell.

Vpon the other side of the mount of Caluarie is the place where Abraham would haue sacrificed his sonne. There also is a chappell, and the place paved with stones of diuers colours.

There is also the house of Annas the high Priest, and the Olive tree whereunto Christ was bound when he was whipt. Also the house of Caiphaz, and by it the prison where Christ was kept, which is but the roome of one man, and hath no light but the opening of the dooze.

Without Ierusalem in the vally of Iosaphat is a church vnder the ground, like to the shrouds in Pauls, where the sepulchze of the virgine Mary is: the staires be very broad, and vpon the staires going downe are two sepulchzes: vpon the left hand lieth Iosaphat, and vpon the right hand lieth Ioachim and Anna, the father and mother of the virgine Mary.

Going out of the vally of Iosaphat we came to mount Oliuet, where Christ praied vnto his father before his death: and there is to be seene (as they tolde me) the water & blood that fell from the

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the eyes of Christ. A litle higher vpon the same mount is the place where the Apostles slept, and watched not. At the foot of the mount is the place where Christ was imprisoned.

Vpon the mountaine also is the place where Christ stood when he wept ouer Ierusalem, and where he ascended into heaue[n].

His departure
from Ierusalem
1000.

Now hauing seene all these monuments, I with my company set from Ierusalem, the 20 day of August, and came againe to Ioppa the 22 of the same moneth, where wee tooke shipping presently for Tripolis, and in foure dayes we came to Mecina the place where the ships lie that come for Tripolis,

Tripolis in Syria.

The citie of Tripolis is a mile and a halfe within the land, so that no ship can come further then Mecina: so that night I came thither, where I lay nine daies for passage, and at last we imbarked our selues in a good ship of Venice called the new Naue Ragafona. We entred the ship the second of September, the fourth we set saile, the seventh we came to Salina, which is 140 miles from Tripolis: there we stayed foure dayes to take in more lading, in which meane time I fell sicke of an ague, but recovered againe, I praise God.

Salina.

Salina is a ruinated citie, and was destroyed by the Turke ten yeeres past: there are in it now but seenteene persons, women and childzen. A litle from this citie of Salina is a salt piece of ground, where the water groweth salt that rai[n]eth vpon it.

Missagh a towne
in Cyprus.

Thursday the 21 of September, we came to Missagh, & there we stayed eight dayes for our lading: the 18 of September before we came to Missagh, and within ten miles of the towne, as we lay at an anker, because the winde was contrary, there came a great boat full of men to boord vs, they made an excuse to seeke for foure men which (they said) our ship had taken from theirs about Tripolis, but our captaine would not suffer any of them to come in to vs.

The next morning they came to vs againe with a great gally, manned with 500 men at y least, wher vpon our captaine sent the boat to them with twelue men to know their pleasure: they said they sought for 4 men, and therfore would talke with our maister: so then the maisters mate was sent them, and him they kept, and went their way: the next morning they came againe with him, & with three other gallies, and then would needes speake with our captaine, who went to them in a gowne of crimson damaske, and other very bzau[e] apparell, and five or sixe other gentlemen richly apparelled also. They hauing the Turks safe conduct, they wed it to the captaine of the gallies, and laio it vpon his head, charging him to obey it: so with much adoe, and with the gift of 100 pieces of golde we were quit of them, and had our man againe.

Candie.

That day as aforesaid, we came to Missagh, and there stayed eight dayes, and at last departed towards Candie, with a scant winde.

The 11 day of October we were boorded with foure gallies, manned with 1200 men, which also made a secuelesse arrant, and troubled vs very much, but our captaines passport, and the gift of 100 chekins discharged all.

Zante.

Istria.

The 27 of October we passed by Zante with a merrie winde, the 29 by Corfu, and the thirde of Nouember we arrived at Istria, and there we left our great ship, and tooke small boates to bring vs to Venice.

The 9 of Nouember I arrived again at Venice in good health, where I staid nine daies, and the 25 of the same moneth I came to Augusta, and staid there but one day.

The 27 of Nouember I set towards Nuremberg where I came the 29, and there staid till the 9 of December, and was very well interteined of the English marchants there: and the gouernors of the towne sent me and my company sixtene gallons of excellent good wine.

From thence I went to Frankford, from Frankford to Collen, from Collen to Arnam, from Arnam to Vtreight, from Vtreight to Dort, from Dort to Antwerpe, from Antwerpe to Flushing, from Flushing to London, where I arrived vpon Twelue eue in Iaferie, and gaue thanks to God, hauing finished my iourney to Ierusalem and home againe, in the space of nine moneths and five dayes.

The passeport made by the great Maister of Malta vnto the Englishmen in the barke *Raynolds.* 1582.



Rere Hugo de Loubeux Verdala, Dei gratia sacrae domus hospitalis sancti Iohannis Hierosolymitani magister humilissimus, pauperumq; Iesu Christi custos, vniuersis & singulis principibus ecclesiasticis & secularibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis, ducibus, marchionibus, baronibus, nobilibus, capitaneis, vicedominis, praefectis, castellanis, admiralijs, & quibuscunq; trinemium vel aliorum nauigiorum patronis, ac ciuitatum rectoribus, potestatibus ac magistratibus, ceterisque

caterisque officialibus, & quibuscunque personis cuiusvis dignitatis, gradus, status & conditionis fuerint, vbilibet locorum & terrarum constitutis, salutem.

Notum facimus & in verbo veritatis attestamus, come nel mese di Maggio proximo passato le nostre galere vennero dal viaggio di Barberia, doue hauendo mandato per soccorrere a vn galionetto de Christiani che hauea dato trauerso in quelle parti, essendo arrinati sopra questa isola alla parte de ponente trouarono vna nave Inglese, sopra cargo de essa il magnifico Giouanni Keale, & David Filly patrono, volendo la reconoscere che nave fosse, han visto, che se metteua in ordine per defenderi, dubitando che dette nostre galere fossero de inimici: & per che vn marinaio rinoltose contra la volonta de detti magnifico Giouanni Keale & David Filly, habbi tirato vn tiro di artiglieria verso vna de dette galere, & che non se amangnaua la vela de la Maestra secondo la volonta de detti magnifico Giouanni Keale & David Filly patrono, furimensata detta nave nel presente general porto di Malta, secondo l'ordine del venerando Generale de dette galere, & essendo qua, monsignor Inquisitore ha impedita quella per conto del sancto officio, & si diede parte alla santità di nostro signor Gregorio papa xiiij. A la fin fu licenciata per andarsene al suo viaggio. Han donq, humilmentē supplicato detti magnifico Giouanni Keale & David Filly per nome & parte delli magnifici Edwardo Osborn senatore & Richardo Staper mercanti Inglese della nobile citta di Londra, & anco di Thomaso Wilkinson scriuano, piloti, nocheri, & marinari, gli volemmo dare le nostre lettere patente & salvo condotto, accio che potranno andare & ritornare quando gli parera commodò con alcuna roba & mercantia a loro bennista: si come noi, essendo cosa giusta & che retornera commodà a nostra religione & a questi forestiers, per tenor de li presenti se gli habbiamo concesse con le conditione però infra scritte, videlicet:

Che ogni volta che detti mercadanti con sopradetta nave o con altra non porteranno mercantie de contra bando, & che constara per fede autentica & con lettere patente de santità, poteran liber almente victualiarise de tutte le victuarie necessarie, & praticar in questa isola & dominij, & poi partirsene & seguire suo viaggio per doue volessero in leuante o altroue, come tutti altri vasselli & specialmente de Francesi & altri nationi, & di vendere & comprare qual si voglia mercantia a loro benuista.

Item, che potera portare poluere de canone & di archibuso, salnitro, carboni di petra rosetta, platine de rame, stugno, acciale, ferro, carise commune, tela grossa bianca per far tende de galere, balle de ferro de calibro, petre de molino sine, arbore & antenne de galere, bastardi & altri. Et in conclusionē, hauenda visto che loro per il tempo che v restarano qua, si portorno da fideli & Catholici Christiani, & che sua santità habbia trouato bono il salvo condotto del gran Turko a loro concesso, per il timor della armata Turkesca & di altri vasselli de inimici, inherendo alla volonta di sua santità, & massime per che hanera de andare & passare per diuersi lochi & tanto lontani come Inghilterra, Flandra, & tutti parti di ponente, & in altroue, a noi ha parso farle le presente nostre lettere patente come fidele conuersatore nostro, accio piu securamente & senza obstaculo possa andare & ritornare quando li parera con detta nave o con altre, a loro benuista. Per tanto donque tutti & ciascun di voi sudetti affecliuosamente pregamo, che per qual si voglia de vostra iurisdictione, alla quale detto magnifico Giouanni Keale & David Filly a nome quo supra con la nave & marinari de detti loro principali o altri caschera, nauigare, passare, & venire sicuramente, alla libera, senza alcuno disturbo o altro impedimento li lasciate, & facciate lasciare stare, & passare, tornare, & quando li parera partire, talmente che per amore & contemplatione nostra il detto magnifico Giouanni Keale a nome quo supra con le nave, marinari, & mercantia non habbi difficulta, fastidio & ritenione alcuna, anzi se gli dia ogni agiuto & fauore, cosa degna di voi, giusta, & a noi gratissima, de recompensaruita con vguale & maggior seruitto, quando dall' occasione ne saremo rechiesti. Et finalmente commandammo a tutti & qual si voglia religiofi & frati de nostra religione di qual si voglia cōditione, grado & stato che siano, & a tutti riceuntori & procuratori nostri in tutti & qual si voglia priorati nostri deputati & deputandi in verun' di santa obedientia, & a tutti nostri vassalli & alla iurisdictione di nostra religione soggetti, che in tale & per tale tenghino & reputino il detto magnifico Giouanni Keale a nome vt supra, nave, marinari, & mercantia, senza permettere, che nel detto suo viaggio, o in alcun altro luogo sia molestato, o in qual si voglia maniera impedito, anzi tutte le cose sue & negotij loro sian da voi agioutati & continuamente fauoriti. In cuius rei testimoniam Bulla nostra magistralis in cera nigra presentibus est impressa. Data Melite in conuentu nostro die duodecimo Mensis Iuly, 1582.

The same in English.

Frier Hugo of Loubeux Verdala, by the grace of God, master of the holy house, the hospital of S. Iohn at Ierusalem, and an humble keeper of the pooze of Iesus Chrit, to all & euery prince ecclesiastical & secular, archbishops, bishops, Dukes, Marqueses, Barons, Capteines, Vicelords, Baiors, Castellanes, Admirals, and whatsoeuer patrons of Gallies, or other greater shippes, and gouernors of cities, potentates and magistrates, and other officers and persons whatsoeuer,

of what dignitie, degree, state and condition soeuer they be, dwelling in all places and landes, greeting.

We make it knowne, and in the word of truth do witness, that in the moneth of May last past, our gallies came on the voyage from Barbarie, where hauing commandement to succour a little ship of the Christians which was diuen ouer into that part, being arriued vpon this Island on the West part they found one English ship vnder the charge of the worshipfull Iohn Keele, and Dauid Fillie master: and our men willing to know what ship it was, they seemed to put themselves in order for their defence, doubting that the said our gallies were of the enemies, & therefore one mariner attempted contrary to the will of the worshipfull Iohn Keele, and Dauid Fillie master, and had shot off a piece of artillerie against one of the said gallies, and because she would not strike amaine her sayle, according to the will of the saide worshipfull Iohn Keele and Dauid Fillie master, the said ship was brought backe againe vnto the present port of Malta, according to the order of the reuerend generall of the said gallies: and in being there, maister Inquisitor said it by authoritie of the holy office, and in that behalfe by the holinesse of our Lord pope Gregorie the thirteenth, in the end was licenced to depart on her voyage. They therefore the said worshipfull Iohn Keele and Dauid Fillie, in the name and behalfe of the worshipfull master Edward Osborne Alderman, and Richard Scaper, English marchants of the noble citie of London, haue humbly besought together with Thomas Wilkinson the purser, pilots, master and mariners, that we would giue our letters patents, and safe conducts, that they might goe and returne, when they shall see opportunitie, with their goods and merchandizes at their pleasure: whereupon the thing seeming vnto vs iust, and that it might be for the profite of our religion, and of these strangers, by the tenor of these presents we haue granted the same to them: yet, with the conditions hereunder written. viz.

That euery time the said marchants of the said ship, or with any other, shall not bring such marchandize as is forbidden, and that by sufficient prooffe and letters testimoniall it appeareth that they are free from the infections of the plague, they may victuall themselves with all necessarie victuals, and traffike with vs, and in this Island and dominion, and afterwarde may depart and follow their voyage whither they will into the Levant or else where, as all other vessels, and especially of France and other nations do, and sell and buy whatsoeuer marchandize they shall thinke good.

Item, that they may bring powder for cannon and haquebush, saltpeter, cole of Newcastle, plates of latten, tinne, Steele, yron, rōmon karlsies white, course canuas to make saile for the gallies, halles of yron for shot, fine millstones, trees & masts for gallies, litle and others, and in conclusion, hauing seene that they for the time of their abode here, did behaue themselves like faithfull and catholike Christians, & that his holines hath allowed the safe conduct of the great Turke to them granted for feare of the Turkish armie, and other vessels of the enemy, submitting our selues to the pleasures of his holinesse, and especially because our people haue occasion to passe by diuers places so farre off, as England, Flanders, and all parts Westwards, and in other places, we haue vouchsafed to make these our letters patents, as our faithfull assistant, so as moze surely, and without let they may go and returne when they shall thinke good, with the said ship or with others at their pleasure. We therefore pray all and euery of your subjects effectually that by what part soeuer of your iurisdiction, vnto the which the said worshipfull Iohn Keele and Dauid Fillie by name abouesaid, with the ship and mariners of the said principall place or other, shall haue access, saile, & passe, and come safely with libertie without any disturbance or other impediment, that you giue leaue, and cause leaue to be giuen that they may passe, stay and returne, and when they please, depart, in such sort, that for our loue & contentation the said worshipfull Iohn Keele, with the ship and mariners haue no let, hinderance, or retention, also that you giue all helpe and fauour, a thing worthy of your iustice, and to vs most acceptable, to be recompenced with equal and greater seruice, when vpon occasion it shall be required.

And finally, we command all, and whatsoeuer religious people, and brothers of our religion, of whatsoeuer condition, degree, and state they be, and all other receiuers and procurators, in all and whatsoeuer our priories deputed, and to be deputed by vertue of the holy obedience, and all our people, and all that are subiect to the iurisdiction of our religion, that in, and by the same they hold, and repute the said worshipfull Iohn Keele in the name as abouesaid, the ship, mariners, and marchandize, without let in the same their voyage, or in any other place, that they be not molested, nor in any wise hindered, but that in all their causes and businesse they be of you holpen, and furthered continually. In witness whereof, our seale of government is impressed to these presents in blake ware. Given at Malta in our Conuent, the twelfth of the moneth of July, in the yeere 1582.

The Queenes Commission vnder her great seale, to her seruant
 master *William Harborne*, to be her maiesties Ambassadour or Agent,
 in the partes of Turkie. 1582.



LIZABETHA, Dei optimi Maximi, conditoris, & rectoris vnici clemencia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, verâ fidei contra Idololatrias falsò Christi nomen profitentes inuicta, & potentissima propugnatrix, vniuersis, & singulis præsentibus has literas visuris, & inspecturis, salutem, Cùm augustissimus, & inuictissimus princeps, Zultan Murad Can, Turciæ regni Dominator potentissimus, imperiique Orientis Monarcha, sædus, amicitiamque nobiscum percussisset, iuraueritque, (quam nos perpetuis futuris temporibus, quantum in nobis erit, inuiolatè seruare destinamus) ad eamque magis ornandam, illustrandamque concesserit idem augustissimus Imperator subditis nostris liberam suas merces exercendi rationem in omnibus Musulmanici imperij sui partibus, cum iam ampla priuilegiolorum concessione, quam alijs bonis principibus, socijs, & federatis nostris largitus est, quantum priuilegiolorum donationem nos gratam, acceptamque habentes, pari cum animi gratitudine colere certum habemus, deliberatumque, nihil in votis habentes potius, quam bonorum erga nos principum animos beneuolos honoratissima mente fouere, promereri que: Sciatis, nos de singulari erga nos, obsequiumque nostrum, fide, obseruantia, prudentia, & dextera, ac multum nobis chari Gulielmi Harborne, è custodibus corporis nostri vnici, plurimum confidentes, eum Oratorem, Nuntium, Procuratorem, & Agentem nostrum certum & indubitatum ordinamus, facimus, & constituimus, per præsentibus dantes ei, & concedentes potestatem, & autoritatem, nomine nostro, & pro nobis prædicti amicitiaæ sædus confirmandi, priuilegiolorum concessione in manus suas capiendi, ratamque habendi, omnibus & singulis subditis nostris, Musulmanicis oris terrisque negotiantibus, pro Maiestatis nostræ autoritate præcipiendi, mandandique, vt sint in suis commercijs, quamdiu, quotiesque cum Musulmanicis versantur, dictorum priuilegiolorum præscripto obtemperantes in omnibus, ac per omnia, ad obsequia tanta amicitia digna se componentes, ac in delinquentes in sædus nostrum iustitiam exequatur. Potestatem, & autoritatem ei damus in omnes, & singulos subditos nostros in quibuscunque & locis, & partibus Musulmanici Imperij dominationi subiectis negotiantes, constituendi emporiorum suorum sedes, in quibus voluerit portibus, & ciuitatibus, in alijs vetandi, in constitutis autem emporiorum sedibus, consules curandi, leges præceptionesque ferendi, condendique, quarum ex præscripto dicti nostri subditi, & eorum quilibet sese publicè, & priuatim gerant, eorum violatores corrigendi, castigandique, omnia denique & singula faciendi, perimplendique, quæ ad dictorum subditorum nostrorum, honestam gubernationem, & commercij exercendi in illis partibus rationem pertinent: promittentes bona fide, & in verbo Regio, nos ratum, gratum, & firmum habituras, quæcunque dictus Orator, & Agens noster, à legibus nostris non abhorrentia in præmissis aut præmissorum aliquo fecerit. In cuius rei testimonium, has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes, & sigilli nostri impressione iussimus muniri: Datum è castro nostro Windesoriæ, 20. die Mensis Nouembris, Anno Iesu Christi 1582. regni vero nostri, vicefimo quarto.

The same in English.

ELizabeth, by the clemencie of the most good and most great God, the only creator and gouernour of all things, Queene of England, France, and Ireland, inuincible, and most mightie defender of the true faith, against all Idolaters falsly professing the name of Christ, to all and singular persons, to whose sight and view these our present letters may come, greeting. Whereas the most renowned, and most inuincible Prince Zultan Murad Can, the most mighty gouernour of the kingdom of Turkie, and Monarch of the East Empire, hath entered into league and friendship with vs, (which we for our part, as much as lieth in vs, doe purpose solemnly, and inuiolable to keepe in all times to come) and whereas for the better countenauncing and authorizing of the same, the foresayd renowned Emperour hath granted vnto our subiects free libertie of traffique, in all the partes of his sacred Empire, with as ample and large a grant of priuileges, as is giuen to other good Princes our neighbours and confederates; the grant of which priuileges, we taking very thankfully, and acceptably, are certainly, and throughtly determined to keepe and maintaine, with the like goodnesse and curtesie of minde, desiring nothing moze, then with an honourable respect to nourish, and deserue the beneuolent affectiones of good Princes toward vs: Know ye, that we thinking well, and hauing good confidence in the singular trustinesse,

obedience, wisdom, and disposition of our welbeloued seruant William Hareborne, one of the Esquiers of our body, towards vs, and our seruice, doe by these presents, make, ordaine and constitute him our true and vndoubted Orator, Messenger, Deputie, and Agent. Giuing and granting vnto him power and authoritie, in our name, and for vs, to confirme the foresaid league of friendship, to take into his hands, and to ratifie the grant of the priuileges, and to command, and enioyne by the authoritie of our Maiestie, all and singular our Subiects trading and dealing in any of the coastes and kingdomes of that Empire; that as long as they remaine in traffique with his subiects, they be obedient to the prescription and order of the foresaid priuileges, applying themselves in all things, and through all things, to such dueties and seruices as appertaine to so great a league and friendship, and the offenders agaynst this our league to receiue iustice, and punishment accordingly. We further giue vnto him power and authoritie ouer all and singular our Subiects, dealing, and vsing traffique in any place or part whatsoeuer, subject to the gouernement of that Empire, to appoint the places of their traffiques, in what Hauen or Citie it shall please him, and to prohibite them from all other places, and wheresoeuer their traffiques are appointed to be kept, there to make and create Consuls or Gouernours, to enact lawes and statutes, by the vertue and tenor whereof all our foresaid subiects, and euery one of them, shall both publicly and priuately vse and behaue themselves, to correct and punish the breakers of those lawes: and last of all, to doe and fulfill all and singular things whatsoeuer, which shall seeme requisite and conuenient for the honest and orderly gouernment of our said subiects, and of the maner of their traffique in those parts. Promising assuredly, and in the word of a Prince, that whatsoeuer shall be done of our said Orator and Agent, in all, or in any of the premises, not repugnant and contrary to our lawes, shall be accepted, ratified, and confirmed by vs. In witnesse whereof, we haue caused these our letters to be made patentes, and our seale thereunto to be appended. Given at our Castle of Windsoze, the 20. day of Nouember, in the yeere of Christ 1582. and of our raigne the 24.

The Queenes Letter to the great Turke 1582. written in commendation of Master Hareborne, when he was sent Ambassadour.



LIZABETH &c. Augustissimo inuictissimoque principi, &c. Cum ad postulatam nostrum Cæsarea vestra Maiestas, anno saluatoris nostri Iesu 1580. pacis fœdus nobiscum pepigerit, coniunctum cum liberalissima priuilegiorum quorundam concessione, quorum beneficio subditi nostri cum omni securitate turissimè liberrimèque ad vniuersas & singulas Musulmanici imperij vestri partes terra marique proficisci, inisque commercij exercendi gratia, negotiari, habitare, manere, exindeque ire & redire cum volent queant, ab ijs qui sub Cæsarea vestra Maiestate in magistratu sunt vbique locorum protegendi defendendique sine vlla vel corporum, vel bonorum læsione: nos tantæ concessionis beneficium gratum acceptumque habentes, quantum in nobis est, approbamus confirmamusque: pollicentes in verbo regio, quod nos eandem pacem sine vlla violatione sarram tectamque conferuabimus: faciemusque; vt subditi nostri priuilegiorum sibi indultorum concessione ita vtantur, vt Cæsaream vestram Maiestatem magnificentiissimæ suæ liberalitatis nunquam pœnitere queat. Quoniam autem concessionis huius virtus in vsu potius quàm verbis, Maiestatis viriúsque nostrum sententiâ, ponenda videtur, volumus hunc mandatarium virum Guilielmum Hareborne, ex satellitijs quibus ad corporis nostri tutelam vtimur vnum, virum compluribus virtutibus ornatum, ad Cæsaream vestram Maiestatem ablegare, qui tum nomine nostro vobis gratias ageret, tum vt eius opera vteremur ad eam subditorum nostrorum mercimoniorum rationem stabiliendam, tam in Imperiali vestra ciuitate Constantinopoli, quàm alijs imperij vestri Musulmanici locis, quæ ex præscripto priuilegiorum, Cæsareæ vestræ Maiestatis benignitate, conceditur, & ex vsu subditorum vtriusque nostrum erit. Ad quam rem quoniam opus illi erit Cæsareæ vestræ Maiestatis autoritate, summa contentione ab eadem rogamus, velit id agere apud omnes qui sub se in magistratu sunt, vt quibuscunq; poterunt melioribus modis huic nostro mandatario in Cæsareæ vestræ Maiestatis placito exequendo, adiutores sint & esse velint. Ei enim hanc curam demandauimus, in qua quàm fidem suam sit honestè liberaturus erga Maiestatem vtriusque nostrum neuiquam dubitamus: cui etiam, vt in omnibus sint obtemperantes nostri subditi, quantum Cæsareæ vestræ Maiestatis concessio patitur, volumus. Præterea, cum præclarus vir Mustafa sacre Cæsareæ vestræ Maiestatis Musulmannorum interpres egregiam nauarit operam vt hoc inter nos fœdus fieret, rogamus summoperè vt in nostram gratiam eum in Mustafaracorum

rum ordinem Cætare vestra Maiestas recipere dignetur. Si in his aliisque omnibus honestis causis hic noster agens subditique nostri Imperatoræ vestræ sublimitatis æquanimitem sententia, florebit inter has gentes nobile commercium, & nos omnibus officijs huic vestræ Maiestatis favori & beneuolentiæ (si vlla ratione rebus vestris commodare poterimus) respondere libentissimè semper paratæ erimus. Deus optimus maximus mundi opifex, &c.

The same in English.

ELizabeth by the grace of the most mightie God and only creator of heauen and earth, of England, France, and Ireland Queene, the most inuincible and most mighty defender of the Christian faith against all kind of idolatries of all that liue among the Christians and fallily profess the name of Christ, vnto the most Imperiall and most inuincible prince, Sultan Murad Can, the most mighty ruler of the kingdom of Turkie, sole aboue all, and most soueraigne Monarch of the East Empire, greeting.

Whereas at our request your Imperiall Maiestie in the yeere of our Saviour Iesus 1580. hath entered into a league of peace with vs, wherunto was vnited a most large & bountifull grant of certaine priuileges, by benefite whereof our subiects may with all securitie most safely and freely traueil by Sea and land into all and singular parts of your Musulmanlike Empire, and in the same exercising the trade of merchandise, may traffique, dwell, remaine, depart from thence, and returne thither at their pleasure, and in all places be maintained and defended from all damage of bodie and goods, by such as are in authoritie vnder your Imperiall Maiestie: we thankfully and graciously receiuing the benefite of so great a priuilege, as much as in vs lieth doe approue and confirme the same, promising in the worde of a Prince, that wee will keepe the said league perfect and inuiolable, and will cause our subiects so to vse the grant of the priuileges giuen vnto them, as your Imperiall Maiestie shall neuer haue occasion to repent you of your most princely liberalitie. And because the force of this grant, in the iudgement of both our maiesties, seemeth rather to consist in the vse thereof, then in the wordes, we thought good to send vnto your Imperiall maiestie this our ambassadour William Hareborne, one of the Esquiers of our body, which both on our behalfe should yeeld thanks vnto your maiestie, and also that we might vse his good iudgement for the establishing of such order in our subiects trade of merchandise, as well in your Imperiall citie of Constantinople, as in other places of your Musulmanlike Empire, as according to the prescript of the priuileges is granted by your princely maiesties goodnesse, and shall be for the benefite of both our subiects. For performance whereof, because hee standeth in neede of your Imperiall Maiesties authoritie, wee earnestly beseech the same, that you would cause all those which bee in authoritie vnder your Highnesse, by all their best meanes to aide and assist this our Ambassadour in executing this your Imperiall Maiesties pleasure, for vnto him wee haue committed this charge: wherein how honestly hee will discharge his credite toward both our Maiesties, I no whit stand in doubt: to whom also our pleasure is, that all our subiects shall bee obedient, as farre as the grant of your Imperiall maiestie doeth permit. Moreover, whereas that woorthie personage Mustafa, your Imperiall maiesties Interpreter, hath taken speciall paines for the procuring of this league betweene vs, wee earnestly beseech you that for our takes your Imperiall Maiestie would vouchsafe to aduaunce him vnto the degree of the *Mus-Cafaraks* or chiefe pensioners. If in these and in all other honest causes, our aforesayde Agent and our subiectes shall finde your Imperiall Highnesse fauour, a noble traffique will flourish betweene these nations, and wee (if by any way wee may stand your State in steade) will alwayes most willingly be readie to requite this your Maiesties fauour and good will with all kinde of good offices. Almighty God the maker of the world preserve and keepe your Imperiall Maiestie, &c.

Wm. Hareborne sent ambassadour to the C. W. Kc.

A request for the preferring of Mustafa Beg.

A Letter of the Queenes Maiestie to *Alli Bassa* the Turkes high Admirall, sent by her ambassadour M. *William Hareborne*, and deliuered vnto him aboard his gallie in the *Arsenal*.




LIZABETHA, &c. Illustrissimo viro Alli Bassa, magni Musulmanici Cæsaris Admiratio, salutem & successus fortunatos. Non ignotum esse Excellentia vestra arbitramur, priuilegia quædam à potentissimo Cætare Musulmanico domino vestro clementissimo subditis nostris Anglicis concessa esse, vt illis liceat in omnibus imperij Musulmanici. prouincijs tutò & secure manere ac negotiari: non aliter quàm hoc ipsum Francis, Polonis, Venetis,

Germanis

Germanis antea indultum est. Qua ex causa nos Gulielmum Hareborne nobis dilectum, & corporis custodibus vnū, ac multis nominibus ornatum ad inelytam Constantinopolis ciuitatem pro agente misimus: qui ex priuilegiolorum prædictorum præscripto nostras & subditorum nostrorum res in illis locis constitueret. Facere igitur non potuimus, quin Excellentia vestra Gulielmum hunc, pro ea qua apud magnum Cæsarem polles autoritate, commendaremus: petentes summopere vt tutò in mari sine Classiariorum vestrorum violentia, & securè in portibus absque ministrorum rapinis & iniuria, tam ipse quam omnes Angli subditi nostri possint versari: vti pro tenore literarum patentium à magno Cæsare concessarum illis licere ex illarum conspèctione perspicuum esse potest. Gratissimum ergo nobis excellentia vestra fecerit, si portuum omnium, aliorumque locorum, qui vestra iurisdictioni parent, custodibus, item classium & nauium præfectis omnibus mandare velit, vt Gulielmus iste, aliique Angli subditi nostri cum in illorum erunt potestate, amice & humaniter tractentur. Quemadmodum nos vicissim omnes magni Cæsaris subditos omni humanitatis genere tractabimus, si in Oceani maria, aliàue loca venerint, quæ nostro parent imperio. Postremo excellentiam vestram pro eo quem in nostros extendet fauore ijs omnibus officijs prosequemur, quæ à gratissima principe in optime de se merentes debent proficisci. Bene & feliciter valeas. Datum è castro nostro Windesoriæ die viceffimo mensis Nouembris, Anno Iesu Christi saluatoris nostri 1582. Regni verò nostri viceffimo quarto.

A briefe Remembrance of things to be indeuoured at
Constantinople, and in other places in *Turkie*, touching our
 Clothing and our Dying, and things that bee incident to the same,
 and touching ample vent of our naturall commodities, & of the labour
 of our poore people withall, and of the generall entiching of
 this Realme: drawen by *M. Richard Hakluyt* of the
 middle Temple, and giuea to a friend that
 was sent into *Turkie* 1582.

- 1  This wherewith we colour Blew to be brought into this realme by seed
 or roote.
- 2 And the Arte of compounding of the same.
- 3 And also all other herbes vsed in dying in like maner to bee brought in.
- 4 And all Trees, whose Leaues, Seedes, or Barkes, or Wood doe serue
 to that vse, to be brought into this realme by Seed or Roote.
- 5 All little Plants and Buskes seruing to that vse to be brought in.
- 6 To learne to know all earths and minerals fozen vsed in dying; and their naturall places,
 for possible the like may here be found vpon sight.
- 7 Also with the materials vsed in dying, to bying in the excellencie of the arte of dying.
- 8 To procure from *Muhaisra* a citie in *Egypt* to *Constantinople*, the seed of *Sesamum* the
 herbe, and the same into this realme. Common trade is betweene *Alexandria* and *Constanti-*
nople, and therefore you may easily procure the seeds. Of this seed much oyle is made, and ma-
 ny mills set on worke about the same in the sayd *Muhaisra*, and if this seebe may prosper in *Eng-*
land, infinite benefite to our Clothing trade may rise by the same. This citie is situate vpon
Nilus the riuer, and thence this is brought to *Venice* and to diuers other Cities of *Italie*, and to
Antwerpe.
- 9 To note all kindes of clothing in *Turkie*, and all degrees of their labour in the same.
- 10 To endeouour rather the vent of *Kersies*, then of other Clothes as a thing moze beneficiall
 to our people.
- 11 To endeouour the sale of such our clothes as bee coloured with our owne naturall colours as
 much as you can, rather then such as be coloured with fozen colours.
- 12 To seeke out a vent for our Bonettos, a cap made for *Barbarie*, for that the poore people may
 reape great profit by the trade.
- 13 To endeouour vent of knit Stocks made of *Norwich* yarne, & of other yarne, which brought
 to great trade, may turne our poore people to great benefite, besides the vent of the substance, of
 our colours, and of our diuers labour.
- 14 To endeouour a vent of our *Saffron* for the benefit of our poore people: for a large vent found,
 it setteth many on worke.

Remembrances for master S. to giue him the better occasion to informe himselfe of some things in *England*, and after of some other things in *Turkie*, to the great profite of the Common weale of this Countrey. Written by the foresayd master *Richard Hakluyt*, for a principall English Factor at *Constantinople* 1582.



Since all men confesse (that be not barbarously bred) that men are bozne as well to seeke the common commoditie of their Countrey, as their owne priuate benefite, it may seeme folkie to perswade that point, for each man meaneth so to doe. But wherein men should seeke the common commoditie, and what way, and by what meane that is to bee brought about, is the point or summe of the matter, since euery good man is ready to employ his labour. This is to bee done by an infinite sort of meanes, as the number of things bee infinite that may bee done for common benefite of the Realme. And as the chiefe things so to bee done be diuers, so are they to bee done by diuers men, as they bee by wit and maner of education moze fit, or lesse fit, for this and for that. And for that of many things that tend to the common benefite of the State, some tend moze, and some lesse, I finde that no one thing, after one other, is greater then Clothing, and the things incident to the same. And vnderstanding that you are of right good capacitie, and become a Factor at Constantinople, and in other partes in *Turkie*; I finde no man sicker of all the English Factors there, then you. And therefore I am so bold to put you in minde, and to tell you wherein with some indeuour you may chaunce to doe your Countrey much good, and giue an infinite sorte of the poore people occasion to pray for you here throughout the Realme: this that I meane is in matter of Cloth, &c.

- 1 First, you cannot denie but that this Realme yeeldeth the most fine Wooll, the most soft, the most strong Wooll, the most durable in Cloth, and most apte of nature of all other to receiue Dye, and that no Island or any one kingdome so small doeth yeild so great abun dance of the same; and that no Wooll is lesse subiect to mothes, or to retting in presse, then this, as the old Parliament robes of Kings, & of many noble Peeres to be shewed may plainly testifie.
- 2 There is no commoditie of this Realme that may set so many poore subiects on worke, as this doeth, that doeth bring in so much treasure, and so much enrich the merchant, and so much employ the Naue of this Realme, as this commoditie of our Wooll doeth.

Ample and full Vent of this noble and rich commoditie is it that the common weale of this realme doeth require.

Spaine now aboundeth with Wools, and the same are Clothed. *Turkie* hath Wools, and so haue diuers prouinces of *Christendome* and of *Heathenelle*, and cloth is made of the same in diuers places.

1 But if *England* haue the most fine, and the most excellent Wools of the world in all respects (as it cannot bee denied, but it hath) 2 If there may bee added to the same, excellent artificiall, and true making, and excellent dying, 3 Then no doubt but that we shall haue vent for our Clothes, although the rest of the world did abound much moze with Wooll then it doeth, and although their workmanship and their dying were in euery degree equal with ours of *England*, vnlesse the labour of our people employed that way, and the materials used in dying should be the cause of the contrary by dearth.

But if *Foxen* nations turne their Wools, inferiour to ours, into truer and moze excellent made cloth, and shall die the same in truer, surer, and moze excellent and moze delectable colours, then shall they sell and make ample vent of their Clothes, when the English cloth of better wooll shall rest vsold, to the spoyle of the Merchant, of the Clothier, and of the breeder of the wooll, and to the turning to bag and wallet of the infinite number of the poore people imployed in clothing in seuerall degrees of labour here in *England*.

Which things wayed, I am to tell you what things I wish you in this Realme, and after in *Turkie*, to indeuour from time to time, as your leisure may permit the same.

Before you goe out of the Realme, that you learne :

1 **T**O know wooll, all kind of clothes made in this realme, and all other employments of wooll, home or forren, be y^e same in felt clokes, felt hats, in the red knit cap for Barbarie, called Bonettos rugios colorados, or whatsoeuer, &c.

All the receipts in Cloothmaking; as the sorting together of Wools of severall natures, some of nature to spinke, some to hold out, which causeth cloth to cockle and lie beneuen.

The cuill sorting of threed of good or bad wooll, some tooo hard spun, some tooo soft spun deliuered to be wouen.

The faults in Weaving.

The faults in Walking, Rowing, and Burling; and in Racking the Clothes about measure upon the Teintors: all which faults may be learned of honest men, which faults are to be knowne to the merchant, to be shunned and not to be vsed.

2 Then to learne of the Diers to discern all kind of colours; as which be good and sure, and which will not hold: which be faire, which not; which colours by the dearth of the substances bee deare, and which by reason of the cheapenesse of the Materials with which they be dyed, be cheape colours.

3 Then to take the names of all the materials and substances vsed in this Citie or in the realme, in dying of cloth or silke.

To learne to know them, as which be good, which bad.

And what colours they die.

And what prices they be of.

And of them which bee the Naturals of this Realme, and in what part of the Realme they are to be had.

And of all the forren materials vsed in dying to know the very naturall places of them, and the plenty or the scarcenesse of each of them.

These things superficially learned in the realme before you goe, you are the fitter in forren parts to serue your Countrey, for by this meanes you haue an enterie into the thing that I wish you to trauell in.

What you shall doe in Turkie, besides the businesse of your Factorship.

1 **F**oasmuch as it is reported that the Woollen clothes dyed in Turkie bee most excellently dyed, you shall send home into this realme certaine Howsters or pierces of Shew to be brought to the Diers hall, there to be shewed, partly to remooue out of their heads, the tooo great opinion they haue conceiued of their owne cunning, and partly to moue them for shame to endeavour to learne moze knowledge to the honour of their countrey of England, and to the better benefit of the realme.

2 You shall deuise to amend the Dying of England, by carying hence an apte yoong man brought vp in the Arte, or by bringing one or other from thence of skill, or rather to deuise to bring one for Silkes, and another for Wooll and for Woolleu cloth, and if you cannot worke this by ordinarie meanes, then to worke it by some great Bassas meane, or if your owne credite there be not sufficiens by meane of your small abode in those parties, to worke it by the helpe of the French ambassadoz there resident, for which purpose you may insinuate your selfe into his acquaintance, and other wise to leaue no meane vsought that tendereth to this end, wherein you are to doe as circumstances may permit.

3 Then to learne to know all the materials and substances that the Turkes vse in dying, be they of Herbes, simple or compound, be they Plants, Barkes, Wood, Berries, Seedes, Graines, or Minerall matter, or what els soeuer. But before all other, such things as yeeld those famous colours that carrie such speciall report of excellencie, that our Merchants may bring them to this realme by ordinarie trade, as a right meane for the better vent of our clothes.

4 To know the vse of those, and where the naturall place of them and of ech of them is, I meane the place where ech of them groweth or is bred.

5 And in any wise, if Anile that coloureth blew be a naturall commodity of these parts, and if it be compounded of an herbe, to send the same into this realme by seed or by root in barrel of earth, with all the whole order of sowing, setting, planting, replanting, and with the compounding of the same, that it may become a naturall commodity in this realme as Cload is, to this end that the high price of forreine Cload (which deuoureth yearly great treasure) may be brought
downe

downe, So shall the marchant buy his cloth lesse deare, and so he shall be able to occupy with lesse stocke, be able to afoord cloth cheaper, make moze ample vent, and also become a greater gainer himselfe, and all this to the benefit of this realme.

6 To do the like with herbe & plant, or tree that in dying is of any excellent vse, as to send the same by seed, berry, root, &c: for by such meanes Saffron was brought first into this realme, which hath set many pooze on worke, and brought great wealth into this realme. Thus may Sumack, the plant wherewith the most excellent blacks be dyed in Spaine, be brought out of Spaine, and out of the Islands of the same, if it will grow in this moze colde climat. For this was first brought into this realme, and came to good perfection, to the great losse of the French our olde enemies. And it doth maruellously impoze this realme to make naturall in this realme such things as be special in the dying of our clothes. And to speake of such things as colour blew, they are of greatest vse, and are grounds of the most excellent colours, and therefore of all other to be brought into this realme, be it Anile or any other materiall of that quality.

7 And because yellows and greens are colours of small prices in this realme, by reason that Dye and Greenweed wherewith they be dyed be naturall here, and in great plenty, therefore to bring our clothes so dyed to common sale in Turkie were to the great benefit of the marchant, and other pooze subjects of this realme, for in sale of such our owne naturall colours we consume not our treasure in forren colours, and yet we sell our owne trifles dearely perhaps.

8 The woolles being naturall, and excellent colours for dying becoming by this meanes here also naturall, in all the arte of Clothing then we want but one onely speciall thing. For in this to temperate a climat our people may labor the yere throughtout, whereas in some regions of the world they cannot worke for extreme heat, as in some other regions they cannot worke for extreme colde a good part of the yere. And the people of this realme by the great and blessed abundance of victuall are cheaply fed, and therefore may afoord their labour cheaply. And where the Clothiers in Flanders by the flatnesse of their riuers cannot make Walkmilles for their clothes, but are forced to thicken and dresse all their clothes by the foot and by the labour of men, wherby their clothes are raised to an higher price, we of England haue in all Shires store of milles vpon falling riuers. And these riuers being in temperate zones are not dyed up in Summer with drought and heat as the riuers be in Spaine and in hotter regions, nor frozen up in Winter as all the riuers be in all the North regions of the world: so as our milles may go and worke at all times, and dresse clothes cheaply. Then we haue also for scowring our clothes earths and claires, as Walkers clay, and the clay of Dorne little inferior to Sope in scowring and in thickning. Then also haue we some reasonable store of Alum and Coppoas here made for dying, and are like to haue increafe of the same. Then we haue many good waters apt for dying, and people to spin and to doe the rest of all the labours we want not. So as there wanteth, if colours might be brought in and made naturall, but onely Dye: the want whereof if any man could deuise to supply at the full with any thing that might become naturall in this realme, he whatsoeuer he were that could bring it about, might deserue immortall fame in this our Common wealth, and such a deuise was offered to the Parliament and refused, because they denied to endow him with a certaine liberty, some others hauing obtained the same before, that practised to worke that effect by Radish seed, which onely made a triall of small quantity, and that went no further, to make that Dye in plenty: and now he that offered this deuise was a marchant, and is dead, and withall the deuise is dead with him.

Supply of the
want of dye.

It is written by one that wrote of Afrike, that in Egypt in a city called Muhaisra there be many milles employed in making of Dye of the seed of an herbe called Sefamum. Pena and Lobell, Physicians, write in our time, that this herbe is a codded herbe full of oily seed, and that there is plenty of this seed brought out of Egypt to diuers Cities in Italy. If this herbe will prosper in this realme, our marchants may easilly bring of it, &c.

Leo Africanus
lib. 8.

9 Hauing herein thus troubled you by raising to your minde the consideration of certaine things, it shall not be impertinent to tell you that it shall not be amisse that you note all the order of the degrees of labour vsed in Turky, in the arte of Clothing, and to see if any way they excell in that profession our people of these parts, and to bring notice of the same into this realme.

10 And if you shall finde that they make any cloth of any kind not made in this realme, that is there of great vse, then to bring of the same into this realme some Howsers, that our people may fall into the trade, and prepare the same for Turkie: for the moze kinds of cloth we can deuise to make, the moze ample vent of our commoditie we shall haue, and the moze sale of the labour of our pooze subjects that els for lacke of labour become idle and burdensome to the common weale, and hurtfull to many: and in England we are in our clothing trade to frame our felices according to the desires of forren nations, be it that they desire thicke or thinne, broad or narrow,

long

long of hoze, white of blacke. 11 But with this prouiso alwayes, that our cloth passe out with as much labour of our people as may be, wherein great consideration ought to be had: for (if vent might so admit it) as it were the greatest madnesse in the world for vs to vent our wooll not clothed, so were it madnesse to vent our wooll in part or in the whole turned into broad cloth, if we might vent the same in Kerlies: for there is great difference in profit to our people betweene the clothing of a lacke of wooll in the one, and the like lacke of wooll in the other, of which I wish the merchant of England to haue as great rare as he may for the vniuersall benefit of the poore: and the turning of a lacke of wooll into Bonets is better then both &c. And also not to cary out of the realme any cloth white, but died if it may be, that the subiects of this realme may take as much benefit as is possible, and rather to seeke the vent of the clothes died with the naturall colours of England, then such as be died with forren colours.

12 And if of necessity we must be forced to receiue certaine colours from forren parts, for that this climat will not breed them, I wish that our marchants procure Anile and such other things to be planted in like climats where now it growes, in diuers other places, that this realme may haue that brought in for as base prices as is possible, and that falling out with one place we may receiue the same from another, and not buy the same at the second or the third hand &c. For if a commodity that is to be had of meere necessity, be in one hand, it is dearely purchased.

1 How many severall colours be died is to be learned of our Diers before you depart.

2 Then how many of those colours England doth die of her owne naturall home materials and substances, and how many not.

3 Then to bring into this realme herbs and plants to become naturall in our soiles, that may die the rest of the colours, that presently of our owne things here growing we can not yet die, and this from all forren places.

4 There is a wood called Logwood or Palo Campechio, it is cheape and yeildeth a glorious blcw, but our workmen can not make it luce. This wood you must take with you, and see whether the Silke diers or Wooll diers in Turky can doe it, with this one you may enrich your selfe very much, and therefore it is to be endeouered earnestly by you. It may bring downe the price of Wooll and of Anile.

Other some things to be remembered.

IF you can finde out at Tripoly in Syria or elsewhere a vent for the Cappes called in Barbarie, Bonettos colorados rugios, which is a red Scottish cap as it were without brims, you should do your countrey much good: for as a lacke of wooll turned into fine Devonshire kerlies doth set many moze people on worke then a lacke spunne for broad cloth in a grosser threed, so a lacke of wooll turned into those Bonets doth set many moze poore people on worke, then a lacke turned into Kerlies, by reason of the knitting. And therefore if you can induour that, you worke great effect. And no doubt that a maruellous vent may be found out of them into Africke by the way of Alexandria, and by Alcayer Southeast and Southwest thence.

2 And by the vent of our knit hose of Woollen yarne, Woosted yarne, and of Linnen thred, great benefit to our people may arise, and a great value in fine Kerlies and in those knit wares may be couched in a small roome in the ship. And for these things our people are growen apt, and by induour may be drawn to great trade.

3 Saffron the best of the vniuersall world groweth in this realme, and forasmuch as it is a thing that requirerth much labour in diuers sorts, and setteth the people on worke so plentifully, I wish you to see whether you can finde out anyle vent for the same, since it is gone out of great vse in those parts. It is a spice that is cordiall, and may be vsed in meats, and that is excellent in dying of yellow silks. This commodity of Saffron groweth fifty miles from Tripoli in Syria, on an high hill called in those parts Garian, so as there you may learne at that port of Tripoli the value of the pound, the goodnesse of it, and the places of the vent. But it is sayd that from that hill there passeth yearly of that commodity fiftene moiles laden, and that those regions notwithstanding lacke sufficiencie of that commodity. But if a vent might be found, men would in Essex about Saffronwalden and in Cambridge shire reuiue the trade for the benefit of the setting of the poore on worke. So would they doe in Hereford shire by Wales, where the best of all England is, in which place the soile yeelds the wilde Saffron commonly, which sheweth the naturall inclination of the same soile to the bearing of the right Saffron, if the soile be manured and that way employed.

4 There is a walled towne not farre from Barbarie, called Hubbed, toward the South from the famous towne Telenin, about six miles: the inhabitants of which towne in effect be all Diers.

Diers. And it is sayd that thereabout they haue plenty of Anile, & that they occupy that, and also that they vse there in their dyings, of the Saffron aforesayd. The trueth whereof, in the Southerly ports of the Mediteran sea, is easily learned in your passage to Tripoli, or in returne from thence homeward you may vnderstand it. It is reportyd at Saffronwalden that a Pilgrim purposing to do good to his countrey, stole an head of Saffron, and hid the same in his Palmers staffe, which he had made hollow befoze of purpose, and so he brought this root into this realme, with venture of his life: for if he had bene taken, by the law of the countrey from whence it came, he had died for the fact. If the like loue in this our age were in our people that now become great traueillers, many knowledges, and many trades, and many herbes and plants might be brought into this realme that might doe the realme good. And the Romans hauing that care, brought from all coasts of the world into Italic all arts and sciences, and all kinds of beasts and fowles, and all herbs, trees, bulks and plants that might yeeld profit or pleasure to their countrey of Italic. And if this care had not bene heretofore in our ancestors, then had our life bene sauage now, for then we had not had Wheat nor Rie, Peaze nor Beanes, Barley nor Oats, Peare nor Apple, Vine nor many other profitable and pleasant plants, Bull nor Cow, Sheepe nor Swine, Horse nor Mare, Cocks nor Hen, nor a number of other things that we inioy, without which our life were to be sayd barbarous: for these things and a thousand that we vse moze the first inhabitants of this Island found not here. And in time of memozy things haue bene brought in that were not here befoze, as the Damaske rose by Doctour Linaker king Henry the seuenth and king Henrie the eighth Physician, the Turky cocks and hennes about fifty yeres past, the Artichowe in time of king Henry the eight, and of later time was procured out of Italy the Muske rose plant, the plumme called the Perdigwena, and two kinds moze by the Lozd Cromwell after his trauell, and the Abycot by a French Priest one Wolfe Gardiner to king Henry the eight: and now within these foure yeres there haue bene brought into England from Vienna in Austria diuers kinds of flowers called Tulipas, and these and other procured thither a litle befoze from Constantinople by an excellent man called M. Carolus Clusius. And it is sayd that since we traded to Zante that the plant that beareth the Cozen is also brought into this realme from thence; and although it bying not fruit to perfection, yet it may serue for pleasure and for some vse, like as our vines doe, which we cannot well spare, although the climat so colde will not permit vs to haue good wines of them. And many other things haue bene brought in, that haue degenerated by reason of the colde climat, some other things brought in haue by negligence bene lost. The Archbishop of Caerburie Edmund Grindall, after he returned out of Germany, brought into this realme the plant of Tamariske from thence, and this plant he hath so increased that there be here thousands of them: and many people haue receiued great health by this plant: and if of things brought in such care were had, then could not the first labour be lost. The seed of Tabacco hath bene brought hither out of the West Indies, it groweth heere, and with the herbe many haue bene eased of the reumes, &c. Each one of a great number of things were woorthy of aourney to be made into Spaine, Italy, Barbarie, Egypt, Zante, Constantinople, the West Indies, and to diuers other places neerer and further off then any of these, yet forasmuch as the poore are not able, and for that the rich settled at home in quiet will not, therefore we are to make sute to such as repaire to forren kingdomes, for other businesses, to haue some care heerein, and to set befoze their eyes the examples of these good men, and to endeouour to do for their parts the like, as their speciall businesses may permit the same. Thus giuing you occasion by way of a litle remembrance, to haue a desire to do your countrey good, you shall, if you haue any inclination to such good, do moze good to the poore ready to starue for reliefe, then euer any subiect did in this realme by building of Almshouses, and by giuing of lauds and goods to the reliefe of the poore. Thus may you helpe to diuine idleness the mother of most mischiefs out of the realme, and winne you perpetuall fame, and the prayer of the poore, which is moze woorth then all the golde of Peru and of all the West Indies.

This may be learned at Alger.

The voyage of the *Susan* of London to Constantinople, wherein the worshipfull M. *William Harborne* was sent first Ambassadour vnto *Sultan Murad Can*, the great Turke, with whom he continued as her Maiesties Ligier almost sixe yeres.



On the 14 of Nouember 1582, we departed from Blackewall, bound for the Citie of Constantinople, in the tall shippe called the *Susan* of London: the Master whereof was *Richard Parsons*, a very excellent and skillfull man in his facultie. But by occasion of contrary weather we spent two moneths befoze we could recouer the Rowes in

January the
fourteenth.

C. Vincente.
C. Santa Maria.
Tarriffa.
Velez Malaga.
C. de Gates.
C. de Palos.
Denia.
Formentera.
Cabrera.
February the
first.
Mallorca.

The shippes
men goe on
land at Porto
de Sant Pedro.

The Ambassa-
dour betrayed.

February the
sixty.

The English
men are hur-
ried.

The Spani-
ards come to
the sea side to
speake with
the captaine.

in the Ile of Wight. Where the 14 of January following we tooke in the worshipfull Sr. William Hareborne her Maiesties Ambassadour to the Turke, and his company, and sailed thence to Yarmouth in the foresayd Isle of Wight. The 19 we put from Wight. The 26 we did see Cauo de Sant Vincencie. The same day we were thwart of Cauo Santa Maria. The 27 we passed by Tarriffa, and Gibraltar. The 28 in the morning we passed by Velez Malaga: and that night were thwart of Cauo de Gates. The 29 at night we had sight of Cauo de Palos. The 30 in the morning we did see the highland of Denia, in the kingdom of Valencia, and that night we had sight of the Island Formentera. The 31 in the morning appeared the Island of Cabrera. The first of February we put into a Port in Mallorca, called Porto de Sant Pedro: where they would haue euill intreated vs for comming into the Harbour: we thought we might haue bene as bold there as in other places of Christendome, but it proved farre otherwise. The first man we met on land was a simple Shepheard, of whom we demanded whether we might haue a sheepe or such like to refresh our selues, who tolde vs yea. And by such conference had with him, at the last he came aboord once or twice; and had the best heare that we could make him: and our Ambassadour himselfe talked with him, and still he made vs faire promises, but nothing at all meant to performe the same, as the end shewed. In the meane time came in a shippe of Marseils, the Master whereof did know our Ambassadour very well, with whom our Ambassadour had conference, and with his Marchants also. They came from Alger in Barbarie, which is vnder the gouernement of the Great Turke. They did present our Ambassadour with an Ape, wherefore he made very much of them, and had them often aboord. By them I suppose; he was bewrayed of his purpose as touching his message, but yet still we had faire wordes of the Shepheard aforesayd, and others. So that vpon their wordes, our Purser and another man went to a Towne which was thye or foure miles from the port, and there were well entertained, and had of the people very faire speeches, and such small things as could be gotten vpon the ludden, and so returned to the shippe that day. Then wee were emboldened, and thought all had bene well, according to their talke. The next day, being the sixth day of Februarie, two of our Gentlemen, with one of our Marchants, and the Purser, and one of the Ambassadours men went to the Towne aforesayd, thinking to doe as the Purser and the other had done before, but it proved contrary: for at their comming thither they had faire wordes a while, and had bread and wine, and such necessaries for their money, vntill such time as they were beset with men, and the Maiorcanes neuer shewed in their countenance any such matter, but as the maner of all the people in the dominions of Spaine is, for the most part to be treacherous to vs, if they thinke they haue any aduantage. For vpon the sudden they layd handes on them, and put them in holde, as sure as might be in such a simple Towne. Then were they well guarded with men both day and night, and still deluded with faire wordes, & they sayd to our men it was for no hurt, but that the Viceroy of the Island would come aboord to see the shippe. But they presently sent the Purser to the Towne of Maiorca, where he was examined by the Viceroy very straightly, what their shippe and captaine were, and what voyage they intended, but he confessed nothing at all. In the meane time they in the Towne were likewise straightly examined by a Priest and other officers vpon their othes: who for their othes sake declared the whole estate of their voyage. The Ambassadours man was a French man, and therefore was sufferet to goe to the shippe on a message, but he could tell the Ambassadour none other newes, but that the Viceroy would come aboord the shippe, and that our men should come with him, but they had another meaning. For the Marsellian Marchants were stayed in like maner in the Towne, onely to make a better shew vnto vs. But in the meane time, being there three or foure dayes, there came men vnto vs euery day, more or lesse, but one day especially there came two men on horsebacke, whom we tooke to be officers, being lusty men, and very well hoysed. These men desired to speake with our Captaine (for all things that passed there were done in the name of our Captaine Iohn Gray) for it was sayd by vs there, that he was Captaine of one of her Maiesties shippes: wherefore all things passed in his name: and the Ambassadour not seeing in any thing but rather concealed, and yet did all, because of his tongue and good inditing in that language. For he himselfe went on land clothed in Aeluet, and talked with these men, and with him ten or twelue lusty fellows well weaponed, each one hauing a Boarespeare or a Calliuer, the Captaine Iohn Gray being one of them, and our boat lying by very warily kept and ready. For then wee began to suspect, because the place was more frequented with men then it was wont. The men on horsebacke were in doubt to come neere, because hee came so well weaponed. But they had him welcome, and gaue him great salutations in wordes as their maner is: and demanded why he came so strong, for they sayd he needed not to feare any man in the Island. Answer was made, that it was the maner of English Captaines to goe with their guard in strange places. Then they tolde our Ambassadour (think-

king him to be the Captaine) that they were sent from the Viceroy to know what they did lacke, for they promised him beefe or mutton, or any thing that was in the Island to be had, but their purpose was to haue gotten moze of our men if they could, and they sayde that wee should haue our men againe the next day: with such pretie delusions they sed vs still. Then our Ambassadour did write a letter to the Viceroy in her Maiesties name, and in our Captaine Iohn Grayes name, and not in his owne, and sent it by them, desiring him to send his men, and not to trouble him in his voyage, for he had giuen him no such cause, nor any of his. So these men departed with great courtlesie in words on both parts. And in all this time we did see men on horsebacke and on foot in the woods and trees moze then they were accustomed to be, but we could perceiue nothing thereby. The next day, or the second, came either foure or five of the best of them as wee thought (the Viceroy excepted) and very many men besides in the fieldes, both on foot and on horse, but came not neere the water side. And those in like order desired to speake with the Captaine, and that when he came on land the trumpets might sound: but then the Ambassadour, whom they thought to be Captaine, would not goe, nor suffer the trumpets to be sounded, for that he thought it was a trappe to take himselfe, and moze of his company. But did send one of the principall of the Marchants to talke with them. And the Captaine Iohn Gray went also with him, not being knowne of the Spaniards, for he went as a souldiour. Thus they receiued of those men the like wordes as they had of the other before mentioned, who sayd we should haue our men againe, for they meant vs no hurt. Then our Ambassadour did write another letter, and sent it by them to the Viceroy, in like order as he did before, but he receiued no answer of any of them. In all this time they had pziuely gathered together the principall men of the Island, and had laboured day and night to bring downe ordinance, not making any shew of their trecherie towards vs. But the same night following, we saw very many lightes passe in the woods among the trees. And in the morning when the watch was broken by, being Saturday the ninth of Februarie, at faire day light, one of our men looked footth, and saw standing on land the carriage of a piece: then was one commanded to goe into the toppes, and there he did descric two or thre pieces, and also many men on the shoare, with diuers weapons that they brought. Then they suddenly tooke foure or five brass pieces, and placed them on either side of the harborough where we should go out, and hid them with stones and bushes that we should not see them. Now I thinke the harborough not to be aboue the eight part of a mile ouer. Thus perceiuing their meaning which was most plaine; wee agreed to take by our anker and goe out, and leaue our men there, hauing none other way to take. Then our Ambassadour intreated the Master of the Marsellian, his friend, to goe on land with his boat, and to know the trueth: who satisfied his request. And at his returne he tolde vs that it was very rrue, that they would lay holde of vs if they could. Then we weighed our ankers: but hauing little winde, we towed the shippe toward with the boat. The Viceroy himselfe was at the water side with moze then five hundred men on both sides of the harbour as we thought. And when we came out with our shippe as far as their ordinance, our Ambassadour and the Captaine being in their armour, the Master commanding of the company, and trimming of the sailes, the Pilot standing on the poope, attending to his charge, with other very well furnished, and euery man in order about their businesse very ready, they on land on the contrary part hauing a very faire piece mounced on the North side openly in all our sights, as the shippe passed by, they trauerled that piece right with the maine mast or after-quarter of the shippe, and a Gunner standing by, with a lintstocke in his hand, aboue foureteene or fifteene foot long, being (as we thought) ready to giue fire. Our whole noise of trumpets were sounding on the poope with drumme and flute, and a Minion of brass on the summer decke, with two or thre other pieces, alwayes by our Gunners trauerled mouth to mouth with theirs on land, still looking when they on land should shoot, for to answer them againe. The Pilot standing on the poope, seeing this readinesse, and the shippe going very softly, because of the calmnesse of the tide, he called to them on the South side, where the Viceroy was, and sayd vnto him: Haue you warres with vs? If you haue, it is moze then we know; but by your prouision it seemeth so: if you haue, shoot in Gods name, and spare nor, but they held all fast and hot not. Then the Viceroy himselfe held by a paper, and sayd he had a letter for our Captaine, and desired vs to stay for it. Then we answered and sayd we would not, but willed him to send it by the Marsellians boat, and our men also. All this while, our trumpets, drum and flute sounded, and so we passed out in the face of them all. When they perceiued that they could lay no holde on vs, they presently sent to the Towne for our men, whom within lesse then thre heures after they sent aboord with the sayd letter, wherein he desired our Captaine and his company not to take it in ill part, for he meant them no harme, but would haue seene our shippe. His letter did import these and such like faire speeches: for it altogether contained courteous salutations,

The Spaniards come a gaine to part.

The Ambassadour writeth to the Viceroy.

The ninth of February.

The ship Sufan prepareth to defend herselfe.

The effect of the Viceroy's letter to the Captaine of the Sufan.

saying

The effect of
the Ambassadors
Boys ail were.

Galata.
Sardinia.
Fauagniana.
Cifimbri.
Pantalaria.
Sicilia.
C. Passaro.
Porto de Conte
in Cephalonia.

Zante.

Prodeno.
Sapientia.
Modon.

C. Matapan.
Cerigo.

C. Malio.
Menelaus.

Bellapola.
Both Milos.
Falconara.
Antemila.
Fermenia, Zea.
Negroponte.
Andri.
Psara. Sarafo.
Sigra, a port in
Metelin.

Porto Delfin.
The city of
Chio.

28 23.

Ermin, or Cus
flomet.

Baberno.
Tenedo.
Maure.
Galipoli.
Marmora.

Araclia.
Silauria.

Ponte grande.

Ponte picola.

Ponte S. Ste-
phano.

saying that he might boldly come into any port within his Island, and that he and his would shew him what friendship they might: and that the injury that was offered was done at the request of the Shepheards and poore people of the countrey, for the more safegard of their flockes; and because it was not a thing usuall to haue any such shippe to come into that port, with many other decreasefull words in the sayd letter. Then our Ambassadour wrote vnto him another letter to answer that, and gaue him thanks for his men that he had sent him, and also for his good will, and sent him a present. This done, we shot off halfe a dozen peeces, hoisted our sailes, and departed on our voyage. Then the Purser and the rest of our men that had bene in holde, tolde vs that they did see the Captaine, and other gentlemen of the Island, hauing their buskins and stockings torne from their legges, with labouring in the bushes day and night to make that sudden p'ouision. The 12 of February we saw an Island of Africa side called Galata, where they vse to drag out of the Sea much Corall, and we saw likewise Sardinia, which is an Island subiect to Spaine. The 13 in the morning we were hard by Sardinia. The 15 we did see an Island neere Sicilia, and an Island on Africa side called Cysimbre. The same day likewise we saw an Island called Pantalaria, and that night we were thwart the middle of Sicilia. The 16 at night we were as farre as Capo Passaro, which is the Southeast part of Sicilia. The 24 we were put into a port called Porto de Conte, in an Island called Cephalonia: it is an out Island in the dominions of Grecia, and now at this present gouerned by the Signory of Venice, as the rest of Grecia is vnder the Turke, for the most part. The 27 we came from thence, and that day arriued at Zante which is also in Grecia; for at this present wee entered the parts of Grecia. The second of March we came from Zante; and the same day were thwart of an Island called Prodeno: and the 4 we were thwart of an Island called Sapientia. There standeth a faire Towne and a Castle on the maine ouer against it, called Modon. The same day by reason of contrary winde we put backe againe to Prodeno, because we could not fetch Sapientia. The ninth we came from thence, and were as farre as Sapientia againe. The tenth we were as farre as Cauo Matapan; and that day we entered the Archipelago, and passed th'ow betweene Cerigo and Cauo Malio. This Cerigo is an Island where one Menelaus did sometimes reigne, from whome was stolen by Paris faire Helena, and carried to Troy, as ancient Records doe declare. The same day we had sight of a litle Island called Bellapola, and did likewise see both the Milos, being Islands in the Archipelago. The 11 in the morning we were hard by an Island called Falconara, and the Island of Antemila. The 12 in the morning we were betweene Fermenia and Zea, being both Islands. That night wee were betweene Negroponte and Andri, being likewise Islands. The 13 in the morning we were hard by Psara and Sarafo, being Islands nine or tenne miles from Chio, and could not fetch Chio. So we put roome with a port in Metelin called Sigra, and about nine of the clocke at night we ankered there. The 15 we came from thence, the sixteenth we put into Porto Delfi. This port is 9 English miles to the Northward of the City of Chio, (and it may be twelue of their miles) this night we stayed in the sayd port, being in the Island of Chio. Then went our Marchant and one or two with him to the City of Chio. And when the By, who is the gouernour of the Island (and is in their language a Duke) had communed with the Marchant, and those that were with him, and vnderstood of our arriuall within his dominion, the day following he armed his gallies, and came to welcome our Ambassadour, accompanied with the Ermine, that is, the Kings Customier, and also the French Consul, with diuers of the chiefe of the City, and offered him as much friendship as he could or would desire: for he did offer to attend vpon vs, and to be vs if need were to the Castles. The 21 we departed from thence, and that day passed by port Sigra againe. This Island of Metelin is part of Asia, and is neere to Narolia. The 22 we passed by a head land called Baberno, and is also in Asia. And that day at night we passed by the Ile of Tenedo, part of Asia, and by another Island called Maure. And the same day we passed th'ow the straights of Galipoli, and by the Castles, and also by the Towne of Galipoli it selfe, which standeth in Europa. And that night we were in sight of Marmora which is neere Narolia, and part of Asia. The 23 in the morning we were thwart of Araclia, and that night we ankered in Silauria. The 24 in the morning the Marchant and the Pilot were let on land to goe to the City about the Ambassadors businessse, but there they could not land because we had the winde faire. That place of some is called Ponte grande, and is foure and twenty miles on this side of Constantinople, and because of the winde, they followed in the skiffe until they came to a place called Ponte picola, and there is a litle bridge, it standeth eight Turkish miles from Constantinople, there the Marchant and the Pilot landed. At this bridge is an house of the great Turkes with a faire Garden belonging vnto it, neere the which is a point called Ponta S. Srephano, and there the shippe ankered that day. The 26 day the ship came to the seven Towers, and the 27 we came neerer. The 29 there came three gallies

to bring vs by further: and when the shippe came against the great Turkes palace, we shot off all our ordnance to the number of foure and thirty pieces. Then landed our Ambassadour, and then we discharged foure and twenty pieces, who was receiued with moze then fifty or threescore men on horsebacke. The ninth of April he presented the great Bassa with sixe clothes, foure cannes of siluer double gilt, and one piece of fine holland, and to thre other Bassas, that is to say, the second Bassa, which is a gelded man, and his name is Mahomet Bassa, to the third who married the great Turkes sister, and to the fourth whom they call Abraham Bassa, to euery one of these he gaue foure clothes. Now, befoze the great Bassa, and Abraham Bassa, at their returne from the Court (and as we thinke at other times, but at that time for a certaine) there came a man in maner of a foole, who gaue a great shout thre or foure times, crying very hollowly, the place rebounded with the sound, and this man, say they, is a prophet of Mahomet, his armes and legges naked, on his feet he did weare wooden pattens of two lozts, in his hand, a flagge, or streamer set on a short speare painted, he carried a mat and bottels, and other trumpery at his backe, and sometimes vnder his arme, on his head he had a cappe of white Camels haire, flat like an helmet, written about with letters, and about his head a tinnen rowle. Other seruicemen there were with the sayd Bassas, with red attire on their heads, much like French hoods, but the long flappe some what smaller towards the end, with scuffes or plates of metall, like vnto the chape of an ancient arming sword, standing on their foreheads like other Janitarics. These Bassas entertained vs as followeth: First, they brought vs into a hall, there to stand on one side, and our Ambassadour and gentlemen on the other side, who sate them downe on a bench couered with carpets, the Ambassadour in the midst; on his left hand sate our gentlemen, and on his right hand the Turkes, next to the dooze where theire master goeth in and out: the common sort of Turkes stayed in the Courtyard, not suffered to come neere vs. When our Ambassadour had sitted halfe an houre, the Bassas (who sate by themselves in an inner small roome) sent for him; to whom the Ambassadour and his gentlemen went: they all kissed his hand, and presently returned (the Ambassadour onely excepted, who stayed there, and a Turkes chaus with him) with the Ambassadour and his gentlemen went in also so many of our men as there were presents to carry in, but these neither kissed his hand nor carried. After this I went to visit the church of Santa Sophia, which was the chiefe church when it was the Christians, and now is the chiefe see and church of primacie of this Turke present: befoze I entered I was willed to put off my shoes, to the end I should not prophane their church, I being a Christian. The pillars on both sides of the church are very costly and rich, their pulpets seemely and handsome, two are common to preach in, the third reserved onely for their Paschall. The ground is couered with Mats, and the walles hangd with Tapistry. They haue also Lamps in their churches, one in the middle of the church of exceeding greatnesse, and another in another part of the church of cleane golde, or double gilded, full as bigge as a barrel. Round about the church there is a gallery builded vpon rich and stately pillars. That day I was in both the chappels, in one of the which lieth the Turkes father, and fine of his sonnes in tombes right costly, with their turbents very white and cleane, shifted (as they say) euery Friday, they be not on their heads, but stand on mouldes made for that purpose. At the endes, ouer, and about their tombes are belts, like girdles, beset with icwels. In the other chappell are foure other of his sonnes, and one daughter, in like order. In the first chappell is a chynge foure foot high, couered with greene, beset with mother of pearle very richly. This is a relique of Mahomet, and standeth on the left side of the head of the great Turkes tombe. These chappels haue their floozes couered, and their walles hangd with Tapistrie of great price, I could value the couering and hangings of one of the chappels, at no lesse then sixe hundred poundes, besides their lamps hanging richly gilded. These chappels haue their roofes curiously wrought with rich stone, and gilded. And there lie the bookes of their Lawes for euery man to reade. The 11 day of April the shippe came to the Key of the Custome house. The 16 the Ambassadour and we his men went to the Captaine Bassa, who is Admirall of the seas, his name is Vchali, he would not receiue vs into his house, but into his gallie, to deliuer our present, which was as followeth: Foure pieces of cloth, and two siluer pots gilt & grauen. The poepe or sterne of his gally was gilded both within and without, and vnder his feet, and where he sate was all couered with very rich Tapistry. Our Ambassadour and his gentlemen kissed his hand, and then the gentlemen were commanded out, and our Ambassadour sate downe by him on his left hand, and the chaus stood befoze him. Our men might walke in the gally fore and after, some of vs taried, and some went out againe. The gally had seuen pieces of brasse in her prow, small and great, she had thirty bankes or oares on either side, and at euery banke or oare seuen men to rowe. The 18 day the shippe went from the Key. And 21 the Admirall tooke his leaue of the great Turke, being bound to the Sea with sixe and thirty gallies, very fairely beautified with

The arrivall of the Susan at Constantinople.

The Ambassadour greeteth a present to the great Bassa.

20 man halfe naked goeth befoze the great Bassa.

The Ambassadors entertained with the Bassas.

Santa Sophia.

A description of these churches

The ship cometh to the custome house. The Ambassadour presenteth the Admirall Vchali.

The Susan goeth from the Custome house. The Admirall departeth to the sea.

gilding and painting, and beset with flags and streamers, all the which gallies discharged their ordinance: and we for his farewell gaue him one and twenty pieces. Then he went to his house with his gallies, and the 22 he went to the Sea, and the Cattle that standeth in the water gaue him foureteene or sixteene pieces: and when he came against the Turkes Seraglio he shot off all his calliers and his great pieces, and so hee went his way. The 24 our Ambassadour went to the Court, whose entertainment with the order thereof followeth. When wee came first on land there was way made for vs by two or thzee Bassaes and diuers chaufes on horsebarke with their men on foot, to accompany our Ambassadour to the Court. Also they brought horses for him and his gentlemen for to ride, which were very richly furnished: and by the way there mee with vs other chaufes to accompany vs to the Court. When we came there wee passed throughtwo gates, at the second gate there stood very many men with horses attending on their masters. When we came within that gate we were within a very faire Court yard, in compasse twice so bigge as Pauls Church-yard. On the right hand of the sayd Court was a faire gallerie like an Alley, and within it were placed railles and such other prouision. On the left side was the like, halfe the Court ouer: it was diuided into two parts, the innermost fairer then the other. The other part of that side is the place where the Councell doe usually sit, and at the inner end of that is a faire place to sit in, much like vnto that place in Pauls Church-yard, where the Haioz and his brethren use to sit, thither was our Ambassadour brought, and set in that place. Within that sayde place is another like open roome, where hee did eate. A soone as wee came in, wee were placed in the innermost alley of the second roome, on the left side of the Court, which was spread with carpets on the ground fourescore or faurescore and tenne foot long, with an hundred and fiftie seuerall dishes set thereon, that is to say, Buntion boiled and rosted, Rice diuersly dzelesed, Fritters of the finest fashion, and dishes daintily dight with pytty paype, with infinite others, I know not how to expresse them. We had also rosted Pennes with sundry sorts of fowles to me vnknewen. The gentlemen and we sate downe on the ground, for it is their maner so to feede. There were also Greekes and others set to furnish out the roome. Our drinke was made with Rose water and Sugar and spices brewed together. Those that did serue vs with it had a great bagge tied ouer their shoulloers, with a broad belt like an arming belt full of plates of copper and gilt, with part of the sayd bagge vnder his arme, and the mouth in his hand: then he had a deuise to let it out when he would into cuppes, when we called for drinke. The Ambassadour when hee had eaten, passed by vs, with the chaufes aforesayd, and sate him downe in an inner roome. This place where he sate was against the gate where we came in, and hard by the Councell chamber end, somewhat on the left side of the Court, this was at the East end of the Court, for we came in at the West. All this time our presents stood by vs vntill we had dined, and dinner once ended, this was their order of taking by the dishes. Certaine were called in, like those of the Blacke gard in the Court of England, the Turkes call them Moglans. These came in like rude and raucening Pastiffs, without order or fashion, and made cleane riddance: for he whose hungry eye one dish could not fill turned two, one into the other, and thus cuen on the sudden was made a cleane riddance of all. Then came certaine chaufes and brought our gentlemen to sit with the Ambassadour. Immediately came officers & appointed Janisers to beare fro vs our presents, who caried them on the right side of the Court, and set them hard by the dooze of the Priuy chamber, as we call it: there all things stode for the space of an houre. Thus the Ambassadour and his gentlemen sate still, and to the Southward of them was a dooze whereas the great Turke himselfe went in and out at, and on the South side of that dooze sate on a bench all his chiefe lordes and gentlemen, and on the North side of the West gate stood his gard, in number as I gesse them a thousand men. These men haue on their heads round cappes of metall like sculles, but sharpe in the toppes, in this they haue a bunch of DStridge feathers, as bigge as a brush, with the tozner or edge forward: at the lower end of these feathers was there a smaller feather, like those that are commonly worn here. Some of his gard had smal staues, & most of them were weaponed with bowes and arrowes. Were they waited, during our abode at the Court, to gard their Lord. After the Ambassadour with his gentlemen had sieten an houre and moze, there came thzee or foure chaufes, and brought them into the great Turkes presence. At the Priuy chamber dooze two noble men tooke the Ambassadour by ech arme one, and put their fingers within his sleues, and so brought him to the great Turke where he sumptuously sate alone. He kissed his hand and stood by vncill all the gentlemen were brought before him in like maner, one by one, and ledde backwards againe his face towards the Turke; for they might neither carry nor turne their backs, and in like maner returned the Ambassadour. The salutation that the Noble men did, was taking them by the hands. All this time they trode on cloth of golde, most of the Noble men that sate on the South side of the Priuy chamber sate like wise on cloth of golde. Many officers

The Ambassa-
dours repair
to the great
Turkes court.

The entertain-
ment at dinner
of the Ambassa-
dours men.

officers of Janifaries there were with staves, who kept very good order, for no Turke whatsoeuer might goe any further then they willed him. At our Ambassadors entering they followed that bare his presents, to say, twelue fine broad clothes, two pieces of fine holland, tenne pieces of plate double gilt, one case of candlesticks, the case whereof was very large, and three foot high and more, two very great cannes of pots, and one lesser, one basin and ewer, two poppinlayes of siluer, the one with two heads: they were to drinke in: two bottles with chaines, three faire masks in coats of redde cloth, three spaniels, two bloodhounds, one common hunting hound, two greyhounds, two little dogges in coats of silke: one clocke valued at five hundred pounds sterling: ouer it was a Forrest with trees of siluer, among the which were deere chased with dogs, and men on horsebacke following, men drawing of water, others carrying mine oare on barrowes: on the toppe of the clocke stood a castle, and on the castle a mill. All these were of siluer, and the clocke was round beset with iewels. All the time that we stayed at the Councell chamber dooze they were telling of weighing of money to send into Persia for his Souldiours pay. There were carried out an hundred and thye and thirty baggs, and in euery bagge, as it was tolde vs, one thousand ducats, which amounteth to three hundred and thirty thousand *, and in sterling English money to fourescore and nineteene thousand pounds. The Captaine of the guard in the meane time went to the great Turke, and returned againe, then they of the Court made obeisance to him, bowing downe their heads, and their hands on their breasts, and he in like order resaluted them: he was in cloth of siluer, he went and came with two or thye with him and no more. Then wee went out at the first gate, and there we were commanded to stay vntill the Captaine of the guard was passed by and all his guard with him, part before him and part behinde him, some on horsebacke and some on foot, but the most part on foot carrying on their shoulders the money before mentioned, and so we passed home. There was in the Court during our abode there, for the most part a foole resembling the first, but not naked as was the other at the Bassas: but he turned him continually, & cried Vough very hollowly. The third of May I saw the Turke go to the church: he had more then two hundred and fifty horses before and behinde him, but most before him. There were many empty horses that came in no order: Many of his Nobilitie were in cloth of golde, but himselfe in white lartin. There did ride behinde him sixe or seuen pouthes, one or two whereof carried water for him to drinke as they sayd. There were many of his guard running before him and behinde him, and when he alighted, they cried Vough very hollowly, as the aforesayd foolles.

The Turke is
presented with
a rich present.

A letter of Mustapha Chaus to the Queenes most excellent Maiestie.

Serenissima, prudentissima, & sacra Regia Maiestas, domina mihi semper clementissima, meorum fidelium officiorum promptam paratissimamque commendationem. Generosus & virtuosus Gulielmus Hareborne legatus vestrae sacrae Maiestatis venit ad portam excelsissimam potentissimi & inuictissimi, & semper Augustissimi Caesaris Sultan Murad Can, cui Deus omnipotens benedicat. Et quanto honore, quanta dignitate, quantaque humanitate aliorum confederatorum legati accipiuntur, praefatus quoque legatus vester tanta reuerentia, tantaque amplitudine acceptus & collocatus est in porta excelsissima. Et posthac subditi & homines vestrae sacrae Maiestatis ad ditiones omnes Caesareae venire, & sua negocia tractare, & ad suam patriam redire sine impedimento, vt in literis excelsissimi, potentissimi, & inuictissimi, & semper Augustissimi Caesaris ad vestram sacram Regiam Maiestatem datis facile patet, tranquillè & pacificè possunt. Ego autem imprimis diligentem operam & fidele studium & nunc eodem confirmando nauaui, & in futurum quoque vsque in vltimum vitæ spiritum in negotijs potentissimi & inuictissimi Caesaris, & vestrae sacrae Regiae Maiestatis egregiam nauabo operam. Quod Deus omnipotens ad emolumentum & vtilitatem vtriusque Reipublicae secundet. Amen. Sacram Regiam Maiestatem foelicissimè valere exopto. Datum Constantinopoli anno 1583, die octauo Maji.

A letter of the English Ambassadour to M. Haruie Millers, appointing him Consull for the English nation in Alexandria, Cairo, and other places of Egypt.

Having to appoint our Consull in Cayro, Alexandria, Egypt, and other parts adiacent, for the safe protection of body and goods of her Maiesties subiects; being well perswaded of your sufficient abilitie; in her Maiesties name I doe elect and make choise of you, good friend Haruie Millers, to execute the same worshopfull office; as

shall be required for her Maiesties better service, the commodity of her subiects, and my contentation: hauing and inioyng for merit of your trauell in the premises the like remuneration incident to the rest of ours in such office in other parts of this Empire. Requiring you (all other affaires set aside) to repaire thither with expedition, and attend vpon this your charge, which the Almighty grant you well to accomplish. For the due execution whereof, we heere with send you the Grand Signiors Patent of priuilege with ours, and what els is needfull therfore, in so ample maner, as any other Consull whosoever doeth or may enioy the same. In ayd whereof, according to my bounden duty to her Maiesty our most gracious Mistresse, I will be ready alwayes to employ my selfe to the generall benefit of her Maiesties subiects, for your maintenance in all such causes incident to the same. And thus elssoones requiring and commanding you as abovesayd, to performe my request, I bid you most heartily well to fare, and desire God to blesse you. From my mansion Rapamat nigh Pera this 25 of April 1583.

Commission giuen by *M. William Harborne* the English Ambassadour, to *Richard Forster*, authorising him Consull of the English nation in the parts of *Alepo, Damasco, Aman, Tripolis, Ierusalem, &c.*



William Harborne, her Maiesties Ambassadour, Ligier with the Grand Signior, for the affaires of the Leuant doe in her Maiesties name confirme and appoint *Richard Forster* Gentleman, my Deputie and Consull in the parts of *Alepo, Damasco, Aman, Tripolis, Ierusalem*, and all other portes whatsoeuer in the prouinces of *Syria, Palestina, and Iurie*, to execute the office of Consull ouer all our Nation her Maiesties subiects, of what estate or quality soeuer: giuing him hereby full power to defend, protect, and maintaine all such her Maiesties subiects as to him shall be obedient, in all honest and iust causes whatsoeuer: and in like case no lesse power to imprison, punish, and correct any and all such as he shall finde disobedient to him in the like causes, euen in such order as I my selfe might doe by vertue of her Maiesties Commission giuen me the 26 of Nouember 1582, the copie whereof I haue annexed to this present vnder her Maiesties Seale deliuered me to that use. Straighly charging and commanding all her Maiesties subiects in those parts, as they will auoid her Dishonour, displeasure and their owne harmes, to honour his authoritie, and haue due respect vnto the same, aiding and assisting him there with their persons and goods in any cause requisite to her Maiesties good service, and commodity of her dominions. In witness whereof I haue confirmed and sealed these presents at Rapamat my mansionhouse by Pera ouer against Constantinople, the 20 of Iune 1583.

A letter of directions of the English Ambassadour to *M. Richard Forster*, appointed the first English Consull at *Tripolis* in *Syria*.

Richard Forster, these few words are for your remembrance when it shall please the Almighty to send you safe arriually in *Tripolis* of *Syria*. When it shall please God to send you thither, you are to certifie our Nation at *Tripolis* of the certaine day of your landing, to the end they both may haue their house in a readinesse, and also meet you personally at your entrance to accompany you, being your selfe apparelled in the best maner. The next, second, or third day, after your coming, giue it out that you be crazed and not well disposed, by meanes of your trauell at Sea, during which time, you and those there are most wisely to determine in what maner you are to present your selfe to the *Beglerbi, Cadi*, and other officers: who euery of them are to be presented according to the order accustomed of others formerly in like office: which after the note of *Iohn Blanke*, late Vice-consull of *Tripolis* for the French, deliuered you heere with, is very much: and therfore, if therof you can saue any thing, I pray you doe it, as I doubt not but you will. They are to giue you there also another *Tanzarie* according as the French hath; whose outward proceedings you are to imitate and follow, in such sort as you bee not his inferiour, according as those of our Nation heretofore with him resident can informe you. Touching your demeanour after your placing, you are wisely to proceede considering both French and Venetian will haue an enuious eye on you: whom if they perceiue wise and well advised, they will feare to offer you any iniurie. But if they shall perceiue any insufficiencie in you, they will not emitte any occasion to harme you. They are subtle, malicious, and dissembling people, wherfore you must alwayes haue their doings

doings for suspected, and warily walke in all your actions : wherem if you call for Gods diuine assistance, as doth become euery faithfull good Christian, the same shall in such sort direct you as he shall be glorified, your selfe preserved, your doings blessed, and your enemies confounded. Which if contrarywise you omit and forget, your enemies malice shall be satisfied with your confusion, which God defend, and for his mercies sake keepe you. Touching any outlopers of our nation, which may happen to come thither to traffike, you are not to suffer, but to imprison the chiefe officers, and suffer the rest not to traffike at any time, and together enter in such bonds as you thinke meete, that both they shall not deale in the Grand Signiors dominions, and also not harme, during their voyage, any his subiects shippes, vessels, or whatsoeuer other, but quietly depart out of the same country without any harme doing. And touching those there for the company, you are to defend them according to your priuiledge & such commandements as you haue had hence, in the best order you may. In all and euery your actions, at any hand, beware of rashnesse and anger, after both which repentance followeth. Touching your dealings in their affaires of marchandise, you are not to deale otherwise then in secret and counsell. You are carefully to foresee the charge of the house, that the same may be in all honest measure to the companies profit and your owne health through moderation in diet, and at the best hand, and in due time to provide things needfull, to saue what may be : for he that buyeth euery thing when he needeth it, harmeth his owne house, and helpeth the retailer. So as it is, in mine opinion, wisdom to foresee the buying of all things in their native soile, in due time, and at the first hand euery yeere, as you are to send the company the particular accounts of the same expenses. Touching your selfe, you are to cause to be employed fifty or threescore ducats, videlicet, twenty in Sope, and the rest in Spices, whereof the most part to be Pepper, whereof we spend very much. The Spices are to be provided by our friend William Barac, and the Sope buy you at your first arrival, for that this Shippe lading the same commodity will cause it to amount in price. From our mansion Rapamat, the sixt of September 1583.

A letter to the right honourable *William Harborne* her Maiesties
Ambassadour with the *Grand Signior* from *Alger*.

Right honorable, we haue received your honoꝝ letters dated in Constantinople the 5 of Nouember, and accordingly deliuered that inclosed to the king of this place, requiring of him, according as you did command vs in her Maiesties name, that he would vouchsafe to giue order to all his Captaines & Raies that none of them should meddle with our English shippes comming or going to or from these parts, for that they haue order not to passe by the Christian coast, but vpon the coast of Barbary, and shewing him of the charter giuen by the Grand Signior, requiring him in like case that for the better fulfilling of the amity, friendship and holy league betweene the Grand Signior and her Maiesty, he would giue vs six or six safeconducts for our ships, that meeting with any of his gallies or galliots, they might not meddle with them neither shoot at them: who made me and were he would neither giue me any safe conduct nor commission to his men of war not to meddle with them, for that he trusted to take some of them this yere, and made good account thereof. In like maner I spake to the chiefe of the Janifers and the Leuents, who made me answer, the best hope they had this yere was to take some of them, and although they haue the Grand Signiors commandement we care not therefore: for we will by policy, or one meanes or other prouoke them to shoot some ordinance, which if they do but one pierce, the peace is broken, and they be good prizes. And some of them say further, we care not for their safeconduct, for if they shew it vs, we will conuey it away, we are sure the dogs cannot be beleued against vs. The premises considered, your honoꝝ is with all speed to procure the Grand Signior his fauorable letters directed to Hazan, the Cady, Captaines, Janifers, & Leuents, & another like to Romadan Bassa, king of Tripolis, commanding them in no maner whatsoeuer to deale with our English ships bound into those parts or returning thence with their commodities, although they should shoot one at another: for when our ships shall meet them, for that, as your honoꝝ is aduertised, the gallies of Carthage, Florence, Sicilia and Malta haue made a league to take all our ships comming in or going out of the Grand Signiors dominions, therefore if they meet with any of these gallies of Alger or Tripolis, thinking they be of them, and not knowing them a far off, they may shoot at them, which if therefore they should make them prizes, were against Gods lawes, the Grand Signior his league, all reason and conscience, considering that all the world doth know that Merchants ships laden with marchandise do not seeke to fight with men of warre, but contrariwise to defend themselves from them, when they would do them harme. Wherefore if your honoꝝ do not

get out two letters of the Grand Signior as aforesayd, & send them hither with all speed by some one of your gentlemen accompanied with a chaus of the Court, or some other of the Grand Signiors seruants, it is impossible that our English ships can escape freely from these or the Christians: for either they must of force go on the Christian coast, and so fall into their hands, or els on this coast, and fall into the kings of this towne, or Tripolis, their hands, which if they should, will neuer be recouered. And if your honoz cannot obtaine this thing, I beseech your honoz in the behalfe of all the English marchants (who sent me hither to follow such order as your honoz should giue me) to certifie her Maiesty, to the end that they may be commanded to leaue off traffique, and not to lose their goods, and her poore subiects the Mariners. And thus humbly taking my leaue, I desist from troubling your honoz. From Algier the tenth of February 1583.

A letter of M. *Harborne* to *Mustapha*, challenging him for his dishonest dealing in translating of three of the *Grand Signior* his commandements.



Omne Mustapha, nescimus quid sibi velit, cum nobis mandata ad finem vtilem concessa perperam reddas, quæ male scripta, plus damni, quam vtilitatis adferant: quemadmodum constat ex tribus receptis mandatis, in quibus summum aut principale deest aut aufertur. In posterum noli ita nobiscum agere. Ita enim ludibrio erimus omnibus in nostrum & tuum dedecus. Cum nos multarum actionum spem Turcicè scriptarum in tua prudentia reponimus, ita prouidere debes, vt non eueniant huiusmodi mala. Quocirca deinceps cum mandatum aut scriptum aliquod accipias, verbum ad verbum conuertatur in Latinum sermonem, ne damnum inlequatur. Nosti multos habere nos inimicos conatibus nostris inuidentes, quorum malitiæ vestræ est prudentiæ aduersari. Hi nostri, Secretarius & minimus interpret ex nostra parte dicent in tribus illis receptis mandatis errata, Vt deinceps similes errores non eueniant precamur. Ista emendes, & cætera Serenissimæ regiæ Maiestatis negocia, vt decet vestræ conditionis hominem, melius cures. Nam vnicuique tuo officio strenuè est laborandum vt debito tramite omnia succedant: quod spero te facturum. Bene vale.

The Pasport in Italian granted to *Thomas Shingleton* Englishman, by the king of *Algier*. 1583.



Oi *Assan Basha* Vicere & lochotenente e capitano della iurisdizione de *Algier* doniamo e concediamo libero saluo condutto a *Thomas Shingleton* mercadante, che possi con suo vassello e marinari de che natione se siano, e mercadantia di qual si voglia natione, andare & venire, e negoziare, e contrattare liberamente in questa citta de *Algier* & altri lochi de la nostra iurisdizione cosi di ponente comi di Levante: & così anchora commandiamo al capitano di mare di *Algier* & d' altri lochi de nostra iurisdizione, Rais de Vasselli & capitani de Levante, & altri capitani di vasselli tanto grossi como piccoli, si commanda a qual si voglia, che trouando il sopradetto *Thomas Shingleton* Inglese nelli mari di *Genua*, *Francia*, *Napoli*, *Calabria*, e *Sardigna* con suo vassello e mercantia, & homini de che nationi si siano, non gli debba molestare, ne pigliare, ne toccare cosa de nessuna maniera tanto di denare, como di qual si voglia altra robba, sotto la pena e disgratia di perdir la vita & la robba: Et per quanto haueate a caro la gratia del Gran Signor nostro patrono *Soltan Murates* Ottomano, lo lasciate andare per suo camino senza dargli nessuno impedimento. Dato in *Algier* in nostro reggio Palazzo, sigillato del nostro reggio sigillo, e fermato della gran ferma, & scritto del nostro reggio Secretario, il dì 23 de Ianaro, 1583.

The same in English.

WE *Assan Basha* Viceroy and lieutenant, and captain of the iurisdiction of *Algier*, giue and grant free safeconduct to *Thomas Shingleton* marchant, that with his ship and mariners, of what nation soeuer they be, & with his merchandize of what countrey soeuer, he may go and come, and trade & traffike freely in this city of *Algier*, and other places of our iurisdiction, as well of the West as of the East. And in like sort we further command the captain of the sea of *Algier*, and other places of our iurisdiction, the Reiz of vessels & captains of the *Leuant*, & other captaines of vessels as well great as small, who soeuer they be, we do command them, that finding the aforesayd *Thomas Shingleton* Englishman in the seas of *Genua*, *France*, *Naples*, *Calabria*,
and

and Sardinia, with his ship and merchandize, and men of what nation soever they be, that they molest the not, neither take nor touch any kind of thing of theirs, neither money nor any other kind of goods, under paine and peril of losing of their liues and goods: and as you make account of the fauour of the Grand Signor our lord Sulran Murates Hortoman, so see you let him passe on his way without any maner of impediment. Dated at Alger in our kingly palace, signed with our princely Signet, and sealed with our great seale, and written by our Secretarie of estate, the 23. of Iuaniuarie, 1583.

A letter written in Spanish by Sir Edward Osborne, to the king of Alger, the 20. of Iuly, 1584. in the behalfe of certaine English captiues there detained.



Vy alto y poderoso Rey,

Sea seruida vostra alteza. Como la muy alta y potentissima magestad del Gran Senor tiene hecho articulos de priuilegios con la Serenissima Magestad de nuestra Reyna d'Inglaterra, para los vassallos della poder libremente yr y boluer, y tratar por mar y tierra en los dominios de su potentissima Magestad, Como a la clara paresce por los dichos articulos, de che embiamos el tractado al Senor Iuan Tipton nuestro commissario, para le mostrar a vostra Alteza. Contra el tenor de los quales articulos por dos galeras de su ciudad de Alger ha sido hechado al fondo en la mar un de nuestros nauos que venia de Patras, que es en la Morea, cargado de corintes y otras mercaderias, que allá se compraron, y las mas de la gente del la matados y abogados en la mar, y el resto estan detenidos por esclauos: cosa muy contraria a los dichos articulos y priuilegios. Que es ocasion, que por esto supplicamos a vostra Alteza muy humilmente, que pues que la potentissima magestad del Gran Senor es seruida nos fauorescer por los dichos articulos, tambien sea seruida vostra Alteza assistirnos en ellos, otorgandonos por vostra autoridad su aiuda y fauor, segun que esperamos, para que puedan estar libres, y boluer para aca aquellos pobres hombres ansí hechos esclauos, como dicho es. Y ansí mismo, que mande vostra Alteza dar orden a los capitanes, maestres y gente de las galeras, que nos dexen de aqui adelante hazer nuestro trafico con seys naos cada anno para a Turquia a los dominios del gran Senor a paz y a saluo, por no contrariar a los dichos nuestros priuilegios, Lleuando cada vna de nuestras dichas naos por se conoscer un saluo conuido de su alta y potentissima magestad. Y con esta vostra tan senallada merced y fauor que en esso recibieremos, quedaremos nosotros con grandissima obligation a vostra Alteza de seruirla por ello, segun que el dicho Senor Iuan Tipton, a quien nos reportamos de todo lo demas, mejor informera a vostra Alteza: Cuya serenissima persona y estado supplicamos y pidimos a Dios omnipotente prospere y acrecescente con toda felicidad y honra. De la ciudad de Londres a los veynte dias de Iulio del mil y quinientos y ochenta y quatro annos.

Alferuio de vuestra Alteza por y en nombre de cada
los trasantes en Turquia, lo el Mayor de Londres,
Edward Osborne

The same in English.

Right high and mightie king,
 May it please your highnesse to vnderstand, that the most high and most mightie maie stie of the Grand Signor hath confirmed certaine articles of priuileges with the most excellent maie stie of our Queene of England, that her subiects may freely go and come, and traffike by sea and land in the dominions of his most mighty maie stie, as appeareth more at large by y^e said articles, where of we haue sent the copy vnto M. Ioh. Tipton our Commisarie, to shew the same vnto your highnesse. Against the tenor of which articles, one of our ships which came from Patras which is in Morea, laden with cozants and other merchandizes which were bought in those parts, was sunke by 2. gallies of your citie of Alger, and the greatest number of the men thereof were slain and drowned in the sea, the residue being detained as slaues: An acte very contrary to the meaning of the aforesaid articles and priuileges: which is the occasio that by these presents we beseech your highnesse very humbly, that since it hath pleased the most mightie maie stie of the Grand Signor to fauour vs with the sayd priuileges, it would please your Highnesse in like maner to assist vs in the same, graunting vs by your authoritie, your ayde and fauour, according as our hope is, that these pooze men so detained in captiuitie, as is aforesaid, may be set at libertie, & returne into their countrey. And likewise that your highnesse would send to giue order to the captaines, matters and people of your gallies, that from hence forth they would suffer vs to vse our traffique with sixe ships perye into Turkie vnto the dominions of the Grand Signor in peace and safetie, that they do not

An English
ship sunke by
two gallies of
Alger.

withstand

withstand those our said privileges, every one of our foresaid ships carrying with them a passeport of his most high and most mightie maiestie to be known by. And for that your so singular fauour and curtesie which in so doing we shall receiue, we on our part with all bounden duetie vnto your highnesse, will seeke to honour you in that behalfe, according as the sayd master John Tipton (to whom wee referre our selues touching all other circumstances) shall moze at large enforce your highnesse, whose most excellent person and estate, we pray and beseech almightie God to prosper and increase with all felicitie and honour. From the Citie of London, the 20. of July, 1584.

At the seruice of your highnesse; for and in the name of our whole company trading into Turkie, I Maior of London, Edward Osborne,

Notes concerning the trade of *Alger*.

The money of *Alger*.



The money that is coined in *Alger* is a piece of gold called *Asiano*, & *Doublaes*, and two *Doublaes* make an *Asiano*, but the *Doubla* is most vsed, for all things be sold by *Doublaes*, which *Doubla* is fiftie of their *Aspers* there.

The *Asper* there is not so good by halfe & moze, as that in *Constantinople*: for the *Chekin* of gold of the *Turkes* made at *Constantinople* is at *Alger* worth an 150. *Aspers*, and at *Constantinople* it is but 66. *Aspers*.

The pistolet and roials of plate are most currant there.

The said pistolet goeth for 130. *Aspers* there: & the picce of 4. roials goeth for 40. *Aspers*, but oftentimes is sold for moze, as men need them to carry vp into *Turkie*.

Their *Asianos* and *Doublaes* are pieces of course gold, worth here but 40. s. the ounce, so the same is currant in no place of *Turkie* out of the kingdom of *Alger*, neither the *Aspers*, for that they be lesse then others be, for they come them in *Alger*.

The custome.

The custome to the king is inward 10. per centum, to the *Turke*, to be paid of the commoditie it selfe, or as it shall be rated.

There is another custome to the *Ermine*, of one & an halfe per centum, which is to the *Iustice* of the *Chyistians*: the goods for this custome are rated as they are for the kings custome.

Having paid custome inward, you pay none outward for any commoditie that you doe lade, moze then a reward to the gate keepers.

The waights.

The waight there is called a *Cantare* for fine wares, as mettals refined, and spices, &c. which is here 120. li. subtil.

Metcall not refined, as lead, iron, and such grosse wares, are sold by a great *Cantare*, which is halfe as big againe: so it is 180. li. subtil of ours here.

The measure.

The measure of cozne is by a measure called a *Curtia*, which is about 4. bushels of our measure, and cozne is plentiful there and good cheape, except when there hapneth a very dry yeere.

The surest lodging for a *Chyistian* there is in a *Jewes* house: for if he haue any hurt, the *Jew* and his goods shall make it good, so the *Jew* taketh great care of the *Chyistian* and his goods that lieth in his house, for feare of punishment.

The surest lodging for a *Chyistian*.

An *Englishman* called *Thomas Williams*, which is *John Tiptons* man, lieth about trade of merchandize in the streete called *The Soca* of the *Jewes*.

Notes concerning the trade in *Alexandria*.



Alexandria in *Egypt* is a free port, and when a man cometh within the castles, presently the *Ermyn* sends aboord to haue one come and speake with him, to know what goods are aboord: and then hee will set guards aboord the ship to see all the goods discharged. And then from the *Ermin* you goe to the * *Bye*, onely for that he will inquire newes of you, and so from thence to the *Consuls* house where you lie. The *Venetians* haue a *Consul* themselves. But all other nations goe to the *French* nations *Consul*, who will giue you a chamber for your selues apart, if you will so haue it.

This is another officer.

Other small customs you pay besides, which may be at two in the hundred: and for *Consul* sillage you pay two in the hundred.

The customs inward of all commodities are ten in the hundred, & the custome is paid in wares also that you buy: for the same wares in barter you pay also ten in the hundred, at the lading of the wares. But if you sell for money, you pay no moze custome but the ten aforesaid, and one and a half in the hundred, which is for the custome of the goods you lade for the sayd money, for moze custome you pay not. But for all the money you bring thither, you pay nothing for the custome of the same. And if you sell your wares for money, and with the same money buy wares, you pay but two in the hundred for the custome thereof. And if you steale any custome, if it be taken, you pay double custome for that you steale.

The weight of Alexandria is called *Pois Fortoreine*, which is a kintal in that place, which maketh at Marseils 109. li. of Marseils waight, at 15 ounces the pound, which is 103. li. of 16. ounces to the li. There is another waight called *Pois Gernin*, which is 150. li. of Marseils waight, by which are sold all things to eate: but spice is sold by the former waight.

From Alexandria to Cairo is three daies iourney, but you must take a Janissarie with you: & to go by thither by water it is 8. dayes iourney. *Royals of Spaine* are currant mony there, and are the best money you can cary. And 4. royals are woorth 13. *Medins*, and 2. *Medins*, are 3. *Aspers*. *Pisolets* and crownes of France and *Dollers* will goe, but of all *Royals* are best.

Cairo thre
daies iourney
from Alexan-
dria by land.

Rice is not permitted to goe out of the land, but is kept for a victuall. But with a present to the *Bye* and *Ermine* some may passe.

All sortes of spices be garbled after the bargaine is made, and they be *Moore*s which you deale withall, which be good people and not ill disposed. And after you be searched & haue leaue to passe, you must presently depart out of the port, and if you doe not, they will search you againe. And you must depart in the day, for in the night the castles will not suffer you to depart. The ductie to the *Consul* is 2. in the hundred, for his aide, and meate and drinke and all. And the port of Alexandria is good when one is within it with good ankers and cables, *Siluer* is better currant then gold in Alexandria, but both are good.

Commonly the *Catavans* come thither in October from Mecca to Cairo, and from thence to Alexandria, where the merchants be that buy the spices, and therefore the spices are brought most to Alexandria, where each *Christian* nation remaineth at the *Consuls* houses. Yet ofentimes the christians go by to Cairo to buy drugs & other commodities there, as they see cause. And the commodities there vendible are all sortes of kersies, but the most part blewes, and of clothes all colours except mingled colours and blacks. *Pepper* is usually sold for 24. ducats the quintal, *Singer* for 14. ducats. You must take canvas to make bags to put your commodity in from Alexandria, for there is none. There is also fine flaxe, and good stoe of *Wusse* hides.

A letter of the English ambassador to M. Edward Barton.

M After Barton I send you 3. commandements in Turkish, with a copy thereof in English, to the ende our ships might not come in danger of breack of league, if they should honte at the gallies of those of Algier, Tunis, and Tripolis in the West: which after you haue shewed the *Bassas*, receiue againe into your hands, and see them registred, and then deliuer one of them to our friend *D. Tipron*, & the like you are to do with the priuilege which you cary with you, and see them jointly registred in the *Cadies* booke, deliuering the copy of the said priuilege sealed by the *Cadi*, also to the sayd our friend *D. Tipron*, taking a note of his hand for the receipt thereof, and for deliuerie at all times to vs or our assignes. And require them in her maiesties and the grand Signors name, that they will haue our ships passing too and fro vnder licence and safeconduct for recommended in friendly maner. Touching your proceedings in Tripolis with *Romadan*, as I haue not receiued any aduise thereof, since your departure, so must I leaue you to God and my former directi. The ship patronised of *Hassan Rayes*, which you wrote to be ours, prooued to be a *Catalonian*. As for ours, by report of that *Hassan* and other *Iewes* in his ship, it was affirmed to be sold to the *Malteses*, which with the rest you are to receiue there. And hauing ended these affaires and registred our priuilege, and these three commandements, in Tripolis, Tunis, and Algier, I pray you make speedy returne, and for that which may be recovered, make ouer the same either to *Richard Rowed* for *Patrasso* in *Morea*, or otherwise hither to *Iohn Bate* in the surest maner you may, if the registring of that your priuilege and these commandements will not suffer you in person to returne with the same. From my *Banckon Rapamat* in *Pera* this 24. of *June* 1584.

The commandement obtained of the *Grand Signior* by her Maiesties ambassador *M. Will. Harborne*, for the quiet passing of her subiects to and fro his dominions, sent in *An. 1584.* to the *Viceroyes* of *Algier*, *Tunis* & *Tripolis* in *Barbary*.

To our Beglerbeg of Algier.

W E certifie thee by this our commandement, that the right honorable *Will. Harborne* ambassador to the *Queenes* maiestie of England hath signified vnto vs, that the ships of that countrey in their coming and returning to and from our Empire, on the one part of the Seas haue the *Spaniards*, *Florentines*, *Sicilians* and *Malteses*, on the other part our countreys committed to your charge: which abovesaid *Christians* will not quietly suffer their egress and regress, into, and out of our dominions, but doe take and make the men captiues,

times, and soz for the shippes and goods, as the last yeere the Malteses did one, which they tooke at Gerbi, and to that end do continually lie in wait for them to their destruction, whereupon they are constrained to stand to their defence at any such time as they might meet with them. Wherefore considering by this means they must stand upon their guard, when they shall see any gallie a farre off, whereby if meeting with any of your gallies and not knowing them, in their defence they do shoot at them, and yet after when they doe certainly know them, do not shoote any more, but require to passe peaceably on their voiage, which you would deny, saying, the peace is broke because you haue shot at vs, and so make prize of them contrary to our priuileges, and against reason: for the preventing of which inconuenience the said ambassadoz hath required this our commandement. Wherefore we command thee, that vpon sight hereof thou doe not permit any such matter in any sort whatsoeuer, but suffer the sayd Englishmen to passe in peace according to the tenour of our commandement giuen, without any disturbance or let by any means vpon the way, although that meeting with thy gallies, and not knowing them a farre off, they taking them for enemies should shoot at them, yet shall you not suffer them to hurt them therefore, but quietly to passe. Wherefore looke thou that they may haue right, according to our priuilege giuen them, & finding any that absenteth himself, & will not obey this our commandement, presently certifie vs to our port, that we may giue order for his punishment, and with reuerence giue faithfull credite to this our commandement, which hauing read, thou shalt againe returne it vnto them that present it. From our palace in Constantinople, the 1. of June 1584.

A letter of the honorable M. Will. Harborne her maiesties ambass. with the grand Signior to M. Tipton, appointing him Consul of the English in Algier, Tunis, & Tripolis of Barbarie.

M After Tipton, I haue receiued among others, yours of the 10. of Nouember 1584. by Soliman Sorda, certifying the receipt of mine of the 24. of June 1584. with the 3. commandements, which not being registred, let it now be done. Where you write the force of the priuilege to be broken by our shippes in shooting, & therefore be lawfully taken, you are deceiued, for of those taken in the, hath the grand Signior now deliuered vs free, Wil. Moore, and Rob. Rawlings, & further promised the rest in like case, where soeuer they be, & that hereafter no violence shall be shewed, considering ours be merchants shippes which go peaceably in their voiage, & were ignorant of the orders of Algier, neither knew a farre off whether they were friends or the Christians gallies in league against vs, of whom they most doubt, who not suffering our shippes to come into these parts, will make prize of the goods & captiue the men, so as they are not to let them come nigh them: & since ours haue not done contrary to the articles of the same priuilege, wherein is no order for Algier prescribed vs, as both by the original now sent vs, & also by the copy now sent you from London you may perceiue, they according to right are as aboue said to be set free, and their goods restored, which if it be not there accomplished as the grand Signior hath now commanded & most faithfully promised, neither yet in case of their denial, those offenders punished here, and our iniuries redressed, we are to demand our Congie, & command our merchants her maiesties subiects, to end their traffike here, which in our countrey commodities is proued & found by the grand Signior to be so beneficial to his countries as we are assured so well thereof, as also for the honoz which his ancestors neuer had of friendship wth so mighty a prince as is her maiesty, he wil not but maintaine y^e faith promised her, & the intercourse in due force. And where you say y^e the grand Signior his letters, in the behalf of the French, were no more accepted there, then of a mean man, nor tooke no place, that is not material to vs, our letters are after another sort much more effectually. For our case & theirs be found far different, in y^e they be not onely now out of fauour wth him, but also the commodities which they bring hither, as sugar, paper, bracelets, ropes of bast almonds, &c. all which may be here well spared, & we contrarily so well esteemed, as he neuer denied vs any thing since our comming demanded, which neither their ambassadoz, nor the Venecian could haue here, & therefore we rest perswaded, knowing the wisdom of the Begleibeg, who is aduised by his friends from hence, of this our credite wth his master, he wil so respect his commandements, as to accomplish y^e tenor thereof according to our desire. And where you say y^e the Ianizers rule all there, I know right well y^e if things be not done as the grand Signior commandeth, his lieutenant must answer it. And therefore I am fully perswaded if he doe what he may they dare not resist him, for if they should, those rebels should not be unpunished of y^e grand Signior. And though they speake their pleasures among themselves there, yet they be not so brutish, but they well consider that their matter y^e grand Signior may not be gainesaid or mocked of any. For vpon his word dependeth the life or death eue of the chiefest, as I haue seene since my comming hither. So whatsoeuer these Ianizaries say, they will be better aduised in their deenes then to withstand their Ticeroy, if he himselfe wil vse his lawfull power, which if hee doe not, hee cannot purge himselfe here of their euill proceedings against the grand Signiors friends: for the feet may not rule the bodie, but contrarywise, the

the head, the feete, and all the rest of the members. And for that neither for feare, affection or otherwise you omit as a faithfull true subiect to her maiestie to do your dutie, I do by my warrant going herewith charge you, & in her maiesties name, to the vttermost to vse your good and faithfull endeavour, as becommeth a true subiect, & in all things that may concerne her maiesties good seruite, assisting the Chais with the rest of our messengers in counsel, trauel, & what els shall be thought requisite for your good discharge of your dutie. And to y end you may boldly proceed herein as also for the good opinion Sir Edward Osborne & the company haue of you, and I no lesse perswaded of your wisdom, vpright dealing, & good experience in those parts, do send you herewith the grand Signiors & our patents for exercising the office of Consul there, in Tripolis & Tunis: by vertue of which authoritie you may without feare proceed as the office doeth challenge in defence of our priuilege, to redresse all iniuries offered our nation. Which if you cannot get reformed there of y Beglerbies vpon your complaint, I thereof aduertised, shall doe it here, and to the vttermost maintaine you in al rightfull causes whatsoeuer, doubt you not. And hereafter according to your aduise, I wil and do giue our ships order not to fight with any gallies of Alger, but to hoist out their kisse and and go aboard to shew them their safer conduct, & to present the captain with a garment, & you there in such like case are to take order that they do not forceably take any thing from them. Nothing doubting but the Viceroy (whose friendship in her maiesties behalfe I desire) will not onely perforce me the same your iust request, & according to right, restore to libertie our men since the priuilege taken, but also cause those y tooke & sunke our ships to answer the value, which I haue set downe truly, and rather with the least in the true copie translated into Turkish, whereof the inclosed is the copy in English, which I send to the end you may be the better informed of my demand by this our Chais Mahomet, with whom in all things you are to confere of matters expedient, for the honoz of her maiesties country, & the commoditie, and libertie of poore captiues, which if the Viceroy do wel consider, according to his wisdom, as the grand Signior doeth thereof, he shall wel perceiue it not onely a great honour to his master as aforesaid, to continue this amitie with her maiestie, but chiefly to the whole estate of his kingdom exceeding yossible, which by this means shall be abundantly serued with the chiefest commodities they want, with many other things of moze importance to the grand Signior his contentation, not herein to be mentioned. For I know the Viceroyes experienced wisdom can wel consider thereof, in such sort as he wil not deny to accomplish his masters commandement, & our earnest request in so smal a matter as this we require, whereof I expect no refusal: for thereby he shall increase his honoz with the grand Signior, be in credite with her maiestie, be void of trouble which hereafter by future suite against him may happen, and his gallies free of such doubtful issue as doeth chance, fighting without ships. Which, as it is well known to all the world, haue so great hearts as neuer cowardly to yeld to their enemies. And that therefore in that respect (after the youtierbe, like esteeme of their like) they are the moze of such a valiant prince as is their Viceroy and his couragious souldiers to be in all friendship cherished and better esteemed. If the captaine Bassa had bene returned from Capha, I would in like maner haue procured his letters, which for that he is not, I doubt nothing but that the grand Signiors will suffice. Thus commending your selfe and these proceedings to the almighty his merciful direction, I bid you most heartily wel to fare. From my mansion Rapamaugh Pera, this 30. of March 1585.

The Intend
re of our ships
and goods
sunke and tak
ken by the gal
lies of Alger.

Series vel registrum valoris nauium, bonorum, & hominum per triremes

Argerienses ereptorum, vna cum captiuorum hominum nominibus,

Beglerbego Argeriensi Hassano.

- 1 Salomon de Plimmouth habuit 36. homines, onerata cum sale, onere trecentorum doliorum, valore Florenorum 5600.
- 2 Elizabetha de Garnesey cum decem hominibus Anglis, reliquis Britonibus, valore Florenorum 2000.
- 3 Maria Martin de London onere centum & triginta doliorum, rector Thoma More cum triginta quinque hominibus, reuertens de Patrasso cum mandato Cesareo, valore Florenorum 1400.
- 4 Elizabeth Stokes de London, rector David Fillie de London, Patrassum veniens cum mandato Cesareo: huius precipuis erat in talleris numeratis, quos habuit Richardus Gibben, qui adduxit etiam Serenissimæ Regineæ maiestatis literas Cesari & oratori. Valor reliquis in mercibus vna cum superiori in talleris efficit Florenorum 21500.
- 5 Nicolaus de London, rector Thoma Forster, onerata cum vuis siccis, valore Florenorum 4800.

In tempore *Romadan Beglerbegi Argiræ spoliata & erepta*
naues, merces, & homines.

- 1 **I** Vdith de London, rectore Iacobo Beare, cum hominibus 24. valore Florenorum 3100.
2 **I**esus de London, rectore Andræa Dier, cum 21. hominibus, Valorem huius & 14. homines, reliquis mortuis, reddidit Romadan Bassa Tripolitanus Secretario legati, Edwardo Barton, valore Florenorum 9000.

Nomina hominum mancipatorum & viuentium tunc temporis, quando Cæsar illustrissimus, & dominus Orator Chaufcum Mahumetem miserunt Algram.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| 1 | Ante fœdus initum in naue Peter de Bristow, | } John Winter.
} Robert Barton. |
| 2 | In naue Swallow de London. | } Rich. Crawford.
} Anthony Eluers.
} Wil. Rainolds. |
| | Post fœdus initum in naue Britona, | } James Poong. |
| 1 | In naue Rabnet de Hampton, | } Thomas Lisney. |
| 2 | In naue Salomon. | } John Tracie.
} Wil. Griffith.
} Wil. Cocke. |
| 1 | In naue Elizabeth. John Woodward, Giles Maper, Leonard James, Oliuer Dallimore, and Richard Haunsell. | |
| 2 | In naue Maria Martin. Thomas Hooze, Wil. White, Wil. Palmer, Rich. Long, Peter Hatch, Rich. Hallerwood, Wil. Dewly, Wil. Cowel, John Franke, Henry Parker, John Cauendish, Poifes Robinson, James Sotherich, Henry Howel, Rich. Smith, Henry Rafter, Rich. Daufson, Rich. Palmer. | |
| 3 | In naue Elizabeth Stokes. David Fille, Walter Street, Laurence Wilkins, Morgan Davis, John Quinte, Ambrose Par:son, John Peterson, Tristram Hois, Roger Ribbe. | |
| 4 | In naue Nicholas, Thomas Foster rector nauis & eius nauæ. | |

To Assan Aga, Eunuch & Treasurer to Hassan Bassa king of Alger,
which *Assan Aga* was the tonne of *Fran. Rowlie* of *Bristow* merchant, taken in the *Swallow*.

Receiued your letters of Will. Hamor gentleman my seruant very thankfully, as well for the feruent faith that by his report I heare you haue in our lord Iesus Christ, by whose onely merits and bloodshedding, you together with vs and all other good Christians so truly believing, shall be saued, as also for your faithfull obedience like a true subject to her Maestie, naturally longing your countrey & countreyemen declared in your fauourable furtherance of the said Wil. Hamor, procuring their redemption. Of which your good & vertuous actions, as I reioice to vnderstand, so wil I impart the same to your singular cõmendation, both to our mistress her Maestie, & her most honorable counsellers the nobilitie of England, to whom assure your selfe the report shall be very welcome. And now this second time I am inforced by duetie to God & her maestie, as also by the final regard your master had of the Grand Signors former commandements, to complaine vnto him, though not so vehemently as I had occasion by his most vnwoorthy answer. But I hope, & the rather by your means, he will not contrary this second commandement, threatening him, not obseruing the same, losse of office & life. The due execution whereof by your vertuous & careful industry procured, wil manifest to all the world, especially to her maestie, & me her ambassador, your true christian mind & English heart, intenuely bent to Gods honor, & the libertie of the poore men, for which I trust you be ordained another Ioseph, to follow his example in true pietie, in such sort that not withstanding your body be subject to Turkish thraldom, yet your vertuous mind free frõ those vices, next vnder God addict to y good seruice of your liege Lady & soueraigne princes, her most excellent maestie, wil continually seeke by all good means to manifest y same in this & the like faithfull seruice to your singular cõmendation, wherby both my selfe & others in that place hauing found you in all good offices faithfull affectionated, may in like case performe the like towards you, when & where you may haue occasion to vse me: which as I for my part do assuredly promise, & wil no lesse faithfullly performe; so accordingly I expect herein, and hereafter the like of you, whom most heartily saluted I commend to the diuine tuition and holy direction. From my house Rapamat, this 28. of June 1586.

Your louing and good friend her Maesties Ambassador
with the Grand Signor, *Will. Harborne.*

A petition

A petition exhibited to the Viceroy for reformation of sundry injuries offered our nation in *Morea*, as also for sundry demaundes needefull for the establishing of the traffike in those parts.

1 **I**ft that our people may be freed of such wonted moleftation, as the Janifers of Patrosso haue alwayes from time to time offered them, not regarding the kings commandements to the contrary. That they be remoued and called away from thence, and none other remaine in their place.

2 **T**hat where heretofore the kings commandements haue bene graunted to ours, that no person whatfoeuer shall forceably take from them any of their commodities, other wise then paying them befoze the deliuerie thereof, for the same in ready mony, at such price as they themselves will, and sell ordinarily to others, as also that no officer whatsoeuer, of the kings or any other, shall force them to buy any commodities of that countrey, other wise then the needefull, at their owne will and pleasure, that the said commandements nor heretofore obeyed may be renued with such straight charge for the execution of the same, as is requisite for their due effect.

3 **T**hat whereas sundry exactions and oppzessions be offered ours by such Byes, Sanjacbies, iustices and Cadies, Ianizaries, Capagies, and others, officers of the kings comming downe into those parts, who finding there resident no other nation but only ours, will vnder the name of presents forceable take from them what they please: We do require to obuent these harmes, it may be specified by a commandement from the king to which of such his officers, presents may be giuen, and their sundry valnes, whereby both they and ours may rest contented, seuerely prohibiting in the said commandement, that they take no more then that appointed them, and that no other officers but those onely specified in that commaundment, doe forcibly require of them any thing whatsoeuer.

4 **T**hat the Nadir and Customer of the port, hauing permitted our ship to lade, doe not after demand of the marchants any other then the outward custome due to the king for the same goods, And being so laden, may by them and the Cadie with other their inferiour officers be visited, requiring for the visiting no more then formerly they were accustomed to pay at their first comming. After which the said ship to depart at the Consuls pleasure, without any moleftation of them, or any other officer whatsoeuer.

5 **T**hat Mahomet Chaus, sometime Nadir of Lepanto, and Azon Agon his substitute being with him may be severely punished to the example of others, for often and vniustly molesting our nation, contrary to the kings commandement, which they disdainfully contemned, as also that the said Mahomet restore and pay vnto ours thirtie for 300 sackes of currants nowe taken forcibly out of a barke, comming thither from the hither partes of *Morea*, to pay the king his custome, and that from hence forth, neither the said Mahomet, Azon Agon, nor any other officer or person whatsoeuer doe hinder or trouble any of ours going thither or to any other place about ther affaires.

6 **T**hat whereas certaine Jewes of Lepanto owing money to our marchants for commodities solde them, haue not hitherto satisfied them, notwithstanding ours had from the king a commandement for the recouery of the same debts; but fled and absented themselves out of the Towne at the comming of the same, another more forcible commaundement may be graunted ours, that for non payment, whatsoeuer may be found of theirs in goods, houses, vineyards, or any other thing, may be sold, and ours satisfied of their said debt, according to equitie and reason.

A commandement to Patrosso in *Morea*.

When this commandement shall come vnto you, know you, that the Consull of the English Nation in our port of Patrosso, hath giuen vs to vnderstand, that formerly we graunted him a commandement that hauing paid once custome for the currants bought to lade in their ships, they shall not pay it againe: according to which they bringing it to the port of Patrosso, inforcing thereof Mahomet the Nadir of Lepanto, he contrary to the tenor thereof and former order, doth againe take another custome of him, and requiring him to know why he so did contrary to our commandement, he answered vs, he tooke it not for custome, but for a present. Forcouer the sayd Consull certified vs how that the said Nadir contrary to to ancient custome doth not take for the kings right as he ought currants, but will haue of the poore men money at his pleasure, and therewith buyeth currants at a very low price, which after he doth forcibly sell to vs at a much higher price, saying it is remainder of the goods of the king, and by this means doth hurt the poore men and do them wrong. Therefore I command you by this my commandement, that

you looke to this matter betweene this Consull, the Nadir, and this people, and do therein equally according to right. And see that our comendement in this matter be observed in such sort, as they hauing once in the port paid full custome, do not pay it againe, neither that this Nadir do take any more money of them by the way of present, for that therein it is most certaine he doth them iniurie contrary to the Canon. And if with you shall be found to the value of one Asper taken heretofore wrongfully of them, see it presently restored to them, without any default. And from henceforth let it be that he doe neither him nor his people wrong, but that he deale with them in all things according to our Canon, that the Consull and his hereafter haue no occasion any more to complaine here in our Court, and that the Nadir proceed in gathering cozants of the people after the old order and not otherwise. This know you for certaine, and giue credit to this my commaundement, which hauing read deliuer againe into the Consuls handes. From Constantinople the yeere of Mahomet 993.

A commandement for *Chio*.

Vobis, Beg & Cadi & Ermini, qui estis in Chio, significamus: quod serenissimæ Regineæ Maiestatis Angliæ orator, qui est in excelsa porta per literas significauit nobis, quod ex nauibus Anglicis vna nauis venisset ad portum Chio, & illinc Constantinopolim recto cursu uolisset venire, & contra priuilegium detinuitis, & non fuisistis venire. Hęc prædictus orator significauit nobis: & petiuit a nobis in hoc negotio hoc mandatum, vt naues Angliæ veniant & redeant in nostras ditiones Cæsareas, Priuilegium datum & concessum est ex parte Serenitatis Cæsareæ nostræ: & huius priuilegij copia data est sub insigni nostro: Et contra nostrum priuilegium Cæsareum quod ita agitur, quæ est causa? Quando cum hoc mandato nostro homines illorum ad vos uenerint ex prædicta Anglia, si nauis uenerit ad portum vestrum, & si res & merces ex naue exemerint, & vendiderint, & tricesimam secundam partem reddiderint, & res quæ manserint Constantinopolim auferre uelint, patiantur: Et si aliquis contra priuilegium & articulos eius aliquid ageret, non sinatis, nec vos facite: & impediri non sinatis eos, vt rectè Constantinopolim uenientes in suis negotiationibus sine molestia esse possint. Et quicumque contra hoc mandatum & priuilegium nostrum aliquid fecerit, nobis significate. Huic mandato nostro & insigni fidem adhibete. In principio mensis Decembris,

A commandement for *Baliabadram*.

Serenissimæ Regineæ Angliæ orator literis supplicatorijs in porta nostra fulgida significauit, quod Baliabadram uenientes mercatores, naues & homines eorum, contra priuilegium impedirentur & molestantur. Inter nos enim & Reginam cum fœdus sit, vt mercatores, homines & naues eorum contra priuilegium impediantur aut molestantur, nullo vnquam pacto concedimus. Mandamus igitur, vt literæ nostræ Cæsareæ, quam primum tibi exhibitæ fuerint, hæc in persona propria cures, secundum quod conuenit, uideasq; ex Anglia Baliabadram cum mercibus uenientibus mercatores, & alias ob causas uenientibus hominibus, in summa Angliensibus & nauibus eorum, & in nauibus existentibus mercibus & rebus contra fœdus & priuilegium, iniuria, vis aut damnum non inferatur: sed, vt conuenit, defendas, vt naues, mercatores, & homines, nostri uelut proprii subditi, liberi ab omni vi & iniuria permaneant, & negotijs suis incumbant. Et quod illius loci Ianiferi illos impedirent, significatum est: vt illi illis nocumento sint nullo modo concedimus. Iuxta tenorem mandati huius illos commoue facias, vt nihil quicquam contra fœdus faciant, ita vt nunquam huiusmodi querela huc ueniat, quia quicquid acciderit, a te expostulabimus. Negligentiam postponito, & insigni Cæsareo fidem adhibeto.

A commaundement for *Egypt*.

Scito, quod orator Regineæ Angliæ in porta mea existens libellum supplicem ad portam nostram mittens significauit, quod cum ex *Egypto* Consul eorum abesset, Consul illic Gallicus existens, Vento nuncupatus, quamuis ante hæc tempora ne manus in Anglos mitteret mandatum nostrum fuerit datum, Angli sub vexillo & tutela nostra sunt iniquens, mandatum Cæsareum uili existimans, non cessauit perturbare Anglos. Quare scito quod Regineæ Angliæ priuilegium nostrum est datum. Iuxta illud priuilegium Anglis nulla ratione Consul Gallicus Consularum agat, neue manus immittat, mandatum nostrum postulatio eius legatus. Quare mando, vt contra priuilegium nostrum Consul Gallicus Anglis iniuriam non inferat, neue Consularum agat. Iudici *Egypti* literæ nostræ sunt datæ: hanc ob causam mando tibi quoque, vt iuxta illud mandatum nostrum, contra priuilegium nostrum Anglis Gallum Consularum agere nunquam patiare, Sic scito, & insigni meo fidem adhibeto,

A commaundement of the Grand Signior to the *Cadie* or Judge of *Alexandria*.

The Embassadour for the Queenes most excellent Maiestie of England certified vs howe that at the death of one of their marchants in Alexandria called Edward Chamberlaine, the French Consull Vento sealing up his fornegoe and chamber, tooke vnder his seale all his goods and marchandise into his power, and required our commaundement that all the goods might be restorred againe according to iustice vnto the Englishmen: wherefoze we commaund you that hauing receiued this our commaundement, you assemble those of the one part and of the other together, and if it be not passed sine peeres, if you haue not looked to it heretofore, now carefully looke to it, & if it be according to their Arz or certificate presented vnto vs, that the fore said French Consull Vento hath wrongfully taken into his power the goods of the deceased English marchant vnder his seale, that then you cause him to restore all the said goods and marchandise sealed by him, and make good that which is thereof wanting vnto the English marchants: doe in this matter according to iustice, and credite this our seale.

A commaundement to the *Bassa* of *Alexandria*.

The Embassadour for the Queenes most excellent Maiestie of England by supplication certified vs, how that notwithstanding our priuilege granted them to make Consuls in all partes of our dominions to gouerne their nation according to their owne custome & law, to defend them against all wrongs and iniuries whatsoeuer; yet that the French Consull affirming to thee that art Bassa, that they were vnder his banner, and that he should gouerne them, and ouerse their businesse, and hauing got a new priuilege, mentioning therein the English men to be vnder his banner, did by all meanes molest & trouble them, insomuch that their Consull oppressed with many iniuries fled away, and that thou which art Beglerbie didst maintaine the French Consull herein; whercupon the Embassadour required our commaundement, that they might haue iustice for these iniuries: wherefoze we commaund thee that hauing receiued this our commaundement, you examine diligently that his priuilege, and send the copie thereof hither, and if it be found that the French Consull Vento hath by subtiltie got the aforesaid priuilege written, that you then see him punished, and suffer not hereafter the French or Venetian Consuls to intermeddle with their businesse. Obey this our commaundement, and giue credite to the seale.

A commaundement to the *Byes*, and *Cadies* of *Metelin* and *Rhodes*, and to all the *Cadies* and *Byes* in the way to *Constantinople*.

To the Saniackbies of Rhodes and Metelin, to the Saniackbies bordering on the sea-coast, and to the *Cadies* in Rhodes and Metelin, and to the Ermins in the other ports and coastes. This commaundement comming to you, know that the Embassadour of England required of vs our commaundement that their ships comming to Chio, & from thence to Constantinople, no man should hurt them or offer any violence, either in the way on the sea or on the land, or in the portes. I haue commaunded, that their ships comming to any of the said places or portes with marchandise, if they themselves will, they may sell their commodities, & as much, and as little as they will, and if it be in a place where custome was not wont to be taken, hauing taken the custome due by the olde Canon you suffer them not to bee iniured, either in the way, portes, or other places, but that they may come in quietnesse to Constantinople, and certifie vs of those that be disobedient to our commaundement, and giue credite to our seale. And hauing read this our commaundement, giue it to them againe.

A commaundement for *Aleppo*.

When my letters shal come vnto you, know that the Queene of England her Embassadour by supplication certified how that befoze this time we had giuen our commaundement that the summe of 70 ducats, & other marchandise belonging to one William Barret in Aleppo, now dead, saying he was a Venetian, should be giuen to the Venetians. And if they did find that he was not a Venetian, my will was that they should send all his goods and marchandise to our port into my treasurie. But because that man was an Englishman, the Embassadour required that the sayde goods might not be diminished, but that they might be restored to one of their Englishmen. This businesse was signified vnto vs in the nine hundred ninety & fourth yere of Mahomet,

and in the moneth of May the 10 day, This businesse pertained to the Englishmen, who haue in their handes our priuilege, according to which priuilege being in their handes let this matter be done. Against this priuilege do nothing, aske nothing of them, but restoze to every one his goods. And I command that when my comandment shall come vnto you, you doe according to it. And if it be according as the Ambassadour certifieth, and that they haue the priuilege, peruse the same, looke that nothing be committed against it and our league, and let none trouble them contrarie to it, restoze them their goods according to iustice, and take heed diligently in this businesse: if another strange marchant be dead, and his goods and marchandize be taken, if he be neither Venetian, nor Englishman, let not his goods perish among you. Before this time one of our Chaufes called Cerkes Mahomer chaus was sent with our commaundement to sende the monney and marchandize of a dead marchant to our port, and hitherto no letters or newes is come of this matter, for which you shall be punished. Wherefore beware, and if he that is dead be neither Venetian nor Englishman in veritie, doe not loose the goods of the said dead marchant vnder the name of a Venetian or Englishman, doe not to the discommoditie of my reaturie, for after it will be hard to recour it.

The voyage made to Tripolis in Barbarie, in the yeere 1583. with a ship called the *Iesus*, wherein the aduentures and distresses of some Englishmen are truely reported, and other necessary circumstances obserued. Written by *Thomas Sanders.*

This voyage was set forth by the right worshipfull sir Edward Osborne knight, chiefe merchant of all the Turkish company, and one master Richard Staper, the ship being of the burden of one hundred tunnes, called the *Iesus*, she was builded at Farmne a ritter by Portsmouth. The owners were master Thomas Thomson, Nicholas Carnaby, and John Gilman. The master was one Aches Hellier of Black-wall, and his Mate was one Richard Morris of that place: their Pilot was one Anthonie Ierado a French man, of the prouince of Marseils: the purser was one William Thomson our owners sonne: the merchants factozs were Romane Sonnings a Frenchman, and Richard Skegs seruane vnto the said master Staper. The owners were bound vnto the merchants by charter pattie thereupon, in one thousand markes, that the said ship by Gods permission should goe for Tripolis in Barbarie, that is to say, first from Portsmouth to Newhauen in Normandie, from thence to S. Lucar, other wise called Saint Lucas in Andeluzia, and from thence to Tripolie, which is in the East part of Africa, and so to returne vnto London. But here ought every man to note and consider the workes of our God, that many times what man doth determine God doth disappoint. The said master hauing some occasion to goe to Farmne, tooke with him the Pilot and the Purser, and returning againe by meanes of a perrie of winde, the boat wherein they were, was drowned, with the said master, the purser, and all the company: onely the said Pilot by experience in swimming saued himselfe: these were the beginnings of our sorowes. After which the said masters mate would not proceed in that voyage, and the owner hearing of this misfortune, and the unwillingnesse of the masters mate, did send downe one Richard Deimond, and shipped him for master, who did chuse for his Mate one Andrew Dier, and so the said ship departed on her voyage accordingly: that is to say, about the 16 of October, in An. 1583. she made saile from Portsmouth, and the 18 day then next following she arriued at Newhauen, where our saide last master Deimond by a surfeit died. The factozs then appointed the said Andrew Dier, being then masters mate, to be their master for that voyage, who did chuse to be his Mates the two quarter masters of the same ship, to wit, Peter Aufine, and Shillabey, and for Purser was shipped one Richard Burges. Afterward about the 8 day of Nouember we made saile forthward, and by force of weather we were driuen backe againe into Portsmouth, where we renewed our victuals and other necessaries, and then the winde came faire. About the 29 day then next following we departed thence, and the first day of December by meanes of a contrarie winde, wee were driuen to Plimmouth. The 18 day then next following, we made forthward againe, & by force of weather we were driuen to Falmouth, where we remained vntill the first day of January: at which time the winde comming faire, we departed thence, and about the 20 day of the said moneth we arriued safely at S. Lucar. And about the 9 day of March next following, we made saile from thence, and about the 18 day of the same moneth we came to Tripolis in Barbarie, where we were verie well intertaind by the king of that countrey, and also of the commons. The commodities of that place are sweete oiles: the king there is a merchant, and the rather (willing to preferre himselfe before his commons) requested our said factozs to traffique with him, and promised them that if they would

Man both
purpois, and
God both dis-
pose.

A new master
chosen.

The new ma-
ster died.

The *Iesus* arri-
ued in Tripolis.

would take his oyles at his owne price, they should pay no maner of custome, and theyooke of him certaine tunnes of oyle: and afterwarde perceiuing that they might haue farre better cheape notwithstanding the custome free, they desired the king to licence them to take the oyles at the pleasure of his commons, for that his price did exceede theirs: whereunto the king would not agree, but was rather contented to abate his price, inso much that the factors bought all their oyles of the king custome free, and so laded the same aboord.

In the meane time there came to that place one Miles Dickenson in a ship of Bristow, who together with our said factors tooke a house to themselves there. Our French Factor Romane Sonnings desired to buy a commodity in the market, and wanting money, desired the said Miles Dickenson to lend him an hundred Chikinoes untill he came to his lodging, which he did, and afterward the same Sonnings mette with Miles Dickenson in the streete, and deliuered him money bound up in a napkin: saying, master Dickenson there is the money that I borrowed of you, and so thanked him for the same: hee doubted nothing lesse then fasthoode, which is seldome knowne among marchants, and specially being together in one house, and is the moze detestable betweene Christians, they being in Turkie among the heathen. The said Dickenson did not tell the money presently, untill he came to his lodging, and then finding nine Chikinoes lacking of his hundred, which was about threepounds, for that euery Chikino is woorth seuen shillings of English money, he came to the sayde Romane Sonnings and deliuered him his handkerchiefe, and asked him howe many Chikinoes hee had deliuered him: Sonnings answered, an hundred: Dickenson said no: and so they protested and woze on both parts. But in the end the sayde Romane Sonnings did sweare deeply with detestable othes and curses, and prayed God that hee might see we his woorkes on him, that other might take ensample thereby, and that he might be hanged like a dogge, and neuer come into England againe, if he did not deliuer vnto the sayde Dickenson an hundred Chikinoes. And here beholde a notable example of all blasphemers, cursers and swearers, how God rewarded him accordingly: for many times it commeth to passe, that God seeth his miracles vpon such monstrous blasphemers, to the ensample of others, as now hereafter you shall heare what befell to this Romane Sonnings.

Another ship of Bristow came to Tripolis.

There was a man in the said towne a pledge, whose name was Patrone Norado, who the yere before had done this Sonnings some pleasure there. The foresaid Patrone Norado was indebted vnto a Turke of that towne, in the summe of foure hundred and fittie crownes, for certain goods sent by him into Chriftendome in a ship of his owne, and by his owne brother, and himselfe remained in Tripolis as pledge untill his said brothers returne: and, as the report went there, after his brothers arrivall into Chriftendome, he came among Iewbe companie, and lost his brothers said ship and goods at dice, and neuer returned vnto him againe.

The said Patrone Norado being voyde of all hope, and finding now opportunitie, consulted with the said Sonnings for to swimme a sea boorde the Ilands, and the ship being then out of danger, should take him in (as after was confessed) and so to goe to Tolon in the prouince of Marsellis with this Patrone Norado, and there to take in his lading.

A conspiracie practised by the French Factor, to descriue a Turke merchant of 450 crowns

The shippe being readie the first day of May, and hauing her sayles all aboord, our sayde Factors did take their leaue of the king, who very courteously bidde them farewell, and when they came aboord, they commaunded the Master and the companie hastily to get out the ship: the Master answered that it was impossible, for that the winde was contrary and ouerblowen. And he required vs vpon forfeiture of our bandes, that we should doe our indeuour to get her forth. Then went we to warpe out the shippe, and presently the king sent a boate aboord of vs, with threemen in her, commaunding the sayde Sonnings to come a threate: at whole coming, the king demaunded of him custome for the oyles: Sonnings answered him that his highnesse had promised to deliuer them custome free. But notwithstanding the king weighed not his said promise, and as an inuicell that hath not the feare of God before his eyes, nor regarde of his worde, albeit hee was a king, hee caused the sayde Sonnings to pay the custome to the uttermost penie. And afterwarde willed him to make haste away, saying, that the Ianizaries would haue the oyle ashore againe.

These Ianizaries are souldiers there vnder the great Turke, and their power is aboute the Kings. And so the said Factor departed from the king, and came to the water side, and called for a boate to come aboord, and he brought with him the foresaid Patrone Norado. The companie inquisitive to know what man that was, Sonnings answered, that he was his countreyman, a passenger: I pray God said the companie, that we come not into trouble by this man. Then said Sonnings angerly, what haue you to do with any matters of mine: if any thing chance otherwise then well, I must answer for all.

The beginning of their troubles, and occasion of all their miserie.

Howe the Turke vnto whom this Patrone Norado was indebted, missing him (supposed him

him to be aboard of our shippe) presently went unto the King, and tolde him that hee thought that his pledge Patrone Norado was aboard of the English ship, whereupon the King presently sent a boat aboard of vs, with three men in her, commanding the said Sonnings to come a shoare, and not speaking any thing as touching the man, he saide that hee would come presently in his owne boate, but as soone as they were gone, he willed vs to warpe forth the ship, and saide that he would see the knaues hanged before he would goe a shoare. And when the king sawe that he came not a shoare, but still continued warping away the shippe, he straight commaunded the gunner of the bulwarke next unto vs, to shoote three shootes without ball. Then we came all to the said Sonnings, and asked of him what the matter was that we were shot at, he saide that it was the Ianizaries who would haue the oyle a shoare againe, and willed vs to make haste away, and after that he had discharged three shots without ball, he commaunded all the gunners in the towne to doe their indelour to sinke vs, but the Turkish gunners could not once strike vs, wherefore the king sent presently to the Banio: (this Banio is the prison wheras all the captiues lay at night) and promised if that there were any that could either sinke vs, or else cause vs to come in againe, he should haue a hundred crownes, and his libertie. Which that came forth a Spaniard called Sebastian, which had bene an old seruicour in Flanders, and he saide, that upon the performance of that promise, hee would undertake either to sinke vs, or to cause vs to come in againe, and thereto he would gage his life, and at the first shoote he split our rudders head in pieces, and the second shoote he strake vs vnder the water, and the third shoote he shotte vs through our foremast with a Coluering shot, and thus he hauing rent both our rudder and masse, and shot vs vnder water, we were enforced to goe in againe.

This Sebastian for all his diligence herein, had neither his libertie, nor an hundred crownes, so promised by the said king, but after his seruice done was committed againe to prison, whereby may appeare the regard that the Turke or indell hath of his worde, although he be able to performe it, yea moze, though he be a king.

Then our merchants seeing no remedie, they together with siue of our companie went a shoare, and then they ceased shooting: they shot vnto vs in the whole, nine and thirtie shootes, without the hurt of any man.

And when our marchants came a shoare, the King commaunded presently that they with the rest of our companie that were with them, should be chained soure & soure, to a hundred waight of yron, and when we came in with the ship, there came presently about an hundred Turkes aboard of vs, and they searched vs, and stript our very clothes from our backes, & brake open our chests, and made spoyle of all that we had: and the Christian cattifes likewise that came a boord of vs made spoyle of our goods, and vsed vs as ill as the Turkes did. And our masters mate hauing a Geneva Bible in his hand, there came the kings chiefe gunner, and tooke it out from him, who shewed me of it, and I hauing the language, went presently to the kings treasurer, and tolde him of it, saying, that such it was the will of God that we should fall into their hands, yet that they should grant vs to vse our consciences to our owne discretion, as they suffered the Spaniards and other nations to vse theirs, and he granted vs: then I told him that the maister gunner had taken away a Bible from one of our men: the Treasurer went presently and commaunded him to deliuer by the Bible againe, which he did: & within a litle after he tooke it from the man againe, and I shewed the Treasurer of it, and presently he commaunded him to deliuer it againe: saying, thou villaine, wilt thou turne to Christianitie againe? for he was a Renegado, which is one that first was a Christian, and afterwards becommeth a Turke, and so he deliuered me the Bible the second time. And then I hauing it in my hand, the gunner came to me, and spake these wordes, saying, thou dogge, I wil haue the booke in despight of thee, and cooke it from me, saying: If thou tell the kings treasurer of it any moze, by Mahomet I will be reuenged of thee. Notwithstanding I went the thirde time unto the kings Treasurer, and tolde him of it, and he came with me, saying thus vnto the gunner: by the head of the great Turke, if thou take it from him againe, thou halt haue an hundred bastonadoes. And forthwith he deliuered me the booke, saying, he had not the value of a pin of the spoyle of the ship, which was the better for him, as hereafter you shall heare: for there was none, neither Christian nor Turke that tooke the value of a peniworth of our goods from vs, but perished both bodie and goods within seuen teene moneths following, as hereafter shall plainly appeare.

Then came the Guardian Basha, which is the keeper of the kings captiues, to fetch vs all a shoare, and then I rememyng the miserable estate of poore distressed captiues, in the time of their bondage to those indells, went to mine owne chest, and tooke out thereof a sarre of oyle, and filled a basket full of white Ruske to carie a shoare with me, but before I came to the Banio, the Turkish boyes had taken away almost all my bread, and the keeper saide, deliuer me the sarre of oyle,

oyle, and when thou comest to the Banio thou shalt haue it againe, but I neuer had it of him any moze.

But when I came to the Banio, and sawe our Marchants and all the rest of our company in chaines, and we all ready to receiue the same reward, what heart in the world is there so hard, but would haue pitied our cause, bearing or seeing the lamentable greeting there was betwixt vs: all this happened the first of May, 1584.

The English men affaiged.

And the second day of the same moneth, the King with all his counsell sate in iudgement vpon vs. The first that were had forth to be arraigned, were the Factozs, and the Pastors, and the King asked them wherefoze they came not a shoare when he sent for them. And Romaine Sonnings answered, that though he were king on shoare, and might commaunde there, so was hee as touching those that were vnder him: and therefore said, if any offence be, the fault is wholly in my selfe, and in no other. Then forthwith the king gaue iudgement, that the saide Romaine Sonnings should be hanged ouer the Northeast bulwarke, from whence he conueyed the fozenamed Patrone Norado, and then he called for our Pastor Andrew Dier, and used fewe wordes to him, and so condemned him to be hanged ouer the walles of the Westermost bulwarke.

Then fell our ocher Factoz (named Richard Skegs) vpon his knees befoze the king, and said, I beseech your highnesse either to pardon our Pastor, or else suffer me to die for him, for he is ignorant of this cause. And then the people of that countrey fauouring the said Richard Skegs besought the king to pardon them both. So then the king spake these wordes: Beholde, for thy sake, I pardon the Pastor. Then presently the Turkes shouted, and cried, saying: Away with the Pastor from the presence of the king. And then he came into the Banio whereas we were, and tolde vs what had happened, and we all reioyced at the good hap of master Skegs, that hee was saued, and our Pastor for his sake.

But afterward our ioy was turned to double sorrow, for in the meane time the kings minde was altered: for that one of his counsell had aduised him, that vnlesse the Pastor died also, by the lawe they could not confiscate the ship nor goods, neither captiue any of the men: whereupon the king sent for our Pastor againe, and gaue him another iudgement after his pardon for one cause, which was that hee should be hanged. Here all true Christians may see what trust a Christian man may put in an infidels promise, who being a King, pardoned a man nowe, as you haue heard, and within an houre after hanged him for the same cause befoze a whole multitude: and also promised our Factozs their oyles custome free, and at their going away made them pay the deere most penie for the custome thereof.

Pastor Dier condemned to be hanged ouer a bulwarke.

And when that Romaine Sonnings saw no remedy but that he should die, he protested to turne Turke, hoping thereby to haue saued his life. Then saide the Turke, If thou wilt turne Turke, speake the words that thereunto belong: and he did so. Then saide they vnto him, Now thou shalt die in the faith of a Turke, and so hee did, as the Turkes reported that were at his execution. And the fozenamed Patrone Norado, whereas befoze he had libertie and did nothing, he then was condemned slaue perpetuall, except there were payment made of the foze said summe of money.

A Frenchman turned Turke, in hope of his life, and afterward was hanged.

Then the king condemned all vs, who were in number sixe and twentie, of the which, two were hanged (as you haue heard) and one died the first day wee came on shoare, by the visitation of Almighty God: and the other thye and twentie he condemned slaues perpetuall vnto the great Turke, and the ship and goods were confiscated to the vse of the great Turke: and then we all fell downe vpon our knees, giuing God thanks for this sorrowfull visitation, and giuing our selues wholly to the Almighty power of God, vnto whom all secrets are knotwen, that he of his goodnesse would vouchsafe to looke vpon vs.

Here may all true Christian hearts see the wonderfull workes of God shewed vpon such infidels, blasphemers, whoremasters, and renegade Christians, and so you shall reade in the ende of this booke, of the like vpon the vnfaithfull king and all his childzen, and of as many as tooke any portion of the said goods.

But first to shewe our miserable bondage and slauerie, and vnto what small pittance and allowance wee were tied, for euery fise men had allowance but fise aspers of bread in a day, which is but two pence English: and our lodging was to lye on the bare boozds, with a very simple cape to couer vs, wee were also forceably and most violently shauen, head and beard, and within thye dayes after, I and sixe moze of my fellowes, together with fourescore Italians and Spaniards were sent forth in a Galee to take a Greekish Carmosell, which came into Africa to steale Negroes, and went out of Tripolis vnto that place, which was two hundred and fourtie leagues thence, but wee were chained thye and thye to an oare, and wee rowed naked about the girdle, and the Borewaine of the Galley walked abast the masse, and his Gate afoze the masse, and eche of them a bulls pissell dyed in their handes, and when their diuelish choller rose, they would strike

Euery fise men allowed but two pence of bread a day.

the Christian: for no cause: And they allowed vs but halfe a pound of bread a man in a day without any other kinde of sustenance, water excepted. And when we came to the place where as wee saw the Carmosell, we were not suffered to haue neither neede, bodkin, knife, or any other weapon about vs, nor at any other time in the night, vpon paine of one hundred bastonadoes: wee were then also cruelly manackled in such sort, that we could not put our handes the length of one foote asunder the one from the other, and euery night they searched our chaines three times, to see if they were fast rincted: Wee continued fight with the Carmosell three houres, and then wee tooke it, and lost but two of our men in that fight, but there were slaine of the Greekes five, and foureteene were cruelly hurt, and they that were sound, were presently made slaues, and chained to the oares: and within fiftene dayes after we returned againe into Tripolis, and then wee were put to all maner of slaerie. I was put to hewe stones, and other to cary stones, and some to draw the Cart with earth, and some to make moztter, and some to dray stones, (for at that time the Turkes builded a church:) And thus we were put to all kinde of slaerie that was to be done. And in the time of our being there, the Moores that are the husbandmen of the countrey, rebelled against the king, because he would haue constrained them to pay greater tribute then heretofore they had done, so that the Souldiours of Tripolis marched forth of the towne to haue ioynd battell against the Moores for their rebellion, and the King sent with them foure pieces of Ordnance, which were drayen by the captiues twentie miles into the Countrey after them, and at the sight thereof the Moores fled, and then the Captaines returned backe againe. Then I and certaine Christians more were sent twelue miles into the countrey with a Cart to lode timber, and we returned againe the same day.

The Turkes
builded a
church.

The Christi-
ans sent 3.
times a weeke
30. miles to
fetch wood.

Howe the king had 18. captiues, which three times a weeke went to fetch wood thirtie miles from the towne: and on a time he appointed me for one of the 18. and wee departed at eight of the clocke in the night, and vpon the way as wee rode vpon the camels, I demaunded of one of our company, who did direct vs the way: he sayd, that there was a Moore in our company which was our guide: and I demaunded of them how Tripolis and the wood bare one off the other: and hee said, East North east, and West South west. And at midnight or nere thereabouts, as I was riding vpon my camel, I fell asleepe, and the guide and all the rest rode away from me, not thinking but I had bene among them. When I awooke, and finding my selfe alone durst not call nor hallo, for feare least the wilde Moores should heare me, because they holde this opinion, that in killing a Christian they do God good seruice: and mulling with my selfe what were best for me to do, if I should goe forth, and the wilde Moores should hap to meete with mee, they would kill mee: and on the other side, if I should returne backe to Tripolis without any wood or company, I should be most miserably vsed: therefore of two evils, rather I had to goe forth to the losing of my life, then to turne backe and trust to their mercie, fearing to bee vsed as before I had seene others: for vnderstanding by some of my company before, howe Tripolis and the saide wood did lie one off another, by the North starre I went forth at aduenture, and as God would haue it, I came right to the place where they were, euen about an houre before day: there altogether wee rested and gaue our camels pzoouender, and as soone as the day appeared, we rode all into the wood: and I seeing no wood there, but a sticke here and a sticke there, about the bignesse of a mans arme growing in the sand, it caused mee to marueile how so many camels should be loden in that place. The wood was Iuniper, we needed no axe nor edge toole to cut it, but pluckt it by by strength of hands rootes and all, which a man might easily do, and so gathered it together, a litle at one place and so at another, and laded our camels, and came home about seuen of the clocke that night folowing: because I fell lame, and my camel was tired, I left my wood in the way.

Eighteene
captiues run
away from
Tripolis.

The iudge-
ment of God
vpon blasphe-
mers.

There was in Tripolis that time a Venetian, whose name was Benedetto Venetiano, and seenteene captiues more of his company, which ranne away from Tripolis in a boate, and came in sight of an Island called Malta, which lieth fourtie leagues from Tripolis right North, and being within a mile of the shoare, & very faire weather, one of their company said, In dispetto de dio adesso venio a pilliar terra, which is as much to say: In the despite of God I shall now fetch the shoare, and presently there arose a mighty storme, with thunder and raine, and the wind at North, their boate being very small, so that they were inforced to beare by roome, and to sheare right afoze the winde ouer against the coast of Barbarie from whence they came, and rowing by and downe the coast, their victuals being spent, the 21. day after their departure they were inforced through the want of food to come ashore, thinking to haue stolne some sheepe: but the Moores of the countrey very craftily perceiuing their intent, gathered together a threescore horsemen, and hid themselues behinde a sandie hill, and when the Christians were come all a shoare, and past by halfe a mile into the countrey, the Moores rode betwixt them and their boate, and some of them pursued the Christians, and so they were all taken and brought to Tripolis, from whence they had

had before escaped: and presently the king commanded that the foze-lande Benedetto with one more of his company should lose their eares, and the rest should be most cruelly beaten, which was presently done. This king had a sonne which was a ruler in an Island called Gerbi, wherunto arrived an English shippe called the Greene Dragon, of the which was Master one M. Blonker, who having a very unhappy boy in that shippe, and understanding that whatsoever would turne Turke should be well entertained of the kings sonne, this boy did runne a shoate, and voluntarily turned Turke. Shortly after the kings sonne came to Tripolis to visite his father, and seeing our company, hee greatly fancied Richard Burges our Purser, and James Smith: they were both yong men, therefore he was very desirous to haue them to turne Turkes, but they would not yeeld to his desire, saying: We are your fathers slaues, and as slaues wee will serue him. Then his father the king sent for them, and asked them if they would turne Turkes? And they saide: If it please your highnesse, Christians we were bozne, and so we will remaine, and beseeched the king that they might not bee infozed thereunto. The king had thre before in his house a sonne of a yeoman of our Queenes guard, whom the kings sonne had infozed to turne Turke, his name was Iohn Nelson: him the king caused to be brought to these yong men, and then said vnto them: Will not you beare this your countreyman company, and be Turke as hee is? And they saide, that they would not yeeld thereunto during life. But it fell out, that within a moneth after, the kings sonne went home to Gerbi againe, being fixe scoze miles from Tripolis, and caried our two foze-land yong men with him, which were Richard Burges, and James Smith: and after their departure from vs, they sent vs a letter, signifying that there was no violence shewed vnto them as yet, but within thre dayes after they were violently vled, for that the kings sonne demanded of them againe, if that they would turne Turke? They answered Richard Burges, a Christian I am, and so I will remaine. Then the kings sonne very angerly said vnto him: Thy Mahomer thou shalt presently be made Turke. Then called he for his men, and commanded them to make him Turke, and they did so, and circumeised him, and would haue had him speake the wordes that thereunto belonged, but he answered them stoutly that he would not: and although they had put on him the habice of a Turke, yet sayd he, A Christian I was bozne, and so I will remaine, though you foze me to doe otherwise.

The Greene Dragon.

The Kings sonne had a captiue that was sonne to one of the Queenes Masters guard, that was foze-land to turne Turke.

And then he called for the other, and commanded him to be made Turke perforce also: but he was very strong, for it was so much as eight of the kings sonnes men could doe to holde him, so in the ende they circumeised him, and made him Turke. Now to passe over a litle, and so to thewe the maner of our deliuerance out of that miserable captiuitie.

In Day afoze said, shortly after our apprehension, I wzote a letter into England vnto my father dwelling in Bauistoke in Deuonshire, signifying vnto him the whole estate of our calamities: and I wzote also to Constantinople to the English Embassadour, both which letters were faithfully deliuered. But when my father had receiued my letter, and vnderstood the truethe of our mishap, and the occasion thereof, and what had happened to the offenders, he certified the right honourable the earle of Bedford thereof, who in short space acquainted her highnesse with the whole cause thereof, and her Maiestie like a most mercifull princeesse tendering her Subiects, presently tooke order for our deliuerance. Whereupon the right worshipful sir Edward Osborne knight directed his letters with all speed to the English Embassadour in Constantinople, to procure our deliury: and he obtained the great Turkes Commission, and sent it forthwith to Tripolis, by one Master Edward Barton, together with a Justice of the great Turkes, and one souldiour, and another Turke, and a Greeke which was his interpretour, which could speake besides Greeke, Turkish, Italian, Spanish and English. And when they came to Tripolis, they were well entertained. And the first night they did lie in a Captaines house in the towne: all our company that were in Tripolis came that night for ioy to Master Barton and the other Commissioners to see them. Then master Barton said vnto vs, welcome my good countreymen, and louingly intertained vs, and at our departure from him, he gaue vs two shillings, and said, Serue God, for to morrow I hope you shall be as free as euer you were; We all gaue him thanks and so departed.

The first motion for those Englishmens deliuerie.

The next day in the morning very early, the King hauing intelligence of their comming, sent word to the keeper, that none of the Englishmen (meaning our company) should goe to worke. Then he sent for Master Barton and the other Commissioners, and demanded of the saide Master Barton his melage: the Justice answered, that the great Turke his Soueraigne had sent them vnto him, signifying that he was informed that a certaine English shippe, called the Iesus, was by him the saide king confiscated, about twelue moneths since, and nowe my saide Soueraigne hath here sent his especiall commission by vs vnto you, for the deliuerance of the saide shippe and goods, and also the free libertie and deliuerance of the Englishmen of the same shippe, whom you haue taken and kept in captiuitie. And further the same Justice saide, I am authorized by my
said

said soueraigne the great Turke to see it done: And therefore I commaund you by vertue of this commission, presently to make restitution of the premises or the value thereof: and so did the Justices deliuer unto the King the great Turkes commission to the effect aforesaid, which commission the king with all obedience receiued: and after the perusing of the same, he forthwith commaunded all the English captiues to be brought before him, and then willed the keeper to strike off all our yrons, which done, the king said, You Englishmen, for that you did offend the lawes of this place, by the same lawes therefore some of your company were condemned to die as you knowe, and you to bee perpetuall captiues during your liues: notwithstanding, seeing it hath pleased my soueraigne lord the great Turke to pardon your said offences, and to giue you your freedome and libertie, behold, here I make deliuey of you to this English Gentleman: so hee deliuered vs all that were there, being thirteene in number, to Master Barton, who required also those two yong men which the Kings sonne had taken with him. Then the king answered that it was against their lawe to deliuer them, for that they were turned Turkes: and touching the ship and goods, the king said, that he had sold her, but would make restitution of the value, and as much of the goods as came vnto his hands, and so the king arose and went to dinner, and commaunded a Jew to goe with Master Barton and the other commissioners, to shew them their lodging, which was a house provided and appointed them by the said king. And because I had the Italian & Spanish tongues, by which their most traffique in that countrey is, Master Barton made me his Cater to buy his victuals for him and his company, and deliuered me money needfull for the same. Thus were wee set at libertie the 28. day of April, 1585.

The Englishmen released.

The plagues and punishments that happened to the King and his people.

The king lost 150. Camels, taken by the wilde Moores.

Nowe to returne to the kings plagues and punishments, which Almighty God at his will and pleasure sendeth vpon men in the sight of the worlde, and likewise of the plagues that be fell his chylzen and others aforesaid. First when wee were made bondmen, being the second day of May 1584. the king had 300. captiues, and before the moneth was expired, there died of them of the plague 150. And whereas there were 26. men of our company, of whom two were hanged, and one died the same day that wee were made bondslaves: that present moneth there died nine more of our company of the plague, and other two were forced to turne Turkes as before is rehearsed: and on the fourth day of June next following the king lost 150. camels, which were taken from him by the wilde Moores: and on the 28. day of the saide moneth of June, one Geoffrey Maltese, a renegado of Malta, ranne away to his countrey, and stole a Brigandine which the king had builded for to take the Christians withall, and caried with him twelue Christians more which were the kings captiues. Afterward about the tenth day of July next following, the king rood forth vpon the greatest and fairest mare that might be seene, as white as any swanne: hee had not ridden fourtie paces from his house, but on a sudden the same mare fell downe vnder him stark dead, and I with fire more were commaunded to hurie her, skinne, shoes and all, which we did. And about thzee moneths after our deliuerie, Master Barton, with all the residue of his company, departed from Tripolie to Zante, in a vessell, called a Settea, of one Marcus Segoorus, who dwelt in Zante, and after our arriuall at Zante wee remained fiftene dayes there aboarde our vessell, before wee coulde haue Plarego (that is, leaue to come a shoare) because the plague was in that place, from whence wee came: and about thzee dayes after we came a shoare, thither came another Settea of Marseils bound for Constantinople. Then did Master Barton, and his company, with two more of our company, shippe themselues as passengers in the same Settea, and went to Constantinople. But the other nine of vs that remained in Zante, about thzee moneths after, shipt our selues in a shippe of the said Marcus Segoorus, which came to Zante, and was bound for England. In which thzee moneths, the souldiers of Tripolie killed the said king. And then the Kings sonne, according to the custome there, went to Constantinople, to surrender vp all his fathers treasure, goods, captiues, and concubines, vnto the great Turke, and tooke with him our saide Purser Richard Burges, and James Smith, and also the other two Englishmen, which he the said kings sonne had inforced to become Turkes, as is aforesaid. And they the said Englishmen finding now some opportunitie, concluded with the Christian captiues which were going with them vnto Constantinople, being in number about one hundred and fiftie, to kill the kings sonne, and all the Turkes which were aboarde of the Galley, and prinitly the saide Englishmen conueyed vnto the saide Christian captiues, weapons for that purpose. And when they came into the maine Sea, towarde Constantinople (vpon the faithfull promise of the saide Christian captiues) these foure Englishmen lept suddenly into the Crossia, that is, into the middest of the Galley, where the caron lieth, and with their swordes drawne, did fight against all the foresaid Turkes, and for want of helpe of the saide Christian captiues, who falsly bzake their promises, the said Purser Blonkets boy was killed, and the sayde James Smith, and our Purser Richard Burges, and the other Englishman, were taken and bound into chaines, to be hanged at their

Two Englishmen shipped to Constantinople with M. Barton.

The souldiers of Tripolis kill the King.

their arrivall in Constantinople: and as the Lozdes will was, about two dayes after, passing through the gulfe of Venice, at an Island called Cephalonia, they met with two of the duke of Venice his Gallies, which tooke that Galley, and killed the kings sonne, and his mother, and all the Turkes that were there, in number 150. and they saved the Christian captiues, and would haue killed the two Englishmen because they were circumcised, and become Turkes, had not the other Christian captiues excused them, saying, that they were forced to be Turkes, by the kings sonne, and shewed the Venecians also, how they did enterprize at sea to fight against all the Turkes, and that their two fellows were slaine in that fight. Then the Venecians saved them, and they, with all the residue of the said captiues, had their libertie, which were in number 150. of these a-botts, and the saide Gallie, and all the Turkes treasure was confiscated to the vse of the state of Venice. And from thence our two Englishmen traueiled homeward by land, and in this meane time we had one moze of our company, which died in Zante, and after ward the other eight shipped themselves at Zante, in a shippe of the said Marcus Segorus, which was bound for England: and before we departed thence, there arrived the Assension, and the George Bonauenture of London in Cephalonia, in a harbour there, called Arrogostoria, whose Marchants agreed with the Marchants of our shippe, and so laded at the marchandise of our shippe into the said ships of London, who tooke vs eight in as passengers, and so we came home, and within two moneths after our arrivall at London, our said Purser Richard Burges, and his fellow came home also: for the which we are bound to praise Almighty God, during our liues, and as duetie bindeth vs, to pray for the preservation of our most gracious Queene, for the great care her Maestie had ouer vs, her pooze Subiects, in seeking and procuring of our deliuerance aforesaide: and also for her honourable priuie Counsell, and I especiall for the prosperitie and good estate of the house of the late deceased, the right honourable the Earle of Bedford, whose honour I must confesse, most diligently at the suite of my father now departed, traueiled herein: for the which I rest continually bounden to him, whose soule I doubt not, but is already in the heauens in ioy, with the Almighty, vnto which place he vouchsafe to bring vs all, that for our sinnes suffered most vile and shameful death vpon the Crosse, there to liue perpetually worl without ende, Amen.

Two Gallies of Venice tooke the king of Tripolie his galley, and killed the kings sonne, and all the Turkes in it, and released all the Christians being in number 150.

The Queenes letters to the Turke 1584. for the restitution of the shippe called the *Iesus*, and the *English* captiues detained in *Tripolie* in *Barbarie*, and for certaine other prisoners in *Argier*.



LIZABETHA, Deiter maximi & vnici cœli terreque conditoris gratia, Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ Regina, fidei Christianæ contra omnes omnium inter Christianos degentium, Christi que nomen falso profitentium idololatrias, inuictissima & potentissima defensorix: augustissimo, inuictissimoque principi, Zultan Murad Can, Musulmanici regni dominatori potentissimo, imperijque Orientis Monarchæ, supra omnes soli & supremo salutem, & multos cum summa rerum optimarum affluentia fec-

lices & fortunatos annos.

Augustissime & potentissime Imperator, biennio iam peracto, ad Cæsaream vestram Maiestatem scripsimus, vt dilectus noster famulus Guilielmus Harebornus, vir ornatissimus pro legato nostro Constantinopoli, alijsque Musulmanici imperij ditionibus, sublimi vestra autoritate reciperetur: simul etiam Angli subditi nostri commercium & mercaturam, in omnibus illis prouincijs exercean, non minus liberè, quàm Galli, Poloni, Veneti, Germani, cæterique vestri confœderati, qui varias Orientis partes peragunt, operam nauantes, vt mutuis commercijs coniungatur Oriens cum Occidente.

Quæ priuilegia, cum nostris subditis Anglis inuictissima vestra Maiestas literis & diplomate suo liberalissimè indulserit, facere non potuimus, quin quas maximas animus noster capere potest gratias, eo nomine ageremus: sperantes fore, vt hæc instituta commerciorum ratio maximas utilitates, & commoda vtrinque, tam in imperij vestri ditiones, quàm regni nostri prouincias secum adferat.

Id vt planè fiat, cum nuper subditi nostri nonnulli Tripoli in Barbaria & Argellæ ab eius loci incolis volūtatem vestram fortè nescientibus malè habiti fuerint, & immaniter diuexati, Cæsaream vestram Maiestatem beneuolè rogamus, vt per Legatum nostrum eorum causam cognoscas, & postremò earum prouinciarum proregibus ac præfectis imperes, vt nostri liberè in illis locis, sine vi aut iniuria deinceps versari, & negotia gerere possint.

Et nos omni opera vicissim studebimus ea omnia præstare, quæ Imperatoris vestræ Maiestati vilo pacto grata, fore intelligemus: quam Deus vnicus mundi conditor optimus maximus

mus diuissimè incolumem & florentem seruet. Data in palatio nostro Londini, quinto die Mensis Septembris : anno IESV CHRISTI Seruatoris nostri, 1584. Regni verò nostri vicefimo sexto.

The same in English.

ELizabeth, by the grace of the most high God, and onely maker of heauen and earth, of England, France and Ireland Queene, and of the Christian faith, against all the Idolaters and false professors of the Name of CHRIST dwelling among the Christians, most inuincible and puissant defender: to the most valiant and inuincible Prince, Sultan Murad Can, the most mightie ruler of the kingdome of Musulman, and of the East Empire the onely and highest Monarch about all, health, and many happy and fortunate yeres, with great abundance of the best things.

Most noble and puissant Emperour, about two yeres nowe passed, wee wrote vnto your Imperiall Maiestie, that our welbeloued seruant, William Hareborne, a man of great reputation and honour, might be receiued vnder your high authoritie, for our Ambassadour in Constantinople, and other places, vnder the obedience of your Empire of Musulman: And also that the Englishmen, being our Subjects, might exercise entercourse and marchandize in all those Provinces, no lesse freely then the French, Polonians, Venerians, Germanes, and other your confederates, which traueile through diuers of the East parts: endeouering that by mutuall trafique, the East may be ioyned and knit to the West.

Which priuileges, when as your most puissant Maiestie, by your letters and vnder your dispensation most liberally and fauourably granted to our Subjects of England, wee could no lesse doe, but in that respect giue you as great thanks, as our heart could conceiue, trusting that it wil come to passe, that this order of trafique, so well ordeined, will bring with it selfe most great profits and commodities to both sides, as well to the parties subiect to your Empire, as to the Provinces of our kingdome. Which thing that it may be done in plaine and effectuall maner, whereas some of our Subjects of late at Tripolis in Barbarie, and at Argier, were by the inhabitants of those places (being perhaps ignozant of your pleasure) euill intreated and grieuouly vbered, wee doe friendly and louingly desire your Imperiall Maiestie, that you will vnderstand their causes by our Ambassadour, and after ward giue commaundement to the Lieutenants and Presidents of those Provinces, that our people may henceforth freely, without any violence, or iniurie, traueile, and do their businesse in those places.

And we againe with all endeouour, shall studie to performe all those things, which we shall in any wise vnderstand to be acceptable to your Imperiall Maiestie, which God, the onely maker of the world, most best and most great, long keepe in health, and flourishing. Given in our pallice at London, the fift day of the moneth of September, in the yere of IESVS CHRIST our Sauiour, 1584. And of our raigne, the 26.

The Turkes letter to the King of Tripolis in Barbarie, commanding the restitution of an English ship, called the *Iesus*, with the men, and goods, sent from Constantinople, by *Mahomet Beg*, a Iustice of the Great *Turkes*, and an English Gentleman, called *Matter Edward Barton*. Anno 1584.



Honourable, and worthy Bassa Romadan Beglerbeg, most wise and prudent Judge of the West Tripolis, wee with the ende of all thy enterpises happie, and prosperous. By these our highnesse letters, wee certifie thee, that the right honourable, William Hareborne, Ambassadour in our most famous Port, for the most excellent Queenes Maiestie of England, in person, and by letters hath certified our highnesse, that a certaine shippe, with all her furniture, and artillerie, worth two thousand buckets, arriuing in the port of Tripolis, and discharged of her lading and marchandize, paid our custome according to order, and againe, the marchants laded their shippe with oyle, which by constraint they were enforced to buy of you, & hauing answered in like maner the custome for the same, determined to depart: a Frenchman assistant to the Marchant, vnknown to the Englishmen, caried away with him another Frenchman indebted to a certaine Moore in foure hundred buckets, and by force caused the Englishmen, and shippe to depart: who neither suspecting fraude, nor deceite, hoised sailes. In the meane time, this man, whose debter the Frenchman had stolen away, went to the Bassa with the supplication, by whose meanes, and force of the Castle, the Englishmen were constrained to returne into the port, where the Frenchman, authoz of the euill, with the Master of the ship an Englishman,

lishman, innocent of the crime were hanged, and sixe and twentie Englishmen cast into prison, of whom through famine, thirst, and stinke of the prison, eleuen died, and the rest like to die. Further, it was signified to our Maestie also, that the marchandise and other goods, with the shippe, were worth 7600. buckets: which things if they be so, this is our commandement, which was granted and giuen by our Maestie, that the English shippe, and all the marchandize, and whatsoeuer else taken away bee wholly restored, and that the Englishmen be let goe free, and suffered to returne into their Countrey. Wherefore when this our commaundement shall come vnto thee, wee straightly commaund, that the foresaid businesse be diligently looked vnto, and discharged. And if it be so, that a Frenchman, and no Englishman hath done this craft, and wickednesse vnknowne to the Englishmen, and as authour of the wickednesse is punished, and that the Englishmen committed nothing against the peace and league, or their articles: also if they payd custome according to order, it is against law, custome of Countreys, and their priuilege, to hinder or hurt them. Neither is it meete, their shippe, marchandise, and all their goods taken, should be withholden. Wee will therefore, that the English shippe, marchandize, and all other their goods, without exception, be restored to the Englishmen: also that the men bee let goe free, and if they will, let none hinder them, to returne peaceably into their Countrey: do not commit, that they another time complaine of this matter, and how this businesse is dispatched, certifie vs at our most famous porthe.

Dated in the Citie of Constantinople, in the 992. yeere of Mahomet, and in the ende of the moneth of October; and in the yeere of I E S V S 1584.

A letter of Master William Hareborne, the English Ambassadour, Ligier in Constantinople, to the Bassa Romadan, the Beglerbeg of Tripolis in Barbarie, for the restoring of an English shippe called the Iesus, with the goods, and men, derained as slues, Anno 1585.



Olo magnifico Signor,

Noi ha stato significato per diuerse lettere di quanto ha passato circa di vn' ane nostra chiamata Iesus, sopra il quale in aginto de Ricciardo Skegs, vno de gli nostri mercanti di essa gia morto, veniu vn certo Francese per sopra cargo, chiamato Romano Sonings, il quale per non esser ben portato secondo che douena, volendo importar seco vn altro Francese debitore a certi vostri senza pagarcene, per giusticia era appiccato col patron Inglese Andre Dier, che come semplice credendo al detto Francese, senza auercene de la sua ria malitia, non retornaua, quando da vostra magnifica Signoria gli era mandato. La morte del detto tristo Francese apromiamo como cosa bensatta. Ma al contrario, doue lei ha confiscato la detta naue e mercantia en essa, & fatto scian li marinari, como cosa molto contraria a li priuilegi dal Gran Signor quattro anni passati concessi, & da noi confirmati di parte de la Serenissima Magesta d' Inghilterra nostra patrona, e molto contraria a la liga del detto Gran Signor, il quale essendo dal sopra detto apieno informato, noi ha conceduto il suo regale mandamento di restitutione, la qual mandiamo a vostra magnifica Signoria col presente portator Edoardo Barton, nostro Secretario, & Mahumed Beg, droguemano di sua porta excelsa, con altre lettere del excellentissimo Vizir, & inuictissimo capitano di mar: chiedendo, tanto di parte del Gran Signor, quanto di sua Serenissima Magesta di V. S. M. che gli huomini, ogly, naue col fornimento, danari, & tutti altri beni qualconque, da lei & per vestro ordine da gli nostri tolti siano resi a questo mio Secretario liberamente senza empacho alcuno, como il Gran Signor da sua gratia noi ha conceduto, specialmente per esser detti ogly comprati per ordine di sua Serenissima Magesta, per provisione della Corte sua. Il qual non facendo, protestiamo per questa nostra al incontra di esso tutti futuri danni che puono succedere per questa cagione, como authore di quelli, contrario a la Santa liga giurata de li duoi Rei. patroni nostri, como per li priuilegi, che lei mostrerà il nostro, consta: per obseruatione de gli quali noi stiamo di fermo in questa excelsa Porta. Et così responderete nel altro mondo al solo Iddio, & quò al Gran Signor questo massimo peccato commesso da lei al incontra di tanti poueracchi, che per questa crudelta sono in parte morti, in parte retenuti da esso in duro cattiuero. Al contrario, piacendo lei emtar questo incommodo & restarcene en gratia del Signor Iddio, & li nostri patroni, amicheuolmente, (como contien a par vostro di mostrarvi prudente governatore, & fidel seruiitor al patrono) a cumpirete questa nostra giustissima domanda, per poter risultarvi a grand honore & commado per la tratta di marchantia, che furono a laduenire li nostri in quella vostra prouincia. Li quali generalmente, tanto quelli, como tutti altri che nel mar riscontrarete, siano, secondo che manda il Grand Signor, de vostra Signoria magnifica amicheuolmente recolti & recenuti: Et noi non marcharemo al debito di ottimo amico en qualconche occurrenza vostra, piacendo lei amicitia nostra, como desideramo. Il

Edoardo Barton
& Mahumed
Beg.

Signor Iddio lei conceda (adimpiendo questa nostra giusta, richiesta, per cauar noi di piu futura fatica in questo negocio, & lei di disgratia) ogni vera felicitá, & supremo honore. Data in palazzonostro che fu da Rapamat appresso Pera di 15. di Genero 1585.

Il Ambasciatore de la Majesta Serenissima d'Ingiterra, amico de vostra Signoria magnifica, piacendo lei.

The same in English.

Right honourable Lord, it hath bene signified unto vs by diuers letters, what hath fallen out, concerning a certaine shippe of ours, called the Iesus, into which, for the helpe of Richard Skeges, one of our Marchants in the same, nowe deceased, there was admitted a certaine Frenchman called Romaine Sonnings, which for his ill behaiour, according to his deserts, seeking to carry away with him another Frenchman, which was indebted to certaine of your people, without paying his creditours, was hanged by sentence of iustice, together with Andrew Dier, the Master of the said ship, who simply and without fraude, giuing credite to the said Frenchman, without any knowledge of his euil fact, did not returne when hee was commaunded, by your honourable Lordship. The death of the said lewde Frenchman we approue as a thing well done, but contrarywise, whereas your Lordship hath confiscated the said ship with the goods therein, and hath made slaues of the Mariners, as a thing altogether contrary to the priuileges of the Grand Signior, granted foure yeeres since, and confirmed by vs on the behalfe of the most excellent the Queenes Maiestie of England our Hystresse, and altogether contrary to the league of the laide Grand Signior, who being fully informed of the aforesaid cause, hath granted unto vs his royall commandement of restitution, which we send unto your honourable Lordship, by the present bearer Edward Barcon our Secretarie, and Mahomet Beg, one of the Iustices of his stately Court, with other letters of the most excellent Admirall, and most valiant Captaine of the Sea, requiring your honourable Lordship, as well on the behalfe of the Grand Signior, as of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie my Hystresse, that the men, oyles, shippe, furniture, money, and all other goods taken former, by your Lordship, and your order taken from our men, be restozed unto this my Secretary freely, without delay, as the Grand Signior of his goodnesse hath graunced unto vs, especially in regard that the same oyles were bought by the commaundement of our Queenes most excellent Maiestie, for the prouision of her Court. Which if you performe not, wee protest by these our letters against you, that you are the cause of all the inconueniences which may ensue vpon this occasion, as the author thereof, contrary to the holy league sworn by both our Princes, as by the priuileges, which this our seruant will shewe you, may appeare. For the seeing of which league performed, wee remaine here as Ligier in this stately Court. And by this meanes you shall answer in another world unto God alone, and in this world unto the Grand Signior, for this hainous sinne committed by you against so many poore soules, which by this your cruelty are in part dead, and in part detained by you in most miserable captiuitie. Contrarywise, if it shall please you to auoyd this mischiefe, and to remaine in the fauour of Almighty God, and of our Princes, you shall friendly fulfill this our iust demaund (as it behoueth you to shew your selfe a prudent Gouvernour, and faithfull seruant unto your Lord) and the same may turne to your great honour, and profite, by the trade of marchandize, which our men in time to come, may vse in that government of yours: which generally, as well those poore men, as all others, which you shall meete at the sea, ought to be according to the commandement of the Grand Signior, friendly entertained and receiued of your honourable Lordship, and we will not faile in the duties of a speciall friend; whensoever you shall haue occasion to vse vs, as we desire. Almighty God grant unto your Lordship (in the fulfilling of this our iust request, whereby wee may be deliuered from further trouble in this matter, and your selfe from further displeasure) all true felicitie, and increase of honour.

Giuen in our Pallace from Rapamat in Pera, the 15. of Januarie 1585.

The voyage of Master Henry Austell by Venice and thence to Ragusa ouer land, and so to Constantinople: and from thence by Moldania, Polonia, Silesia and Germanie to Hamburg, &c.



The 9. of June we tooke shipping at Harewich and the next day landed at the Ramekins in the Isle of Walcheren with very stormy weather, and that night went to Middleburch in the same Island.

The twelfth we tooke shipping for Holland, and the 13. we landed at Schiedam: and the same day went to Delft by boat, and so that night to the Hage.

The 17. we tooke shipping at Amsterdam, and the 18. we landed at Enckhuysen.

The 19. we tooke shipping and by the Zuydersee we passed that day the Vhe, and so into the wamme

maine sea; And the next day we entred into the riuer of Hamburg called the Elbe.

The 21. we came to anker in the same riuer before a towne of the bishop of Breme called Staden, where they pay a certaine toll, and specially for wine, and so that night wee landed at Hamburg, where we stayde three dayes.

The 24. wee departed from Hamburg in the company of Edward Parish Marchant, and that day wee baited at Wyatson, and so ouer the heathes we left Lunenburg on the left hand, and tra- uailed all that night.

The 25. we met with Master Sanders upon the heathes, and passed by a towne of the duke of Lunenburg called Gessherne, and from thence through many waters, wee lay that night within an English mile of Brunswig.

Brunswig,

The 27. we lay at Halberstat, which is a great towne subiect to the bishop of that towne.

Halberstat.

The 28. we baited at Erinleben: and there wee entred into the duke of Saxon his countrey; and the same night we lay at a towne called Eisleben, where Martine Luther was borne.

Eisleben.

The 29. we passed by Mansfield, where there are many Copper mines: and so that night went to Neuburg vpon the riuer of Sala; and at that time there was a great faire.

Copper
mines.

The 30. we baited at a proper towne called Iena vpon the same riuer, and the same night wee lay at Cone vpon that riuer.

Iena.

The first of Iuly we baited at Salsfeld: and the same day we entred first into the great woods of fire trees, and that night to Greuandal; The second to dinner to Neustat.

Great wood
of fire trees.

The 3. day to dinner at Bamberg: and before wee came to the towne wee passed the riuer of Mayne that runneth towards Arnfurt, and that night to Forchaim.

Bamberg.

The 4. we came to Nurenberg, and there stayed two dayes. The 6. to bed to Blayfield.

Nurenberg.

The 7. we passed without Weissenburg to dinner at Monhaim, and that night we passed the riuer of Danubius at Tonewertd, and so to bed to Nurendof.

The 8. we came to Augspurg, other wise called Augusta, vpon the riuer of Lech.

Augspurg.

The 9. we lay at Landsberg vpon the said riuer, in the duke of Bauars countrey.

The 10. to dinner at Suanego, and that night to Hamber against the mountaines, where the small toys be made.

The 11. to dinner to Parcberk, & that night to Sefelt in the Archduke of Austria his countrey.

The 12. to dinner at Inspruck, & that night to bed at Landeck, where there is a toll, and it is the place where Charles the fift and his brother Ferdinand did meet. And there is a table of yasse with Latine letters in memorie thereof.

The 13. we passed by Stizen, and dined at Prisena, and so that night to Clusen.

The 14. to dinner at Bolsan and to bed at Neumark, and by the way we passed the dangerous place, where so many murderers haue bene committed.

The 15. to dinner at Trent: That day we entred the borders of Italy, that night to Lenigo.

The borders
of Italy.

The 16. to dinner at Grigno, where the last toll of the Emperour is: and so we came by Churfa, which is a streight passage. And the keeper thereof is drawne vp by a cord into his holde. And that night we went to Capana to bed in the countrey of the Venetians.

The 17. to dinner at castle Franco: by the way we stayed at Taruiso, and there cooke coche, and that night came to Mestre to bed.

The 18. in the morning we came to Venice, and there we stayed 15. dayes. In which time the duke of Venice called Nicolas de Ponte died, and we saw his burial. The Senators were continually shut vp together, as the maner is, to chuse a newe duke, which was not yet chosen when we departed from thence.

Venice

The 2. of August at night wee did embarke our selues vpon the Frigate of Cattaro, an haueu neere Ragusa. The 3. we came to a towne in Istria called Circa noua.

The 4. we came to Parenzo, and so that night to Forcera of the bishop.

The 5. we passed by Rouigno: and a litle beyond we met with 3. Gallies of the Venetians: we passed in the sight of Pola; and the same day passed the gulfe that parteth Istria from Dalmatia.

The 6. of August we came to Zara in Dalmatia, a strong towne of the Venetians; and so that night to Sebenico, which standeth in a marueilous goodly haueu, with a strong castle at the entrie thereof.

The 7. we came to Lezina, and went not on shoore, but traueiled all night.

The 8. we passed by a very wel seated town called Curzola, which standeth in an island of that name. The 9. in the morning betimes we landed at Ragusa, and there stayed three daies, where we found many friendly gentlemen.

Ragusa

The 11. being prouided of a Ianizarie we departed from Ragusa in the company of halfe a dosen Marchants of that towne: and within 6. miles we entred into the countrey of Seruia. So

Seruia.

- Chiernisa. traueiling in barren and craggie mountaines for the space of foure dayes, wee came by a small Towne of the Turkes called Chiernisa, being the 14. of the moneth; and there wee parted from the Marchants.
- Di, Fochia. The 16. we dined in a Cauarara in a Towne called Focea, being then greatly infected with the plague.
- Novibazar. The 17. we lay by a Towne called Tassiza.
- The 20. we came to Nouibazar.
- The 21. we parted fro thence, trauassing still in a countrey very ill inhabited, & lying in fields.
- Di, Nissa. The 22. we passed within sight of Nicea.
- The 23. we passed in sight of another towne called Circui: and about those places wee began to leaue the mountaines, and to enter into a very faire and fertile countrey, but as cuill inhabited as the other, or worse.
- Sophia. The 27. we came to Sophia, where wee stayed three dayes, being our Ianizaries home: and by good chance we lay in a Marchants house of Ragusa, that came in company with vs from Nouibazar; and also we had in company, euer since we came from Focea, a Turke which was a very good fellow, and he kept company with vs till we came very neere Constantinople.
- Philippopoli. The first of September we came to Philippopoli, which seemeth to be an ancient towne, and standeth vpon the riuer of Stanuch.
- Andrinopolis. The 4. we came to Andrinopoli, a very great and ancient towne, which standeth in a very large and champion countrey, and there the great Turkes mother doth lye, being a place, where the Emperours of the Turkes were wont to lye very much.
- The 5. we lay in one of the great Cauararas, that were built by Mahomet Bassha with so many goodly commodities.
- The 6. we lay in another of them.
- Siliueri. The 8. we came to Siliueri, which by report was the last towne that remained Christian.
- Constantinople. The 9. of September wee arriued at the great and most stately Citie of Constantinople, which for the situation and proude seate thereof, for the beautifull and commodious hauens, and for the great and sumptuous buildings of their Temples, which they call Moschea, is to be preferred befoze all the Cities of Europe. And there the Emperour of the Turkes then liuing, whose name was Amurat, kept his Court and residence, in a marueilous goodly place, with diuers gardens and houses of pleasure, which is at the least two English miles in compasse, and the three parts thereof ioyne vpon the sea: and on the North-east part of the Citie on the other side of the water ouer against the Citie is the Towne of Pera, where the most part of the Christians do lye. And there also wee did lye. And on the North part of the saide Towne is the Arsenal, where the Gallies are built and doe remaine: And on the Southside is all the Ordnance, artilerie, and houses of munition. Note that by the way as wee came from Ragusa to Constantinople, wee left on our right hand the Countreys of Albania, and Macedonia, and on the left hande the countreys of Bosnia, Bulgaria, and the riuer of Danubius.
- The 14. of September was the Turkes Beyram, that is, one of their chiefest feastes.
- The 15. we went to the blacke Sea called Pontus Euxinus, and there vpon a rocke we sawe a piller of white Marble that was set vp by Pompeius: and from thence wee passed to the other side of the water, vpon the shoer of Asia and there we dined.
- The 25. we departed from Constantinople.
- The 29. we came to an ancient Towne called Cherchisea, that is to say, fourtie Churches, which in the olde time was a very great City, now full of scattered buildings.
- Prouaz. The 4. of October wee came to Prouaz, one dayes iourney distant from Varna vpon the Blacke Sea.
- Saxi. The 9. we came to Saxi vpon the riuer of Danubius.
- The 10. we passed the said riuer which in that place is about a mile ouer, and then we entred into the countrey of Bogdania: they are Christians but subiects to the Turke.
- Di, Moldania. Palsin vpon the riuer of Prut. The 12. we came to Palsin vpon the riuer Prut.
- Yas. The 14. wee came to Yas the pyncipall Towne of Bogdania, where Peter the Vayuoda prince of that Countrey keepeth his residence, of whom wee receiued great courtesie, and of the gentlemen of his Court: And he caused vs to be safe conducted through his said Countrey, and conveyed without cost.
- The 17. we came to Stepanitze,
- Sorschen. The 19. we came to Zorschen, which is the last towne of Bogdania vpon the riuer of Niester, that parteth the said countrey from Podolia.
- Nyester a riuer. Camyeneiz. The 20. we passed the riuer of Nyester and came to Camyeneiz in the countrey of Podolia, subiect

subject to the king of Poland: this is one of the strongest Townes by nature and situation that can be seene,

The 21. we came to Skala.

Skala.

The 22. to Slothone, or Sloczow.

The 24. to Leopold which is in Russia alba, and so is the most part of the countrey betwixt Camyenerz and it. And it is a towne very well built, well governed, full of traffique and plenty: and there we stayed five dayes,

Leopold, or
Leunpurg.

The 30. we baited at Grodecz, and that night at Vilna.

Grodecz,
Vilna.

The 31. we dined at Mostiska, and that night at Rodmena.

The first of Nouember in the morning befoze day wee passed without the Towne of Iaroslaw, where they say is one of the greatest faires in all Poland, and chiefly of hoyses, and that night to Rosdnoska,

Iaroslaw.

The second to dinner at Lanczut, at night to Retsbou.

Lanczut.

The thirde to Sendkizow, at night to Farnow, and that night wee mette with the Palatine Laski.

The fourth to Vonuez, and that night to Brytska:

The fifth to Kuhena.

The 6. to Cracouia the principall Citie of all Poland: at which time the King was gone to Lituania: for he doeth make his residence one yeere in Poland, and the other in Lituania. Cracouia standeth on the riuer of Vistula.

Cracouia.

The 9. we departed from Cracouia, and that night wee came to a village hard by a Towne called Ilkusch, where the leade Mines are.

Leade Mines.

The 10. wee passed by a Towne called Slawkow: where there are also leade Mines, and baited that day at Bendzin, which is the last towne of Poland towards Silesia; and there is a toll.

Bendzin.

Note that all the Countreys of Poland, Russia alba, Podolia, Bogdania, and diuers other Countreys adioyning vnto them, doe consume no other salt but such as is digged in Sortsyn mountaine neere to Cracouia which is as hard as any stone; it is very good, and goeth further then any other salt. That night we lay at Bitom, which is the first Towne of Silesia.

Salt digged
out of mount-
aines in
Poland.
Bitom.

The 12. we passed by a great towne called Strelitz, and that night we lay at Oppelen vpon the riuer of Odera.

Oppelen.

The 13. we passed by Schurgasse, and that night wee lay without the towne of Brigk: for wee coulde not be suffered to come in by reason of the plague which was in those partes in diuers Townes.

Schurgasse.
Brigk.

The 14. wee passed by Olaw, and that night wee came to the Citie of Breslaw, which is a faire towne, great, well built and well seated vpon the riuer of Odera.

Breslaw.

The 16. we baited at Neumargt.

The 17. we passed by Lignize and by Hayn, and that night to Buntzel.

The 18. wee passed by Naumburg through Gorlitz vpon the riuer of Neiss, and that night lay without Reichenbach.

The 19. we passed by Baudzen and Cannitz, and that night to Rensperg.

The 20. we passed by Hayn, by Strelen, where we shoulde haue passed the riuer of Elbe, but the boate was not there, so that night we lay at a towne called Mulberg.

The 21. we passed the said riuer, wee went by Belgern, by Torga, by Dumitch; and at night to Brelsich.

The 22. we passed the Elbe againe at Wittenberg, which is a very strong towne, with a good Vniuersitie: and that day we passed by Coswig.

The 23. wee passed through Zerbst in the morning, and that night to Magdeburg, a very strong Towne, and well gouerned as wee did heare. The most part of the Countrey, after wee were come one dayes iourney on this side Breslawe to this place, belongeth to the Duke of Saxon.

Magdeburg.

The 24. we passed by a castle of the Marques of Brandenburg called Wolmerstat, and that night we lay at Garleben.

The 25. we lay at Soltwedel,

The 26. at Berg.

The 27. we baited at Lunenburg, that night we lay at Winslon.

Lunenburg.

The 28. we came to Hamborg, and there stayed one weeke.

Hamborg.

The 5. of December wee departed from Hamborg, and passed the Elbe by boate being much frozen, and from the riuer went on foote to Boxrhoede, being a long Dutch mile off, and there we lay; and from thence passed ouer land to Emden.

Thence hauing passed through Friseland and Holland, the 25. being Christmas day in the morning we came to Delft: where wee found the right honourable the Earle of Leicester with a goodly company of Lords, knights, gentlemen, and souldiers.

The 28. at night to Roterodam.

The 29. to the Briel, and there staped eight dayes for passage.

The fifth of January we tooke shipping.

The 7. we landed at Grauesend, and so that night at London with the helpe of almighty God.

The Turkes passeport or safeconduct for Captaine *Austell*, and *Iacomo Manuchio.*



Know thou which art Voyuoda of Bogdania, & Valachia, & other our officers abiding and dwelling on the way by which men commonly passe into Bogdania, and Valachia, that the Embassadoz of England hauing two English gentlemen desirous to depart for England, the one named Henry Austel, and the other Iacomo de Manuchio, requested our highnesse letters of Safeconduct to passe through our dominions with one seruant to attende on them. Wherefore wee straightly charge you and all other our seruants by whom they shall passe, that hauing receiued this our commandement, you haue diligent care and regard that they may haue provided for them in this their iourney (for their money) all such necessary provision as shall be necessary for themselves and their horses, in such sort as they may haue no cause hereafter to complaine of you. And if by chaunce they come vnto any place, where they shall stand in feare either of their persons or goods, that then you carefully cause them to bee guarded with your men, and to be conducted through all suspected places, with sufficient company; But haue great regard that they conuey not out of our cuntry any of our seruiceable horses. Obey our commandement, and giue credite to this our Seale.

A Passeport of the Earle of Leicester for *Thomas Forster* gentleman traauiling to *Constantinople.*



Robertus Comes Leicesteriz, baro de Denbigh, ordinum Garterij & Sancti Michaelis eques auratus, Serenissimæ Regine Angliæ a Secretioribus consilijs, & magister equorum, dux & capitaneus generalis exercitus eiusdem Regiæ maiestatis in Belgio, & gubernator generalis Hollandiæ, Zelandiæ, & prouinciarum vnitarum & associatarum, omnibus ad quos præsentis literæ peruenierint, salutem. Cùm lator præsentium Thomas Forster nobilis Anglus necessarijs de causis hinc Constantinopolim profecturus sit, & inde ad nos quanta potest celeritate reuersurus: petimus ab omnibus & singulis Regibus, principibus, nobilibus, magistratibus, & alijs, maudent & permittant dicto Thomæ cum duobus famulis liberum transicum per eorum ditiones & territoria sine detentione aut impedimento iniusto, & prouideri sibi de necessarijs iustum precium reddenti, ac aliter conuenienter & humaniter tractari, vt occasiones eius eundi & redundi requirent: Sicut nos Maiestates, Serenitates, Celsitudines, & dominationes vestræ paratos inuenietis, vt uestratibus in similibus casibus gratum similiter faciamus.

Datum in castris nostris Duisburgi, decimo die Septembris, anno 1586. stylo veteri.

A description of the yeerely voyage or pilgrimage of the *Mahumitans*, Turkes and *Moores* vnto *Mecca* in *Arabia.*

Of the Citie of *Alexandria.*



Alexandria the most ancient citie in Africa situated by the seaside containeth seuen miles in circuite, and is environed with two walles one neere to the other with high towers, but the walles within be farre higher then those without, with a great ditch round about the same: yet is not this Citie very strong by reason of the great antiquitie, being almost halfe destroyed and ruinated. The greatnesse of this Citie is such, that if it were of double habitation, as it is compassed with a double wall, it might be truly said, that there were two Alexandrias one builded vpon another, because vnder the foundations of the saide City are great habitations, and incredible huge pillars. True it is, that this part vnderneath remaineth at this day

day inhabitable, because of the corrupt aire, as also for that by time, which consumeth all things, it is greatly ruined. It might well be sayd, that the founder hereof, as he was worthy in all his enterprizes, so like wise in building hereof he did a worke worthy of himselfe, naming it after his owne name. This Citie hath one defect, for it is subject to an euill ayre, which onely proceedeth of that hollownesse vnderneath, out of the which issueth infinite moisture: and that this is true the ayre without doth evidently testifie, which is more subtile and holestone then that beneath. The waters hereof be salt, by reason that the soile of it selfe is like wise so. And therefore the inhabitants, at such time as the riuer Nilus floweth, are accustomed to open a great ditch, the head whereof extendeth into the said riuer, and from thence they conueigh the same within halfe a mile of Alexandria, and so consequently by meanes of conduct-pipes the water commeth vnto the cisternes of Alexandria, which being full serue the citie from one inundation to another. Within the citie is a Pyramide mentioned of in Histories, but not of great importance. Without the citie is La colonna di Pompeio, or the pillar of Pompey, being of such height and thickness, that it is supposed there is not the like in the whole world besides. Within the citie there is nothing of importance save a litle castle which is guarded with 60 Janizaries. Alexandria hath thre portes, one towards Rossetto, another to the land ward, & the third to the sea ward, which is called Babelbar, without which appeareth a broad Island called Ghesira in the Moores tongue, which is not wholly an Island, because a litle point or corner thereof toucheth the firme lande, and therefore may be called Peninsula, that is to say, almost an Island. Hereupon are builded many houses of the Jewes, in respect of the aire. This Peninsula is situate betweene two very good portes, one of them being much more safe then the other, called The old port, into the which only the vessels of Barbarie, and the six Gallies of the Grand Signior deputed for the guard of Alexandria doe enter. And this port hath vpon the right hand at the mouth or enterance thereof a castle of small importance, and guarded but with fiftene men or thereabouts. On the other side of this Island is the other called The new port, which name is not vnto this day given vnto it, for that in all mens iudgement in times past there hath not bene water there, because in the midst of this port, where the water is very deepe, there are discouered and found great sepulchres and other buildings, out of the which are daily digged with engines Iaspar and Porphyrie stones of great value, of the which great store are sent to Constantinople for the ornament of the Mesquitas or Turkish Temples, and of other buildings of the Grand Signior. Into this port enter all such vessels as traffique to this place. This port hath on eche side a castle, whereof that vpon the Peninsula is called Faraone, vpon the toppe whereof euery night there is a light set in a great lanterne for direction of the ships, and for the guard thereof are appointed 200 Janizaries: the other on the other side is but a litle castle kept by 18 men. It is certaine, that this haue of Alexandria is one of the chiefest hauens in the world: for hither come to traffique people of euery Nation, and all sorts of vessels which goe round about the citie. It is more inhabited by strangers, merchants, and Christians, then by men of the countrey which are but a few in number. Within the citie are siue Fontechi, that is to say, one of the Frenchmen, where the Consul is resident, & this is the fairest and most commodious of all the rest. Of the other foure, two belong to the Venetians, one to the Raguseans, and the fourth to the Genoueses. And all strangers which come to traffique there, except the Venetians, are vnder the French Consull. It is also to be vnderstood, that all the Christians dwell within their Fontechi, and euery euening at the going downe of the sunne, they which are appointed for that office goe about and shut all the gates of the saide Fontechi outward, and the Christians shut the same within: and so likewise they doe on the Friday (which is the Moores and the Turkes Sabboth) till their deuotions be expired. And by this means all parties are secure and voide of feare: for in so doing the Christians may sleepe quietly and not feare robbing, and the Moores neede not doubt whyles they sleepe or pray, that the Christians should make any tumult, as in times past hath happened.

Fontecho signifieth an house of traffique, as the Stylward.

Of the coast of *Alexandria*.

On the side towardes Barbarie along the sea-coast for a great space there is founde neither hold, nor any thing worthy of mention: but on the other side towards Syria 13 miles from Alexandria standeth a litle castle called Bichier kept by fiftie Turkes, which castle is very olde and weake, and hath a port which in times past was good, but at this present is vtterly decayed and full of sand, so that the vessels which come thither dare not come neere the shoare, but ride far off into the sea. For tie miles further is Rossetto, which is a litle towne without walles, and is situate vpon the banke of Nilus three miles from the sea, at which place many times they build ships and other vessels, for gouernement whereof is appointed a Saniacbey, without any other guard:

Bichier.

Rossetto.

guaro: it is a place of traffique, and the inhabitants are very rich, but naughty varlets and craptours. Further downe along the sea-side and the riuer banke is another litle castle like vnto the abouesayde, and because the Moores beleue, that Mecca will in short time be conquered by the Christians, they holde opinion, that the same being lost shall be renuro in this place of Rossetto, namely, that all their prayers, bowes, and pilgrimages shall be transported to Rossetto, as the religious order of Saint Iohn of the Rhodes is translated thence to Malta. Further forwarde thirtie miles standes another castle of small importance called Brulles, kept continually by fourtie Turkes, which hath a good and secure port, in forme like to a very great lake or ponde, wherein is taken great quantitie of fish, which they salt, and the marchants of Candie and Cyprus come thither to lade the same, and it is greatly esteemed, especially of the Candiors, who hauing great abundance of wine aduenture abroad to seeke meate fitte for the taste of the sayd wine. Distant from Brulles five and thirtie miles there is another castle like vnto the abouesayd kept by an Aga with fourtie men or thereabout. Howe within the laude by the riuers side is Damiatra an auncient citie enuironed with walles containing five miles in circuit, and but of small strength. For the gouernement of this place is a Sanjaco with all his housholde and no other companie. This citie is very large, delightfull, and pleasant, abounding with gardens and faire fountaines. Other fortie miles further is Larina, a castle of very small importance, and kept as other with fortie Turkes vnder an Aga. In this place is no port, but a roade very dangerous, and without other habitation. Passing this place we enter Iudæa. But because our intent is to reason simply of the voyage to Mecca, we will procede no further this way, but returning to our first way, let it suffice to say, that from Alexandria to Cairo are two hundred miles, in which way I finde nothing woorthie of memorie.

Of the mightie Citie of *Cairo*.

Cairo containeth in circuit eightene miles, being so inhabited and replenished with people, that almost it cannot receiue moze; and therefore they haue begunne to builde newe houses without the citie and about the walles. In Cairo are people of all Nations, as Christians, Armenians, Abexins, Turkes, Moores, Jewes, Indians, Medians, Persians, Arabians, and other sortes of people, which resort thither by reason of the great traffique. This citie is gouerned by a Basha, which ministreth iustice, together with the Cadie throughout the whole kingdom. Also there are two and twentie Saniackes, whose office is onely to oversee and guard the kingdom for euery good respect. There are also seuen thousand Turkes in pay, to wit, three thousand Janizaries, and foure thousand horsemen: The rest of the people in Cairo are for the most part marchants which goe and come, and the remnant are Moores and other base people. About two miles from Cairo there is another litle Cairo called The olde Cairo, which containeth in circuit litle moze then tenne miles, and the better halfe is not inhabited, but destroyed, whereof I neede not make any other mention. The new Cairo answereth euery yeere in tribute to the grand Signior, 600000 ducates of golde, neat and free of all charges growing on the same, which money is sent to Constantinople, about the fine of September, by the way of Aleppo, allwayes by lande, vnder the custodie of three hundred horsemen, and two hundred Janizaries footmen. The citie of Cairo is adozued with many faire Mesquias rich, great, and of goodly and gorgeous building, among which are five principall. The first is called Morastano; that is to say, The hospitall, which hath of rent five hundred ducats of golde euery day left vnto it by a king of Damasco from auncient times; which king hauing conquered Cairo, for the space of five dayes continually put the people thereof to the sword, and in the end repenting him of so great manslaughter, caused this cruelty to cease, and to obtaine remission for his sinne committed, caused this hospitall to be built, enriching it as is abouesaid. The second famous monument of Cairo is called Nessifa, of one Nessifa buried there, who was a Dame of honour, and moued by lust, yecded her body voluntarily without rewarde, to any that required the same, and sayde the bestowed this almes for the loue of her Prophet Mahomer, and therefore at this day they adoze her, recurrence her, and finally haue canonized her for a Saint, affirming that shee did many miracles. The third is called Zauia della Innachari, who was one of the foure Doctozs in the law. The fourth is called Imamschiaj, where is buried Sciafj the second Doctoz of this law. Of the other two Doctozs one is buried in Damasco, the other in Aleppo. The fift & last famous monument is Giamalazar, that is, the house of Lazarus: and this is the generall Vniuersity of the whole kingdom of Egypt. In this place Anno 1566 in the moneth of January by misfortune of fire were burned nine thousand bookes of great value,

as well for that they were written by hand, as also wrought so richly with golde, that they were worth 300 and 400 ducats a peece, one with another. And because it could neuer be knowne yet how this fire beganne, they haue and doe holde the same for a most sinister augurie, and an euident and manifest signe of their better ruine. The houses of Cairo without are very faire, & within the greater number richly adorned with hangings wrought with golde. Euery person which resorteth to this place for traffiques sake, is bound to pay halfe a ducatk, except the gentlemen Venetians, Sioces, and Rhaguseans; because they are tributary to the Grand Signior, Cairo is distant from the riuer Nilus a mile and moze, being situate on a plaine, saue that on the one side it hath a faire little hill, on the toppe whereof stands a faire castle, but not strong, for that it may be battered on euery side, but very rich & large, compassed about with faire gardens into the which they conueigh water for their necessitie out of Nilus, with certaine wheels & other like engines; This magnificent citie is adorned with very fruitfull gardens both pleauant and commodious; with great plenty of pondes to water the same. Notwithstanding the greauisafures of Cairo are in the moneth of August, when by meanes of the great raine in Ethiopia the riuer Nilus overfloveth and watereth all the countrey, and then they open the mouth of a great ditch, which extendeth into the riuer, and passeth through the most of the citie, and entering there are innumerable barkes rowing too and fro laden with gallant girtles and beautifull dames, which with singing, eating, drinking and feasting, take their solace. The women of this countrey are most beautifull, and goe in rich attire bedecked with gold, pretious stones, and iewels of great value, but chiefly perfumed with odours, and are very libidinous, and the men likewise, but foule and hard favoured. The soile is very fertile and abundant, the flesh fat which they sell without bones, their candles they make of the marowe of cattell, because the Moores eate the tallow. They vse also certaine litle furnaces made of pucopse, vnder the which they make fire, putting into the furnace foure or five hundred egges, and the said fire they nourish by litle and litle, vntill the chickens be hatched, which after they be hatched, and become somewhat bigger, they sell them by measure in such sort, as we sell and measure nuts and chestnuts and such like.

The description
of Cairo.

Of certaine notable monuments without the citie of Cairo.

Without the Citie, fixe miles higher into the land, are to be seene neere vnto the riuer diuerse Pyramides, among which are three marueilous great, and very artificially wrought. Out of one of these are dayly digged the bodies of auncient men, not rotten but all whole, the cause whereof is the qualitie of the Egyptian soile, which will not consume the flesh of man, but rather dry and harden the same, and so alwayes conserueth it. And these dead bodies are the Spummie which the Physicians and Apothecaries doe against our willes make vs to swallow. Also by digging in these Pyramides oftentimes are found certaine Idoles or Images of golde, siluer, and other mettall, but vnder the other pyramides the bodies are not taken by so whole as in this, but there are found legges and armes comparable to the limmes of giants. Neere to these pyramides appeareth out of the sand a great head of bone somewhat like marble, which is discouered so farre as the necke topneth with the shoulders, being all whole, sauing that it wanteth a litle tippie of the nose. The necke of this head containeth in circuit about fixe and thirtie foot, so that it may be according to the necke considered, what greatnesse the head is of. The riuer Nilus is a mile broad, wherein are very many great Crocodiles from Cairo vpwart, but lower then Cairo passeth no such creature: and this, they say, is by reason of an enchantment made long since which hindereth their passage for conning any lower then Cairo. Discouer of these creatures there are sometimes found some of an incredible bignesse, that is to say, of fourtie foot about. The males haue their members like to a man, and the females like to a woman. These monsters oftentimes issue out of the water to feede, and finding any small beasts, as sheepe, lambes, goates, or other like, doe great harme. And whiles they are foorth of the water, if they happen at vpwares vpon any man, woman or childe, whom they can overcome, they spare not their liues. In the yeere of our Lozde one thousand five hundred and fiftie it happened; that certaine pooze Christians traouelling by Cairo towardes the countrey of Prete Ianni to rescue certaine slaues, were guided by a Chaus, and iourneyed along the banke of the said riuer. The Chaus remained lingering alone behinde to make his prayers (as their custome is) at a place called Tania, whom being busie in his double deuotion one of these Crocodiles reazed by the shoulders, and dyed him vnder water, so that he was neuer after seene. And for this cause they haue made in sundry places certaine hedges as bankes within the water, so that betwixt the hedge and banke of the riuer there remaineth so much water, that the women washing may take waer without danger at their pleasure. This countrey is so fruitfull, that

it causeth the women as also other creatures to bring forth one, two, and oft-times three at a birth. Five miles southward of Cairo is a place called Mararea, where the balme is refined: and therefore some will say, that the trees which beare the balme growe in the said place, where-in they are deceiver: for the sayde trees growe thre dayes journey from Mecca, in a place called Bedrihone, which yeeldeth balme in great plenty, but saluage, wilde, and without vertue, and therefore the Moores carrying the same within like chests from Bedrihone to Mararea, where the trees being replanted (but by vertue of the soyle, or the water, aire, or any other thing whatsoeuer) it sufficeth that here they beare the true balme and licour so much in these dayes esteemed of. At this place of Mararea there are certaine little houses, with most goodly gardens, and a chappell of antiquity, where the very Moores themselves affirme, that the mother of the blessed Christ fleeing from the fury of wicked Herode there saued her selfe with the child, wherein that saying of the Prophet was fulfilled, *Ex Aegypto vocaui filium meum.* The which Chappell in the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred and foure, the Magnifico Darel Barbero first Consull of that place went to visit, and caused it to be renewed and redified, so that in these dayes there resort thither many Christians, who oftentimes bring with them Priests, to say masse there. Also about an Harquebus-shotte from Mararea is a spire of great heighe like to that at Rome, and more beautifull to beholde. There was the olde Cairo as yet twelue storehouses of great antiquitie, but now very much decayed, and these till late dayes serued to keepe corne for behoofe of the kingdome, concerning which many are of opinion, that the founder hereof was Ioseph the sonne of Iacob, for consideration of the isuen deare peeres. Also passing higher by the banke of Nilus, there is to be seene a fayre Citie surrowed with water, the which at such time as Nilus floweth lyeth under water, but when the water returneth to the marke, there plainly appeare princely palaces, and stately pillars, being of some called Thebes, where they say that Pharao was resident. Howe-
Old Thebes.
over thre dayes journey higher by are two great images of speckled marble, all whole, and somewhat sunke into the earth, being things wonderfull to consider of, for the nose of either is two spannes and an halfe long, and the face from one eare to the other concerneth tenne spannes, the bodies being correspondent to their heads, and grauen in excellent proportion, so that they are shapen of marvellous hugeness, and these they call *The wife*, and *The daughter of Pharao.*

Of the patriarke of Greece.

IN Cairo are two Patriarkes, one of the Greekes, and another of the Iacobites. The Greeke Patriarke called Gioechai, being about the age of one hundred and thirtie yeeres, was a very good and holy man. They say, that when Soldan Gauri of Egypt reigned, there was done this miracle following: this good patriarke being enuied at by the lawes of the country, for none other cause, but for his good workes, and holy life, it happened (as he) was being in disputation with certaine of the Hebrewes in presence of the Sultan, and reasoning of their lawe and faith, it was said unto him by one of these Hylreants: *Sith thou beleeuest in the faith of Christ, take and drinke this potion which I will giue thee; and if thy Christ be true Messias and true God, he will (says he) deliuer thee from daunger.* To whom the auncient patriarke answered, that he was content: whereupon that cursed Iewe brought him a cuppe of the most benemous and deadly popson that could be found, which the holy Patriarke hauing perceiued, said: *In the name of the father, of the sonne, and of the holy Ghost: and hauing so sayde he dranke it quite by; which done, he tooke a droppe of pure water, putting it into that very cup, and gaue it vnto the Iewe, saying vnto him. I in the name of my Christ haue dranke thy popson, and therefore in the name of thy expected Messias drinke this water of mine within thine owne cuppe.* Whereupon the Iewe tooke the cup out of the hand of the Patriarke, and hauing dranke the water, within halfe an houre burst a sunder. And the Patriarke had none other hurt, saue that he became somewhat pale in sight, and so remained euer after. And this miracle (which meriteth to be called no lesse) was done to the great commendation of the holy Patriarke in the presence of a thousand persons, and namely of the Soldan of Egypt: who seeing the despight of the Iewes, vnto their owne cost and confusion compelled them to make the conduct, which with so many engines connecth into the castle from Nilus aboue mentioned. And this triumphant Patriarke not long since was alike, and in perfect health, which God continue long time.

Of the preparation of the Carouan to goe to Mecca.

AS touching the Carouan which goeth to Mecca, it is to be understoode, that the Mahumetans obserue a kinde of lent continuing one whole moone, and being a moucable ceremony, which sometimes falleth high, sometimes lowe in the yeere called in their tongue Ramazan, and their feast is called Bairam. During this time of lent all they which intende to goe vnto Mecca resort vnto Cairo, because that twentie dayes after the feast the Carouan is ready to depart on the voyage: and thither resort a great multitude of people from Asia, Grecia, and Barbaria to goe on this voyage, some moued by deuotion, and some for traffiques sake, and some to passe away the time. Nowe within fewe dayes after the feast they which goe on the voyage depart out of the cite two leagues vnto a place called Birca, where they expect the Captaine of the Carouan. This place hath a great pond caused by the inundation of Nilus, and so made, that the camels and other beastes may drinke therein: whereof, namely, of Hules, Camels, and Dromedaries there are at least forty thousand, and the persons which followe the Carouan euery yeere are about fiftie thousand, fewe more or lesse, according to the times. Whereouer euery three yeeres they renewe the Captaine of the Carouan, called in the Arabian tongue Amarilla Haggi, that is, the Captaine of the Pilgrimes, to whom the Grand Signior giueth euery voyage eightene purses, conteyning each of them fixe hundred twentie and fixe oucates of golde, and these be for the behoofe of the Carouan, and also to doe almes vnto the needfull pilgrimes. This Captaine, besides other seruingmen which follow him, hath also foure Chausi to serue him. Likewise he hath with him for the securitie of the Carouan foure hundred souldiers, to wit, two hundred Spachi or horsemen mounted on Dromedaries, and two hundred Janizaries riding vpon Camels. The Chausi and the Spachi are at the charge of the Captaine, but the Janizaries not so, for their prouision is made them from Cairo. The Spachi weare caps or bonnets like to the caps of Sergeants, but the Janizaries after another sort, with a lappe falling downe behinde like a French-hoode, and hauing befoze a great piece of wrought siluer on their heads. The charge of these is to cause the Carouan to march in good array when neede requireth; these are not at the commandement of any but of the Captaine of the Carouan. Whereouer the Captaine hath for his guide eight pilots, the office of whom is alwayes stable and firme from heire to heire, and these goe befoze guiding the Carouan; and shewing the way, as being well experienced in the place, and in the night they gouerne them as the mariners, by the starre. These also vse to sende befoze foure or fixe men carryinge pieces of dry wood which giue light, because they should not goe out of the way; and if at any time through their ill hap they wander astray out of the way, they are cast downe and beaten with so many bastonadoes vpon the soles of their feete, as serue them for a perpetuall remembrance. The Captaine of the Carouan hath his Lieutenant accompanied continually with fiftene Spachi, and he hath the charge to set the Carouan in order, and to cause them to depart on their iourney when neede requireth: and during the voyage their office is some whiles to goe befoze with the forewarde, sometimes to come behinde with the reuerward, sometimes to march on the one side, and sometimes on the other, to spy, that the coast be cleare. The Carouan carrieth with it fixe pieces of ordinance drawn by 12 camels, which serue to terrifie the Arabians, as also to make triumph at Mecca, and other places. The marchants which followe the Carouan, some carry for marchandise cloth of silke, some Cozall, some tinne, others wheat, rife, and all sorts of graine. Some sell by the way, some at Mecca, so that euery one bringeth something to gaîne by, because all marchandise that goeth by land payeth no custome, but that which goeth by sea is bound to paye tennie in the hundred.

Pieces of dry
wood in stead
of torches.

The beginning of the voyage.

The feast befoze the Carouan setteth forth, the Captaine with all his retinue and officers resort vnto the castle of Cairo befoze the Basha, which giueth vnto euery man a garment, and that of the Captaine is wrought with golde, and the others are serued according to their degree. Whereouer he deliuereth vnto him ş Chisua Fahnabi, which signifyeth in the Arabian tongue, The garment of the Prophet: this vesture is of silke, wrought in the midst with letters of gold, which signifye: La illa ill' alla Mahumet Resullala: that is to say, There are no gods but God; and his ambassadour Mahumet. This garment is made of purpose to couer from top to botome a litle house in Mecca standing in the midst of the Mesquita, the which house (they say) was builded by Abraham or by his sonne Ismael. After this he deliuereth to him a gate made of purpose for the foresaid house of Abraham wrought all with fine golde, and being of excellent workmanship, and it

it is a thing of great value, Besides, he deliuereth vnto him a covering of greene velvet made in manner of a pyramis, about nine palmes high, and artificially wrought with most fine golde, and this is to cover the tombe of their prophet within Medina, which tombe is built in manner of a pyramis: and besides that covering there are brought many others of golde and like, for the ornament of the sayde tombe, Which things being consigned, the Basha departeth not from his place; but the Captaine of the Carouan taketh his leaue with all his officers and souldiers, and departeth accompanied with all the people of Cairo orderly in manner of a procession, with singing, shouting and a thousand other ceremonies too long to recite. From the castle they goe to a gate of the citie called Bab-Nassera, without the which standes a Mosquita, and therein they lay by the layd vestures very well kept and guarded. And of this ceremony they make so great account, that the world commeth to see this sight, yea the women great with childe, and others with children in their armes, neither is it lawfull for any man to forbid his wife the going to this feast, for that in so doing the wife may separate her selfe from her husband, and may lie with any other man, in regard of so great a trespasse. Now this procession proceeding from the castle towards the Mosquita, the Camels which bring the vestures are all adozned with cloth of golde, with many little belles, and passing along the streete you may see the multitude casting vpon the said vestures thousands of beautifull flowers of diuers colours, & sweete water, others bringing towels & fine cloth touch the same, which euer after they keepe as reliques with great reuerence. Afterward hauing left the vesture in the Mosquita, as is aforesaid, they returne againe into the citie, where they remaine the space of 20 dayes, and then the captaine departeth with his company, and taking the vestures out of the Mosquita, carrieth the same to the foresaid place of Birca, where the Captaine hauing pitched his tent with the standard of the grand Signior ouer the gate, & the other principall tents standing about his, stayeth there some tenne dayes and no more: in which time all those resort thither that meane to follow the Carouan in this voyage to Mecca. Where you shall see certaine women which intend to goe on this voyage accompanied with their parents and friends mounted vpon Camels, adozned with so many ryples, tassels, and knets, that in beholding the same a man cannot refraine from laughter. The last night before their departure they make great feasting and triumph within the Carouan, with castles and other infinite deuises of fireworke, the Janizaries alwayes standing round about the tent of the Captaine with such shouting and top, that on euery side the earth resoundeth, and this night they discharge all their ordinance, foure or five times, and after at the beake of the day vpon the sound of a trumpet they march forward on their way.

What times the *Carouan* trauelleth, and when it resteth.

It is to be noted, that from Cairo to Mecca they make 40 dayes iourney or thereabout, & the same great dayes iourneies. For the custome of the Carouan is to trauell much and rest little, and ordinarily they iourney in this manner: They trauell from two a clocke in the morning vntill the sunne rising, then hauing rested till noone, they set forward, and so continue till night, & then also rest againe, as is abouesaid, till two of the clocke: and this order they obserue vntill the end of the voyage, neuer changing the same, except in some places, wherof we will hereafter speake, where for respect of water they rest somerimes a day and an halfe, and this they obserue to refresh themselves, other wise both man and beast would die.

In what order the *Carouan* trauelleth.

The maner and order which the Carouan obserueth in marching is this. It goeth diuided into three parts, to wit, the forward, the maine battell, and the reeward. In the forward goe the 8 Pilors before with a Chaus, which hath foure knaues, & ech knaue carrieth a sinew of a bul, to the end that if occasion requireth, þe bastonado may be giuen to such as deserue the same. These knaues cast offendours downe, turning by the soles of their feete made fast to a staffe, giuing them a perpetuall remembrance for them & the beholders. This Chaus is as the Captaine of the forward, which commandeth lights to be carried before when they trauell in the night. Also there goe in this forward 6 Santones with red turbants vpon their heads, & these eat and ride at the cost of the Captaine of the Carouan. These Santones when the Carouan arriueth at any good lodging, suddenly after they haue scried the place, cry with an horrible voyce saying, good cheare, good cheare, we are nere to the wished lodging. For which good newes the chiefe of the company bestoweth their beneuolence vpon them. In this forward goeth very nere the third part of the people of the Carouan, behind whom goe alwayes 25 Spachi armed with swords, bowes & arrowes

to defend them from enemies. Next vnto the foreward, within a quarter of a mile, followeth the maine battell, and befoze the same are drawn the sayd sixe pieces of ordnance, with their gunners, and fiftene Spachi Archers. And next vnto these cometh the chiefe physician, who is an olde man of authoritie, hauing with him many medicines, oynments, salues, and other like retreshings for the sicke, hauing also camels with him for the sicke to ride on, which haue no hoyle nor beast. Next vnto him goeth one Camell alone, the fairest that can be found: for with great industrie is sought the greatest and fairest which may be found within the dominions of the Grand Signior. This camell also is decked with cloth of golde and silke, and carrieth a litle chest made of pure Legmame made in likenesse of the arke of the olde Testament: but, as is abouesayd, made of pure Legmame, without golde or any other thing of cost. Within this chest is the Alcoran all writen with great letters of golde, bound betwene two tables of masse golde, and the chest during their voyage is conered with Silke, but at their entering into Mecca it is all conered with cloth of golde, adozned with iewels, and the like at the enterance into Medina. The Camell abovesayd which carrieth the chest, is compassed about with many Arabian singers and musicians, alwayes singing and playing vpon instruments. After this followe fiftene other most faire Camells, euery one carrying one of the abouesayd vestures, being covered from toppe to toe with silke. Behind these goe twentie other Camells which carrie the money, apparell, and provision of the Amir el Cheggi captaine of the Carouan. After followeth the royall Standard of the grand Signior, accompanied continually with the musicians of the captaine, and five and twentie Spachi archers, with a Chaus befoze them, and about these marvellous things goe all the people and Camells which follow the Carouan. Behind these, lesse then a mile, followeth the reeward, whereof the greater part are pilgrims: the occasion whereof is, for that the merchants seeke alwayes to be in the foreward for the securitie of their goods, but the pilgrims which haue litle to loose care not though they come behind. Behind these alwayes goe five and twentie other Spachi well armed with another Chaus their captaine, and fortie Arabians all Archers for guard of the reeward. And because the Carouan goeth alwayes along the red sea banke, which in going forth they haue on their right hand, therfoze the two hundred Janissaries parted into thre companies goe vpon their left hand well armed and mounted vpon Camells bound one to another, for vpon that side is all the danger of thienes, and on the other no danger at all, the captaine of the Carouan alwayes going about his people, sometimes on the one side, and sometimes on the other, neuer keeping any firme plaec, being continually accompanied with a Chaus and 25. Spachi, armed and mounted vpon Dromedaries, and 8. musicians with viols in their handes, which cease not sounding till the captaine take his rest, vpon whom they attend, all such time as he entreteth his pavillion, and then licencing all his attendants and folowers to depart, they goe each man to their lodging.

Of things notable which are seene in this voyage by the way.

Because in the way there are not many things found woorthie memoie, for that the Carouan seldome resteth in places of habitation, of which in the way there are but fewe, yea rather the Carouan resteth altogether in the field: therefore in this our voyage wee will eueryly make mention of certaine Castles found in the way, which bee these, namely, Agerut, Nachel, Acba, Biritem, Muel, and Ezlem. Of which five, the two first are kept of Moores, and the other three of Turkes, and for guard they haue eight men or tenne at the most in euery Castle, with foure or five Smerigli, which serue to keepe the water from the Arabians, so that the Carouan coming thither, may haue wherewithall to refresh it selfe. Agerut is distant from Suez a port of the red Sea eight miles, where are alwayes resident five and twentie gallies of the Grand Signior for the keeping of that Sea. Nachel is distant from the Sea a dayes iourney. The walles of Acba are founded vpon the red Sea banke. Biritem and Muel likewise are dished with the waues of the Sea. Ezlem is distant from thence about a dayes iourney. These five Castles abouesayd are not of force altogether to defend themselves agaynst an hundred men. The Carouan departing from Birca vntill Agerut findeth no water by the way to drinke, neither from Agerut till Nachel, nor from Nachel till Acba, but betwene Acba and Biritem are found two waters, one called Agium el Casap, and the other Magaraxiaibi, that is to say, the riuer of Iethro the father in lawe of Moses, for this is the place mentioned in the second chapter of Exodus, whither it is sayd that Moses fledde from the anger of Pharao, who would haue killed him, because hee had

slaine the Egyptian, which fought with the Hebrew, in which place stood the cite of Midian; and there are yet the ponds, neere vnto the which Moses late downe. And from that place forward they finde moze stoze of water by the way, and in moze places, though not so good. It is also to bee noted, that in this voiage it is needfull and an vsuall thing, that the captaine put his hand to his purse in these places, and bestow presents, garments, and turbants vpon certaine of the chiefe of the Arabians, to the ende they may giue him and his Carouan free passage: who also promise, that their followers likewise shall doe no damage to the Carouan, and bind themselves to accomplish the same, promising also by worde of mouth, that if the Carouan bee robbed, they will make restitution of such things as are stollen: but notwithstanding, the Carouan is by them oftentimes dammished, and those which are robbed haue no other restitution at the Arabians handes then the shewing of them a paire of heeles, flying into such places as it is impossible to finde them. Nowe the Carouan continuing her accustomed iourneys, and hauing passed the abovesayd castles, and others not woorthie mention, at length cometh to a place called Ichbir, which is the beginning and confine of the state and realme of Serifo the king of Mecca: where, at their appoehing stretch out to meete them the gouernour of the land, with all his people to receiue the Carouan, with such shouting and triumph, as is impossible to expresse, where they staine one whole day. This place aboundeth with fresh and cleare waters, which with streames fall downe from the high mountaines. Moreover, in this place are great stoze of dates, and flesh great stoze and good cheape, and especially laced muttons which willingly fall downe, and here the wearie pilgrimes haue commoditie to refresh themselves, saying, that this wicked fact purgeth them from a multitude of sinnes, and besides increaseth deuotion to prosecute the voiage. Touching the building in these places, it is to bee iudged by the houses halfe ruinated, that it hath bene a magnificent cite: but because it was in times past inhabited moze with thieues then true men, it was therfore altogether destroyed by Soldan Gauri king of Egypt, who going on pilgrimage vnto Mecca, and passing by this place, there was by the inhabitants hereof some iniurie done vnto his Carouan, which hee vnderstanding of, dissembled till his returned from Mecca, and then caused it to bee burned and destroyed in pitifull sort for reuenge of the iniurie done vnto the Carouan. The Carouan hauing rested and being refreshed as is abovesayd, the next day departeth on the way, and the first place they arrive at woorthie mention is called Bedrihonem, in which place (as is aforesayd) growe those little shrubbes whereout Balme issueth. And before the Carouan arriueh at this place, a mile from the cite is a large and great field enuironed about with most high and huge mountaines. And in this field, accordyng to the Alcoran, their prophet Mahomet had a most fierce and cruell battell giuen by the Christians of the countrey and other people which set themselves agaynst them, and withstood his opinion, so that hee was overcome and vanquished of the Christians, and almost halfe of his people slaine in the battell. Whereupon, the prophet seeing himselfe in such extremitie, fell to his prayers, and they say, that God hauing compassion vpon his deare friend and prophet, heard him, and sent him infinite thousandes of angels, wherewith returning to the battell, they conquered and overcame the conquerour. And therfore in memorie of this victorie, the Carouan lodgeth every yeere one night in this place, making great bonefires with great mirth. And they say that as yet there is heard vpon the mountaines a litle drumme, which while the Carouan passeth, neuer ceaseth sounding. And they say further, that the sayd drumme is founded by the angels in signe of that great victorie graunted of God to their prophet. Also the Mahumetan writings affirme, that after the ende of the sayd battell, the prophet commaunded certaine of his people to goe and burie all the Mahumetans which were dead in the fields, who going, knew not the one from the other, because as yet they had not circumcission, so they returned vnto him, answering, that they had bene to doe his commaundement, but they knew not the Musulmans from the Christians. To whom the prophet answered, saying: Turne againe, and all those which you shall finde with their faces downward, leaue them, because all they are misbeleuers; and the other which you shall finde with their faces turned vpward, them burie, for they are the true Musulmani, and so his commaundement was done.

The next morning by Sunne rising, the Carouan arriueh at Bedrihonem, in which place every man washeth himselfe from toppe to toe, as well men as women, and leauing off their apparell, hauing each one a cloth about their priuities, called in their tongue Phorah, and another white one vpon their shoulders, all which can goe to Mecca in this habite, do so, and are thought to merite moze then the other, but they which cannot doe so make a vowe to sacrifice a Ramme at the mountaine of pardons: and after they bee washed, it is not lawfull for any man or woman

man to kill either sea or land with their hands, neither yet to take them with their nailes, vntill they haue accomplished their vowed orations in the mountaine of pardons aboue sayd: and therefore they carry with them certaine sticke made of purpose in maner of a file, called in their language Arca, Cassah Guch, with which they grate their shoulders. And so the Carouan marching, commeth within two miles of Mecca where they rest that night. In the morning at the breake of day, with all pompe possible they set forward toward Mecca, and drawing neere thereunto, the Serifo issueth forth of the citie with his guard, accompanied with an infinite number of people. Shouting, and making great triumph. And being come out of the citie a boweshoote into a faire field, where a great multitude of tents are pitched, and in the middlest the pavillion of the captaine, who meeting with the Serifo, after salutations on each side, they light from their horses and enter into the pavillion, where the king of Mecca depiueh himselfe of all authoritie and power, and committeth the same to the aboue-named captaine, giuing him full licence and authoritie to command, gouerne, and minister iustice during his aboad in Mecca with his company, and on the other side the captaine to requite this liberalitie vsed toward him by the Serifo, giueth him a garment of cloth of gold of great value, with certaine tewels and ocher like things. After this, sitting downe together vpon carpets and hides they eat together, and rising from thence with certaine of the chiefest, and taking with them the garment and gate abouesayd, they goe directly to the Mosquita, attended on but with a fewe, and being entered, they cause the olde to be pulled downe, and put the newe couerture vpon the house of Abraham, and the olde vesture is the eunuchs which serue in the sayde Mosquita, who after sell it vnto the pilgrimes at foure or fivescore times the pike: and happy doth that man thinke himselfe, which can get neuer so litle a peece thereof, to conserue ever after as a most holy relique: and they say, that putting the same vnder the head of a man at the houre of his death, through vertue thereof all his finnes are forgiven. Also they take away the old dooze, setting in the place the new dooze, and the old by custome they giue vnto the Serifo. After hauing made their prayers with certaine ordinarie and woonted ceremonies, the Serifo remaineth in the citie, and the captaine of the pilgrimage returneth vnto his pavillion.

Of the Serifo the king of Mecca.

The Serifo is descended of the prophet Mahomet by Fatma daughter of that good prophet, and Ali husband to her, and soune in lawe to Mahomet, who had no issue male, saue this Locke of the Serifo, to the eldest soune whereof the realme commeth by succession. This realme hath of reuenues to yall, euery yeere halfe a million of golde, or litle more: and all such as are of the prophets kindred, or descended of that blood (which are almost innumerable) are called Emyri, that is to say, lordes. These all goe clothed in greene, or at the least haue their turbant greene, to bee knowen from the other. Neither is it permitted that any of those Christians which dwell or traffique in their Countrey goe clothed in greene, neither may they haue any thing of greene about them: for they say it is not lawfull for misbeleeuers to weare that colour, wherewith that great friend and prophet of god Mahomet was woont to be apparelled.

Of the citie of Mecca.

The Citie of Mecca in the Arabian tongue is called Macca, that is to say, an habitation. This citie is inuironed about with exceeding high and barren mountaines, and in the plaine betweene the sayde mountaines and the citie are many pleasaunt gardens, where groweth great abudaunce of figges, grapes, apples, and melons. There is also great abudaunce of good water and fleshe, but not of bread. This citie hath no walles about it, and containeth in circuite fife miles. The houses are very handsome and commodious, and are built like to the houses in Irakle. The palace of the Serifo is sumptuous and gorgeously adorned. The women of the place are courteous, iocund, and lovely, faire, with alluring eyes, being hore and libidinous, and the most of them naughtie packes. The men of this place are giuen to that abhominable, cursed, and opprobrious vice, whereof both men and women make but small account by reason of the pond Zuz Zuz, wherein hauing washed themselves, their opinion is, that although like the dog they returne to their vomite, yet they are cleansed from all sinne whatsoever, of which sin we will hereafter more largely discourse. In the middle of the city is the great Mosqira,

with the house of Abraham standing in the very middle thereof, which Mosquira was built in the time when their prophet liued. It is foure square, and so great, that it containeth two miles in circuit, that is to say, halfe a mile each side. Also it is made in maner of a cloister, for that in the midst thereof separate from the rest, is the abouesayd house of Abraham, also the galleries round about are in maner of 4. streetes, and the partitions which diuide the one street from the other are pillars, whereof some are of marble, and others of lime and stone. This famous and sumptuous Mosquira hath 99. gates, and 5. steeple, from whence the Talismani call the people to the Mosquira. And the pilgrimes which are not prouided of tents, resort hither, and for moze deuotion the men and women lie together aloft and beneath, one vpp another, so that their house of praise becommeth worse sometimes then a den of theiues.

Of the house of Abraham.

The house of Abraham is also foure square, and made of speckled stone, 20. paces high, and 40 in circuit. And vpon one side of this house within the wall, there is a stone of a span long, and halfe a span broad, which stone (as they say) befoze this house was builded, fell downe from heauen, at the fall whereof was heard a voyce, that wherelouer this stone fell, there should be built the house of God, wherein God will heare sinners. Howeouer, they say that when this stone fell from heauen, it was not blacke as now, but as white as the whitest snow, and by reason it hath bene so oft kissed by sinners, it is therewith become blacke: for all the pilgrimes are bound to kisse this stone, other wise they carry their sinnes home with them again. The entrance into this house is very small, made in maner of a window, and as high from the ground as a man can reach so that it is painful to enter. This house hath without 31. pillars of brasse, set vpon cubike square stones being red and greene, the which pillars sustaine not ought els saue a threed of copper, which reacheth from one to another, wherunto are fastened many burning lampes. These pillars of brasse were caused to be made by Sulran Soliman grandfather to Sultan Amurath now Emperoz. After this, hauing entred with the dicitie abouesayd, there stand at the entrance two pillars of marble, to wit, on each side one. In the midst there are three of Aloes-wood not very thicke, and couered with tiles of India of 1000. colours which serue to vnderpropp the Terrazza. It is so darke, that they can hardly see within for want of light, not without an euill smell. Without the gate five paces is the abouesayd pond Zun Zun, which is that blessed pond that the angell of the lord shewed vnto Agar whiles she went seeking water for her sonne Ismael to drinke.

Of the ceremonies of the pilgrimes.

In the beginning we haue sayd how the Mahumetans haue two feasts in the yeere. The one they call Pascha di Ramazaco, that is to say, The feast of fasting, and this feast of fasting is holden thirtie dayes after the feast, wherein the Carouan traueileth to Mecca. The other is called the feast of the Ramme, wherein all they which are of abilitie are bound to sacrifice a Ramme, and this they call Bine Bairam, that is to say, The great feast. And as the Carouan departeth from Cairo thirtie dayes after the little feast, so likewise they come hither five or sixe dayes befoze the great feast, to the ende the pilgrimes may haue time befoze the feast to finish their rites and ceremonies, which are these. Departing from the Carouan, and being guided by such as are experienced in the way, they goe vnto the citie twentie or thirtie in a company as they thinke good, walking through a streete which ascendeth by litle and litle till they come vnto a certaine gate, whereupon is witten on each side in marble stone, Babel Salema, which in the Arabian tongue significth, the gate of health. And from this place is descried the great Mosquira, which enuironeth the house of Abraham, which being descried, they reuerently salute twise, saying, Salem Alech lara sul Alla, that is to say, Peace to thee, ambassadour of God. This salutation being ended, proceeding on the way, they finde an arche vpon their right hand, whereon they ascend five steps, vpon the which is a great voyd place made of stone: after, descending other five steps, and proceeding the space of a flight-shoot, they finde another arche like vnto the first, and this way from the one arche to the other they go and come 7. times, saying alwaies some of their prayers, which (they say) the afflicted Agar sayd, whiles she sought and found not water for her sonne Ismael to drinke. This ceremonie being ended, the pilgrimes enter into the Mosquira, and drawing neere vnto the house of Abraham, they goe round about it other seuen times, alwayes saying: This is the house of God, and of his seruauit Abraham; This done, they goe to kisse that blacke stone abouesayd. After they go vnto the pond Zun Zun, and in their apparell

apparell as they be, they wash themselves from head to foote, saying, Tobah Allah, Tobah Allah, that is to say, Pardon lord, Pardon lord, drinking also of that water, which is both murdrie, filthy, and of an ill saour, and in this wise washed and watered, euery one returneth to his place of abode, and these ceremonies euery one is bound to doe once at the least. But those which haue a mind to ouergoe their fellowes, and to go into paradise before the rest, doe the same once a day while the Carouan remaineth there.

What the Carouan doeth after hauing rested at Mecca.

The Carouan hauing abode within the citie of Mecca sine dayes, the night before the euening of their feast, the captaine with all his company setteth forward towards the mountaine of pardons, which they call in the Arabian tongue, Iabel Arafaca. This mountaine is distant from Mecca 15. miles, and in the mid way thereto is a place called Mina, that is to say, The haueu, and a litle from thence are 4. great pillars, of which hereafter we will speake. Now first touching the mountaine of Pardons, which is rather to be called a litle hill, then a mountain, for that it is low, litle, delightful and pleasant, containing in circuit two miles, and entoured round about with the goodliest plaine that euer with mans eie could be seen, and the plaine likewise compassed with exceeding high mountains, in such sort, that this is one of the goodliest situations in the world: and it seemeth verily, that nature hath therein shewed all her cunning, in making this place vnder the mountaine of pardons so broad and pleasant. Upon the side towards Mecca there are many pipes of water cleare, faire, and fresh, and aboue all most wholesome, falling down into certaine vessels made of purpose, where the people refresh and wash themselves, and water their cattel. And when Adam and Euah were cast out of paradise by the angel of the Lord, the Mahumetans say, they came to inhabit this litle mountaine of pardons. Also they say, that they had lost one another, and were seperated for the space of 40. yecres, and in the end met at this place with great joy & gladnesse, and builded a litle house vpon the top of this mountaine, the which at this day they call Beye Adam, that is to say, the house of Adam.

The mountain
of pardons.

Of the three Carouans:

The same day that the Carouan of Cairo commeth to this place, hither come 2. Carouans also, one of Damasco, the other of Arabia, and in like maner all the inhabitants for ten dayes Iourney round about, so that at one time there is to be seen aboue 200000. persons, and more the 300000. cattell. Now all this company meeting together in this place the night before the feast, the three hostes cast themselves into a triangle, setting the mountaine in the midst of them: and all that night there is nothing to be heard nor scene, but gunshot and fire workes of sundry sortes, with such singing, sounding, shouting, halowing, riuozs, feasting, and triumphing, as is wonderful. After this, the day of the feast being come, they are all at rest and silence, and that day they attend on no other thing, then to sacrifice oblations and prayers vnto God, and in the euening all they which haue horses mount thereon, and approach as nigh vnto the mountaine as they can, and those which haue no horses make the best shift they can on foote, giuing euer vnto the captaine of Cairo the chiefe place, the second to the captaine of Damasco, and the third to the captaine of Arabia, & being all approached as is aboue sayd, there commeth a square squire, one of the Santones, mounted on a camell well furnished, who at the other side of the mountain ascendeth sine steps into a pulpit made for that purpose, and all being silent, turning his face towards the people, he maketh a short sermon of the tenour following.

The summe of the Santones sermon.

The summe of this double doctors sermon is thus much in brieve. He sheweth them how many and how great benefites God hath giuen to the Mahumetan people by the hand of his beloued friend and prophet Mahomer, hauing deliuered them from the seruitude of sinne & from idolatry, in which before time they were drowned, and how he gaue vnto them the house of Abraham wherewith they should be heard, and like wise the mountaine of pardons, by meanes whereof they might obtaine grace and remission of their finnes: adding, that the mercifull God, who is a liberall giuer of all good things, commaunded his secretarie Abraham to build him an house in Mecca, where his successours might make their prayers vnto him and bee heard, at which time all the mountains in the world came together thither with sufficiency of stones for building hereof, except that litle and low hill, which for pouertie could not go to discharge this debt, for the which

it became sorrowfull, weeping beyond all measure for the space of thirtie yeeres, at the ende whereof the eternall God hauing pittie and compassion vpon this pooze Mountaine, saide vnto it: Weepe no more (my daughter) for thy bitter plaints haue ascended vp into mine eares, therefore comfort thy selfe: for I will cause all those that shall goe to visite the house of my friend Abraham, that they shall not be absolved from their sinnes, vnlesse they first come to doe thee reuerence, and to keepe in this place their holiest feast. And this I haue commanded vnto my people by the mouth of my friend and prophet Mahumer. This said, he exhorteth them vnto the loue of God, and to prayer and almes. The sermon being done at the Sunne-setting they make 3. prayers, namely, the first for the Scifo, the second for the Grand Signior with his hoste, and the third for all the people: to which prayers all with one voyce cry saying; Amni Ia Alla, Amni Ia Alla, that is to say, Be it so Lord, be it so Lord. Thus hauing had the Santones blessing and saluted the Mountaine of pardons, they returne the way they came vnto Mina, where of wee haue made mention. In returning at the end of the plaine are the abouesaid 4. pillers, to wit, two on eche side of the way, through the midst whereof they say it is needfull that euery one passe, saying, that who so passeth without looeth all that merit which in his pilgrimage he had gotten. Also from the mountaine of pardons vntil they be passed the said pillers none dare looke backward, for feare least the sinnes which he hath left in the mountains returne to him againe. Being past these pillers euery one lighteth downe, seeking in this sandy field 50. or 60. litle stones, which being gathered, and bound in an handkerchiffe they carry to the abouesaid place of Mina, where they stay 5. dayes, because at that time there is a faire free and franke of al custome. And in this place are other 3. pillers, not together, but set in diuers places, where (as their prophet saith) were the three apparitions which the diuel made vnto Abraham, and to Ismael his sonne; for amongst them they make no mention of Isaac, as if he had neuer bene bozne. So they say, that the blessed God hauing commanded Abraham his faithfull seruant to sacrifice his first begotten Ismael, the old Abraham went to do according to Gods wil, and met with the infernal enemy in the shape of a man, and being of him demanded whither he went, he answered, that he went to sacrifice his sonne Ismael, as God had commanded him. Against whom the diuel exclaiming saide: Oh dotting old man, sith God in thine old age hath maruelously giuen thee this son (in whom all nations shalbe blessed) wherefore giuing credite vnto vaine dreames, wilt thou kill him whom so much thou hast desired, and so intirely loued. But Abraham shaking him off proceeded on his way, whereupon the diuel seeing his words could not preuaile with the father attempted the sonne, saying; Ismael, haue regard vnto thy selfe betimes in this thing which is so dangerous. Wherefore: answered y^e childe, Because (saith the diuel) thy dotting father seeketh to take away thy life. For what occasion, saide Ismael? Because (saith the enemy) he saith, that God hath commanded him. Which Ismael hearing hee tooke by stones and threw at him, saying, Auzu billahi minal scia itanil ragini, which is to say, I defend me with God from the diuel the offender, as who would say, we ought to obey the commandement of God and resist the diuel with al our force. But to returne to our purpose, the pilgrims during their aboad there goe to visite these three pillers, throwing away the litle stones which before they gathered, whiles they repeat the same words which they say, that Ismael said to the diuel, when hee withstoode him. From hence halfe a mile is a mountaine, whither Abraham went to sacrifice his sonne, as is abouesaid. In this mountaine is a great den whither the pilgrims resort to make their prayers, and there is a great stone naturally separated in the midst; and they say, that Ismael, while his father Abraham was busie about the sacrifice, tooke the knife in hand to prooue how it would cut, and making triall diuided the stone into two partes. The five dayes being expired, the captaine ariseth with all the Carouan, and returneth againe to Mecca, where they remaine other five dayes. And while these rest, we will treat of the city and port of Grida vpon the Red Sea.

Of Grida.

Grida a port
neere Mecca.

Therefore wee say that from Mecca to Grida they make two small dayes iourney: and because in those places it is ill traueiling in the day-time by reason of the great heat of the Sunne, therefore they depart in the euening from Mecca, and in the morning before Sunne-rising they are arriued halfe way, where there are certaine habitations well furnished, and good Innes to lodge in, but especially women ynough which voluntarily bestowe their almes vpon the pooze pilgrims: likewise departing the next euening, the morning after, they come vnto Grida. This citie is founded vpon the Red Sea banke, enuironed with wals & towers to the land-ward, but through continuance of time almost consumed and wasted: on the side to seaward it stands vn-walled. Grida hath thre gates, one on eche side, and the thirde in the midst towarde the land, which is called, The port of Mecca, nere vnto which are 6. or 7. Turks vpon the old towers for guard

guard thereof with foure faulcons vpon one of the corners of the city to the land-ward. Also to sea-ward where the wall ioyneth with the water, there is lately made a fort like vnto a bulwarke, where they haue planted 25 pieces of the best ordnance that might be had, which are very well kept and guarded. Moze outward towards the sea vpon the farchest olde tower are other five good pieces with 30 men to guard them. On the other side of the city at the end of the wall there is lately builded a bulwarke strong and well guarded by a Saniacho with 150 Turks well provided with ordnance and all other necessaries and munition, and all these fortifyings are for none other cause then for feare and suspicion of the Portugals. And if the port were good all this were in vaine: but the port cannot be worse nor moze dangerous; being all full of rocks and sands, in such wise, that the ships cannot come nere, but perforce ride at the least two miles off. At this port arrive euery yeere forty or fifty great shippes laden with spices and other rich marchandize which peeld in custome 150000 ducats, the halfe wherof goeth vnto the Grand Signior, and the other halfe to the Serifo. And because there is none other thing worthy mention in Grida we will returne to our Carouan which hath almost rested enough.

The Portugals greatly feared in the Red sea.

Forty or fifty rich shippes arrive yere at Grida.

Of their going to Medina.

The Carouan departeth for Medina returning the same way they came vnto Bedrihoneri abouesayd, where they leaue their ordnance and other cariages, whereof they haue no need, with the pilgrims which haue seene Medina afozetime, and desire not to see it againe, but stay in that place, expecting the carouan, and resting vntill the carouan go from Bedrihoneri to Medina, where they alwayes finde goodly habitations, with abundance of sweet waters, and dares enough, and being within foureteene miles of Medina they come vnto a great plaine called by them Iabel el Salema, that is to say, the mountaine of health, from which they begin to descry the city and tombe of Mahomet, at which sight they light from their hoxses in token of reuerence. And being ascended by the sayd mountaine with shouting which pierceth the skies they say, Sala tuua Salema Alacchah Iarah sul Allah. Sala tuua Salema Alacchah Ianabi Allah, Sala tuua Salema Alaccha Iahabic Allah: which wordes in the Arabian tongue signifie: Prayer and health be vnto thee, oh prophet of God: prayer and health be vpon thee, oh beloued of God. And hauing pronounced this salutation, they proceed on their iourney, so that they lodge that night within thzee miles of Medina: and the next mozning the captaine of the pilgrimage ariseth, & proceeding towards the city, and drawing nere, there cometh the gouernour vnder the Serifo, accompanied with his people to receiue the Carouan, hauing pitched their tents in the midst of a goodly field where they lodge.

Of Medina.

Medina is a little city of great antiquity, containing in circuit not about two miles, hauing therein but one castle, which is olde and weake, guarded by an Aga with fifty pieces of artillery, but not very good. The houses therof are faire and well situated, built of lime and stone, and in the midst of the city stands a fouresquare Mosquita, not so great as that of Mecca, but moze goodly, rich, and sumptuous in building. Within the same in a corner thereof is a tombe built vpon foure pillers with a vault, as if it were vnder a pauement, which bindeth all the foure pillers together. The tombe is so high, that it farre exceedeth in height the Mosquita, being covered with lead, and the top all inamelled with golde, with an halfe moone vpon the top: and within the pauement it is all very artificially wrought with golde. Below there are round about very great staires of yron ascending vntill the midst of the pillers, and in the very midst thereof is buried the body of Mahomet, and not in a chest of yron cleauing to the aduamant, as many affirme that know not the truth thereof. Mozeouer, ouer the body they haue built a tombe of speckled stone all byace and an halfe high, and ouer the same another of Legmame fouresquare in maner of a pyramis. After this, round about the sepulture there hangeth a curtaine of silke, which letteth the sight of those without, that they cannot see the sepulture. Beyond this in the same Mosquita are other two sepulchres covered with greene cloth, and in the one of them is buried Fatma the daughter of Mahomet, and Alli is buried in the other, who was the husband of the sayd Fatma. The attendants vpon these sepulchres are fifty eunuches white and tawny, neither is it granted to any of them to enter within the tombe, lauing to thzee white eunuches the oldest and best of credit; vnto whom it is lawfull to enter but twice in the day, to light the lamps, and to doe other seruices. All the other eunuchs attend without to the seruice of the Mosquita, and the other two sepulchres of Fatma, and Alli, where euery one may go and touch at his pleasure, and take of the earth for deuotion, as many do.

(S), a fathom.

Of things without the City.

Without the city and on euery side are most faire gardens, with many fountaines of most sweet water, infinitz poudes, abundance of fruit, with much honest liuing, so that this place is very pleasant and delightfull. This city hath three gates, one of which is an hospitall caused to be built by Cassachi, called the Rose, who was wife to Sultan Soliman grandfather to this emperour. The sayd hospitall hath nought els woorth mention, saue that it is fairely built, and hath large reuenues belonging therunto, and nourisheth many poore people. A mile from the city are certaine houses wherof they affirme one to be the same, where Mahumer in his lifetime dwelt. This house hath on euery side very many faire date trees, amongst which there are two which grow out of one stocke exceeding high, and these, they say, their Prophet graffed with his owne hand: the fruit thereof is alwayes sent to Constantinople, to be presented vnto the Grand Signior, and is sayd to be that blessed fruit of the Prophet. Here vnto the date trees is a faire fountaine of cleere and sweet water, the which by a conduct pipe is brought into the city of Medina. Also there is a little Mosquita, wherein three places are counted holy, and greatly reuerenced: the first they affirme, that their Prophet made his first prayer in, after he knew God: the second is that whither he went when he would see the holy house of Abraham, where when he fate downe to that intent, they say the mountaines opened from the toppe to the bottome to shew him the house, and after closed againe as befoze: the third holy place is in the midd of the sayd Mosquita, where is a tombe made of lime and stone fouresquare, and full of sand, wherein, they say, was buried that blessed camell which Mahumer was alwayes went to ride vpon. On the other side of the city are other tombes of holy Mahumetans, and euery one of them hath a tombe built vpon foure pillers, amongst which three were the companions of Mahumer, to wit, Abubacar, Orcotoman, and Omar; all which are visited of the pilgrims as holy places.

The offering of the vestures vnto the sepulchres.

The Carouan being come to Medina two houres befoze day, and resting there till the evening, the captaine then with his company and other pilgrims setteth forthward, with the greatest pompe possible: and taking with him the vesture which is made in maner of a pyramis, with many other of golde and silke, departeth, going thorow the midd of the city, vntill he come to the Mosquita, where hauing prayed, he presenteth vnto the tombe of his prophet (where the eunuchys receiuing hands are ready) the vesture for the sayd tombe: and certaine eunuchys entring in take away the old vesture, and lay on the new, burning the olde one, and diuiding the golde thereof into equall portions. After this are presented other vestures for the ornament of the Mosquita. Also the people without deliuer vnto the eunuchys ech man somewhat to touch the tombe therewith, which they keepe as a relique with great deuotion. This ceremony being ended, the captaine resteth in Medina two dayes, to the end the pilgrims may finish their deuotion and ceremonies: and after they depart to Iambor. A good dayes iourney thence is a steepe mountaine, ouer which is no passage, sauing by one narrow path called Demir Capi, which was in times past called the yron gate. Of this gate the Mahumetans say, that Ally the companion and some in law of Mahumer, being here pursued by many Christians, and comming vnto this mountaine, not seeing any way wherby to flee, drew out his sword, and striking the said mountaine, diuided it in sunder, and passing thorow saued his life on the other side. Moreover, this Alli among the Persians is had in greater reuerence then Mahumer, who affirme, that the sayd Alli hath done greater things and moze miraculous then Mahumer, and therefore they esteeme him for God almighty by his fellows. But to returne to our matter, the captaine with the carouan within two dayes after returneth for Cairo, and comming to Ezlein, findeth there a captaine with threescore horses come thither to bring refreshments to the said captaine of the pilgrimage, as also to sell vnto the pilgrims some victuals. From thence they set forthward, and comming to Birca within two leagues of Cairo, there is the master of the house of the Bassha of Cairo with all his horsemen come thither to receiue him, with a sumptuous and costly banquet made at the cost of the Bassha for the captaine and his retinue, who after he is well refreshed departeth toward the castle of Cairo to salute the Bassha, who receiuing him with great ioy and gladnesse in token of good wil presenteth him with a garment of cloth of golde very rich: and the captaine taking the Alcaron out of the chest presenteth it to the Bassha, who hauing kissed it, commandeth to lay it by againe. Some there are which affirme, that being arrived at Cairo, they kill that goodly camell which carried the Alcaron, and eat him; which is nothing so: for they are so superstitious to the contrary, that to gaine all the world

world they would not kill him. But if by casualty he should die, in this case happy and blessed they thinke themselves, which can get a morsell to eat. And thus much concerning the voyage of the captaine of the carouan of Cairo.

The voyage and trauell of M. Caesar Fredericke, Marchant of Venice, into the *East India*, and beyond the *Indies*. Wherein are contained the customes and rites of those countries, the merchandises and commodities, aswell of golde and siluer, as spices, drugges, pearles, and other iewels: translated out of Italian by M. Thomas Hickecke.

Caesar Fredericke to the Reader.



Having (gentle Reader) for the space of eightene yeeres continually coasted and trauelled, as it were, all the East Indies, and many other countreys beyond the Indies, wherein I haue had both good and ill successe in my trauels: and hauing seene & vnderstood many things woorthy the noting, and to be knowen to all the world, the which were neuer as yet written of any: I thought it good (seeing the Almighty had giuen me grace, after so long perils in passing such a long voyage to returne into mine owne countrey, the noble city of Venice) I say, I thought it good, as briefly as I could, to write and set forth this voyage made by me, with the maruellous things I haue seene in my trauels in the Indies: The mighty Princes that gouerne those countreys, their religion and faith that they haue, the rites and customes which they vse, and line by, of the diuers successe that happened vnto me, and how many of these countreys are abounding with spices, drugs, and iewels, giuing also profitable aduertisement to all those that haue a desire to make such a voyage. And because that the whole world may more commodiously reioyce at this my trauell, I haue caused it to be printed in this order: and now I present it vnto you (gentle & louing Readers) to whom for the varieties of things heerein contained, I hope that it shall be with great delight receiued. And thus God of his goodnesse keepe you.

Caesar Fredericke trauelled eightene yeeres in the East Indies.

A voyage to the *East Indies*, and beyond the *Indies*, &c.

In the yere of our Lord God 1563, I Caesar Fredericke being in Venice, and very desirous to see the East parts of the world, shipped my selfe in a shippe called the Gradaige of Venice, with certaine merchandise, gouerned by Sr. Iacomo Vatica, which was bound to Cyprus with his ship; with whom I went: and when we were arrived in Cyprus, I left that ship, and went in a lesser to Tripoly in Soria, where I stayed a while. Afterward I tooke my iourney to Alepo, and there I acquainted my selfe with marchants of Armenia, and Boozes, that were marchants, and consoled to go with them to Ormus, and wee departed from Alepo, and in two dayes iourney and a halfe, wee came to a city called Bir.

The author is going fro Venice to Cyprus and Tripoly.

Of the city called *Bir*.

Bir is a small city very scarce of all manner of victuals; and nere vnto the walles of the city runneth the riuer of Euphrates. In this city the marchants diuide themselves into companies, according to their merchandise that they haue, and there either they buy or make a boat to carry them and their goods to Babylon downe the riuer Euphrates, with charge of a master and mariners to conduct the boat in the voyage: these boats are in a manner flat bottomed, yet they be very strong: and for all that they are so strong, they will serue but for one voyage. They are made according to the shodnesse of the riuer, because that the riuer is in many places full of great stones, which greatly hinder and trouble those that goe downe the riuer. These boats serue but for one voyage downe the riuer vnto a village called Feluchia, because it is impossible to bring them by the riuer backe againe. At Feluchia the marchants plucke their boats in pieces, or else sell them for a small price, for that at Bir they cost the marchants forty or fifty chickens a peece, and they sel them at Feluchia for seven or eight chickens a peece, because that when the marchants returne from Babylon backe againe, if they haue merchandise or goods that oweth custome, then they make their returne in forty dayes thorow the wildernesse, passing that way with a great teale lesser charges then the other way. And if they haue not merchandise that oweth custome, then they goe by the way of Mosul, where it costeth them great charges both the Carouan and company.

The riuer Euphrates.

Feluchia a small city on Euphrates.

Mosul.

company. From Bir where the marchants imbarke themselves to Feluchia ouer against Babylon, if the riuer haue good stoz of water, they shall make their voyage in fiftene or eightene dayes downe the riuer, and if the water be lowe, and it hath not rained, then it is much trouble, and it will be forty or fifty dayes iourney downe, because that when the barks strike on the stones that be in the riuer, then they must vnlade them, which is great trouble, and then lade them againe when they haue mended them: therefore it is not necessary, neither doe the marchants go with one boat alone, but with two or thzee, that if one boat split and be lost with striking on the sholdes, they may haue another ready to take in their goods, vntill such time as they haue mended the brokē boat, and if they draw the broken boat on land to mend her, it is hard to defend her in the night from the great multitude of Arabians that will come downe there to robbe you: and in the riuers euery night, when you make fast your boat to the banckeside, you must keepe good watch against the Arabians which are theues in number like to ants, yet when they come to robbe, they will not kill, but steale & run away. Harquebuzes are very good weapons against them, for that they stand greatly in feare of the shot. And as you passe the riuer Euphrates from Bir to Feluchia, there are certein places which you must passe by, where you pay custome certaine medines vpon a bale, which custome is belonging to the sonne of Aborise king of the Arabians and of the desert, who hath certaine cities and villages on the riuer Euphrates.

The Arabian theues are in number like to Ants.

Feluchia and Babylon.

Feluchia is a village where they that come from Bir doe imbarke themselves and vnlade their goods, and it is distant from Babylon a dayes iourney and an halfe by land: Babylon is no great city, but it is very populous, and of great trade of strangers because it is a great thoroughfare for Persia, Turkia, and Arabia: and very often times there goe out from thence Carouans into diuers countreys: and the city is very copious of victuals, which comme out of Armenia downe the riuer of Tygris, on certaine Zatiars or Raffes made of blowen hides or skinnes called Vrij. This riuer Tygris doth wash the walles of the city. These Raffes are bound fast together, and then they lay boards on the aforesayd blowen skinnes, and on the boards they lade the commodities, and so come they to Babylon where they vnlade them, and being vnladen, they let out the winde out of the skinnes, and lade them on cammels to make another voyage. This city of Babylon is situate in the kingdome of Persia, but now governed by the Turks. On the other side of the riuer towards Arabia, ouer against the city, there is a faire place or towne, and in it a faire Bazarro for marchants, with very many lodgings, where the greatest part of the marchants strangers which come to Babylon do lie with their marchandize. The passing ouer Tygris from this Borough is by a long bidge made of boates chained together with great chaines: provided, that when the riuer wareth great with the abundance of raine that falleth, then they open the bidge in the middle, where the one halfe of the bidge falleth to the walles of Babylon, and the other to the banks of this Borough, on the other side of the riuer: and as long as the bidge is open, they passe the riuer in small boats with great danger, because of the smallnesse of the boats, and the ouerlading of them, that with the fiercenesse of the streame they be ouerthrowen, or els the streame doth carry them away, so that by this meanes, many people are lost and drowned: this thing by prooffe I haue many times seene.

The olde Babylon hath great trade & marchants still.

A bidge made of boats.

Of the tower of Babylon.

The Tower of Nimrod or Babel is situate on that side of Tygris that Arabia is, and in a very great plaine distant from Babylon seuen or eight miles: which tower is ruinated on euery side, and with the falling of it there is made a great mountaine: so that it hath no soyme at all, yet there is a great part of it standing, which is compassed and almost couered with the aforesayd fallings: this Tower was builded and made of foure square Bricks, which Bricks were made of earth, and bried in the Sunne in maner and soyme following: first they layed a lay of Bricks, then a Hat made of Canes, square as the Bricks, and in stead of lime, they daubed it with earth: these Hats of Canes are at this time so strong, that it is a thing woonderfull to behold, being of such great antiquity: I haue gone round about it, and haue not found any place where there hath bene any dooze or entrance: it may be in my iudgement in circuit about a mile, and rather lesse then moze.

These bricks be in thickness six or seuen inches, and a foot & a halfe square.

This Tower in effect is contrary to all other things which are seene afar off, for they seeme small, & the moze nere a man commeth to them the bigger they be: but this tower afar off seemeth a very great thing, and the neter you come to it the lesse. By iudgement & reason of this is, that because

because the Tower is set in a very great plaine, and hath nothing more about to make any the wounding the ruines of it which it hath made round about, and for this respect describing it a farr off, that piece of the Tower which yet standeth with the mountaine that is made of the substance that hath fallen from it, maketh a greater shew then you shall finde comming nere to it.

Babylon and Basora.

From Babylon I departed for Basora, shipping my selfe in one of the barks that vse to go in the riuer Tigris from Babylon to Basora, and from Basora to Babylon: which barks are made after the maner of Fufts or Gallions with a Speron and a couered poope: they haue no pumpe in them because of the great abundance of pitch which they haue to pitch them with all: which pitch they haue in abundance two dayes iourney from Babylon. Here vnto the riuer Euphrates, there is a city called Heit, nere vnto which city there is a great plaine full of pitch, very maruellous to beholde, and a thing almost incredible, that out of a hole in the earth, which continually thoweth out pitch into the aire with continuall smoake, this pitch is thowen with such force, that being hot it falleth like as it were sprinkled ouer all the plaine, in such abundance that the plaine is alwayes full of pitch: the Moors and the Arabians of that place say, that that hole is the mouth of hell: and in truthe, it is a thing very notable to be marked: and by this pitch the whole people haue great benefit to pitch their barks, which barks they call Daneck and Saffin. When the riuer of Tygris is well replenished with water, you may passe from Babylon to Basora in eight or nine dayes, and sometimes more and sometimes lesse: we were halfe so much more which is 14 or 15 daies, because the waters were low: they may saile day & night, and there are some places in this way where you pay so many medins on a baile: if the waters be lowe, it is 18 dayes iourney.

This hole whereout cometh this pitch is most true, and the water & pitch runneth into the balley of the plaine where the pitch resteth, & the water runneth into the riuer Euphrates, and it maketh all the riuer to be as it were brast with the smell of pitch and humstone.

Basora.

Basora is a city of the Arabians, which of olde time was gouerned by those Arabians called Zizarij, but now it is gouerned by the great Turke where he keepeth an army to his great charges,

Zizarij, an ancient people.

The Arabians called Zizarij haue the possession of a great countrey, and cannot be overcome of the Turke, because that the sea hath diuided their countrey into an Island by chauncels with the ebbing and flowing of the sea, and for that cause the Turke cannot bying an army against them, neither by sea nor by land, and another reason is, the inhabitants of that Island are very strong and warlike men. A dayes iourney before you come to Basora, you shall haue a little castle of fozt, which is set on that point of the land where the riuers of Euphrates and Tygris meet together, and the castle is called Corna: at this point, the two riuers make a monstrous great riuer, that runneth into the sea, which is called the gulfe of Persia, which is towards the South: Basora is distant from the sea fiftene miles, and it is a city of great trade of spices and drugges which come from Ormus. Also there is great store of corne, Rice, and Dates, which the countrey doth yeeld. I shipped my selfe in Basora to go for Ormus, and so we sailed thozow the Persian sea six hundred miles, which is the distance from Basora to Ormus, and we sailed in small ships made of boards, bound together with small cords or ropes, and in stead of calking they lay betweene euery board certaine straw which they haue, and so they sowe board and board together, with the straw betweene, wherethozow there commeth much water, and they are very dangerous. Departing from Basora we passed 200 miles with the sea on our right hand, along the gulfe, vntil at length we arriued at an Island called Carichij, fro whence we sailed to Ormus in sight of the Persian shoze on the left side, and on the right side towards Arabia we discouered infinite Islands,

At the castle of Corna the riuer Euphrates and Tygris do meet.

Ormus is the barrenest Island in all the world.

Carichij an Island in the gulfe of Persia.

Ormus.

Ormus is an Island in circuit five and twenty or thirty miles, and it is the barrenest and most drie Island in all the world, because that in it there is nothing to be had, but salt water, and wood, all other things necessary for mans life are brought out of Persia twelue miles off, and out of other Islands nere thereunto adioyning, in such abundance and quantity, that the city is alwayes replenished with all maner of store: there is standing nere vnto the waters side a very faire castell, in the which the captaine of the king of Portugall is alwayes resident with a good band of Portugallies, and before this castell is a very faire prospect: in the city dwell the married men, souldiers and marchants of euery nation, amongst whom there are Moores and Gentiles. In this city there is very great trade for all sorts of spices, drugges, like, cloth of like, bycar-

Ormus is alwayes replenished with abundance of victuall, and yet there is none that groweth in the Island.

Great trade of merchandise in Ormus.

The election
of the king of
Ormus.

do, and diuers other sorts of merchandise come out of Persia: and amongst all other trades of merchandise, the trade of Horses is very great there, which they carry from thence into the Indies. This Island hath a Hoore king of the race of the Persians, who is created and made king by the Captaine of the castle, in the name of the king of Portugall. At the creation of this king I was there, and saw the ceremonies that they vse in it, which are as followeth. The olde King being dead, the Captaine of the Portugals chuseth another of the blood royall, and maketh this election in the castle with great ceremonies, and when he is elected, the Captaine sweareth him to be true and faithfull to the King of Portugall, as his Lord and Governour, and then he giueth him the Scepter regall. After this with great feasting & pompe, and with great company, he is brought into the royall palace in the city. This King keepeth a good traine, and hath sufficient reuenues to maintaine himselfe without troubling of any, because the Captaine of the castle doeth mainteine and defend his right, and when that the Captaine and he ride together, he is honoured as a king, yet he cannot ride abroad with his traine, without the consent of the Captaine first had: it behooueth them to doe this, and it is necessary, because of the great trade that is in the city: their proper language is the Persian tongue. There I shipped my selfe to goe for Goa, a city in the Indies, in a shippe that had fourescore horses in her. This is to aduertise those Marchants that goe from Ormus to Goa to shippe themselves in these shippes that carry horses, because euery shippe that carrieth twenty horses or vpwards is priuiledged, that all the merchandise whatsoeuer they carry shall pay no custome, whereas the shippes that carry no horses are bound to pay right per centio of all the goods they bring.

A priuilege for
Marchants.

Goa, Diu, and Cambaia.

Diu.

Cambaia.

Goa is the principall city that the Portugals haue in the Indies, where is resident the Viceroy with his Court and ministers of the King of Portugall. From Ormus to Goa is nine hundred foure score and ten miles distance, in which passage the first city that you come to in the Indies, is called Diu, and is situate in a little Island in the kingdome of Cambaia, which is the greatest strength that the Portugals haue in all the Indies, yet a small city, but of great trade, because there they lade very many great ships for the straights of Mecca and Ormus with merchandise, and these shippes belong to the Hoores and Christians, but the Hoores can not trade neither saile into those seas without the licence of the Viceroy of the king of Portugall, as therwise they are taken and made good prizes. The merchandise that they lade these ships with, all cometh from Cambaia a port in the kingdome of Cambaia, which they bring from thence in small barks, because there can no great shippes come thither, by reason of the shallownesse of the water thereabouts, and these holds are an hundred or fourescore miles about in a straight or gulfe, which they call Macareo, which is as much to say, as a race of a tide, because the waters there run out of that place without measure, so that there is no place like to it, unless it be in the kingdome of Pegu, where there is another Macareo, where the waters run out with more force then these doe. The principall city in Cambaia is called Amadaur, it is a rayes iourney and an halfe from Cambaia, it is a very great city and very populous, and for a city of the Gentiles it is very well made and builded with faire houses and large streets, with a faire place in it with many shippes, and in shew like to Cairo, but not so great: also Cambaia is situate on the seas side, and is a very faire city. The time that I was there, the city was in great calamity & scarcenesse, so that I haue scene the men of the countrey that were Gentiles take their children, their sonnes and their daughters, and haue desired the Portugals to buy them, and I haue scene them solde for eight or ten laines a peece, which may be of our money x. s. or xiii. s. For all this, if I had not scene it, I could not haue beleueed that there should be such a trade at Cambaia as there is: for in the time of euery new Hoone and euery full Hoone, the small barks (immurable) come in and out, for at those times of the Hoone the tides and waters are higher then at other times they be. These barkes be laden with all sorts of spices, with silke of China, with Sandols, with Elephants teeth, Uelucts of Vercini, great quantity of Pannina, which cometh from Mecca, Chickinos which be pieces of golde woorth seuen shillings a peece sterling, with money, and with diuers sorts of other merchandize. Also these barks lade out, as it were, an infinite quantity of cloth made of Bumbast of all sorts, as white stamped and painted, with great quantity of Indico, pyed ginger & conserued, Myrabolans drie and crudite Boraso in paste, great Hoze of sugar, great quantity of Cotton, abundance of Opium, Assa Fetida, Puchio, with many other sorts of drugges, turbants made in Diu, great stones like to Corncoloes, Granats, Agats, Dialpny, Calcidonij, Hemacits, and some kinde of naturall Diemenos. There is in the city of Cambaia an order, but no man is bound to keepe it, but they that will;

but

but all the Portugall marchants keepe it, the which is this. There are in this city certaine Brokers which are Gentiles and of great authority, and haue every one of them fifteene or twenty seruants, and the Marchants that vse that countrey haue their Brokers, with which they be serued: and they that haue not bene there are informed by their friends of the order, and of what broker they shall be serued. Now every fifteene dayes (as abouesayd) that the fleet of small shippes entretch into the port, the Brokers come to the water side, and these Marchants as soone as they are come on land, do giue the cargason of all their goods to that Broker that they will haue to do their businesse for them, with the marks of all the fardles and packs they haue: and the marchant hauing taken on land all his furniture for his house, because it is needfull that the Marchants that trade to the Indies carry provision of housholde with them, because that in euery place where they come they must haue a new house, the Broker that hath receiued his cargason, commandeth his seruants to carry the Marchants furniture for his house home, and load it on some cart, and carry it into the city, where the Brokers haue diuers empty houses meet for the lodging of Marchants, furnished onely with bedsteds, tables, chaires, and empty iarses for water: then the Broker sayeth to the Marchant, Goe and repose your selfe, and take your rest in the city. The Broker tarrieth at the water side with the cargason, and causeth all his goods to be discharged out of the ship, and payeth the custonie, and causeth it to be brought into the house where the marchant lieth, the Marchant not knowing any thing thereof, neither custome, nor charges. These goods being brought to this passe into the house of the Marchant, the Broker demandeth of the Marchant if he haue any desire to sell his goods or merchandise, at the prices that such wares are worth at that present time: And if he hath a desire to sell his goods presently, then at that instant the Broker selleth them away. After this the Broker sayeth to the Marchant, you haue so much of euery sort of merchandise neat and cleare of euery charge, and so much ready money. And if the Marchant will imploy his money in other commodities, then the Broker telleth him that such and such commodities will cost so much, put aboord without any maner of charges. The Marchant vnderstanding the effect, maketh his account; and if he thinke to buy or sell at the prices currant, he giueth order to make his merchandise away: and if he hath commodity for 20000 duckets, all shall be barred or solde away in fifteene dayes without any care or trouble: and when as the Marchant thinketh that he cannot sell his goods at the price currant, he may tary as long as he will, but they cannot be solde by any man but by that Broker that hath taken them on land and payed the custome: and perchance tarying sometimes for sale of their commodity, they make good profit, and sometimes losse: but those merchandise that come not ordinarily euery fifteene dayes, in tarying for the sale of them, there is great profit. The barks that lade in Cambaierra go for Diu to lade the ships that go from thence for the streights of Mecca and Ormus, and some go to Chaul and Goa: and these ships be very well appointed, or els are guarded with the Armada of the Portugals, for that there are many Corsaries or Pyrats which goe courting alongst that coast, robbing and spoiling: and for feare of these theues there is no safe sailing in those seas, but with ships very well appointed and armed, or els with the fleet of the Portugals, as is aforesayd. In fine, the kingdome of Cambaia is a place of great trade, and hath much doings and traffique with all men, although hitherto it hath bene in the hands of tyrants, because that at 75 yeeres of age the true king being at the assault of Diu, was there slaine; whose name Sulcan Baddu. At that time foure or fise captaines of the army diuided the kingdome amongst themselves, and euery one of them shewed in his countrey what tyranny he could: but twelue yeeres ago the great Mogol a Hoore king of Agra and Dely, forty dayes iourney within the land of Amadauar, became the gouernour of all the kingdome of Cambaia without any resistance, because he being of great power and force, deuising which way to enter the land with his people, there was not any man that would make him any resistance, although they were tyrants and a beastly people, they were soone brought vnder obedience. During the time I dwelt in Cambaierra I saw very maruellous things: there were an infinite number of artificers that made bracelets called Mannij, or bracelets of elephants teeth, of diuers colours, for the women of the Gentiles, which haue their armes full decked with them. And in this occupation there are spent euery yeere many thousands of crownes: the reason whereof is this, that when there dieth any whatsoeuer of their kindred, then in signe and token of mourning and sorrow, they breake all their bracelets from their armes, and presently they go and buy new againe, because that they had rather be without their meat then without their bracelets.

Marchants that trauell to the Indies must carry their provision of house hold with the.

Great store of men of warre and rowers on the coast of Cambaia.

20 maruellous found delight in women.

Daman. Basan. Tana.

HAuing passed Diu, I came to the second city that the Portugals haue, called Daman, situate in the terricozy of Cambaia, distant from Diu an hundred and twenty miles: it is no

towne of merchandise, saue Rice and coyne, and hath many villages vnder it, where in time of peace the Portugals take their pleasure, but in time of warre the enemies haue the spoile of them; in such wise that the Portugals haue little benefit by them. Next vnto Daman you shall haue Basan, which is a filthy place in respect of Daman: in this place is Rice, Coyne, and Timber to make shippes and gallies. And a small distance beyond Basan is a little Island called Tana, a place very populous with Portugals, Moores, and Gentiles: these haue nothing but Rice, there are many makers of Armeine, and weauers of girdles of wooll and bumbast blacke and redde like to Moocharies.

Tana An Island
whereof Odo-
ricus Wuyteth,
pag. 41.

Of the cities of Chaul, and of the Palmer tree.

BEYOND this Island you shall finde Chaul in the firme land; and they are two cities, one of the Portugals, and the other of the Moores: that city which the Portugals haue is situate lower then the other, and gouerneth the mouth of the harbour, and is very strongly walled: and as it were a mile and an halfe distant from this is the city of Moores; gouerned by their king Zamallico. In the time of warres there cannot any great ships come to the city of the Moores, because the Portugals with their ordinance will sincke them, for that they must perforce passe by the castles of the Portugals: both the cities are ports of the sea, and are great cities, and haue vnto them great traffique and trade of merchandise, of all sortes of spices, drugges, silke, cloth of silke, Sandols, Marfins, Versins, Porcelane of China; Veluets and Scarlets that come from Portugall, and from Meca: with many other sortes of merchandise. There come euery yeere from Cochin, and from Cananor tenne or fiteene great shippes laden with great Nutts cured, and with Sugar made of the lesse same Nutts called Giagra: the tree whereon these Nutts doe grow is called the Palmer tree: and throughout all the Indies, and especially from this place to Goa, there is great abundance of them, and it is like to the Date tree. In the whole world there is not a tree moze profitable and of moze goodnesse then this tree is, neither doe men reape so much benefit of any other tree as they do of this, there is not any part of it but seruech for some vse, and none of it is woorty to be burnt. With the timber of this tree they make shippes without the mixture of any other tree, and with the leaues thereof they make sailes, and with the fruit thereof, which be a kinde of Nutts, they make wine, and of the wine they make Sugar and Placetto, which wine they gather in the spring of the yeere: out of the middle of the tree where continually there goeth or runneth out white liquour like vnto water, in that time of the yeere they put a vessell vnder euery tree, and euery euening and morning they take it away full, and then distilling it with fire it maketh a very strong liquour: and then they put it into butts, with a quantity of Zibibbo, white or blacke and in short time it is made a perfect wine. After this they make of the Nutts great stozes of oile: of the tree they make great quantity of boordes and quarters for buildings. Of the barke of this tree they make cables, ropes, and other furniture for shippes, and, as they say, these ropes be better then they that are made of Penye. They make of the bowes, bedsteds, after the Indies fashion, and Scauiches for merchandise. The leaues they cut very small, and weaue them, and so make sailes of them, for all maner of shipping, or els very fine mats. And then the first rinde of the Nutt they stampe, and make thereof perfect Ockam to calke shippes, great and small: and of the hard barke thereof they make spoones and other vessels for meat, in such wise that there is no part thereof thowen away or cast to the fire. When these Nuts be Greene they are full of an excellent sweet water to drinke: and if a man be thirsty, with the liquour of one of the Nuts he may satisfie himselfe: and as this Nutt ripeneth, the liquour thereof turneth all to kernell. There goeth out of Chaul for Mallaca, for the Indies, for Macao, for Portugall, for the coasts of Melinde, for Ormus, as it were an infinite number and quantity of goods and merchandise that come out of the kingdome of Cambaia, as cloth of bumbast white, painted, printed, great quantity of Indico, Opium, Cotton, Silke of euery sort, great stozes of Borafo in Paste, great stozes of Ferida, great stozes of yron, coyne, and other merchandise. The Moore king Zamallico is of great power, as one that at need may command, & hath in his camp, two hundred thousand men of warre, and hath great stozes of artillery, some of them made in pieces, which for their greatnesse can not be carried to and fro: yet although they be made in pieces, they are so commodious that they worke with them marvellous well, whose shotte is of stone, and there hath bene of that shot sent vnto the king of Portugall for the rarenes of the thing. The city where the king Zamallico hath his being, is within the land of Chaul seuen or eight dayes iourney, which city is called Abneger. Threestozes and tenne miles from Chaul, towards the Indies, is the port of Dabul, an haue of the king Zamallico: from thence to Goa is an hundred and fifty miles.

Great abundance made in pieces, and yet seruicable.

Goa.

Goa is the principall city that the Portugals haue in the Indies, wherein the Viceroy with his royall Court is resident, and is in an Island which may be in circuit five and twenty or thirty miles: and the city with the boroughs is reasonable bigge, and for a citie of the Indies it is reasonable faire, but the Island is farre more faire: for it is as it were full of goodly gardens, replenished with diuers trees and with the Palmier trees as is aforesayd. This city is of great traffique for all sorts of marchandise which they trade withall in those parts: and the fleet which cometh euery yeere from Portugall, which are five or sixe great shippes that come directy for Goa, arrive there ordinarily the sixth or tenth of September, and here they remaine forty or fifty dayes, and from thence they goe to Cochin, where they lade for Portugall, and often times they lade one shippe at Goa and the other at Cochin for Portugall. Cochin is distant from Goa three hundred miles. The city of Goa is situate in the kingdome of Dialcan a king of the Hoories, whose chiefe city is vy in the countrey eight dayes iourney, and is called Bisapor: this king is of great power, for when I was in Goa in the yeere of our Lord 1570, this king came to giue assault to Goa, being encamped nere unto it by a riuer side with an army of two hundred thousand men of warre, and he lay at this siege foureteene moneths: in which time there was peace concluded, and as report went amongst his people, there was great calamity and mortallity which byed amongst them in the time of Winter, and also killed very many elephants. Then in the yeere of our Lord 1567, I went from Goa to Bezeneger the chiefe city of the kingdome of Narfinga eight dayes iourney from Goa, within the land, in the company of two other merchants which carried with them three hundred Arabian hoxles to that king: because the hoxles of that countrey are of a small stature, and they pay well for the Arabian hoxles: and it is requisite that the merchants sell them well, for that they stand them in great charges to bring them out of Persia to Ormus, and from Ormus to Goa, where the ship that bringeth twenty hoxles and upwards payeth no custome, neither ship nor goods whatsoeuer; whereas if they bring no hoxles, they pay 8 per cento of all their goods: and at the going out of Goa the hoxles pay custome, two and forty pagodys for euery hoxle, which pagody may be of sterling money sixe shillings eight pence, they be pieces of golde of that value. So that the Arabian hoxles are of great value in those countreys, as 300, 400, 500 duckets a hoxle, and to 1000 duckets a hoxle.

The chiefe place the Portugals haue in the Indies.

A very good sale for hoxles.

Bezeneger.

The city of Bezeneger was sacked in the yeere 1565, by foure kings of the Hoories, which were of great power and might: the names of these foure kings were these following, the first was called Dialcan, the second Zamaluc, the third Coramaluc, and the fourth Viridy: and yet these foure kings were not able to ouercome this city and the king of Bezeneger, but by treason. This king of Bezeneger was a Gentile, and had, amongst all other of his captaines, two which were notable, and they were Hoories: and these two captaines had either of them in charge threescore and ten or fourescore thousand men. These two captaines being of one religion with the foure kings which were Hoories, wrought meanes with them to betray their owne king into their hands. The king of Bezeneger esteemed not the force of the foure kings his enemies, but went out of his city to wage battell with them in the fieldes; and when the armies were ioyned, the battell lasted but a while not the space of foure houres, because the two traitourous captaines, in the chiefest of the fight, with their compaines turned their faces against their king, and made such disorder in his army, that as astonied they set themselves to flight. Thirty yeeres was this kingdome governed by three brethren which weretnants, the which keeping the rightfull king in prison, it was their vse euery yeere once to shew him to the people, and they at their pleasures ruled as they listed. These brethren were three captaines belonging to the father of the king they kept in prison, which when he died, left his sonne very yong, and then they tooke the government to themselves. The chiefest of these three was called Ramaragio, and sat in the royall throne, and was called the king: the second was called Temiragio, and he tooke the government on him: the third was called Bengaire, and he was captaine generall of the army. These three brethren were in this battell, in the which the chiefest and the last were neuer heard of quicke nor dead. Onely Temiragio fled in the battell, hauing lost one of his eyes: when the newes came to the city of the ouerthrow in the battell, the wiues and children of these three nants, with their lawfull king (kept prisoner) fled away, spoiled as they were, & the foure kings of the Hoories entered the city Bezeneger with great triumph, & there they remained sixe moneths, searching vnder houses & in all places for money & other things that were hidden, and then they departed to their

A most unkind & wicked treason against their prince: this they haue for giuing credit to strangers, rather then to their owne name people.

The sacking of the city.

owne kingdomes, because they were not able to maintaine such a kingdome as that was, so farre distant from their owne countrey.

When the kings were departed from Bezeneger, this Temiragio returned to the city, and then beganne for to repopulate it, and sent word to Goa to the Merchants, if they had any hozles, to bring them to him, and he would pay well for them, and for this cause the aforesayd two Merchants that I went in company withall, carried those hozles that they had to Bezeneger. Also this Tyrant made an order of lawe, that if any Merchant had any of the hozles that were taken in the aforesayd battell or warres, although they were of his owne marke, that he would giue as much for them as they would: and beside he gaue generall safe conduct to all that should bring them. When by this meanes he saw that there were great stoze of hozles brought thither vnto him, hee gaue the Merchants faire wordes, vntill such time as he saw they could bring no moze. Then he licenced the Merchants to depart, without giuing them any thing for their hozles, which when the poore men saw, they were desperate, and as it were mad with sorrow and grieffe.

I rested in Bezeneger seuen moneths, although in one moneth I might haue discharged all my businesse, for it was necessary to rest there vntill the wayes were cleere of theeues, which at that time ranged by and downe. And in the time I rested there, I saw many strange and beastly deeds done by the Gentiles. First, when there is any Noble man or woman dead, they burne their bodies: and if a married man die, his wife must burne herselfe aliuie, for the loue of her husband, and with the body of her husband: so that when any man dieth, his wife will take a moneths leaue, two or thre, or as shee will, to burne her selfe in, and that day being come, wherein shee ought to be burnt, that morning shee goeth out of her house very carely, either on hozsebacke or on an eliphant, or else is borne by eight men on a smal stage: in one of these orders she goeth, being apparellied like to a Bride, carried round about the City, with her haire downe about her shoulders, garnished with iewels and flowers, according to the estate of the party, and they goe with as great ioy as Brides doe in Venice to their nuptials: shee carrieth in her left hand a looking glasse, and in her right hand an arrow, and singeth thozow the City as she passeth, and sayth, that she goeth to sleepe with her deere spouse and husband. She is accompanied with her kindred and friends vntill it be one or two of the clocke in the afternoone, then they goe out of the City, and going along the riuers side called Nigondin, which runneth vnder the walles of the City, vntill they come vnto a place where they vse to make this burning of women, being widowes, there is prepared in this place a great square caue, with a little pinnacle hard by it, foure or fise steppes by: the aforesayd caue is full of dried wood. The woman being come thither, accompanied with a great number of people which come to see the thing, then they make ready a great banquet, and she that shall be burned eateth with as great ioy and gladnesse, as though it were her wedding day: and the feast being ended, then they goe to dancing and singing a certeyn time, according as she will. After this, the woman of her owne accord, commandeth them to make the fire in the square caue where the drie wood is, and when it is kindled, they come and certifie her thereof, then presently she leaueth the feast, and taketh the neerest kinsman of her husband by the hand, and they both goe together to the banke of the aforesayd riuer, where shee putteth off all her iewels and all her clothes, and giueth them to her parentes or kinsfolke, and couering herselfe with a cloth, because she will not be seene of the people being naked, she throweth herselfe into the riuer, saying: *O wretches, wash away your sinnes.* Comming out of the water, she rowleth herselfe into a yellow cloth of foureteene braces long: and againe she taketh her husbands kinsman by the hand, and they goe both together vp to the pinnacle of the square caue wherein the fire is made. When she is on the pinnacle, she talketh and reasoneth with the people, recommending vnto them her children and kindred. Before the pinnacle they vse to set a mat, because they shall not see the fiercenesse of the fire, yet there are many that will haue them plucked away, shewing therein an heart not fearefull, and that they are not affrayd of that sight. When this silly woman hath reasoned with the people a good while to her content, there is another woman that taketh a pot with oile, and syznicketh it ouer her head, and with the same she anoynteth all her body, and after wards throweth the pot into the fornaice, and both the woman and the pot goe together into the fire, and presently the people that are round about the fornaice thzow after her into the caue great pieces of wood, so by this meanes, with the fire and with the blowes that she hath with the wood thzowen after her, she is quickly dead, and after this there groweth such sorrow and such lamentation among the people, that all their mirth is turned into howling and weeping, in such wise, that a man could scarce beare the hearing of it. I haue seene many burnt in this maner, because my house was neere to the gate where they goe out to the place of burning: and when there dieth any great man, his wife with all his slaues

An excellent
good policy to
inray men.

A description
of the burning
place.

Feasting and
dancing when
they should
mourne.

Mourning
when they
should re-
ioyce.

with

wich whom hee hath had carnall copulation, burne themselves together with him. Also in this kingdome I haue seene amongst the base sort of people this vse and order, that the man being dead, hee is carried to the place where they will make his sepulchre, and setting him as it were upright, then commeth his wife before him on her knees, calling her armes about his necke, wich embracing and clasping him, vntill such time as the Galions haue made a wall round about them, and when the wall is as high as their neckes, there commeth a man behinde the woman and stranglet her: then when she is dead, the workemen finish the wall ouer their heads, and so they lie buried both together. Besides these, there are an infinite number of beastly qualities amongst them, of which I haue no desire to write, I was desirous to know the cause why these women would so wilfully burne themselves against nature and law, and it was tolde mee that this law was of an ancient time, to make prouision against the slaughters which women made of their husbands. For in those dayes before this law was made, the women for euery little displeasure that their husbands had done vnto them, would presently poison their husbands, and take other men, and now by reason of this law they are more faithfull vnto their husbands, and count their liues as deare as their owne, because that after his death her owne followeth presently.

The cause why the women do so burne themselves.

In the yeere of our Lord God 1567, for the ill successe that the people of Bezeneger had, in that their City was sacked by the foure kings, the king with his Court went to dwell in a campe eight dayes journey by in the land from Bezeneger, called Penegonde. Also five dayes journey from Bezeneger, is the place where they get Diamants: I was not there, but it was tolde me that it is a great place, compassed with a wall, and that they sell the earth within the wall, for so much a Squadron, and the limits are set how deepe or how low they shall digge. Those Diamants that are of a certelne size and bigger then that size are all for the king, it is many yeeres agone, since they got any there, for the troubles that haue bene in that kingdome. The first cause of this trouble was, because the sonne of this Temeragio had put to death the lawfull king which he had in prison, for which cause the Barons and Noblemen in that kingdome would not acknowledge him to be their King, and by this meanes there are many kindes, and great diuision in that kingdome, and the city of Bezeneger is not altogether destroyed, yet the houses stand still, but empty, and there is dwelling in them nothing, as is reported, but Tygers and other wilde beasts. The circuit of this city is foure & twentie miles about, and within the walles are certelne mountaines. The houses stand walled with earth, and plaine, all sauing the three palaces of the three tyrant brethren, and the Pagodes which are idole houses: these are made with lime and fine marble. I haue seene many kings Courts, and yet haue I seene none in greatnesse like to this of Bezeneger, I say, for the order of his palace, for it hath nine gates or ports. First when you goe into the place where the king did lodge, there are five great ports or gates: these are kept with Captaines and souldiers: then within these there are foure lesser gates, which are kept with Porters. Without the first gate there is a little porch, where there is a Captaine with five and twenty souldiers, that keepeth watch and ward night and day: and within that another with the like guard, wherethorow they come to a very faire Court, and at the end of that Court there is another porch as the first, with the like guard, and within that another Court. And in this wise are the first five gates guarded and kept with those Captaines: and then the lesser gates within are kept with a guard of Porters: which gates stand open the greatest part of the night, because the custome of the Gentiles is to doe their businesse, and make their feasts in the night, rather then by day. The city is very safe from theues, for the Portugall merchants sleepe in the streets; or vnder porches, for the great heat which is there, and yet they neuer had any harme in the night. At the end of two moneths, I determined to goe for Goa in the company of two other Portugall Merchants, which were making ready to depart, with two palanchines or litle litters; which are very commodious for the way, with eight f alchines which are men hired to carry the palanchines, eight for a palanchine, foure at a time: they carry them as we vse to carry barrowes. And I bought me two bullocks, one of them to ride on, and the ether to carry my victuals and prouision, for in that countrey they ride on bullocks with pannels, as we terme them, gires and bydles, and they haue a very good commodious pace. From Bezeneger to Goa in Summer it is eight dayes journey, but we went in the midst of Winter, in the month of July, and were fifteene dayes comming to Ancola on the sea coast, so in eight dayes I had lost my two bullocks: for he that carried my victuals, was weake and could not goe, the other when I came vnto a riuer where was a litle bridge to passe ouer, I put my bullocke to swimming, and in the midst of the riuer there was a litle Island, vnto the which my bullocke went, and finding pasture, there he remained still, and in no wise we could come to him: and so perforce, I was forced to leaue him, and at that time there was much raine, and I was forced to goe seuen dayes

Penegonde.

Men ride on bullocks, and trauell with them on the way.

a foot with great paines : and by great chance I met with *Falchines* by the way, whom I hired to carry my clothes and victuals. We had great trouble in our iourney, for that every day wee were taken prisoners, by reason of the great dissension in that kingdome : and every morning at our departure we must pay rescate foure or five pagies a man. And another trouble wee had as bad as this, that when as wee came into a new gouernours country, as every day we did, although they were all tributary to the king of *Bezeneger*, yet every one of them stamped a feveral coine of Copper, so that the money that we tooke this day would not serue the next : at length, by the helpe of God, we came safe to *Ancola*, which is a country of the queene of *Gargopam*, tributary to the king of *Bezeneger*. The marchandise that went every yere from *Goa* to *Bezeneger* were *Arabian* *Hozles*, *Celuetts*, *Damakks*, and *Sattens*, *Armeine* of *Portugall*, and pieces of *China*, *Saffron*, and *Skarlets* : and from *Bezeneger* they had in *Turky* for their commodities, *Iewels*, and *Pagodies* which be *ducats* of golde : the apparell that they vse in *Bezeneger* is *Celuet*, *Satten*, *Damakke*, *Scarlet*, or white *Bumbast* cloth, according to the estate of the person with long hats on their heads, called *Colae*, made of *Celuet*, *Satten*, *Damakke*, or *Scarlet*, girding themselues in stead of girdles with some fine white *bombast* cloth : they haue by eethes after the order of the *Turks* : they weare on their feet plaine high things called of them *Aspergh*, and at their eares they haue hanging great plenty of golde.

The marchandise that cometh in and out to *Bezeneger* every yere.

The apparell of those people.

Their Winter is our Summer.

Returning to my voyage, when we were together in *Ancola*, one of my companions that had nothing to lose, tooke a guide, and went to *Goa*, whither they goe in foure dayes, the other *Portugall* not being disposed to go, tarried in *Ancola* for that Winter. The Winter in those parts of the *Indies* beginneth the fifteenth of *May*, and lasteth vnto the end of *October* : and as we were in *Ancola*, there came another *Merchant* of *hoxles* in a *palanchine*, and two *Portugall* *souldiers* which came from *Zeilan*, and two carriers of letters, which were *Christians* bozne in the *Indies* : all these consorted to goe to *Goa* together, and I determined to goe with them, and caused a *palanchine* to be made for me very poorly of *Canes* ; and in one of them *Canes* I hid priuily all the *Iewels* I had, and according to the order, I tooke eight *Falchines* to carry me : and one day about eleuen of the clocke wee set forwards on our iourney, and about two of the clocke in the afternoon, as we passed a mountaine which diuideth the territozy of *Ancola* and *Dialcan*, I being a little behinde my company, was assaulted by eight *theeues*, foure of them had *swordes* and *targets*, and the other foure had *bowes* and *arrowes*. When the *Falchines* that carried me understood the noise of the assault, they let the *palanchine* and me fall to the ground, and ranne away and left me alone, with my clothes wrapped about me : presently the *theeues* were on my necke, and rifeling me, they stripped me stark naked, and I fained my selfe sicke, because I would not leaue the *palanchine*, and I had made me a little bedde of my clothes ; the *theeues* sought it very narrowly and subtilly, and found two purses that I had, well bound vp together, wherein I had put my *Copper* money which I had changed for foure *pagodies* in *Ancola*. The *theeues* thinking it had beene so many *ducats* of golde, searched no further : then they threw all my clothes in a bush, and hid them away, and as God would haue it, at their departure there fell from them an *handkercher*, and when I saw it, I rose from my *palanchine* or couch, and tooke it by, and wrapped it together within my *palanchine*. Then these my *Falchines* were of so good condition, that they returned to seeke mee, whereas I thought I should not haue found so much goodnesse in them : because they were payed their mony aforesaid, as is the vse, I had thought to haue seene them no moze. Before their comming I was determined to plucke the *Cane* wherein my *Iewels* were hidden, out of my couch, and to haue made me a walking staffe to carry in my hand to *Goa*, thinking that I should haue gone thither on foot, but by the faithfulness of my *Falchines*, I was rid of that trouble, and so in foure dayes they carried me to *Goa*, in which time I made hard fate, for the *theeues* left me neither money, golde, nor silver, and that which I did eat was giuen me of my men for Gods sake : and after at my comming to *Goa* I payed them for every thing royally that I had of them. From *Goa* I departed for *Cochin*, which is a voyage of three hundred miles, and betweene these two cities are many holdes of the *Portugals*, as *Onor*, *Mangalor*, *Barzelor*, and *Cananor*. The *Holde* or *Fort* that you shall haue from *Goa* to *Cochin* that belongeth to the *Portugals*, is called *Onor*, which is in the kingdome of the queene of *Baracella*, which is tributary to the king of *Bezeneger* : there is no trade there, but onely a charge with the *Captaine* and company he keepeth there. And passing this place, you shall come to another small castle of the *Portugals* called *Mangalor*, and there is very small trade but onely for a little *Rice* : and from thence you goe to a little fort called *Barzelor*, there they haue good store of *Rice* which is carried to *Goa* : and from thence you shall goe to a city called *Cananor*, which is a *harquebus* shot distant from the chiefest city that the king of *Cananor* hath in his kingdome being a king of the *Gentiles* : and he & his are very naughty & malicious people, alwayes hauing delight

Four small fortres of the *Portugals*.

to be in warres with the Portugales, and when they are in peace, it is for their interest to let their merchandize passe: there goeth out of this kinzdome of Cananor, all the Cardamomū, great store of Pepper, Ginger, Pomie, ships laden with great Nuts, great quantitie of Archa, which is a fruit of the bignesse of Nutmegs, which fruite they eat in all those partes of the Indies and beyond the Indies, with the leafe of an Verbe which they call Betrell, the which is like unto our Tuie leafe, but a litle lesser and thinner: they eat it made in plaisters with the lime made of Distherbels, and thozow the Indies they spend great quantitie of moncy in this composition, and it is vsed daily, which thing I would not haue beleueed, if I had not scene it. The customers get great profite by these Verbes, for that they haue custome for them. When this people eat and chaw this in their mouthes, it maketh their spittle to bee red like vnto blood, and they say, that it maketh a man to haue a very good stomacke and a sweete breath, but sure in my iudgement they eat it rather to fulfill their filthy lustes, and of a kuauric, for this Verbe is moyst and hote, & maketh a very strong expulsion. From Cananor you go to Cranganor, which is another small Fort of the Portugales in the land of the king of Cranganor, which is another king of the Gentiles, and a countrey of small importance, and of an hundred and twentie miles, full of thienes, being vnder the king of Calicut, a king also of the Gentiles, and a great enemy to the Portugales, which when hee is alwayes in warres, hee and his countrey is the nest and resting for stranger thecues, and those hee called Moores of Carposa, because they weare on their heads long red hats, and these thienes part the spoyles that they take on the Sea with the king of Calicut, for hee giueth leaue vnto all that will goe a roning, liberally to goe, in such wise, that all along that coast there is such a number of thienes, that there is no sailing in those Seas but with great ships and very well armed, or els they must go in company with the army of the Portugals. From Cranganor to Cochin is 15. miles.

Betrell is a very profitable herbe in that countrey.

Enemies to the king of Portugall.

Cochin.

Cochin is next vnto Goa, the chiefest place that the Portugales haue in the Indies, and there is great trade of Spices, drugges, and all other sortes of merchandize for the kingdome of Portugale, and there within the land is the kingdome of Pepper, which Pepper the Portugales take in their shippes by bulke, and not in sakes: the Pepper that goeth for Portugale is not so good as that which goeth for Mecca, because that in times past the officers of the king of Portugale made a contract with the king of Cochin, in the name of the king of Portugale, for the prizes of Pepper, and by reason of that agreement betweene them at that time made, the price can neither rise nor fall, which is a very lowe and base price, and for this cause the vntainnes bring it to the Portugales, greene and full of filthe. The Moores of Mecca that giue a better price, haue it cleane and drie, and better conditioned. All the Spices and drugs that are brought to Mecca, are stolen from thence as Contrabanda. Cochin is two cities, one of the Portugales, and another of the king of Cochin: that of the Portugales is situate nearest vnto the Sea, and that of the king of Cochin is a mile and a halfe by higher in the land, but they are both set on the bankes of one riuer which is very great and of a good depth of water, which riuer commeth out of the mountaines of the king of the Pepper, which is a king of the Gentiles, in whose kingdome are many Christians of saint Thomas order: the king of Cochin is also a king of the Gentiles and a great faithfull friend to the king of Portugale, and to those Portugales which are married, and are Citizens in the Citie Cochin of the Portugales. And by this name of Portugales throughout all the Indies, they call all the Christians that come out of the West, whether they bee Italians, Frenchmen, or Almains, and all they that marrie in Cochin do get an office according to the trade he is of: this they haue by the great priuileges which the Citizens haue of that city, because there are two principal commodities that they deale withal in that place, which are these. The great store of Silke that commeth from China, and the great store of Sugar which commeth from Bengala: the married Citizens pay not any custome for these two commodities: for all other commodities they pay 4. per cento custome to the king of Cochin, rating their goods at their owne pleasure. Those which are not married and strangers, pay in Cochin to the king of Portugale eight per cento of all maner of merchandise. It was in Cochin when the Viceroy of the king of Portugale wrought what hee could to breake the priuilege of the Citizens, and to make them to pay custome as other did: at which time the Citizens were glad to waigh their Pepper in the night that they laded the ships withal that went to Portugale and stole the custome in the night. The king of Cochin hauing vnderstanding of this, would not suffer any more Pepper to bee weighed. Then presently after this, the marchants were licensed to doe as they did before, and there was no more speech of this.

Within Cochin is the kingdome of Pepper.

The Pepper that the Portugals bring, is not so good as that which goeth for Mecca, which is brought thither by y^e streights.

Great priuileges that the citizens of Cochin haue.

this matter, nor any wrong done. This king of Cochin is of a small power in respect of the other kings of the Indies, for hee can make but seuentie thousand men of armes in his campe: hee hath a great number of Gentlemen which hee calleth Amochi, and some are called Nairi: these two sorts of men esteeme not their liues any thing, so that it may be for the honour of their king, they will thrust themselves forward in euery danger, although they know they shall die. These men goe naked from the girdle vppwardes, with a clothe rolled about their thighs, going barefooted, and hauing their haire very long and rolled vp together on the toppe of their heads, and alwayes they carrie their Bucklers or Targets with them and their swordes naked, these Nairi haue their wines common amongst themselves, and when any of them goe into the house of any of these women, hee leaueh his sword and target at the doore, and the time that hee is there, these dare not any bee so hardie as to come into that house. The kings children shall not inherite the kingdome after their father, because they hold this opinion, that perchance they were not begotten of the king their father, but of some other man, therefore they accept for their king, one of the sonnes of the kings sisters, or of some other woman of the blood roial, for that they be sure they are of the blood roiall.

So very strange
thing hardly to
be beleued.

The Nairi and their wines vse for a brauerie to make great holes in their eares, and so bigge and wide, that it is incredible, holding this opinion, that the greater the holes bee, the moze noble they esteeme themselves. I had leaue of one of them to measure the circumference of one of them with a theed, and within that circumference I put my arme vp to the shoulder, clothed as it was, so that in effect they are monstrous great. Thus they doe make them when they be litle, for then they open the eare, & hang a piece of gold or lead thereat, & within the opening, in the hole they put a certaine leafe that they haue for that purpose, which maketh the hole so great. They lade ships in Cochin for Portugale and for Ormus, but they that goe for Ormus carrie no Pepper but by Contrabanda, as for Sinamome they easilie get leaue to carrie that away, for all other Spices and drugs they may liberally carie them to Ormus or Cambaia, and so all other merchandize which come from other places, but out of the kingdom of Cochin properly they carry away with them into Portugale great abundance of Pepper, great quantitie of Ginger dried and conferued, wild Sinamom, good quantitie of Arecca, great stoze of Cordage of Cairo, made of the bark of the tree of the great Nut, and better then that of Wempe, of which they carrie great stoze into Portugale.

Note the de-
parting of the
ships from Co-
chin.

The shippes euery yeere depart from Cochin to goe for Portugall, on the first day of December, or the first day of January. Nowe to follow my voyage for the Indies: from Cochin I went to Coulam, distant from Cochin seuentie and two miles, which Coulam is a small Fort of the king of Portugales, situate in the kingdom of Coulam, which is a king of the Gentiles, and of small trade: at that place they lade onely halfe a ship of Pepper, and then they goeth to Cochin to take in the rest, and from thence to Cao Comori is seuentie and two miles, and there endeth the coast of the Indies: and alongst this coast, neere to the water side, and also to Cao Comori, downe to the lowe land of Chilao, which is about two hundred miles, the people there are as it were all turned to the Christian faith: there are also Churches of the friers of S. Pauls order, which friers doe very much good in turning the people, and in conuerting them, and take great paines in instructing them in the law of Christ.

The fishing for Pearles.

The order
how they fish
for pearles.

The Sea that lieth betweene the coast which descendeth from Cao Comori, to the lowe land of Chilao; and the Iland Zeilan, they call the fishing of Pearles, which fishing they make euery yeere, beginning in March or Aprill, and it lasteth fiftie dayes, but they doe not fish euery yeere in one place, but one yeere in one place, and another yeere in another place of the same sea. When the time of this fishing draweth neere, then they send very good Diuersers, that goe to discouer where the greatest heapes of Disfers bee vnder water, and right against that place where greatest stoze of Disfers bee, there they make or plant a billage with houses and a Bazar; all of stone, which standeth as long as the fishing time lasteth, and it is furnished with all things necessarie, and nowe and then it is neere vnto places that are inhabited, and other times farre off, according to the place where they fish. The fishermen are all Christians of the countrey, and who so will may goe to fishing, paying a certaine dutie to the king of Portugall, and to the Churches of the friers of Saint Paule, which are in that coast. All the while that they are fishing, there are three or foure Justices armed to defend the fishermen from Routers. It was my chance to bee there one time in my passage, and I saw the order that

that they used in fishing, which is this. There are three or foure Barkes that make consort together, which are like to our little Pilot boates, and a little lesse, there goe scuen or eight men in a boate: and I haue scene in a morning a great number of them goe out, and anker in fifteene or eighteene fadome of water, which is the Ordinarie depth of all that coast. When they are at anker, they cast a rope into the Sea, and at the ende of the rope, they make fast a great stone, and then there is ready a man that hath his nose and his eares well stopper, and annointed with oyle, and a basket about his necke, or vnder his left arme, then hee goeth downe by the rope to the bottome of the Sea, and as fast as he can hee filleth the basket, and when it is full, hee shaketh the rope, and his fellowes that are in the Barke hale him up with the basket: and in such wise they goe one by one vntill they haue laden their barke with oysters, and at euening they come to the village, and then euery company maketh their mountaine or heape of oysters one distant from another, in such wise that you shall see a great long rowe of mountaines or heapes of oysters, and they are not touched vntill such time as the fishing bee ended, and at the ende of the fishing euery companie sitteth round about their mountaine or heape of oysters, and fall to opening of them, which they may easilie doe because they bee dead, drie and brittle: and if euery oyster had pearles in them, it would bee a very good purchase, but there are very many that haue no pearles in them: when the fishing is ended, then they see whether it bee a good gathering or a badde: there are certaine expert in the pearles whom they call Chimmi, which set and make the price of pearles according to their caracters, beautie, and goodnesse, making foure sortes of them. The first sorte bee the round pearles, and they be called Aia of Portugale, because the Portugales doe buy them. The second sorte which are not round, are called Aia of Bengala. The third sorte which are not so good as the second, they call Aia of Canara, that is to say, the kingdom of Bezeneger. The fourth and last sorte, which are the least and worst sorte, are called Aia of Cambaia. Thus the price being set, there are merchants of euery countrey which are ready with their money in their handes, so that in a fewe dayes all is bought vp at the prices set according to the goodnesse and caracters of the pearles.

In this Sea of the fishing of pearles is an Island called Manar, which is inhabited by Christians of the countrey which first were Gentiles, and haue a small hold of the Portugales being situate ouer agaynst Zeilan: and betweene these two Islands there is a chanell, but not very big, and hath but a small depth therein: by reason whereof there cannot any great shippe passe that way, but small ships, and with the increase of the water which is at the change or the full of the Moone, and yet for all this they must unlade them and put their goods into small vessels to lighten them before they can passe that way for feare of Sholdes that lie in the chanell, and after lade them into their shippes to goe for the Indies, and this doe all small shippes that passe that way, but those shippes that goe for the Indies Eastwardes, passe by the coast of Coromandel, on the other side by the land of Chilao which is betweene the firme land and the Island Manar: and going from the Indies to the coast of Coromandel, they loose some shippes, but they bee empty, because that the shippes that passe that way discharge their goods at an Island called Periparane, and there land their goods into small flat bottomed boates which drawe litle water, and are called Tane, and can run ouer euery Shold without either danger or losse of any thing, for that they carrie in Periparane vntill such time as it bee faire weather. Before they depart to passe the Sholdes, the small shippes and flat bottomed boates goe together in companie, and when they haue sailed fixe and thirtie miles, they arrive at the place where the Sholdes are, and at that place the windes blowe so forcible, that they are forced to goe thowre, not hauing any other refuge to saue themselves. The flat bottomed boates goe safe thowre, where as the small shippes if they misse the aforesayd chanell, sticke fast on the Sholdes, and by this meanes many are lost: and comming backe from the Indies, they goe not that way, but passe by the chanell of Manar as is abouesayd, whose chanell is Dazie, and if the shippes sticke fast, it is great chance if there be any danger at all. The reason why this chanell is not moze sure to goe thither, is, because the windes that raigne or blowe betweene Zeilan and Manar, make the chanell so shallow with water, that almost there is not any passage. From Cao Comori to the Island of Zeilan is 120. miles ouerthwart.

Zeilan.

Zeilan is an Island, in my iudgement, a great deale bigger then Cyprus: on that side towards the Indies lying Westward is the citie called Columba, which is a hold of the Portugales, but without walles or ennies. It hath towards the Sea a free port, the lawfull king
of

These pearles are valued according to the caracters which they weigh, euery caracter is 4. grames, and these men that price the haue an instrument of copper with holes in it, which be made by degrees for the sorte of pearles which.

of that Island is in Columbo, and is turned Christian and maintained by the king of Portugal, being deprived of his kingdom. The king of the Gentiles, to whom this kingdom did belong, was called Madoni, which had two sonnes, the first named Barbinas the prince; and the second Ragine. This king by the policie of his younger sonne, was deprived of his kingdom, who because hee had entiled and done that which pleased the armie and souldiours, in despight of his father and byother being prince, usurped the kingdom, and became a great warrior. First, this Island had three kings; the king of Corra with his conquered prisoners: the king of Candia, which is a part of that Island, and is so called by the name of Candia, which had a reasonable power, and was a great friend to the Portugals, which sayd that hee liued secretly a Christian; the third was the king of Gianisampatan. In thirteene yeeres that this Ragine governed this Island, he became a great tyrant.

In this Island there groweth fine Sinamon, great store of Pepper, great store of Nuttes and Arochoe: there they make great store of Cairo to make Coydage: it bringeth forth great store of Chyristall Cats eyes, or Ochi de Gati, and they say that they finde there some Rubies, but I haue sold Rubies well there that I brought with me from Pegu. I was desirous to see how they gather the Sinamon, or take it from the tree that it groweth on, and so much the rather, because the time that I was there, was the season which they gather it in, which was in the moneth of Aprill, at which time the Portugals were in armes, and in the field, with the king of the countrey; yet I to satisfie my desire, although in great danger, tooke a guide with mee and went into a wood three miles from the Citie, in which wood was great store of Sinamome trees growing together among other wilde trees; and this Sinamome tree is a small tree, and not very high, and hath leaues like to our Baie tree. In the moneth of March or Aprill, when the sappe goeth by to the toppe of the tree, then they take the Sinamon from that tree in this wise. They cut the barke of the tree round about in length from knot to knot, or from ioint to ioint, aboue and belowe, and then casie with their handes they take it away, laying it in the Sunne to drie, and in this wise it is gathered, and yet for all this the tree dieth not, but agaynst the next yeere it will haue a new barke, and that which is gathered euery yeere is the best Sinamome: for that which groweth two or three yeeres is great, and not so good as the other is; and in these woods groweth much Pepper.

Cairo is a stuffe that they make ropes with, the which is the barke of a tree.

The cutting & gathering of Sinamome.

at thinge.

Negapatan.

From the Island of Zeilan men use to goe with small shippes to Negapatan, within the firme land, and scuentie two miles off is a very great Citie, and very populous of Portugals and Christians of the countrey, and part Gentiles: it is a countrey of small trade, neither haue they any trade there, saue a good quantitie of Rice, and cloth of Bumbast which they carie into diuers partes: it was a very plentifull countrey of vittuals, but now it hath a great deale lesse; and that abundance of vittuals caused many Portugales to goe thither and build houses, and dwell there with small charge.

This Citie belongeth to a noble man of the kingdom of Bezeneger being a Gentile, neuertheless the Portugales and other Christians are well intreated there, and haue their Churches there with a monasterie of Saint Francis order, with great deuotion and very well accommodated, with houses round about: yet for all this, they are amongst tyrants, which alwayes at their pleasure may doe them some harme, as it happned in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred, sixtie and sixe: for I remember very well, how that the Nayer, that is to say, the lord of the citie, sent to the citizens to demaund of them certaine Arabian horses, and they hauing denied them vnto him, and gaineloyd his demaund, it came to passe that this lord had a desire to see the Sea, which when the poore citizens vnderstood, they doubted some euill, to heare a thing which was not woont to be, they thought that this man would come to lacke the Citie, and presently they embarked themselues the best they could with their moouables, marchandize, iewels, money, and all that they had, and caused the shippes to put from the shore. When this was done, as their euill chance would haue it, the next night following, there came such a great storme that it put all the shippes on land perforce, and brake them to peeces, and all the goods that came on land and were saued, were taken from them by the souldiours and armie of this lord which came downe with him to see the Sea, and were attendant at the Sea side, not thinking that any such thing would haue happened.

at foolish feare of Portugals.

Saint Thomas or San Tome.

From Negapatan following my voyage towards the East an hundred and fiftie miles, I found the house of blessed Saint Thomas, which is a Church of great devotion, and greatly regarded of the Gentiles for the great miracles they haue heard to haue bene done by that blessed Apostle: neere vnto this Church the Portugals haue builded them a Citie in the countrey subiect to the king of Bezeneger, which Citie although it bee not very great, yet in my iudgement it is the fairest in all that part of the Indies: and it hath very faire houses and faire gardens in vacant places very well accommodated: it hath streetes large and streight, with many Churches of great deuotion, their houses be set close one vnto another, with little doozes, euery house hath his defence, so that by that meanes it is of force sufficient to defend y Portugals against the people of that countrey. The Portugals there haue no other possession but their gardens and houses that are within the citie: the customes belong to the king of Bezeneger, which are very small and easie, for that it is a countrey of great riches and great trade: there come euery yeere two or thre great ships very rich, besides many other small ships: one of the two great ships goeth for Pegu, and the other for Malacca, laden with fine Bumbast cloth of euery sort, painted, which is a rare thing, because those kinde of clothes shew as they were gilded with diuers colours, and the more they be washed, the liuelier the colours will be. Also there is other cloth of Bumbast which is wouen with diuers colours, and is of great value: also they make in Sane Tome great stoe of red Yarne, which they die with a roote called Saia, and this colour will neuer wasse, but the more it is washed, the more redder it will shew: they lade this yarne the greatest part of it for Pegu, because that there they worke and weaue it to make cloth according to their owne fashion, and with lesser charges. It is a maruelous thing to them which haue not seene the lading and unlading of men and merchandize in S. Tome as they do: it is a place so dangerous, that a man cannot bee serued with small barkes, neither can they doe their businesse with the boates of the shippes, because they would be beaten in a thousand pieces, but they make certaine barkes (of purpose) high, which they call Masadie, they be made of litle boards; one board being so wed to another with small cordes, and in this order are they made. And when they are thus made, and the owners will embarke any thing in them, either men or goods, they lade them on land, and when they are laden, the Barke-men thrust the boate with her lading into the streame, and with great speed they make haste all that they are able to rowe out against the huge waues of the sea that are on that shore, vntill that they carie them to the ships: and in like maner they lade these Masadies at the shippes with merchandise and men. When they come neere the shore, the Barke-men leay out of the Barke into the Sea to keepe the Barke right that she cast not thwart the shore, and being kept right, the Suffe of the Sea letteth her lading ope on land without any hurt or danger, and sometimes there are some of them that are ouerthrowen, but there can be no great losse, because they lade but a litle at a time. All the merchandize they lade outwards, they emball it well with Dre hides, so that if it take wet, it can haue no great harme.

In my voyage, returning in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand, five hundred, sixtie and sixe, I went from Goa vnto Malacca, in a shippe or Gallion of the king of Portugal, which went vnto Banda for to lade Nutmegs & Peaces: from Goa to Malacca are one thousand eight hundred miles, we passed without the Island Zeilan, and went through the chanell of Nicubar, or els through the chanell of Sombroero, which is by the middle of the Island of Sumatra, called in olde time Taprobana: and from Nicubar to Pegu is as it were a rowe or chaine of an infinite number of Islands, of which many are inhabited with wilde people, and they call those Islands the Islands of Andemaon, and they call their people sauage or wilde, because they eate one another: also these Islands haue warre one with another, for they haue small Barkes, and with them they take one another, and so eate one another: and if by cuil chance any ship be lost on those Islands, as many haue bene, there is not one man of those ships lost there that escapeth vneaten or vnkilled. These people haue not any acquaintance with any other people, neither haue they trade with any, but liue onely of such fruites as those Islands yeeld: and if any ship come neere vnto that place or coast as the ppasse that way, as in my voyage it happened as I came from Malacca through the chanell of Sombroero, there came two of their Barkes neere vnto our ship laden with fruite, as with Peaces which wee call Adams apples, with fresh Nuts, and with a fruit called Inani, which fruit is like to our Turneps, but is very sweete and good to eate: they would not come into the shippe for any thing that wee could doe: neither would they take any money for their fruite, but they would trucke for olde shirtes or pierces of olde linnen breeches, these ragges they let downe with a rope into their Barke vnto them, and looke

S. Thomas his sepulchre.

A painted kind of cloth & dier of diuers colours which those people delight much in, and esteem them of great price.

In the Islands of Banda they lade Nutmegs for there they grow.

In the Islands of Andemaon, they eate one another.

whas

what they thought those things to be worth, so much fruite they would make fast to the rope and let vs hale it in: and it was told me that at sometimes a man shall haue for an old shirt a good picke of Amber.

Sumatra.

This Island of Sumatra is a great Island and deuided and gouerned by many kings, and deuided into many chanelles, where throughe there is passage: vpon the headland towarde the West is the kingdom of Aſſi gouerned by a Hooye king: this king is of great force and strength, as he that belide his great kingdom, hath many Fioſſes and Gallies. In his kingdom groweth great ſtoze of Pepper, Ginger, Benjamin: he is an bitter enemy to the Portugals, and hath diuers times bene at Malacca to fight againſt it, and hath done great harme to the boroughes thereof, but the citie alway withſtood him valiantly, and with their ordinance did great ſpoile to his campe. At length I came to the citie of Malacca.

The commodities that grow in the kingdom of Aſſi.

The Citie Malacca.

The great trade that is at Malacca.

Malacca is a Citie of marvellous great trade of all kind of marchandize, which come from diuers partes, because that all the ſhippes that ſaile in theſe ſeas, both great and ſmall, are bound to touch at Malacca to paie their cuſtome there, although they vnlade nothing at all, as we doe at Elſnor: and if by night they eſcape away, and pay not their cuſtome, then they fall into a greater danger after: 1. for if they come into the Indies and haue not the ſeale of Malacca, they pay double cuſtome. I haue not paſſed further then Malacca towards the Eaſt, but that which I wil ſpeake of here is by good information of them that haue bene there. The ſailing from Malacca towards the Eaſt is not common for all men, as to China and Iapan, and ſo forwards to go who will, but onely for the king of Portugall and his nobles, with leaue granted vnto them of the king to make ſuch voiajes, or to the iuriſdiction of the captaine of Malacca, where he expecteth to know what voiajes they make from Malacca thither, & theſe are the kings voiajes, that euery yere there departeth fro Malacca 2. gallions of the kings, one of the goeth to y Moluccos to lade Cloues, and the other goeth to Banda to lade Nutmegs and Baces. Theſe two gallions are laden for the king, neither doe they carie any particular mans goods, ſauing the portage of the Mariners and ſouldiers, and for this cauſe they are not voiajes for marchants, because that going thither, they ſhal not haue where to lade their goods of returne, and beſides this, the captaine will not cary any marchant for either of theſe two places. There goe ſmall ſhippes of the Moores thither, which come from the coaſt of Iaua, and change or guild their commodities in the kingdom of Aſſa, and theſe be the Baces, Cloues, and Nutmegs, which go for the ſtreights of Mecca. The voiajes that the king of Portugall granteth to his nobles are theſe, of China and Iapan, from China to Iapan, and from Iapan to China, and from China to the Indies, and the voyage of Bengala, Maluco, and Sonda, with the lading of ſine cloth, and euery ſort of Bumball cloth. Sonda is an Island of the Moores nere to the coaſt of Iaua, and there they lade Pepper for China. The ſhip that goeth euery yere from the Indies to China, is called the ſhip of Drugs, because she carrieth diuers drugs of Cambaia, but the greateſt part of her lading is ſiluer. From Malacca to China is eightene hundred miles: and from China to Iapan goeth euery yere a ſhippe of great importance laden with Silke, which for returne of their Silke bringeth barres of ſiluer which they trucke in China. The diſtance betweene China and Iapan is foure and twentieth hundred miles, and in this way there are diuers Ilands not very bigge, in which the Friars of ſaint Paul, by the helpe of God, make many Chriſtians there like to themſelues. From theſe Ilands hitherwards the place is not yet diſcouered for the great boldneſſe of Sandes that they find. The Portugals haue made a ſmall citie nere vnto the coaſt of China called Macao, whole church and houſes are of wood, and it hath a biſhoprike, but the cuſtoms belong to the king of China, and they goe and pay the ſame at a citie called Canron, which is a citie of great importance and very beautifull two dayes iourney and a halfe from Macao. The people of China are Gentiles, and are ſo iealous and fearefull, that they would not haue a ſtranger to put his foote within their land: ſo that when the Portugals go thither to pay their cuſtome, and to buy their marchandize, they will not conſent that they ſhall lie or lodge within the citie, but ſend them ſoozth into the ſuburbes. The countrey of China is nere the kingdom of great Tartaria, and is a very great countrey of the Gentiles and of great importance, which may be iudged by the rich and precious marchandize that come from thence, then which I beleeue there are not better nor in greater quantitie in the whole world beſides.

At the Moluccos they lade the Cloues.

The kingdom of Aſſa.

The ſhip of drugs, ſo termed of the Portugals.

Ilands not diſcouered.

China is vnder the gouernment of the great Tartar.

First, great store of golde, which they carie to the Indies, made in plates like to little shippes, and in value thre and twentie carats a peece, very great aboundance of fine silke, cloth of damaske and taffata, great quantitie of muske, great quantitie of Occam in baires, great quantitie of quicksiluer and of Cinaper, great store of Camfoza, an infinite quantitie of Porcellane, made in vessels of diuerse sortes, great quantitie of painted cloth and squares, infinite store of the rootes of China: and euery yeere there commeth from China to the Indies, two or thre great shippes, laden with most rich and p̄cious marchandise. The Rubarbe commeth from thence ouer lande, by the way of Persia, because that euery yeere there goeth a great Carouan from Persia to China, which is in going thither sixe moneths. The Carouan arriueeth at a Citie called Lanchin, the place where the king is resident with his Court. I spake with a Persian that was thre yeeres in that citie of Lanchin, and he tolde me that it was a great Citie and of great impoztance. The voiaiges of Malacca which are in the iurisdiction of the Captaine of the castle, are these: Euery yeere he sendeth a small shippe to Timor to lade white Sandols, for all the best commeth from this Island: there commeth some also from Solor, but that is not so good: also he sendeth another small ship euery yeere to Cauchin China, to lade there wood of Aloes, for that all the wood of Aloes commeth from this place, which is in the firme land nere vnto China, and in that kingdome I could not knowe how that wood groweth by any meanes. For that the people of the countrey will not suffer the Portugales to come within the land, but onely for wood and water, and as for all other things that they wanted, as victuals or marchandise, the people bying that a boord the ship in small barkes, so that euery day there is a mart kept in the ship, vntill such time as she be laden: also there goeth another ship for the said Captaine of Malacca to Sion, to lade Uerzino: all these voiaiges are for the Captaine of the castle of Malacca, and when he is not disposed to make these voiaiges, he selleth them to another.

A yeerely Carouan from Persia to China.

A market kept aboard of the ships.

The citie of Sion, or Sim.

Sion was the imperiall seat, and a great Citie, but in the yeere of our Lord God one thousand five hundred sixtie and seuen, it was taken by the king of Pegu, which king made a voyage or came by lande foure moneths iourney with an armie of men through his launde, and the number of his armie was a million and foure hundredth thousand men of warre: when hee came to the Citie, he gaue assault to it, and besieged it one and twentie monethes before he could winne it, with great losse of his people, this I know, for that I was in Pegu sixe moneths after his departure, and saue when that his officers that were in Pegu, sent five hundredth thousand men of warre to furnish the places of them that were slaine and lost in that assault: yet for all this, if there had not beene treason against the citie, it had not beene lost: for on a night there was one of the gates set open, through the which with great trouble the king gate into the citie, and became gonerour of Sion: and when the Emperour saue that he was betrayed, and that his ennemie was in the citie, he poisoned himselfe: and his wiues and children, friends and noblemen, that were not slaine in the first affront of the entrance into the citie, were all caried captiues into Pegu, where I was at the coming home of the king with his triumphs and victorie, which coming home & returning from the warres was a goodly sight to behold, to see the Elephants come home in a square, laden with golde, siluer, iewels, and with noble men and women that were taken prisoners in that citie.

A picture of a marvellous strength and power.

Now to returne to my voyage: I departed from Malacca in a great shippe which went for Saint Tome, being a Citie situate on the coast of Coromandel: and because the Captaine of the castles of Malacca had vnderstanding by aduise that the king of *Assi would come with a great armie and power of men against them, therefore vpon this he would not giue licence that any shippes should depart: Wherefore in this ship wee departed from thence in the night, without making any provision of our water: and wee were in that shippe foure hundredth and odde men: we departed from thence with intention to goe to an Island to take in water, but the windes were so contrary, that they would not suffer vs to fetch it, so that by this meanes wee were two and fortie dayes in the sea as it were lost, and we were dzien too and fro, so that the first lande that we discovered, was beyonde Saint Tome, moze then five hundredth miles which were the mountaines of Zerzerline, nere vnto the kingdome of Orisa, and so wee came to Orisa with many sicke, and moze that were dead for want of water: and they that were sicke in foure dayes dyed: and I for the space of a yeere after had my throat so sore and hoarse, that I could neuer satisfie my thirst in dzinking of water: I iudge the reason of my hoarsenesse to be with soppes that I wet in bineger and oyle, wherewith I lusted my selfe many dayes. There was not any want of bread nor of wine: but the wines of that countrey

* Dj Achem.

The mountaines of Zerzerline.

are so hot that being drunke without water they will kill a man: neither are they able to drinke them: when we beganne to want water, I sawe certaine Moores that were officers in the ship, that solde a small dish full for a duckat, after this I sawe one that would haue giuen a barre of Pepper, which is two quintalles and a halfe, for a litle measure of water, and he could not haue it. Cruely I beleue that I had died with my slaue, whom then I had to serue mee, which cost mee verie deare: but to prouide for the daunger at hand, I solde my slaue for halfe that he was worth, because that I would saue his drinke that he drunke, to serue my owne purpose, and to saue my life.

Of the kingdome of *Orisa*, and the riuier *Ganges*.

Orisa was a faire kingdome and trustie, through the which a man might haue gone with golde in his hande without any daunger at all, as long as the lawefull King reigned which was a Gentile, who continued in the citie called *Catecha*, which was within the land sixe dayes iourney. This king loued strangers marueilous well, especially marchants which had traffique in and out of his kingdome, in such wise that hee would take no custome of them, neither any other grieuous thing. Onely the shippe that came thither payde a small thing according to her portage, and euery yeere in the port of *Orisa* were laden five and twentie or thirtie ships great and small, with ryce and diuers sortes of fine white bumbaste cloth, ople of *Zerzeline* which they make of a seed, and it is very good to eate and to fry fish withal, great stoze of butter, *Lacca*, long pepper, *Singer*, *Dirabolans* dy and condite, great stoze of cloth of herbes, which is a kinde of silke which groweth amongst the woods without any labour of man, and when the bole thereof is growen round as bigge as an *Orynge*, then they take care onely to gather them. About sixteene yeeres past, this king with his kingdome were destroyed by the king of *Parane*, which was also king of the greatest part of *Bengala*, and when he had got the kingdome, he set custome there twenty pro cento, as Marchants payde in his kingdome: but this tyrant enioyed his kingdome but a small time, but was conquered by another tyrant, which was the great *Mogol* king of *Agra*, *Delly*, and of all *Cambaia*, without any resistance, I departed from *Orisa* to *Bengala*, to the harbour *Piqueno*, which is distant from *Orisa* towardes the East a hundred and seuentie miles. They goe as it were rowing alongst the coast fiftie and foure miles, and then we enter into the riuier *Ganges*: from the mouth of this riuier, to a citie called *Satagan*, where the marchants gather themselues together with their trade, are a hundred miles, which they rowe in eighteene houres with the increase of the water: in which riuer it floweth and ebbeth as it doth in the *Chanis*, and when the ebbing water is come, they are not able to rowe against it, by reason of the swiftnesse of the water, yet their barkes be light and armed with oares, like to *Foistres*, yet they cannot preuaile against that streame, and for refuge must make them fast to the banke of the riuier vntill the next flowing water, and they call these barkes *Bazaras* and *Paruas*: they rowe as well as a *Galliot*, or as well as euer I haue seene any, A good tides rowing befoze you come to *Satagan*, you shall haue a place which is called *Burtor*, and from thence vpwards the ships doe not goe, because that vpwardes the riuer is very shallowe, and litle water. Euery yeere at *Burtor* they make and vnmake a Village, with houses and shoppes made of strawe, and with all things necessarie to their vles, and this village standeth as long as the ships ride there, and till they depart for the *Indies*, and when they are departed, euery man goeth to his plot of houses, and there letteth fire on them, which thing made me to maruaile. For as I passed by to *Satagan*, I sawe this village standing with a great number of people, with an infinite number of ships and *Bazars*, and at my returne coming downe with my Captaine of the last ship, for whom I tarried, I was amazed to see such a place so soone razed and burnt, & nothing left but the signe of the burnt houses. The small ships go to *Satagan*, and there they lade.

Of the citie of *Satagan*.

In the port of *Satagan* euery yeere lade thirtie or five and thirtie ships great and small, with rice, cloth of *Bombast* of diuerse sortes, *Lacca*, great abundance of sugar, *Dirabolans* dyed and preserued, long pepper, ople of *Zerzeline*, and many other sortes of marchandise. The citie of *Satagan* is a reasonable faire citie for a citie of the Moores, abounding with all things, and was gouerned by the king of *Parane*, and now is subiect to the great *Mogol*. I was in this kingdome foure moneths, whereas many marchants did buy or freight boates for their benefites, and with these barkes they goe by and downe the riuer of *Ganges* to faices, buying their

commodi-

The commodities that go out of *Orisa*.

This cloth we call *Nettle* cloth.

The riuier of *Ganges*.

The commodities that are laden in *Satagan*.

commoditie with a great aduantage, because that euery day in the weeke they haue a taste, now in one place, and now in another, and I also hired a barke and went by and downe the river and did my businesse, and so in the night I saw many strange things. The kingdome of Bengala in times past hath bene as it were in the power of Moores, neuertheless there is great store of Gentiles among them; alwayes whereas I haue spoken of Gentiles, is to be understood Idolaters, and whereas I speak of Moores I meane Mahomers sect. Those people especially that be within the land doe greatly worship the river of Ganges: for when any is sicke, he is brought out of the countrey to the banke of the river, and there they make him a small cottage of strawe, and euery day they wet him with that water, wherof there are many that die, and when they are dead, they make a heape of sticke and boughes and lay the dead bodie thereon, and putting fire thereunto, they let the bodie alone vntill it be halfe roasted, and then they take it off from the fire, and make an emptie iare salt about his necke, and so throw him into the river. These things euery night as I passed by and downe the river I saw for the space of two moneths, as I passed to the sayes to buy my commodities with the marchants. And this is the cause that the Portugales will not drinke of the water of the river Ganges, yet to the sight it is more perfect and clearer then the water of Nilus is. From the port Piqueno I went to Cochin, and from Cochin to Malacca, from whence I departed for Pegu being eight hundred miles distant. That voyage is wont to be made in sixe and twentie or thirtie dayes, but we were foure moneths, and at the ende of thre moneths our ship was without victuals. The Pilot told vs that wee were by his altitude not farre from a citie called Tanalarie, in the kingdome of Pegu, and these his words were not true, but we were (as it were) in the middle of many Ilands, and many uninhabited rockes, and there were also some Portugales that affirmed that they knew the land, and knewe also where the citie of Tanalarie was.

Moores are of the sect of Mahomet.

A ceremony of the gentiles when they are dead.

This citie of right belongeth to the kingdome of Sion, which is situate on a great riuers side, which cometh out of the kingdome of Sion: and where this river runneth into the sea, there is a village called Mirgim, in whose harbour euery yeere there lade some ships with Terzina, Ayppa, and Beniamin, a few cloues, nutmegs and maces which come from the coast of Sion, but the greatest marchandise there is Terzin and Ayppa, which is an excellent wine, which is made of the floure of a tree called Aypper. Whose liquour they distill, and so make an excellent drinke cleare as chrystall, good to the mouth, and better to the stomacke, and it hath an excellent gentle vertue, that if one were rotten with the french pockes, drinking good store of this, he shall be whole againe, and I haue seene it proued, because that when I was in Cochin, there was a friend of mine, whose nose beganne to drop away with that disease, and he was counselled of the doctoz of physicke, that he should goe to Tanalarie at the time of the new wines, and that he should drinke of the aypper wine, night and day, as much as he could befoze it was distilled, which at that time is most delicate, but after that it is distilled, it is more strong, and if you drinke much of it, it will fume into the head with dzunkennesse. This man went thither, and did so, and I haue seene him after with a good colour and sound. This wine is very much esteemed in the Indies, and for that it is brought so farre off, it is very deare: in Pegu ordinarily it is good cheape, because it is neerer to the place where they make it, and there is euery yeere great quantitie made thereof. And returning to my purpose, I lay, being amongst these rockes, and saure from the land which is ouer against Tanalarie, with great scarcitie of victuals, and that by the saying of the Pilot and two Portugales, holding then firme that wee were in front of the aforesayd harbour, we determined to goe thither with our boat and fetch victuals, and that the shippe should stay for vs in a place assigned. We were twentie and eight persons in the boat that went for victuals, and on a day about twelue of the clocke we went from the ship, assuring our selues to bee in the harbour befoze night in the aforesaid port, wee rowed all that day, and a great part of the next night, and all the next day without finding harbour, or any signe of good landing, and this came to passe through the euill counsell of the two Portugales that were with vs.

Marchandise comming from Sion.

Aypper wine good to cure the french disease.

For we had ouershot the harbour and left it behind vs, in such wise that we had lost the land inhabited, together with the shippe, and we eight and twentie men had no manner of victuall with vs in the boate, but it was the Lords will that one of the Mariners had brought a little rice with him in the boate to barter away for some other thing, and it was not so much but that three or foure men would haue eaten it at a meale: Iooke the gouernment of this Ryce, promising that by the helpe of God that Ryce should be nourishment for vs until it pleased God to send vs to some place that was inhabited: & when I slept I put the ryce into my bosome because they should not rob it from me: we were nine daies rowing alongst the coast, without finding any thing but countreys uninhabited, & desert Ilands, where if we had found but grasse it would haue seemed

Great extremitie at sea:

sugar unto vs, but wee could not finde any, yet we found a fewe leaues of a tree, and they were so hard that we could not chewe them, we had water and wood sufficient, and as wee rowed, we could goe but by flowing water, for when it was ebbing water, wee made fast our boat to the banke of one of those Ilandes, and in these nine dayes that we rowed, we found a cante or nest of Tortoises egges, wherein were one hundred fortye and foue egges, the which was a great helpe unto vs: these egges are as bigge as a hennes egge, and haue no shell about them but a tender skinne, euery day we sodde a kittle full of those egges, with an handfull of rice in the broth thereof: it pleased God that at the ende of nine dayes we discovered certaine fisher men, a fishing with small barkes, and we rowed towardes them, with a good cheate, for I thinke there were neuer men moze glad then we were, for we were so forze afflicted with penurie, that we could scarce stande on our legges. Yet according to the order that we set for our ryce, when we sawe those fisher men, there was left sufficient for foure dayes. The first village that we came to was in the gulse of Tauay, vnder the king of Pegu, whereas we found great store of victuals: then for two or thre dayes after our arriuall there, we would eate but litle meate any of vs, and yet for all this, we were at the point of death the most part of vs. From Tauay to Marrauan, in the kingdome of Pegu, are seuentie two miles. We labored our boate with victuals which were abundantly sufficient for sixe moneths, from whence we departed for the port and Citie of Marrauan, where in short time we arriued, but we found not our ship there as we had thought we should, from whence presently we made out two barkes to goe to looke for her. And they found her in great calamitie, and neede of water, being at an anker with a contrary winde, which came very ill to pass, because that she wanted her boate a moneth, which should haue made her prouision of wood and water, the shippe also by the grace of God arriued safely in the aforesaid port of Marrauan.

Tauay vnder
the king of
Pegu.

The Citie of *Martauan.*

Martauan a citie
vnder the king
of Pegu.

WE found in the Citie of Martauan ninetie Portugales of Merchants and other base men, which had fallen at difference with the Rector or gouernour of the citie, and all for this cause, that certaine vagabondes of the Portugales had slaine five sutchines of the king of Pegu, which chaunced about a moneth after the king of Pegu was gone with a million and foure hundred thousand men to conquire the kingdome of Sion. They haue for custome in this Countrey and kingdome, the king being where soeuer his pleasure is to bee out of his kingdome, that euery fiftene dayes there goeth from Pegu a Carouan of Sutchines, with euery one a basket on his head full of some fruite or other delicacies of refreshings, and with cleane clothes: it chaunced that this Carouan passing by Marrauan, and resting themselves there a night, there happened betweene the Portugales and them wordes of despight, and from wordes to blowes, and because it was thought that the Portugales had the word, the night following, when the Sutchines were a sleepe with their companie, the Portugales went and cut off five of their heads. Now there is a lawe in Pegu, that whosoever killeth a man, he shall buy the shed blood with his money, according to the estate of the person that is slaine, but these Sutchines being the seruants of the king, the Rectors durst not doe any thing in the matter, without the consent of the king, because it was necessarie that the king should knowe of such a matter. When the king had knowledge thereof, he gaue commaundement that the malefactors should be kept vntill his comming home, and then he would duely minister iustice, but the Captaine of the Portugales would not deliuer those men, but rather set himselfe with all the rest in armes, and went euery day through the Citie marching with his Drumme and ensignes displayd. For at that time the Citie was emptye of men, by reason they were gone all to the warres and in businesse of the king: in the midst of this rumour wee came thither, and I thought it a strange thing to see the Portugales vse such insolencie in another mans Citie. And I stood in doubt of that which came to passe, and would not vnlade my goods because that they were moze sure in the shippe then on the land, the greatest part of the lading was the owners of the shippe, who was in Malacca, yet there were diuerse marchants there, but their goods were of small importance, all those marchants tolde me that they would not vnlade any of their goods there, vlesse I would vnlade first, yet after they left my counsell and followed their owne, and put their goods a lande and lost euery whit. The Rector with the customer sent for mee, and demanded why I put not my goods a lande, and payed my custome as other men did: To whom I answered, that I was a marchant that was newly come thither, and seeing such disorder amongst the Portugales, I doubted the losse of my goods which cost me very deare, with the sweate of my face, and for this cause I was determined not

A custome that
these people
haue when the
king is in the
warres.

A lawe in Pegu
for killing of
men.

Great pride of
the Portugales.

to put my goods on lande, untill such time as his honour would assure me in the name of the king, that I should haue no losse, and although there came harme to the Portugales, that neither I nor my goods should haue any hurt, because I had neither part nor any difference with them in this tumult: my reason sounded well in the Rectors eares, and so presently he sent for the Wargits, which are as Counsellers of the Citie, and there they promised mee on the kings head or in the behalfe of the king, that neither I nor my goods should haue any harme, but that we should be safe and sure: of which promise there were made publike notes. And then I sent for my goods and had them on land, and payde my custome, which is in that Countrey ten in the hundred of the same goods, and for my more securitie I tooke a house right against the Rectors house. The Captaine of the Portugales, and all the Portugall marchants were put out of the Citie, and I with twentie and two poore men which were officers in the shippe, had my dwelling in the Citie. After this, the Gentiles desired to be reuenged of the Portugales; but they would not put it in execution untill such time as our small shippe had discharged all her goods, and then the next night following came from Pegu foure thousand souldiers with some Elephants of warre; and befoze that they made any tumult in the citie, the Rector sent, and gaue commaundement to all Portugales that were in the Citie, when they heard any rumour or noyse, that for any thing they should not goe out of their houses, as they tendered their owne health. Then foure houres within night I heard a great rumour and noyse of men of warre, with Elephants which threw downe the doores of the ware-houses of the Portugales; and their houses of wood and strawe, in the which tumult there were some Portugales wounded, and one of them slaine; and others without making prooffe of their manhood, which the day befoze did so bragge, at that time put themselves to flight most shamefully, and caused themelues a boord of litle Shippes, that were at an anker in the harbour, and some that were in their beds fled away naked, and that night they carried away all the Portugalles goods out of the suburbs into the Citie, and those Portugales that had their goods in the suburbs also. After this the Portugales that were fledde into the Shippes to saue themelues, tooke a newe courage to themelues, and came on lande and set fire on the houses in the suburbs, which houses being made of boorde and strawe, and the winde blowing fresh, in small time were burnt and consumed, with which fire halfe the Citie had like to haue bene burnt; when the Portugales had done this, they were without all hope to recouer any part of their goods againe, which goods might amount to the summe of threene thousand duckats, which, if they had not set fire to the towne, they might haue had againe without any losse at all. Then the Portugales vnderstanding that this thing was not done by the consent of the king, but by his Lieutenant and the Rector of the citie were very ill content, knowing that they had made a great fault, yet the next morning following, the Portugales beganne to bende and shoot their ordinance against the Citie; which batterie of theirs continued foure dayes, but all was in vaine, for the shotte neuer hit the Citie, but lighted on the top of a small hill neere vnto it, so that the citie had no harme. When the Rector perceiued that the Portugales made batterie against the Citie, hee tooke one and twentie Portugales that were there in the Citie, and sent them foure miles into the Countrey, there to tarry untill such time as the other Portugales were departed, that made the batterie, who after their departure let them goe at their owne libertie without any harme done vnto them. I my selfe was alwayes in my house with a good guard appointed me by the Rector, that no man should doe me iniurie, nor harme me nor my goods; in such wise that hee performed all that he had promised me in the name of the king, but he would not let me depart befoze the coming of the king, which was greatly to my hinderance, because I was twenty and one moneths sequestred, that I could not buy nor sell any kinde of marchandise. Those commodities that I brought thither, were peper, sandols, and Porcellan of China: so when the king was come home, I made my supplication vnto him, and I was licenced to depart when I would.

From Martauan I departed to goe to the chiefest Citie in the kingdome of Pegu, which is also called after the name of the kingdome, which voyage is made by sea in thre or foure daies; they may goe also by lande, but it is better for him that hath marchandise to goe by sea and lesser charge. And in this voyage you shall haue a Macareo, which is one of the most marueilous things in the world that nature hath wrought, and I neuer saw any thing so hard to be beleued as this, to wit, the great increasing & diminishing of the water there at one puch or instant, and the horrible earthquake and great noyse that the said Macareo maketh where it commeth. We departed from Martauan in barkes, which are like to our Egypt boates; with the increase of the water, and they goe as swift as an arrowe out of a bow, so long as the tide runneth with them, and when the water is at the highest, then they drawe themselves out of the Chancell towards some banke, and there they come to anker, and when the water is diminished, then they rest on dry land:

2d reuenge on the Portugales.

2d thing most marueilous, that at the coming of a tide the earth should quake.

and when the barkes rest dry, they are as high from the bottome of the Chanell, as any house top is high from the ground. They let their barkes lie so high for this respect, that if there should any shippe rest or ride in the Chanell, with such force commeth in the water, that it would ouerthrowe shippe or barke: yet for all this, that the barkes be so farre out of the Chanell, and though the water hath lost her greatest strength and furie before it come so high, yet they make fast their prow to the streame, and oftentimes it maketh them very fearefull, and if the anker did not holde her prow by by strength, shee would be ouerthrowen and lost with men and goods. When the water beginneth to increase, it maketh such a noyse and so great that you would thinke it an earthquake, and presently at the first it maketh three waues. So that the first washeth ouer the barke, from sterme to sterne, the seconde is not so furious as the first, and the thirde rapseth the Anker, and then for the space of sixe houres while the water encrease, they rowe with such swiftnesse that you would thinke they did fly: in these tydes there must be lost no iot of time, for if you arrive not at the Stagions before the tyde be spent, you must turne backe from whence you came. For there is no staying at any place, but at these Stagions, and there is moze daunger at one of these places then at another, as they be higher and lower one then another. When as you returne from Pegu to Martauan, they goe but halfe the tide at a time, because they will lay their barkes vpon aloft on the bankes, for the reason aforesayd. I could neuer gather any reason of the noyse that this water maketh in the increase of the tide, and in diminishing of the water. There is another Macareo in Cambaya, but that is nothing in comparison of this. By the helpe of God we came safe to Pegu, which are two citie, the olde and the newe, in the olde citie are the Marchant strangers, and marchantes of the Countrey, for there are the greatest doings and the greatest trade. This citie is not very great, but it hath very great suburbs. Their houses be made with canes, and couered with leaues, or with strawe, but the marchants haue all one house or Magason, which house they call Godon which is made of brickes, and there they put all their goods of any valure, to saue them from the often mischances that there happen to houses made of such stuffe. In the new citie is the pallace of the king, and his abiding place with all his barons and nobles, and other gentlemen; and in the time that I was there, they finished the building of the new citie: it is a great citie, very plaine and flat, and foure square, walled round about, and with ditches that compasse the wals about with water, in which ditches are many crocodils, it hath no drawe bridges, yet it hath twentie gates, siue for euery square on the walles, there are many places made for centinels to watch, made of wood and couered or guilt with gold, the streetes thereof are the fayrest that I haue scene, they are as streight as a line from one gate to another, and standing at the one gate you may discouer to the other, and they are as broad as 10 or 12 men may ride a breast in them: and those streetes that be thwart are faire and large, these streetes, both on the one side and on the other, are planted at the doozes of the houses, with nut trees of India, which make a very commodious shadowe, the houses be made of wood and couered with a kind of tiles in forme of cups, very necessary for their vse, the kings palace is in the middle of the citie, made in forme of a walled castle, with ditches full of water round about it, the lodgings within are made of wood all ouer gilded, with fine pinacles, and very costly worke, couered with plates of golde. Cruel it may be a kings house: within the gate there is a faire large court, from the one side to the other, wherein there are made places for the strongest and stoutest Elephants appointed for the seruice of the kings person, and amongst all other Elephants, he hath foure that be white, a thing so rare that a man shall hardly finde another king that hath any such, and if this king knowe any other that hath white Elephants, he sendeth for them as for a gift. The time that I was there, there were two brought out of a farre Countrey, and that cost me something the sight of them, for that they commaund the marchants to goe to see them, and then they must giue somewhat to the men that bring them: the brokers of the marchants giue for euery man halfe a duckat, which they call a Tansa, which amounteth to a great summe, for the number of merchants that are in that citie; and when they haue payde the aforesayd Tansa, they may chuse whether they will see them at that time or no, because that when they are in the kings stall, euery man may see them that will: but at that time they must goe and see them, for it is the kings pleasure it should be so. This King amongst all other his titles, is called the King of the white Elephants, and it is reported that if this king knewe any other king that had any of these white Elephants, and would not send them vnto him, that he would hazard his whole kingdome to conquer them, he esteemeth these white Elephants very deere, and they are had in great regard, and kept with very meete seruice, euery one of them is in a house, all gilded ouer, and they haue their meate giuen them in vessels of siluer and golde, there is one blacke Elephant the greatest that hath bene scene, and he is kept according to his bignesse, he is nine cubites high, which is a marueilous thing,

This tide is like to the tides in our river of Seuerne.

These tides make their iust course as ours doe.

This Macareo is a tide of a current. Houses made of canes, & couered with leaues of trees.

Godon is a place or house for marchants to lay their goods in. The forme of the building of the new citie of Pegu.

So rich and stately palace.

Foure white Elephants.

This money called Tansa is halfe a duckat which may be three shillings & foure pence.

It is reported that this king hath foure thousand Elephants of warre, and all haue their teeth, and they vse to put on their two vppermost teeth sharpe pikes of yron, and make them fast with rings, because these beastes fight, and make battell with their teeth; hee hath also very many young Elephants that haue not their teeth sprouted forth; also this king hath a braue deuise in hunting to take these Elephants when hee will, two miles from the Citie. He hath builded a faire pallace all guilded, and within it a faire Court, and within it and rounde about there are made an infinite number of places for men to stande to see this hunting: nere vnto this Pallace is a mighty great wood, through the which the hunt-men of the king ride continually on the backs of the feminine Elephants, teaching them in this businesse. Every hunter carrieth out with him five or sixe of these feminines, and they say that they anoynt the secret place with a certaine composition that they haue, that when the wilde Elephant doeth smell thereunto, they followe the feminines and cannot leaue them: when the hunt-men haue made prouision, the Elephant is so entangled, they guide the feminines towards the Pallace which is called Tambell, and this Pallace hath a dooze which doth open and shut with engines, before which doore there is a long straight way with trees on both the sides, which couereth the way in such wise as it is like darknesse in a corner: the wilde Elephant when he cometh to this way, thinketh that he is in the woods. At the end of this darke way there is a great field, when the hunters haue gotten this praye, when they first come to this field, they send presently to giue knowledge thereof to the Citie, and with all speed there go out fiftie or sixtie men on horsebacke, and doe beset the fildes rounde about: in the great fildes then the females which are taught in this businesse goe directly to the mouth of the darke way, and when as the wilde Elephant is entred in there, the hunters shoute and make a great noyse, as much as is possible, to make the wilde Elephant enter in at the gate of that Pallace, which is then open, and as soone as hee is in, the gate is shut without any noyse, and so the hunters with the female Elephants, and the wilde one are all in the Court together, and then within a small time the females with draw themselves away one by one out of the Court, leauing the wilde Elephant alone: and when he perceiueth that he is left alone, he is so madde that for two or thre houres to see him, it is the greatest pleasure in the world: he weepeth, hee singeth, hee runneth, hee tussleth, hee thrusteth vnder the places where the people stand to see him, thinking to kill some of them, but the posts and timber is so strong and great, that hee cannot hurt any body, yet hee oftentimes breaketh his teeth in the grates; At length when hee is weary and hath laboured his body that hee is all wet with sweat, then hee plucketh in his trunk into his mouth, and then hee thoweth out so much water out of his belly, that hee sprinkleth it ouer the heades of the lookers on, to the uttermost of them, although it be very high: and then when they see him very weary, there goe certaine officers into the Court with long sharpe canes in their hands, and pick him that they make him to goe into one of the houses that is made alongst the Court for the same purpose: as there are many which are made long and narrow, that when the Elephant is in, he cannot turne himself to goe backe againe. And it is requisite that these men should be very wary and swift, for although their canes be long, yet the Elephant would kill them if they were not swift to saue themselves: at length when they haue gotten him into one of those houses, they stand ouer him in a loft and get ropes vnder his belly and about his necke, and about his legges, and binde him fast, and so let him stand foure or five dayes, and giue him neither meate nor drinke. At the ende of these foure or five dayes, they vnloose him and put one of the females vnto him, and giue them meate and drinke, and in eight dayes he is become tame. In my iudgment there is not a beast so intellectuall as are these Elephants, nor of more vnderstanding in all the world: for he will do all things that his keeper saith, so that he lacketh nothing but humane speech,

It is reported that the greatest strength that the king of Pegu hath is in these Elephants, for when they goe to battell, they let on their backs a Castle of wood bound thereto, with bands vnder their bellies: and in euery Castle foure men very commodiously set to fight with hargubushes, with bowes and arrowes, with darts and pikes, and other launcing weapons: and they say that the skinne of this Elephant is so hard, that an harquebulle will not pierce it, vnlesse it bee in the eye, temples, or some other tender place of his body. And besides this, they are of great strength, and haue a very excellent order in their battell, as I haue seene at their scattles which they make in the peere, in which scattles the king maketh triumphes, which is a rare thing and worthy memorie, that in so barbarous a people there should be such goodly orders as they haue in their armies, which be distinct in squares of Elephants, of horsemen, of harquebushers and pikemen, that truly the number of them are infinite: but their armour and weapons are very nought and weak as well the one as the other: they haue very bad pikes, their swords are worse made, like long knives without points, his harquebushes are most excellent, and alway in his warres he hath eightie thousand harquebushes, and the number of them encreasech dayly. Because the king will haue them

As warlike
politic.

An excellent
deuise to hunt
and take wilde
Elephants.

An excellent
pastime of the
Elephants.

These canes
are like to
them in Spaine
to which they
call loco de tort.

A strange
thing that a
beast so wilde
should in so
short time be
made tame.

The greatest
strength that
the king of Pe-
gu hath.

A goodly or-
der in a barba-
rous people.

The order of
their weapons
and number of
his men.

shooce

26. Crowned
kings at his
command.
Fifteen hun-
dred thousand
men in one
Camp.

Eating of ser-
pents.

The riches of
the king of
Pegu.

The great
pompe of the
king.

The order of
Justice.

The difference
of persons be-
fore the king
in controvers-
ies of in-
dice.

shoote every day at the Plancke, and so by continuall exercise they become most excellent shot: also hee hath great Dominion made of very good mettall; to conclude there is not a King on the earth that hath moze power or strength then this king of Pegu, because hee hath twenty and six crowned kings at his commaunde. He can make in his Campe a million and an halfe of men of warre in the fielde against his enemies. The state of his kingdome and maintenance of his army, is a thing incredible to consider, & the particulars that should maintaine such a number of people in the warres: but he that knoweth the nature and qualitie of that people, will easily beleieve it. I have scene with mine eyes, that those people and souldiers have eaten of all sortes of wild beasts that are on the earth; whether it be very fitchie or otherwise all serveth for their mouths: yea, I have scene them eat Scorpions and Serpents, also they feed of all kinde of herbes and grasse. So that if such a great armie want not water and salt, they wil maintaine themselves a long time in a bush with rootes, flowers and leaues of trees, they carry rice with them for their voyage, & that serveth them in stead of comfits, it is so daintie unto them. This king of Pegu hath not any army or power by sea, but in the land, for people, dominions, golde and silver, he farre exceeds the power of the great Turke in treasure and strength. This king hath dueets Magalons full of treasure, as gold, & silver, and every day hee crieth it more and more, and it is never diminished. Also hee is Lord of the Mines of Rubies, Saphires & Spinels. There vnto his royal pallace there is an inestimable treasure whereof hee maketh no account, for that it standeth in such a place that every one may see it, and the place where this treasure is, is a great Court walled round about with walls of stone, with two gates which stand open every day. And within this place or Court are foure gilded houses covered with lead & in every one of these are certaine heathenish idoles of a very great value. In the first house there is a stature of the image of a man of gold very great, & on his head a crowne of gold beset with most rare Rubies and Saphires, and round about him are 4. little childzen of gold. In the second house there is the stature of a man of silver, that is set as it were sitting on heapes of money: whose stature in height, as hee sitteth, is so high, that his highness exceeds the height of any one rooofe of an house; I measured his feete, and found that they were as long as all my body was in height, with a crowne on his head like to the first. And in the thirde house, there is a stature of brasse of the same bignesse, with a like crowne on his head. In the 4. and last house there is a stature of a man as big as the other; which is made of Gansa, which is the mettall they make their money of, & this mettall is made of copper & leade mingled together. This stature also hath a crowne on his head like the first: this treasure being of such a value as it is, standeth in an open place that every man at his pleasure may go & see it: for the keepers thereof never forbid any man the sight thereof. I say as I have said before, that this king every yere in his leades triumpheth: & because it is worthy of the noting, I thinke it meet to write thereof, which is as followeth. The king rideth on a triumphant cart or wagon all gilded, which is drawn by 16. goodly horses: and this cart is very high with a goodly canopy over it, behind the cart goe 20. of his Lords & nobles, with every one a rope in his hand made fast to the cart for to hold it upright that it fall not. The king sitteth in the middle of the cart; & upon the same cart about the king stande 4. of his nobles most fauored of him, and before this cart wherein the king is goeth all his army as aforesaid, and in the middle of his army goeth all his nobilitie, round about the cart, that are in his dominions, a marvellous thing it is to see so many people, such riches & such good order in a people so barbarous as they be. This king of Pegu hath one principall wife which is kept in a Seraglio, he hath 300. concubines, of whom it is reported that he hath 90. childzen. This king sitteth every day in person to heare the suites of his subiects, but hee nor they neuer speake one to another, but by supplications made in this order. The king sitteth by aloft in a great hall, on a tribunall seat, and lower vnder him sit all his Barons round about, then those that demaund audience enter into a great Court before the king, and there set them downe on the ground 40. paces distant from the kings person, and amongst those people there is no difference in matters of audience before the king, but all alike, and there they sit with their supplications in their hands, which are made of long leaues of a tree, these leaues are 3. quarters of a yard long, & two fingers broad, which are written with a sharpe iron made for y purpose, & in those leaues are their supplications written, & with their supplications, they haue in their hands a present or gift, according to the weightines of their matter. Then come 5. secretaries downe to read these supplications, taking them & reading them before the king, & if the king thinke it good to do to them that fauour or iustice that they demaund, then he commaundeth to take the presents out of their hands: but if he thinke their demand be not iust or according to right, hee commaundeth them away without taking of their gifts or presents. In the Indies there is not any marchandise that is good to bring to Pegu, unless it be at some times by chance to bring Opium of Cambaia, and if he bring moncy he shall lose by it. Now the commodities that come from S. Tome are the onely marchandize for that place, which is the great quantity

of cloth made there, which they vse in Pegu; which cloth is made of bombast wouen and patenet, so that the moze that kinde of cloth is washed, the moze liuelie they shewe their colours, which is a rare thing, and there is made such account of this kinde of cloth which is of so great importance, that a small bale of it will cost a thousand or two thousand ducckets: Also from S. Tome they layd great stoze of red yarne, of bombast dyed with a roote which they call Saia, as aforesayd, which colour will neuer out. With which marchandise euery yeere there goeth a great shippe from S. Tome to Pegu, of great importance, and they vstally depart from S. Tome to Pegu the 11. or 12. of September, & if the stay until the twelfth, it is a great hap if she returne not without making of her voiage. Their vse was to depart the first of September, and then they made sure voyages, and now because there is a great labour about that kinde of cloth to bring it to perfection, and that it be well dyed, as also the greedinesse of the Captaine that would make an extraordinary gaine of his freight, thinking to haue the wind alwayes to serue their turne, they stay so long, that at sometimes the winde turneth. For in those parts the windes blow firmly for certayne times; with the which they goe to Pegu with the winde in poope, and if they arrive not there befoze the winde change, and get ground to anker, perforce they must returne backe againe; for that the gales of the winde blowe there for three or foure moneths together in one place with great force. But if they get the coast & anker there, then with great labour they may saue their voyage. Also there goeth another great shippe from Bengala euery yeere, laden with fine cloth of bombast of all sorts, which arriveth in the harbour of Pegu, when the ship that commeth from S. Tome departeth. The harbour where these two ships arrive is called Colmin. From Malaca to Marrauan, which is a port in Pegu, there come many small ships, and great, laden with pepper, Sandolo, Procellan of China, Camfora, Brinco, and other marchandise. The ships that come from Mecca enter into the port of Pegu and Cirion, and those shippes bring cloth of Cloell, Scarlets, Veluets, Opium, and Chickinos, by the which they lose, and they bring them because they haue no other thing that is good for Pegu: but they esteeme not the losse of them, for that they make such great game of their commodities that they carry from thence out of that kingdome. Also the king of Assi his ships come thither into the same port laden with paper; from the coast of S. Tome of Bengala out of the Sea of Bara to Pegu are three hundred miles, and they go it by the river in foure daies, with the encreasing water, or with the flood, to a City called Colmin, and there they discharge their ships, whither the Customers of Pegu come to take the note and marks of all the goods of euery man, & take the charge of the goods on them, and conuey them to Pegu, into the kings house, wherein they make the custome of the marchandise. When the Customers haue taken the charge of the goods & put them into barks, the Retor of the City giueth licence to the Marchants to take barkes, and goe vp to Pegu with their marchandise; and so three or foure of them take a bark and goe vp to Pegu in company. God be liue euery man that hee giue not a wrong note, and enerie, or thinke to leale any custome: for if they do, for the least trifle that is, he is utterly vndone, for the king doeth take it for a most great affront to bee deceiued of his custome; and therefore they make diligent searches, three times at the lading and unlading of the goods, and at the taking of them a land. In Pegu this search they make when they goe out of the ship for Diamonds, Pearles, and fine cloth which taketh little roome: for because that all the iewels that come into Pegu, and are not found of that countrey, pay custome, but Rubies, Sappires and Spinels pay no custome in nor out: because they are found growing in that Countrey. I haue spoken before, how that all Marchants that meane to goe thorow the Indies, must carry al maner of household stufte with them which is necessary for a house, because that there is not any lodging nor Inns nor hostes, nor chamber roome in that Countrey, but the first thing a man doth when he commeth to any City is to hire a house, either by the yeere or by the moneth, or as he meanes to stay in those parts.

In Pegu their order is to hire their houses for sixe moneths. Nowe from Colmin to the Citie of Pegu they goe in sixe houres with the flood, and if it be ebbing water, then they make fast their boate to the riuer side, and there tary until the water flow againe. It is a very commodious and pleasant voyage, hauing on both sides of the riuers many great villages, which they call Cities: in the which hennes, pigeons, egges, milke, rice, and other things be very good cheape. It is all plaine, and a goodly Countrey, and in eight dayes you may make your voyage vp to Maceo, distant fro Pegu twelue miles, & there they discharge their goods, & lade them in Carts or waines drawn with oxen, and the Marchants are carried in a closet which they call Deling, in the which a man shall be very well accommodated, with cushions vnder his head, and covered for the defence of the Sunne and raine, and there he may sleepe if he haue wil thereunto: and his foure Falchines carry him running away, changing two at one time and two at another. The custome of Pegu and freight thither, may amount vnto twentie or twentie two per cento, and 23. according as he hath moze or lesse tolen from him that day they custome the goods. It is requisite that a man haue his

The common
Dracs that are
vntured in
Pegu.

Nowe the des-
parture of the
ships from S.
Tome to Pegu.

Commodities
brought into
Pegu.

The Chickinos
are pieces of
gold worth
siering 7.
shillings.

Great rigour
for the dealing
of Customs.

Description of
the fruitfull
nesse of the
soyle.

Deling is a
small litter car-
ried with niere
as is aforesaid.

eyes watchfull, and to be carefull, and to haue many friends, for when they custome in the great hall of the king, there come many gentlemen accompanied with a number of their slaues, and these gentlemen haue no shame that their slaues rob strangers: whether it be cloth in the wing of it or any other thing, they laugh at it. And although the Marchants helpe one another to keepe watch, & looke to their goods, they cannot looke thereto so narrowly but one or other wil rob something, either more or lesse, according as their marchandise is more or lesse: and yet on this day there is a worse thing then this: although you haue set so many eyes to looke there for your benefit, that you escape vnrobbed of the slaues, a man cannot choole but that he must be robbed of the officers of the customehouse, for paying the custome with the same goods oftentimes they take the best that you haue, & not by rate of euery sort as they ought to do, by which meanes a man payeth more then his dutie. At length when the goods be dispatched out of the custome house in this order, the Marchant causeth them to be caried to his house, and may do with them at his pleasure.

There are in Pegu 8. brokers of the kings, which are called Tareghe, who are bound to sell all the marchandize which come to Pegu, at the common or the currant price: then if the marchants wil sell their goods at that price, they sel them away, and the brokers haue two in the hundredth of euery sort of marchandise, and they are bound to make good the debts of those goods, because they be sold by their hands or meanes, & on their wordes, and oftentimes the marchant knoweth not to whom he giueth his goods, yet he cannot lose any thing thereby, for that the broker is bound in any wise to pay him, and if the marchant sel his goods without the consent of the broker, yet neuertheless he must pay him two per cento, and be in danger of his money: but this is very seldom scene, because the wife, children, and slaues of the debtor are bound to the creditor, and when his time is expired and payment not made, the creditor may take the debtor and carry him home to his house, and shut him vp in a Magasin, whereby presently he hath his money, and not being able to pay the creditor, he may take the wife, children, and slaues of the debtor, and sel them, for so is the lawe of that kingdome. The currant money that is in this city, and throughout all this kingdome is called Gansa or Ganza, which is made of Copper and leade: It is not the money of the king, but euery man may stamp it that wil, because it hath his iust partition or value: but they make many of them false, by putting ouermuch lead into them, and those will not passe, neither will any take them. With this money Ganza, you may buy golde or siluer, Rubies and Spulke, and other things. For there is no other money currant amongst them. And Golde, siluer and other marchandize are at one time dearer then another, as all other things be.

This Ganza goeth by weight of Byze, & this name of Byza goeth for y^e accompt of the weight, and commonly a Byza of a Ganza is worth (after our accompt) halfe a ducat, little more or lesse: and albeit that Gold and siluer is more or lesse in price, yet the Byza neuer changeth: euery Byza maketh a hundredth Ganza of weight, and so the number of the money is Byza. He that goeth to Pegu to buy Jewels, if he wil do well, it behoueth him to be a whole yere there to do his businesse. For if so be that he would return with the ship he came in, he cannot do any thing so conveniently for the benefit of the time, because that when they custome their goods in Pegu that come from S. Tome in their ships, it is as it were about Christmas: and when they haue customed their goods, then must they sell them for their credits sake for a moneth or two: and then at the beginning of March the ships depart. The Marchants that come from S. Tome take for the payment of their goods, gold, and siluer, which is neuer wanting there. And 8. or 10. dayes before their departure they are all satisfied: also they may haue Rubies in payment, but they make no accompt of them: and they that will winter there for another yere, it is needfull that they be aduertized, that in the sale of their goods, they specifie in their bargaine, the terme of two or 3. moneths payment, & that their payment shalbe in so many Ganza, and neither golde nor siluer: because that with the Ganza they may buy & sel euery thing with great aduantage. And how needful is it to be aduertized, when they wil recouer their payments, in what order they shal receiue their Ganza? Because he that is not experienced may do himselfe great wrong in the weight of the Ganza, as also in the fallenesse of them: in the weight he may be greatly deceiued, because that from place to place it doth rise and fall greatly: and therefore when any wil receiue money or make payment, he must take a publique wayer of money, a day or two before he go about his businesse, and giue him in payment for his labour two Byzaes a moneth, and for this he is bound to make good all your money, & to maintaine it for good, for that hee receiuech it and scales the bags with his seale: and when hee hath receiued any stoe, then hee causeth it to be brought into the Magasin of the Marchant, that is the owner of it.

That money is very weightie, for fourtie Byza is a strong Porters burden; and also where the Marchant hath any payment to be made for those goods which he buyeth, the Common wayer of money that receiuech his money must make the payment thereof. So that by this meanes, the Marchant

A lawe for
Bankrupts.

Euery man
may stamp
what money
he wil.

How a man
may dispose
himselfe for
the trade in
Pegu.

Good instruc-
tions.

Marchant with the charges of two Byzes a moneth, receiue and payeth out his money without losse or trouble. The Marchandizes that goe out of Pegu are Gold, Siluer, Rubies, Sappires, Spinelles, great store of Benjamin, long peper, Leade, Lacca, rice, wine, some sugar, yet there might be great store of sugar made in the Countrey, for that they haue abundance of Canes, but they giue them to Elephanes to eate, and the people consume great store of them for food, and many more doe they consume in vaine things, as these following. In that kingdome they spend many of these Sugar canes in making of houses and tents which they call Varelly for their idoles, which they call Pagodes, whereof there are great abundance, great and smal, and these houses are made in forme of little hills, like to Sugar loaves or to Bells, and some of these houses are as high as a reasonable steeple, at the foote they are very large, some of them be in circuit a quarter of a mile. The saide houses within are full of earth, and walled round about with bricke and dirt in steade of lime, and without forme, from the top to the foote they make a covering for them with Sugar canes, and plaister it with lime all ouer, for otherwise they would be spoiled, by the great abundance of raine that falleth in those Countreys. Also they consume about these Varelly or idol houses great store of leafe-gold, for that they ouerlay all the cops of the houses with gold, and some of them are covered with golde from the top to the foote: in covering whereof there is great store of gold spent, for that euery 10. peres they new ouerlay them with gold, from the top to the foote, so that with this vanitie they spend great abundance of golde. For euery 10. peres the raine doeth consume the gold from these houses. And by this meanes they make golde dearer in Pegu then it would be, if they consumed not so much in this vanitie. Also it is a thing to be noted in the buying of iewels in Pegu, that he that hath no knowledge shall haue as good iewels, and as good cheap, as he that hath bene practized there a long time, which is a good order, and it is in this wise. There are in Pegu foure men of good reputation, which are called Tareghe, or brokers of Jewels. These foure men haue all the Jewels or Rubies in their handes, and the Marchant that will buy cometh to one of these Tareghe and telleth him, that he hath so much money to imploy in Rubies. For though the hands of these foure men passe all the Rubies: for they haue such quantitie, that they knowe not what to doe with them, but sell them at most vile and bale prices. When the Marchant hath broken his mind to one of these brokers or Tareghe, they carry him home to one of their Shops, although he hath no knowledge in Jewels: and when the Jewellers perceiue that hee will employ a good round summe, they will make a bargaine, and if not, they let him alone. The vse generally of this Citie is this; that when any Marchant hath bought any great quantitie of Rubies, and hath agreed for them, hee carrieth them home to his house, let them be of what value they will, he shall haue spare to looke on them and peruse them two or three dayes: and if he hath no knowledge in them, he shall alwayes haue many Marchants in that Citie that haue very good knowledge in Jewels; with whom he may alwayes confere and take counsell, and may shew them unto whom he will; and if he finde that hee hath not employed his money well, hee may returne his Jewels backe to them whom hee had them of, without any losse at all. Which thing is such a shame to the Tareghe to haue his Jewels returne, that he had rather beare a blow on the face then that it should be thought that he solde them so deere to haue them returned. For these men haue alwayes great care that they assooyd good pentworths, especially to those that haue no knowledge. This they doe, because they would not loose their credite: and when those Marchants that haue knowledge in Jewels buy any, if they buy them deere, it is their own faultes and not the brokers: yet it is good to haue knowledge in Jewels, by reason that it may somewhat ease the price. There is also a very good order which they haue in buying of Jewels, which is this; There are many Marchants that stand by at the making of the bargaine, and because they shall not vnderstand howe the Jewels be solde, the Broker and the Marchants haue their hands vnder a cloth, and by touching of fingers and nipping the ioynts they know what is done, what is hidden, and what is asked. So that the standers by knowe not what is demanded for them, although it be for a thousand or 10. thousand duckets. For euery ioynt and euery finger hath his signification. For if the Marchants that stande by should vnderstand the bargaine, it would byeede great conerouersie amongst them. And at my being in Pegu in the moneth of August, in Anno 1569. having gotten well by my endeouour, I was desirous to see mine owne Countrey, and I thought it good to goe by the way of S. Tome, but then I should tarry vntill March.

In which iourney I was counsailed, yea, and fully resolu'd to goe by the way of Bengala, with a shippe there ready to depart for that voyage. And then wee departed from Pegu to Chariagan a great harbour or port, from whence there goe smal ships to Cochin, before the fleet depart for Portugall. In which ships I was fully determined to goe to Lisbon, and so to Venice. When I had thus resolu'd my selfe, I went a boord of the shippe of Bengala, at which time it was the yeere of Touffon: concerning which Touffon yeere to vnderstand, that in the East Indies often

The Marchandizes that goe out of Pegu.

Those houses covered with gold.

Rubies exceeding cheap in Pegu.

An honest care of honest people.

Bargaines made with the nipping of fingers vnder a cloth.

This Touffon is an extraordinary Signus at Sea.

times,

times, there are not stormes as in other countreys; but every 10, 12, yeres there are such tempests and stormes, that it is a thing incredible, but to those that have seene it, neither do they know certainly what yere they will come.

The Touffon cometh but euesp 10. of 12. yeres.

Unfortunate are they that are at sea in that yere and time of the Touffon, because few there are that escape that danger. In this yere it was our chance to be at sea with the like storme, but it hapened well unto vs, for that our ship was newly ouer-planked, and had not any thing in her saue victuall and ballasts, Siluer and golde, which from Pegu they carry to Bengala, and no other kinde of Merchandise. This Touffon or cruel storme endured three dayes and three nights: in which time it carried away our sailes, yards, and rudder; and because the shippe laboured in the Sea, wee cut our mast ouer boord: which when we had done she laboured a great deale more then before, in such wise, that she was almost full with water that came ouer the highest part of her and so went downe: and for the space of three dayes and three nights sixtie men did nothing but hale water out of her in this wise, twentie men in one place, and twentie men in another place, and twentie in a thirde place: and for all this storme, the shippe was so good, that shee tooke not one iot of water below through her sides, but all ran downe through the hatches, so that those sixtie men did nothing but cast the Sea into the Sea. And thus drining too and fro as the winde and Sea would, we were in a darke night about foure of the clocke cast on a shoole: yet when it was day, we could neither see land on one side nor other, and knew not where we were. And as it pleased the diuine power, there came a great waue of the Sea, which braue vs beyonde the shoole. And when wee felt the shippe afloat, we rose vp as men reuiued, because the Sea was calme and smooth water, and then sounding we found twelue fadome water, and within a while after wee had but sixe fadome, and then presently we came to anker with a small anker that was left vs at the sterne, for all our other were lost in the storme: and by and by the shippe strooke a ground, and then wee did pray her that she should not ouerthrow.

It manifest to ken of the ebding and flowing in those Countreys.

This Island is called Sondia.

When it was day the shippe was all dry, and wee found her a good mile from the Sea on drie land. This Touffon being ended, we discovered an Island not farre from vs, and we went from the shippe on the sands to see what Island it was: and wee found it a place inhabited, and, to my iudgement, the fertilest Island in all the world, the which is diuided into two parts by a chanel which passeth betwene it, & with great trouble we brought our ship into the same chanel, which parteth the Island at flowing water, and there we determined to stay 40. dayes to refresh vs. And when the people of the Island saw the ship, and that we were coming a land: presently they made a place of bazar or a market, with shops right ouer against the ship with all manner of prouision of victuals to eate, which they brought downe in great abundance, and sold it so good cheape, that we were amazed at the cheapnesse thereof. I bought many salted kine there, for the prouision of the ship, for halfe a Larine a piece, which Larine may be 12. shillings sixe pence, being very good and fat; and 4. wilde hogges ready dresled for a Larine; great fat hennes for a Bizz a piece, which is at the most a pennie: and the people told vs that we were deceiued the halfe of our money, because we bought things so deare. Also a sacke of fine rice for a thing of nothing, and consequently all other things for humane sustenance were there in such abundance, that it is a thing incredible but to them that haue seene it. This Island is called Sondia belonging to the kingdome of Bengala, distant 120. miles from Chatigan, to which place wee were bound. The people are Moores, and the king a very good man of a Moore king, for if he had bin a tyrant as others be, he might haue robbed vs of all, because the Portugall captaine of Chatigan was in armes against the Rector of that place, & every day there were some slaine, at which newes we rested there with no small feare, keeping good watch and ward aboord every night as the vse is, but the gouernour of the towne did comfort vs, and bad vs that we should feare nothing, but that we should repose our selues secretly without any danger, although the Portugales of Chatigan had slaine the gouernour of that City, and said that we were not culpable in that fact; and mozeouer he did vs every day what pleasure he could, which was a thing contrary to our expectations considering that they & the people of Chatigan were both subiects to one king. We departed from Sondia, & came to Chatigan the great port of Bengala, at the same time when the Portugales had made peace and taken a truce with the gouernours of the towne, with this condition that the chiefe Captaine of the Portugales with his ship should depart without any lading: for there were then at that time 18. ships of Portugales great and small. This Captaine being a Gentleman and of good courage, was notwithstanding contented to depart to his greatest hinderance, rather then hee would seeke to hinder so many of his friends as were there, as also because the time of the yere was spent to go to the Indies. The night before he departed, every ship that had any lading therein, put it aboord of the Captaine to helpe to ease his charge and to recompence his courtelies. In this time there came a messenger from the king of Rachim to this Portugall Captaine, who saide in the behalfe of his king, that hee

Sondia is the fruitfuller Countrey in all the world.

Chatigan is a port in Bengala, whither the Portugales go with their ships.

The King of Rachim, or Aracam, or Agobott, is Bengala.

had heard of the courage and valure of him, desiring him gently that he would vouchsafe to come with the ship into his port, and comming thither he should be very wel intreated. This Portugal went thither and was very well satisfied of this King.

This King of Rachim hath his seat in the middle coast betweene Bengala and Pegu, and the greatest enemy he hath is the king of Pegu: which king of Pegu desireth night and day how to make this king of Rachim his subject, but by no meanes hee is able to doe it: because the king of Pegu hath no power nor armie by Sea. And this king of *Rachim may arme two hundred Gallies or fiftie by Sea, and by land he hath certaine stiles with the which when the king of Pegu p[re]senceth any harme towards him, hee may at his pleasure drowne a great part of the Countrey. So that by this meanes hee cutteth off the way whereby the king of Pegu should come with his power to hurt him.

Di, Aracani.

The commodities that come from Chatigan to the Indies.

The Portugal ships depart toward Portugal out of the harbor of Cochin.

Goa has been besieged.

Opium a good commodity at Pegu.

From the great port of Chatigan they carry for the Indies great store of Rice, very great quantity of Bombast cloth of every sort, Sugar, cozne, and money, with other marchandize. And by reason of the warres in Chatigan, the Portugall ships taried there so long, that they arrived not at Cochin so soone as they were wont to doe other yeeres. For which cause the fleet that was at Cochin was departed for Portugal before they arrived there, and I being in one of the small shippes before the fleet, in discourring of Cochin, we also discovered the last shippe of the fleet that went from Cochin to Portugal; where shee made saile, for which I was maruiculously discomforted, because that all the yeere following, there was no going for Portugale, and when we arrived at Cochin I was fully determined to goe for Venice by the way of Ormus, and at that time the Citie of Goa was besieged by the people of Dialcan, but the Citizens forced not this assault, because they supposed that it would not continue long. For all this I embarked my selfe in a Galley that went for Goa; meaning there to shippe my selfe for Ormus: but when we came to Goa, the Viceroy would not suffer any Portugal to depart, by reason of the warres. And being in Goa but a small time, I fell sicke of an agurmitie that helde mee foure moneths: which with phisicke and diet cost me eight hundred duckets, and there I was constrained to sell a small quantity of Rubies to sustaine my neede: and I solde three fine hundred duckets, that was worth a thousand. And when I beganne to waxe well of my disease, I had but litle of that money left, every thing was so scarce: for every chicken (and yet not good) cost mee seven or eight Liuers, which is six shillings, or six shillings eight pence. Beside this great charges, the Apothecaries with their medicines were no small charge to me. At the ende of six moneths they raised the siege, and then I beganne to worke, for Jewels were risen in their prices: for, whereas before I sold a few of refused Rubies, I determined then to sell the rest of all my Jewels that I had there, and to make an other voyage to Pegu. And for because that at my departure from Pegu, Opium was in great request, I went then to Cambaya to imploy a good round summe of money in Opium, and there I bought 60. percells of Opium, which cost me two thousand & a hundred duckets, every ducket at foure shillings two pence. Forcouer I bought three bales of Bombast cloth, which cost me eight hundred duckets, which was a good commodity for Pegu: when I had bought these things, the Viceroy commanded that the custome of the Opium should be payde in Goa, and paying custome there I might carry it whither I would. I shipped my 3. bales of cloth at Chaul in a shippe that went for Cochin, and I went to Goa to pay the aforesaid custome for my Opium, and from Goa I departed to Cochin in a ship that was for the voyage of Pegu, and went to winter then at S. Tome. When I came to Cochin, I understood that the ship that had my three bales of cloth was cast away and lost, so that I lost my 800. Serafins or duckets: and departing from Cochin to goe for S. Tome, in casting about for the Island of Zeilan the Pilot was deceived, for that the Cape of the Island of Zeilan lieth farre out into the sea, and the Pilot thinking that he might haue passed hard aboord the Cape, and paying roomer in the night; when it was morning we were farre within the Cape, and past all remedy to goe out, by reason the winds blew so fiercely against vs. So that by this meanes we lost our voyage for that yeere, and we went to Manar with the ship to winter there, the ship having lost her mastes, and with great diligence we hardly saued her, with great losses to the Captaine of the ship, because he was forced to fraight another ship in S. Tome for Pegu with great losses and interest, and I with my friends agreed together in Manar to take a bark to carry vs to S. Tome; which thing we did withal the rest of the marchants; and arriuing at S. Tome I had newes through or by the way of Bengala, that in Pegu Opium was very deare, and I knew that in S. Tome there was no Opium but mine to goe for Pegu that yeere, so that I was holden of all the marchants there to be very rich: and so it would haue p[ro]oued, if my aduerse fortune had not bin contrary to my hope, which was this. At that time there went a great ship from Cambaya, to the king of Assi, with great quantity of Opium, & there to lade pepper: in which voyage there came such a storme, that the ship was forced with wether to goe roomer 800. miles,

and by this meanes came to Pegu, whereas they arrived a day before mee; so that Opium which was before very deare, was now at a base price: so that which was sold for fiftie Bizzes before, was sold for 2. Bizzes & an halfe, there was such quantitie came in that ship; so that I was glad to stay two yerres in Pegu unless I would have giuen away my commoditie: and at the end of two yerres of my 2 100. duckets which I bestowed in Cambaya, I came with a thousand duckets. Then I departed againe from Pegu to goe for the Indies and for Ormus but great quantitie of Lacca, and from Ormus I returned into the Indies for Chaul, and from Chaul to Cochin, and from Cochin to Pegu. Once more I lost occasion to make me riche, for whereas I might have brought good store of Opium againe, I brought but a little, being fearefull of my other voyage before. In this small quantitie I made good profite. And now againe I determined to goe for my Countrey, and departing from Pegu, I carried and wintered in Cochin, and then I left the Indies and came for Ormus.

I thinke it very necessary before I ende my voyage, to reason somewhat, and to shewe what fruits the Indies do yeeld and bring forth. First, in the Indies and other East parts of India there is Peper and ginger, which groweth in all parts of India. And in some parts of the Indies, the greatest quantitie of peper groweth amongst wilde bushes, without any manner of labour: saving, that when it is ripe they goe and gather it. The tree that the peper groweth on is like to our Quie, which runneth up to the tops of trees wheresoever it groweth: and if it should not take holde of some tree, it would lie flat and rot on the ground. This peper tree hath his floure and berry like in all parts to our Quie berry, and those berries be graines of peper: so that when they gather them they be greene, and then they lay them in the Sunne, and they become blacke.

Peper tree.

Ginger.

Cloues.

Nutmegs
and Gaces.White Sandol.
Caofora.Lignum Aloes,
Beniamin.

Long peper.

This Muske
the Jewes doe
counterfeit and
take out halfe
the good muske
and beat the
flesh of an asse
and put in the
rouine of it.

Rubies Sa-
phyres, and
Spynels.The Balasi
growe in
Zeilan.

Spodiom.

On the coast of
Melynde in E-
thiopia, in the
land of Cafaria,
the great trade
that the Portu-
gals haue.

Buying and
selling without
words one to
another.

The Ginger groweth in this wise: the land is tilled and sowed, and the herbe is like to Panizo, and the roote is the ginger. These two spices grow in diuers places.

The Cloues come all from the Moluccas, which Moluccas are two Islands, not very great, and the tree that they grow on is like to our Lawzell tree.

The Nutmegs and Gaces, which grow both together, are brought from the Island of Banda, whose tree is like to our walnut tree, but not so big.

All the good white Sandol is brought from the Island of Timor. Canfora being commeth all from China, and all that which groweth in canes commeth from Borneo, & I thinke that this Canfora commeth not into these parts: for that in India they consume great store, and that is very deare. The good Lignum Aloes commeth from Cauchinchina.

The Beniamin commeth from the kingdom of Assi and Sion.

Long peper groweth in Bengala, Pegu, and Iaua.

Muske commeth from Tartaria, which they make in this order, as by good information I haue bene told. There is a certaine beast in Tartaria, which is wilde and as big as a wolfe, which beast they take alive, & beat him to death with small stauces by his blood may be spread through his whole body, then they cut it in peeces, & take out all the bones, & beat the flesh with the blood in a mortar very smal, and dry it; and make purses to put it in of the skin, and these be the rods of muske.

Truely I know not whereof the Amber is made, and there are diuers opinions of it, but this is most certaine, it is cast out of the Sea, and throwne on land, and found vpon the sea bankes.

The Rubies, Saphyres, and the Spynels be gotten in the kingdom of Pegu. The Diamants come from diuers places; and I know but three sortes of them. That sort of Diamants that is called Chiappe, commeth from Bezeneger. Those that be pointed naturally come from the land of Delly, and from Iaua, but the Diamants of Iaua are more waightie then the other, I could neuer vnderstand from whence they that are called Balasi come.

Pearles they fish in diuers places, as before in this booke is shorne.

From Cambaza commeth the Spodiom which congeleth in certaine canes, whereof I found many in Pegu, when I made my house there, because that (as I haue said before) they make their houses there of wouen canes like to mats. From Chaul they trade along the coast of Melinde in Ethiopia, within the land of Cafaria: on that coast are many good harbors kept by the Moores. Thither the Portugals bring a kinde of Bombast cloth of a low price, and great store of Paternosters or beads made of patrie glasse, which they make in Chaul according to the vse of the Countrey: and from thence they carry Elephants teeth for India, stauces called Cafari, and some Amber and Gold. On this coast the king of Portugall hath his castle called Mozambique, which is of as great importance as any castle that hee hath in all his Indies vnder his protection, and the Captaine of this castle hath certaine voyages to this Cafaria, to which places no Marchants may goe, but by the Agent of this Captaine: and they vse to goe in small shippes, and trade with the Cafars, and their trade in buying and selling is without any speech one to the other. In this wise the Portugals bring their goods by litle and litle along the Sea coast, and lay them downe:

and

and so depart, and the Casar Marchants come and see the goods, & there they put downe as much gold as they thinke the goods are worth, and so goe their way and leaue their golde and the goods together, then cometh the Portugal, and finding the golde to his content, hee taketh it and goeth his way into his ship, and then cometh the Casar and taketh the goods and carrieth them away: and if he finde the golde there still, it is a signe that the Portugals are not contented, and if the Casar thinke he hath put too little, he addeth moze, as he thinketh the thing is worth; and the Portugals must not stand with them too strickt; for if they doe, then they will haue no moze trade with them: For they disdaine to be refused, when they thinke that they haue offered ynough, for they be a pceuitly people, and haue dealt so of a long time: and by this trade the Portugals change their commodities into gold, and cary it to the Castle of Mozambique, which is in an Island not farre distant from the firme land of Cafaria on the coast of Ethiopia, and is distant from India 2800. miles. Now to returne to my voyage, when I came to Ormus, I found there Master Francis Berettin of Venice, and we freighted a bark together to goe for Basora for 70. duckets, and with vs there went other Marchants, which did ease our freight, and very commodiously we came to Basora and there we stayed 40. dayes for providing a Carouan of barks to go to Babylon, because they vse not to goe two or 3. barks at once, but 25. or 30. because in the night they cannot go, but must make them fast to the banks of the riuer, and then we must make a very good & strong guard, and be well provided of armes, for respect & safegard of our goods, because the number of the cues is great that come to spoile and rob the marchants. And when we depart for Babylon we goe a litle with our saile, and the voyage is 38. or 40. dayes long, but we were 50. dayes on it. When we came to Babylon we stayed there 4. moneths, until the Carouan was ready to go ouer the wilderness, or desert for Alepo; in this citie we were 6. Marchants that accompanied to gether, siue Venetians and a Portugal; whose names were as followeth, Messer Florinafa with one of his kindredmen, Messer Andrea de Polo, the Portugal & M. Francis Berettin and I, and so wee furnished our selues with victuals and beanes for our hoxles for 40. dayes; and wee bought hoxses and mules, for that they bee very good cheape there, I my selfe bought a hoxse there for 11. shakens, and solde him after in Alepo for 30. duckets. Also we bought a Tent which did vs very great pleasure: we had also amongst vs 32. Camels laden with marchandise: for the which we paid 2. duckets for euery camels lading, and for euery 10. camels they made 11. for so is their vse and custome. We take also with vs 3. men to serue vs in the voyage, which are vsed to goe in those voyages for siue D. a man, and are bound to serue vs to Alepo: so that we passed very well without any trouble: when the camels cried out to rest, our pavilion was the first that was erected. The Carouan maketh but small iourneys about 20. miles a day, & they set forwards euery morning befoze day two houres, and about two in the after noone they sit downe. We had great good hap in our voyage, for that it rained: For which cause we neuer wanted water, but euery day found good water, so that we could not take any hurt for want of water. Yet we caried a canic laden alwayes with water for euery good respect that might chance in the desert, so that wee had no want neither of one thing, nor other that was to bee had in the countrey. For wee came very well furnished of euery thing, and euery day we eat fresh mutton, because there came many shepheards with vs with their flocks, who kept those sheepe that we bought in Babylon, and euery marchant marked his sheepe with his owne marke, and we gaue the shepheards a Medin, which is two pence of our money, for the keeping and feeding our sheep on the way, and for killing of them. And beside the Medin they haue the heads, the skianes, and the intrails of euery sheepe they kil. We siue bought 20. sheepe, and when we came to Alepo we had 7. aliue of them. And in the Carouan they vse this order, that the marchants doe lende flesh one to another, because they will not cary raw flesh with them, but pleasure one another by lending one one day, and another another day.

From Babylon to Alepo is 40. dayes iourney, of the which they make 36. dayes ouer the wilderness, in which 36. dayes they neither see house, trees, nor people that inhabite it, but onely a plaine, and no signe of any way in the world. The pilots go befoze, and the Carouan followeth after. And when they sit downe all the Carouan vnladeth and sitteth downe, for they know the stations where the wells are. I say, in 36. dayes we passe ouer the wilderness. For when wee depart from Babylon two dayes we passe by villages inhabited until we haue passed the riuer Euphrates. And then within two dayes of Alepo we haue villages inhabited. In this Carouan there goeth alway a Captaine that doth Justice vnto all men: and euery night they keepe watch about the Carouan, and coming to Alepo we went to Tripoli, whereas Master Florin, and Master Andrea Polo, and I, with a Frier, went and hired a barke to goe with vs to Ierusalem. Departing from Tripolie, we arrived at Iassa: from which place in a day and halfe we went to Ierusalem, and we gaue order to our barke to cary for vs until our returne. Wee stayed in Ierusalem 14. dayes, to visite those holy places: from whence we returned to Iassa, and from Iassa to Tripolie, and there

Golden trades
that the Portu-
gals haue.

26th order how
to provide to
goe ouer the
Desert from
Babylon to
Alepo.

36. Dayes
iourney ouer
the wilderness.

An order how
to provide for
the going to
Ierusalem.

The author re-
turneth to Ve-
nice 1581.

We shipped our selves in a ship of Venice called the Bagazzana: And by the helpe of the diuine power, we arrived safely in Venice the sixt of Nouember 1581. If there be any that hath any desire to goe into those partes of India, let him not be astonied at the troubles that I haue passed: because I was intangled in many things: for that I went very pooze frō Venice with 1200. duckets imploied in marchandize, and when I came to Tripolie, I fell sicke in the house of Walter Regaly Oratio, and this man sent away my goods with a small Carouan that went from Tripolie to Alepo, and the Carouan was robbd, and all my goods lost sauing foure chests of glasses which cost me 200. duckets, of which glasses I found many broken: because the theeuers thinking it had bene other marchandize, brake them by, and seeing they were glasses they let them all alone. And with this onely stocke I aduentured to goe into the Indies: And thus with change and rechange, and by diligence in my voyage, God did blesse and helpe me, so that I got a good stocke. I will not be vnmindfull to put them in remembrance, that haue a desire to goe into those parts, how they shall keepe their goods, and giue them to their heires at the time of their death, and howe this may be done very securely. In all the cities that the Portugales haue in the Indies, there is a house called the schoole of Sancta misericordia comisaria: the gouernours whereof, if you giue them for their paines, will take a copy of your will and Testament, which you must alwayes cary about you; and chiefly when you go into the Indies. In the countrey of the Moores and Gentiles, in those voyages alwayes there goeth a Captaine to administer Justice to all Christians of the Portugales. Also this captaine hath authoritie to recouer the goods of those Marchants that by chance die in those voyages, and they that haue not made their Wills and registred them in the aforesaide schooles, the Captaines will consume their goods in such wise, that litle or nothing will be left for their heires and friends. Also there goeth in these same voyages some marchants that are commissaries of the schoole of Sancta misericordia, that if any Marchant die and haue his Will made, and hath giuen order that the schoole of Misericordia shall haue his goods and sell them, then they sende the money by exchange to the schoole of Misericordia in Lisbone, with that copie of his Testament, then from Lisbon they giue intelligence thereof, into what part of Chyristendome soeuer it be, and the heires of such a one comming thither, with testimoniall that they be heires, they shall receiue there the value of his goods: in such wise that they shall not loose any thing. But they that die in the kingdome of Pegu loose the thirde part of their goods by ancient custome of the Countrey, that if any Christian dieth in the kingdome of Pegu, the king and his officers rest heires of a thirde of his goods, and there hath neuer bene any deceit or fraude used in this matter. I haue knowne many rich men that haue dwelled in Pegu, and in their age they haue desired to go into their owne Countrey to die there, and haue departed with all their goods and substance without let or trouble.

Order of ap-
parel in Pegu.

In Pegu the fashion of their apparel is all one, as well the Noble man, as the simple: the onely difference is in the finenes of the cloth, which is cloth of Bombast one finer then another, and they weare their apparell in this wise: First, a white Bombast cloth which seructh for a shirt, then they gird another painted bombast cloth of soureteene brases, which they binde by betwixt their legges, and on their heads they weare a small tock of three brases, made in guise of a mytter, and some goe without tocks, and cary (as it were) a hiue on their heades, which doeth not passe the lower part of his eare, when it is lifted by: they goe all bare footed, but the Noble men neuer goe on foote, but are carled by men in a seate with great reputation, with a hat made of the leaues of a tree to keepe him from the raine and Sunne, or otherwise they ride on horsebacke with their feete bare in the stirrops. All sorts of women whatsoeuer they be, weare a smocke downe to the girdle, and from the girdle downe wards to the foote they weare a cloth of three brases, open before; so strait that they cannot goe, but they must shewe their secret as it were aloft, and in these going they faime to hide it with their hand, but they cannot by reason of the straitnes of their cloth. They say that this vse was inuented by a Queene to be an occasion that the sight thereof might remoue from men the vices against nature, which they are greatly giuen vnto: which sight should cause them to regard women the more. Also the women goe bare footed, their armes laden with hoopcs of golde and Jewels: And their fingers full of picious rings, with their haire rolled by about their heads. Many of them weare a cloth about their shoulders in stead of a cloake.

The order of
the womens
apparel in
Pegu.

Now to finish that which I haue begunne to write, I say, that those parts of the Indies are very good, because that a man that hath litle, shall make a great scale thereof; alwayes they must gouerne themselves that they be taken for honest men. For why: to such there shall neuer want helpe to doe wel, but he that is vicious, let him cary at home and not go thither, because he shall alwayes be a begger, and die a pooze man.

Letters concerning the voyage of *M. Iohn Newbery* and *M. Ralph Fitch*, made by the way of the *Leuant Sea* to *Syria*, and ouerland to *Balsara*, and thence into the *East Indies*, and beyond, In the yeere 1583.

¶ A letter written from the *Queenes Maiestie*, to *Zelabdim Echebar King of Cambaya*, and sent by *Iohn Newbery*. In February Anno 1583.



Lizabech by the grace of God, &c. To the most inuincible, and most mightie prince, Iord Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaya. Inuincible Emperoz, &c. The great affection which our Subiects haue, to visite the most distant plaees of the world, not without good will and intention to introduce the trade of marchandize of al nations whatsoeuer they can, by which meanes the mutual and friendly trafique of marchandize on both sides may come, is the cause that the bearer of this letter Iohn Newbery, ioyntly with those that be in his company, with a courteous and honest boldnesse, doe repaire to the borders and countreys of your Empire, we doubt not but that your imperial Maiestie through your royal grace, will fauourably and friendly accept him. And that you would doe it the rather for our sake, to make vs greatly beholding to your Maiestie; wee should moze earnestly, and with moze wordes require it, if wee did think it needful. But by the singular report that is of your imperial Maiesties humanity in these vcermost partes of the world, we are greatly eased of that burden, and therefore we vse the fewer and lesse wordes: onely we request that because they are our subiects, they may be honestly intreared and receiued. And that in respect of the hard iourney which they haue vndertaken to places so far distant, it would please your Maiestie with some libertie and securitie of voiage to gratifie it, with such priuileges as to you shall seeme good: which curtesie if your Imperial maiestie shall to our subiects at our requests performe, wee, according to our royall honour, will recompence the same with as many deserts as we can. And herewith we bid your Imperial Maiestie to farewell.

A letter written by her Maiestie to the King of *China*,
In Februarie 1583.

Lizabech by the grace of God Queene of England, &c. Most Imperial and inuincible prince, our honest subiect Iohn Newbery the brynger hereof, who with our fauour hath taken in hand the voyage which now hee pursueth to the parts and countreys of your Empire, not trusting vpon any other ground then vpon the fauour of your Imperial clemencie and humanity, is moued to vndertake a thing of so much difficultie, being perswaded that hee hauing entered into so many perils, your Maiestie will not dislike the same, especially, if it may appeare that it be not damageable vnto your royall Maiestie, and that to your people it will bring some profite: of both which things hee not doubting, with moze willing minde hath prepared himselfe for his destinated voyage vnto vs well liked of, & by this meanes we perceiue, that the profite which by the mutual trade on both sides, al the princes our neighbors in the West do receiue, your Imperial maiestie & those that be subiect vnder your dominion, to their great ioy and benefite shall haue the same, which consisteth in the transporting out ward of such things whereof we haue plenty, & in brynging in such things as we stand in need of. It cannot other wise be, but that seeing we are bozne and made to haue need one of another, & that wee are bound to aide one another, but that your imperial Maiestie will wel like of it, & by your subiects to like inuenoz will be accepted. For the increase whereof, if your imperial Maiestie shall adde the securitie of passage, with other priuileges most necessary to vse the trade with your men, your maiestie shall doe that which belongeth to a most honorable & liberal prince, and deserue so much of vs, as by no continuance or length of time shall be forgotten. Which request of ours we do most instantly desire to be take in good part of your maiestie, and so great a benefite towards vs & our men, we shall endeuor by diligence to requite when time shall serue therunto. The God Almighty long preferue your Imperial maiestie.

A letter of *M. Iohn Newbery*, written from *Alepe*, to *M. Richard Hakluyt* of *Oxford*, the 28. of May, Anno 1583.

Right wel beloued, and my assured good friend, I heartily comended me vnto you, hoping of your good health, &c. After we set saile from Grauesend, which was the 13. day of February last, wee remained vpon our coast vntill the 11. day of March, and that day we set saile from Falmouth, and neuer ankered till wee arriued in the road of Tripolie in Syria, which was the last day of Aprill last past, where wee stayed 14. dayes: and the twentie

Abifada Imael
his Cosmog-
raphic.

of this present we came hither to Alepo, and with Gods helpe, within five or six dayes goe from hence towards the Indies. Since my coming to Tripolis I have made very earnest inquirie both there and here, for the booke of Cosinographie of Abifada Imael, but by no meanes can heare of it. Some say that possibly it may be had in Persia, but notwithstanding I will not faile to make inquirie for it, both in Babylon, and in Balsara, and if I can finde it in any of these places, I will send it you from thence. The letter which you deliuered me for to copy out, that came from M. Thomas Steuens in Goa, as also the note you gaue mee of Francis Fernandes the Portugall, I brought thence with me among other writings vnawares, the which I haue sent you here inclosed. Here is great preparation for the warres in Persia, and from hence is gone the Bassa of a towne called Rahemet, and shortly after goeth the Bassa of Tripolis, and the Bassa of Damasco, but they haue not all with them about 6000. men from hence, and they goe to a towne called Almerome, which is three dayes iourney from Trapezunde, where they shal meete with diuers capitaines and souldiers that come from Constantinople and other places thereabout, which goe altogether into Persia. This yere many men goe into the warres, and so hath there euery yere since the beginning thereof, which is eight yeres or thereabouts, but very fewe of them returne againe. Notwithstanding, they get of the Persians, and make castles and holdes in their countrey. I pray you make my hearty commendations to master Peter Guillame, and master Philip Iones, and to M. Walter Warner, and to all the rest of our friends. Master Fitch hath him heartily commended vnto you: and so I commit you to the tuition of the Almighty, who blesse and keepe you, and send vs a ioyfull meeting. From Alepo, the 28. of May 1583.

Your louing friend to command in all that I may,
John Newberie.

Another letter of the said *M. Newberie*, written to Master Leonard Poore of London, from *Alepo*.

Right welbeloued, my very heartie commendations vnto you, and the rest of my friends remembered. My last I sent you was the 25. of February last, from Dele out of the Downes, after which time with contrary windes wee remained vpon our owne coast, vntill the 11. day of March, and then wee set saile from Falmouth, and the thirteenth day the winde came contrary with a very great storme, which continued eight dayes, and in this great storme wee had some of our goods wette, but God bee thanked no great hurt done. After which time wee sailed with a faire wind within the Streights, and so remained at Sea, and ankered at no place vntill our coming into the roade of Tripolis in Syria, which was the last day of April. This was a very good passage. God make vs thankfull for it. The foureteenth day of this present wee came from Tripolis, and the twentieth day arrived here in Alepo, and with the helpe of God to morowe or next day, wee beganne our voyage towards Babylon and Balsara, and so into India. Our friend Master Barret hath him commended to you, who hath sent you in the Emanuel a ball of Nutmegs for the small crisles you sent him, which I hope long since you haue received. Also hee hath by his letter certified you in what order hee solde those things, whereof I can say nothing, because I haue not serue the accompt thereof, neither haue demanded it: for euer since our coming hither hee hath bene still busie about the dispatch of the shippe, and our voyage, and I likewise in buying of things here to cary to Balsara, and the Indies. Wee haue bought in currall for 1200. and odde ducats, and amber for foure hundred ducats, and some sowe and broken glasse, with all other small crisles, all which things I hope will serue very well for those places that wee shall goe vnto. All the rest of the accompt of the Barke Reinolds was sent home in the Emanuel, which was 3600. ducats, which is 200. pound more then it was rated. For master Saper rated it but 1100. li. and it is 1300. pound, so that our part is 200. pound. Besides such profit as it shall please God to sende thereof: wherefore you shall doe very well to speake to M. Saper for the accompt. And if you would content your selfe to trauell for three or foure yeres, I would wish you to come hither or goe to Cairo, if any goe thither. For wee doubt not if you had remained there but three or foure moneths, you would like so well of the place, that I thinke you would not desire to returne againe in three or foure yeres. And, if it should be my chance to remaine in any place out of England, I would choose this before all other that I know. My reason is, the place is healthfull and pleasant, and the gaines very good, and no doubt the profit will bee hereafter better, things being vsed in good order: for there should come in euery ship the fourth part of her Cargason in money, which would helpe to put away our commodities at a very good price. Also to haue two very good ships to come together, would doe very well: for in so doing, the danger of the voyage might be accompted as little as from London to Antwerpe, Master

March 11.

The last of
April.

Currall.
Amber greese.
Sowe.
Broken glasse.

Giles Porter and master Edmund Porter, went from Tripolis in a small barke to Iaffa, the same day that we came from thence, which was the 14 day of this present, so that no doubt but long since they are in Jerusalem: God send them and vs safe returne. At this instant I haue receiued the account of B. Barret, and the rest of the rings, with two and twentieth duckats, two medicines in readie money. So there is nothing remaining in his hands but a few bookes, and with Thomas Bostocke I left certaine small trifles, which I pray you demaund. And so once againe with my hearty commendations I commit you to the tuition of the almighty, who alwayes preferreth vs. From Aleppo the 29 of May 1583.

Yours assured, John Newberie.

Another letter of Master Newberie to the aforesaide

M. Poore, written from Babylon.

M last I sent you, was the 29 of May last past from Aleppo, by George Gill the purser of the Tiger, which the last day of the same month came from thence, & arrived at Feluge the 19 day of June, which Feluge is one dayes iourney from hence. Notwithstanding some of our company came not hither till the last day of the last month, which was for want of Camels to cary our goods: for at this time of the yeere, by reason of the great heate that is here, Camels are very scant to be gotten. And since our coming hither we haue found very small sales, but diuers say that in the winter our commodities will be very well sold, I pray God their words may prooue true. I thinke cloth, kerlices & tinne, haue neuer bene here at so low prices as they are now. Notwithstanding, if I had here so much readie money as the commodities are woorth, I would not doubt to make a very good profite of this voiage hither, and to Balsara, and so by Gods helpe there will be reasonable profite made of the voiage. But with halfe money & halfe commoditye, may be bought here the best sort of spices, and other commodities that are brought from the Indies, and without money there is here at this instant small good to be done. With Gods helpe two dayes hence, I minde to goe from hence to Balsara, and from thence of foize I must goe to Ormus for want of a man that speaketh the Indian tongue. At my being in Aleppo I hired two Nazarianes, and one of them hath bene twice in the Indies, and hath the language very well, but he is a very lewde fellow, and therefore I will not take him with me.

The best sort
of spices at
Babylon,
Balsara,
Ormus.

Here follow the prices of wares as they are worth here at this instant,

Cloves and Nares, the bateman, 5 duckats.

Cynamoni 6 duckats, and few to be gotten.

Rutinegs, the bateman, 45 medins, and 40 medins maketh a duckat.

Ginger, 40 medins.

Pepper, 75 medins.

Turbetta, the bateman, 50 medins.

Recel the churle, 70 duckats, and a churle is 27 rottills and a halfe of Aleppo.

Silke, much better then that which commeth from Persia, 11 duckats and a halfe the bateman, and euery bateman here maketh 7 pound and 5 ounces English waight. From Babylon the 20 day of July, 1583.

Yours, John Newberie.

Master Newberie his letter from Ormus, to M. Iohn Eldred and

William Shals at Balsara.

Right welbeloued and my assured good friends, I heartily comend me vnto you, hoping of your good healths, &c. To certifie you of my voiage, after I departed fro you, time wil not permit: but the 4 of this present we arrived here, & the 10 day I with the rest were committed to prison, and about the middle of the next month, the Captaine wil send vs all in his ship for Goa. The cause why we are taken, as they say, is, for that I brought letters from Don Antonio. But the truth is, Michael Stropene was the onely cause, vpon letters that his brother wrote him from Aleppo. God knoweth how we shall be delt withall in Goa, and therefore if you can procure our maisters to send the king of Spaine his letters for our releasement, you should doe vs great good: for they cannot with iustice put vs to death, It may be that they will cut our throtes, or keepe vs long

The prices of
spices at
Babylon.

in prison: Gods will be done. All those commodities that I brought hither, had beene very well sold, if this trouble had not chanced. You shall do well to send with all speed a messenger by land from Bassara to Aleppo, for to certifie of this mischance, although it cost thirtie or forty crownes, for that we may be the sooner released, and I shalbe the better able to recouer this againe which is now like to be lost: I pray you make my hearty commendations, &c. From out of the prison in Ormuz, this 21 of September, 1583.

His second Letter to the foresaid Master *John Eldred*
and *William Shales.*

The barke of the Jewes is arrived here two daies past, by whom I know you did write, but your letters are not like to come to my handes. This bringer hath shewed me here very great courtesie, wherefore I pray you shew him what favor you may. About the middle of the next month I thinke we shall depart from hence, God be our guide. I thinke Andrew will goe by land to Aleppo, where in I pray you further him what you may: but if he should not goe, then I pray you dispatch away a messenger with as much speede as possible you may. I can say no more, but do for me as you would I should do for you in the like cause, and so with my very hearty commendations, &c. From out of the prison in Ormuz, this 24 day of September, 1583.

Yours, *John Newberie.*

His third Letter to Maister *Leonard Poore,*
written from *Goa.*

Last I sent you was from Ormuz, whereby I certified you what had happened there unto me, and the rest of my company, which was, that foure dayes after our arrivall there, we were all committed to prison, except one Italian which came with me from Aleppo, whom the Captaine never examined, onely demanded what countryman he was, but I make account Michael Stropene, who accused vs, had informed the Captaine of him. The first day we arrived there, this Stropene accused vs that we were spies sent from Don Antonio, besides divers other lies: notwithstanding if we had beene of any other countrey then of England, we might freely haue traded with them. And although we be Englishmen, I know no reason to the contrary, but that we may trade hither and thither as well as other nations, for all nations doe, and they come freely to Ormuz, as Frenchmen, Flemmings, Almaines, Hungarians, Italians, Greckes, Armenians, Nazaranes, Turkes and Moores, Jewes & Gentiles, Persians, Moscovites, and there is no nation that they seeke for to trouble, except ours: wherefore it were contrary to all iustice and reason that they should suffer all nations to trade with them, and to forbid vs. But now I haue as great liberty as any other nation, except it be to go out of the countrey, which thing as yet I desire not. But I thinke hereafter, and before it be long, if I shall be desirous to go from hence, that they will not deny me licence. Before we might be suffered to come out of prison, I was forced to put in suerties for 2000 pardaus, not to depart from hence without licence of the viceroy: other wise except this, we haue as much libertie as any other nation, for I haue our goods againe, & haue taken an house in the chiefest streete in the towne, called the Rue dretre, where we sell our goods.

There were two causes which moued the captaine of Ormus to imprison vs, & after wards to send vs hither. The first was, because Michael Stropene had accused vs of many matters, which were most false. And the second was for that M. Drake at his being at Maluco, caused two pieces of his ordinance to be shot at a gallion of the kings of Portugall, as they say. But of these things I did not know at Ormuz: and in the ship that we were sent in came the chiefest iustice in Ormus, who was called Aueador generall of that place, he had beene there three yeeres, so that now his time was expired: which Aueador is a great friend to the captaine of Ormus, who, certaine dayes after our comming from the nce, sent for mee into his chamber, and there begatne to demand of me many things, to the which I answered: and amongst the rest, he said, that Master Drake was sent out of England with many ships, and came to Maluco, and there laded cloues, and finding a gallion there of the kings of Portugall, hee caused two pieces of his greatest ordinance to be shot at the same: and so perceiuing that this did greatly grieue them, I asked, if they would be reuenged of me for that which M. Drake had done: To the which he answered, that although his meaning was to the contrary,

Michael Stropene an Italian accused our men to be spies.

Two causes of our mens imprisonment at Ormus.

He said moreover, that the cause why the captaine of Ormus did send me for Goa, was, for that the Viceroy would understand of mee, what newes there was of Don Antonio, and whether he were in England, yea or no, and that it might be all for the best that I was sent hither, the which I trust in God wil fall out, although contrary to his expectation: for had it not pleased God to put into the minds of the archbishop and other two Padres of Jesuits of S. Pauls colledge to stand our friends, we might haue rotted in prison. The archbishop is a very good man, who hath two yong men to his seruantes, the one of them was bozne at Hamborough, and is called Bernard Borgers: and the other was bozne at Enchuyfen, whose name is John Linscor, who did vs great pleasure: for by them the archbishop was many times put in minde of vs. And the two good fathers of S. Paul, who trauelled very much for vs, the one of them is called Padre Marke, who was bozne in Bruges in Flanders, and the other was bozne in Wilshire in England, and is called Padre Thomas Streuens.

The author of the book of the East Indies.

Also I chanced to finde here a young man, who was bozne in Antwerpe, but the most part of his bringing by hath bene in London, his name is Francis de Rea, and with him it was my hap to be acquainted in Aleppo, who also hath done me great pleasure here.

This is he whose letters to his father from Goa are before put down, and he was sometimes of Jesu colledge in Oxford.

In the prison at Ormus we remained many dayes, also we lay a long time at sea continuing hither, and forthwith at our arriual here were caried to prison, and the next day after were sent for before the Aueadoz, who is the chiefest iustice, to be examined: and when we were examined, he presently sent vs backe againe to prison.

And after our being here in prison 13 daies, James Storie went into the monastery of S. Paul, where he remaineth, and is made one of the company, which life he liketh very well.

James Storie their painter.

And vpon S. Thomas day (which was 22 dayes after our arriual here) I came out of prison, and the next day after came out Ralph Fitch, and William Bets.

They arrived at Goa the 20 of Nouember 1583.

If these troubles had not chanced, I had bene in possibilitie to haue made as good a voyage as euer any man made with so much money. Many of our things I haue solde very well, both here and at Ormus in prison, notwithstanding the captaine willed me (if I would) to sell what I could before we imbarked: & so with officers I went diuers times out of the castle in the morning, and solde things, and at night returned againe to the prison, and all things that I solde they did write, and at our imbarking from thence, the captaine gaue order that I should deliuer all my mony with the goods into the hands of the scriuano, or purser of the ship, which I did, and the scriuano made a remembrance, which he left there with the captaine, that my selfe and the rest with mony & goods he should deliuer into the hands of the Aueadoz generall of India: but at our arriual here, the Aueadoz would neither meddle with goods nor mony, for that he could not ppoint any thing against vs: wherefore the goods remained in the ship 9 or 10 daies after our arriual, and then, for that the ship was to saile from thence, the scriuano sent the goods on hoze, and here they remained a day and a night, and no body to receiue them. In the end they suffered this bzinger to receiue them, who came with me from Ormus, and put them into an house which he had dreed for me, where they remained foure or five daies. But afterward when they should deliuer the money, it was concluded by the iustice, that both the money and goods should be deliuered into the positors hands, where they remained foure or five dayes after my coming out of prison. At my being in Aleppo, I bought a fountaine of silver and gilt, sixe kniues, sixe spoones, and one forke trimmed with corall for five and twentie chekins, which the captaine of Ormus did take, and payed for the same twentie pardaos, which is one hundred larmes, and was worth there or here one hundred chekins. Also he had five emrauds set in golde, which were woorth five hundred or sixe hundred crownes, and payed for the same an hundred pardaos. Also he had nineteene and a halfe pikes of cloth, which cost in London twenty shillings the pike, and was worth 9 or 10 crownes the pike, and he payed for the same twelue larmes a pike. Also he had two piéces of greene Kerlies, which were worth foure and twentie pardaos the piéce, and payd for them sixteene pardaos a piéce: besides diuers other trifles, that the officers and others had in the like order, and some for nothing at all. But the cause of all this was Michael Siropene, which came to Ormus not woorth a penie, and now hath thirtie or fortie thousand crownes, and he grieueth that any other stranger should trade thither but himselfe. But that shall not skill, for I trust in God to goe both thither and hither, and to buy and sell as freely as he or any other. Were is very great good to be done in diuers of our commodities, and in like manner there is great profite to be made with commodities of this countrey, to be carried to Aleppo.

It were long for me to write, and tedious for you to read of all things that haue passed since my parting from you. But of all the troubles that haue chanced since mine arriual in Ormus, this bzinger is able to certifie you. I mind to stay here: wherefore if you will write vnto me, you may send your letters to some friend at Lisbon, & fro thence by the ships they may be conueyed hither.

Let

Let the direction of your letters be either in Portuguese or Spanish, whereby they may come the better to my hands. From Goa this 20 day of Januarie, 1584.

A Letter written from Goa by Master Ralph Fitch to Master Leonard Poore abouesaid.

During friend Master Poore, &c. Since my departure from Aleppo, I haue not writen vnto you any letters, by reason that at Babylon I was sicke of the fluxe, and being sicke, I went from thence for Balsara, which was twelue dayes tourney downe the riuer Tygris, where we had extreme hot weather, which was good for my disease, ill fare, and worse lodging, by reason our boat was pestered wih people. In eight daies, that which I did eate was very small, so that if we had stayed two dayes longer vpon the water, I thinke I had died: but coming to Balsara, presently I mended, I thanke God. There we stayed 14 dayes, and then we imbarked our selues for Ormuz, where we arriued the fifth of September, and were put in prison the ninth of the lame moneth, where we continued vntill the 11 of October, and then were shipt for this cite of Goa in the captaines ship, with an 114 horses, and about 200 men: and passing by Diu & Chaul, where we went on land to water the 20 of Nouember, we arriued at Goa the 29 of the said moneth, where for our better intertainment we were presently put into a faire strong prison, where we continued vntill the 22 of December. It was the will of God that we found there 2 Padres, the one an Englishman, the other a Flemming: The Englishmans name is Padre Thomas Stevens, the others Padre Marco, of the order of S. Paul. These did sue for vs vnto the Viceroy and other officers, and stood vs in as much strab, as our liues and goods were woorth: for if they had not stucke to vs, if we had escaped with our liues, yet we had had long imprisonment.

After 14 dayes imprisonment they offered vs, if we could put in suerties for 2000 duckats, we should goe abroad in the towne: which when we could not doe, the said Padres found suerties for vs, that we should not depart the countrey without the licence of the Viceroy. It doth spite the Italians to see vs abroad: and many maruell at our deliery. The painter is in the cloister of S. Paul, and is of their order, and sketh there very well. While we were in prison, both at Ormuz and here, there was a great deale of our goods pilfered and lost, and we hatte bene at great charges in gifts and otherwise, so that a great deale of our goods is consumed. There is much of our things which wil sell very well, & some we shall get nothing for. I hope in God that at the returne of the Viceroy, which is gone to Chaul and to Din, they say, to winne a castle of the Moores, whose returne is thought will be about Easter, then we shall get our libertie, and our suerties discharged. Then I thinke it wil be our best way, either one of both to returne, because our troubles haue bene so great, & so much of our goods spoyled and lost. But if it please God that I come into England, by Gods helpe, I will returne hither againe. It is a braue and pleasant countrey, and very fruitfull. The summer is almost all the yeere long, but the chiefest at Christmas.

The day and the night are all of one length, very little difference, and marueilous great store of fruits. For all our great troubles, yet are we fat and well liking, for victuals are here plentie and good cheape. And here I will passe ouer to certifie you of strange things, vntill our meeting, for it would be too long to write thereof. And thus I commit you to God, who euer preserve you and vs all. From Goa in the East Indies the 25 of Januarie 1584.

Yours to command, Ralph Fitch.

The voyage of M. Ralph Fitch marchant of London by the way of Tripolis in Syria, to Ormus, and so to Goa in the East India, to Cambaia, and all the kingdome of Zelabdim Echebar the great Mogor, to the mighty riuer Ganges, and downe to Bengala, to Bacola, and Chonderi, to Pegu, to Iamabay in the kingdome of Siam, and backe to Pegu, and from thence to Malacca, Zeilan, Cochin, and all the coast of the East India: begunne in the yeere of our Lord 1583, and ended 1591, wherein the strange rites, maners, and customes of those people, and the exceeding rich trade and commodities of those countries are faithfully set downe and diligently described, by the aforesaid M. Ralph Fitch.

In the yeere of our Lord 1583, I Ralph Fitch of London marchant being desirous to see the countreys of the East India, in the company of M. John Newberie marchant (which had bene at Ormus once befoze) of William Leedes Jeweller, and James Story Painter, being chiefly set forth by the right worshipfull Sir Edward

Diu.
Chaul.

The Italians
our great enemies
for the
trade in the
East.

ward Osborne knight, and M. Richard Staper citizens and marchants of London, did thir my selfe in a ship of London called the Tyger, wherein we went for Tripolis in Syria: & from thence we tooke the way for Aleppo, which we went in seven dayes with the Carouan. Being in Aleppo, and finding good company, we went from thence to Birra, which is two dayes and an halfe traualle with Camels.

Birra is a litle towne, but very plentifull of victuals: and neere to the wall of the towne runneth the riuer of Euphrates. Here we bought a boate and agreed with a master and bargemen, for to go to Babylon. These boates be but for one voiage; for the streame doth runne so fast downe, wardes that they cannot returne. They carie you to a towne which they call Felugia, and there you sell the boate for a litle money, for that which cost you sitie at Birra you sell there for seven or eight. From Birra to Felugia is sicteene dayes iourney, it is not good that one boate goe a lone, for if it should chance to breake, you should haue much a doe to saue your goods from the Arabians, which be alwayes there abouts robbing: and in the night when your boates be made fast, it is necessarie that you keepe good watch. For the Arabians that bee theeres, will come swimming and steale your goods and flee away, against which a gunne is very good; for they doe feare it very much. In the riuer of Euphrates from Birra to Felugia there be certaine places where you pay custome, so many Medines for a some of Camels lading; and certaine rasons and sope, which is for the sonnes of Aborise, which is Lord of the Arabians and all that great desert, and hath some villages vpon the riuer, Felugia where you vnlade your goods which come from Birra to a litle billage: from whence you goe to Babylon in a day.

Babylon is a towne not very great but very populous, and of great traffike of strangers; for that it is the way to Persia, Turkia and Arabia: and from thence doe goe Carouans for these and other places. Here are great stozes of victuals, which come from Armenia downe the riuer of Tygris. They are brought vpon rades made of goates skinned full of winde and boydes layde vpon them: and thereupon they lade their goods which are brought downe to Babylon, which being discharged they open their skinned, and carry them bakke by Camels, to serue another time. Babylon in times past did belong to the kingdome of Persia, but nowe is subiect to the Turke. Duer against Babylon there is a very faire village from whence you passe to Babylon vpon a long bridge made of boats, and tyed to a great chaine of yron, which is made fast on either side of the riuer. When any boates are to passe by or downe the riuer, they take away certaine of the boats vntill they be past.

The Tower of Babel is built on this side the riuer Tygris, towarde Arabia from the towne about seven or eight miles, which tower is ruinated on all sides, and with the fall thereof hath made as it were a litle mountaine, so that it hath no shape at all: it was made of bryckes dyed in the sonne, and certaine canes and leaues of the palme tree layed betwixt the bryckes. There is no entrance to be scene to goe into it. It doth stand vpon a great plaine betwixt the riuers of Euphrates and Tygris.

By the riuer Euphrates two dayes iourney from Babylon at a place called Aie, in a fiede neere vnto it, is a strange thing to see: a mouth that doth continually throwe foorth against the ayre boyling pitch with a filthy smoke: which pitch doth runne abroad into a great fiede which is alwayes full thereof. The Moores say that it is the mouth of hell. By reason of the great quantitie of it, the men of that countrey doe pitch their boates two or three fuches thicke on the out side, so that no water doth enter into them. Their boates be called Danet. When there is great stozes of water in Tygris you may goe from Babylon to Basora in 8 or 9 dayes: if there be small stozes it will cost you the moze dayes.

Basora in times past was vnder the Arabians, but now is subiect to the Turke. But some of them the Turke cannot subdue, for that they holde certaine Ilandes in the riuer Euphrates which the Turke cannot winne of them. They be theeres all and haue no settled dwelling, but remoue from place to place with their Camels, goates, and hoxses, wiues and childzen and all. They haue large blew gownes, their wiues eares and noses are ringed very full of rings of copper and siluer, and they weare rings of copper about their legs.

Basora standeth neere the gulfes of Persia, and is a towne of great trade of spices and drugges which come from Ormus. Also there is great stozes of wheate, ryce, and dates growing thereabout, where with they serue Babylon and all the countrey, Ormus, and all the partes of India. I went from Basora to Ormus downe the gulfes of Persia in a certaine shipp made of boozes, and sowed together with capzo, which is threed made of the huske of Coccoes; and certaine canes or strawe leaues sowed vpon the seames of the bozdes which is the cause that they leake very much. And so hauing Persia alwayes on the left hande, and the coast of Arabia on the right hande we passed many Ilandes; and among others the famous Ilande Baharian

Birra.

Felugia.

Babylon.

The tower of Babel.

Boyling pitch continually issuing out of the earth.

Baharim from whence come the best pearles which be round and Orient.

Ormus.

Ormus is an Island in circuit about five and twentie or thirtie miles, and is the driest Island in the world: for there is nothing growing in it but onely salt; for their water, wood, or victuals, and all things necessary come out of Persia, which is about twelue miles from thence. All the Islands thereabout be very fruitfull, from whence all kinde of victuals are sent vnto Ormus, The Portugales haue a castle here which standeth neere vnto the sea, wherein there is a Captaine for the king of Portugale hauing vnder him a conuenient number of souldiers, wherof some part remaine in the castle, and some in the towne. In this towne are marchants of all Nations, and many Moores and Gentiles. Here is very great trade of all sortes of spices, drugs, silke, cloth of silke, fine tapestrie of Persia, great store of pearles which come from the Ile of Baharim, and are the best pearles of all others, and many hozles of Persia, which serue all India. They haue a Moore to their king which is chosen and gouerned by the Portugales. Their women are very strangely attyred, wearing on their noses, eares, neckes, armes and legges many rings set with iewels, and lockes of siluer and golde in their eares, and a long barre of golde vpon the side of their noses. Their eares with the wright of their iewels be woꝛne so wide, that a man may thrust thre of his fingers into them. Here very shortly after our arrivall wee were put in prison, and had part of our goods taken from vs by the Captaine of the castle, whose name was Don Mathias de Albuquerque; and from hence the eleuenth of October he shipped vs and sent vs for Goa vnto the Viceroy, which at that time was Don Francisco de Mascarenhas. The shippe wherein we were imbarcked for Goa belonged to the Capraine; and carried one hundred twentie and foure hozles in it. All marchandise carried to Goa in a shippe wherein are hozles pay no custome in Goa. The hozles pay custome, the goods pay nothing; but if you come in a ship which bringeth no hozles, you are then to pay eight in the hundred for your goods. The first citie of India that we arrived at vpon the sixt of Nouember, after we had passed the coast of Zindi, is called Diu, which standeth in an Island in the kingdome of Cambaia, and is the strongest towne that the Portugales haue in those partes. It is but litle, but well stozed with marchandise; for here they lade many great shippes with diuerse commodities for the streits of Mecca, for Ormus, and other places, and these be shippes of the Moores and of Christians. But the Moores cannot passe, except they haue a passeport from the Portugales, Cambaetra is the chiefe citie of that prouince, which is great and very populous, and fairely builded for a towne of the Gentiles: but if there happen any famine, the people will sell their children for very litle. The last king of Cambaia was Sultan Badu, which was killed at the siege of Diu, and shortly after his citie was taken by the great Mogor, which is the king of Agra and of Delli, which are fortye dayes iourny from the country of Cambaia. Here the women weare vpon their armes infinite numbers of rings made of Elephants teeth, wherein they take so much delight, that they had rather be without their meate then without their bracelets. Going from Diu we come to Damam the second towne of the Portugales in the country of Cambaia which is distant from Diu fortye leagues. Here is no trade but of coꝛne and rice. They haue many villages vnder them which they quietly possesse in time of peace, but in time of warre the enemy is maister of them. From thence we passed by Basaim, and from Basaim to Tana, at both which places is small trade but only of coꝛne and rice. The tenth of Nouember we arrived at Chaul which standeth in the firme land. There be two townes, the one belonging to the Portugales, and the other to the Moores. That of the Portugales is neerest to the sea, and commaundeth the bay, and is walled round about. A litle about that is the towne of the Moores which is gouerned by a Hoꝛze king called Xa-Maluco. Here is great traffike for all sortes of spices and drugges, silke, and cloth of silke, sandales, Elephants teeth, and much China woꝛke, and much sugar which is made of the nutte called Gagara: the tree is called the palmer: which is the profitabest tree in the world: it doth alwayes beare fruit, and doth yeeld wine, oyle, sugar, vineger, cordes, coles, of the leaues are made thatch for the houses, sayles for shippes, mats to sit or lie on: of the branches they make their houses, and broomes to sweepe, of the tree wood for shippes. The wine doeth issue out of the toppes of the tree. They cut a branch of a bowe and binde it hard, and hange an earthen pot vpon it, which they emptie every moꝛning and every euening, and fill it and put in certaine dried raylins, and it becommeth very strong wine in short time. Whether many shippes come from all partes of India, Ormus, and many from Mecca: heere be manie Moores and Gentiles. They haue a very strange order among them, they woꝛshippe a coꝛne, and extreme much of the coꝛnes boung to paint the walles of their houses. They will kill nothing not so much as a louse: for they holde it a sinne to kill any thing. They eat no flesh, but liue by rootes, and ryce, and milke. And when the husbände dieth his wife is burned with him, if shee be aliu: if shee will not, her head is shauen, and then is neuer any account made

Diu.

Daman.

Basaim.

Tana.

Chaul.

of her after. They say if they should be buried, it were a great sinne, for of their bodies there would come many wormes and other vermine, and when their bodies were consumed, those wormes would lacke sustentance, which were a sinne, therefore they will be burned. In Cambaia they will kill nothing, nor haue any thing killed: in the towne they haue hospitals to keepe lame dogs and cats, and for birds. They will giue meat to the Ants.

Goa is the most principall citie which the Portugals haue in India, wherin the Viceroy remaineth with his court. It standeth in an Island, which may be 25, or 30, miles about. It is a fine citie, and for an Indian towne very faire. The Island is very faire, full of orchards and gardens, and many palmer trees, and hath some villages. Here bee many marchants of all nations. And the flecte which commeth euery yeere from Portugal, which be foure, siue, or sixe great shippes, commeth first hither. And they come for the most part in September, and remaine there foztie or fiftie dayes; and then goe to Cochin, where they lade their Pepper for Portugall. Oftentimes they lade one in Goa, the rest goe to Cochin which is from Goa an hundred leagues southward.

Goa standeth in the countrey of Hidalcan, who lieth in the countrey sixe or seuen dayes iourney. His chiefe citie is called Bisapor. At our comming we were cast into the prison, and examined before the Justice and demanded for letters, and were charged to be spies, but they could prooue nothing by vs. We continued in prison vntill the two and twentie of December, and then we were set at libertie, putting in sureties for two thousand duckats not to depart the towne; which sureties father Steuens an English Iesuite which we found there, & another religious man a friend of his procured for vs. Our sureties name was Andreas Taborer, to whom we paid 2150. duckats, and still he demanded moze: whereupon we made sute to the Viceroy and Justice to haue our money againe, considering that they had had it in their hands neere siue moneths and could prooue nothing against vs. The Viceroy made vs a very sharpe answer, and sayd wee should be better sitted before it were long, and that they had further matter against vs. Whereupon we presently determined rather to seeke our liberties, then to bee in danger for euer to be slaues in the countrey, for it was told vs we should haue y^e Arapado. Whereupon presently, the first day of April 1585. in the morning we ranne from thence. And being set ouer the riuer, we went two dayes on foote not without feare, not knowing the way nor hauing any guide, for we durst trust none. One of the first townes which we came vnto, is called Belleragan, where there is a great market kept of Diamants, Rubies, Saphires, and many other soft stones. From Belleragan we went to Bisapor which is a very great towne where the king doeth keepe his court. Hee hath many Gentiles in his court and they bee great idolaters. And they haue their idols standing in the Woods, which they call Pagodes. Some bee like a Cowe, some like a Donkie, some like Buffles, some like peacocks, and some like the deuill. Here be very many elephants which they goe to warre withall. Here they haue good stoe of gold and siluer: their houses are of stone very faire and high. From hence wee went for Gulconda, the king whereof is called Cutup de lachach. Here and in the kingdome of Hidalcan, and in the countrey of the king of Decan bee the Diamants found of the olde water. It is a very faire towne, pleasant, with faire houses of bricke and timber, it aboundeth with great stoe of fruites and fresh water. Here the men and the women do go with a cloth bound about their middles without any moze apparell. We found it here very hote.

The winter beginneth here about the last of May. In these partes is a porte or haven called Masuliparan, which standeth eight dayes iourney from hence toward the gulfe of Bengala, wherether come many shippes out of India, Pegu, and Sumatra, very richly laden with Pepper, spices, and other commodities. The countrie is very good and fruitfull. From thence I went to Seruidora which is a fine countrey, and the king is called, the king of Brad. The houses here bee all thatched and made of lome. Here be many Moores and Gentiles, but there is small religion among them. From thence I went to Bellapore, and so to Barrampore, which is in the countrey of Zelabdim Echebar. In this place their money is made of a kind of siluer round and thicke, to the value of twentie pence, which is very good siluer. It is maruelous great and a populous countrey. In their winter which is in June, July, and August, there is no passing in the streets but with holes, the waters be so high. The houses are made of lome and thatched. Here is great stoe of cotton cloth made, and painted clothes of cotton wooll: here groweth great stoe of cozne and Rize. We found marriages great stoe both in townes and villages in many places where wee passed, of boyes of eight or ten yeeres, and girls of siue or six yeeres old. They both do ride vpon one horse very trimly decked, and are caried through the towne with great piping and playing, and so returne home and eate of a banquet made of Rize and fruits, and there they daunce the most part of the night and so make an ende of the marriage. They lie not together vntill they be ten yeeres old. They say they marry their children so young, because it is an order that when

Goa.

This was the
20. of Dec
mber.Belleragan a
towne.
Bisapor.

Gulconda.

Masuliparan.

Seruidora.

Bellapore.

Strange mar
riages.

Mandoway a very
strong towne

Vgini.

Agra a great
citie.

The great
Mogor.

The like is re-
ported of the
citties of China.

Wil. Leades ser-
ued the king of
Cambaia.

The superstiti-
ous ceremo-
nies of the Bra-
manes.

Ganges.

the man dieth, the woman must be burned with him: so that if the father die, yet they may haue a father in lawe to helpe to bring vp the childe which bee married: and also that they will not leaue their sonnes without wiues, nor their daughters without husbands. From thence we went to Mandoway, which is a very strong towne. It was besieged twelue yeeres by Zelabdim Echebar before hee could winne it. It standeth vpon a very great high rocke as the most part of their castles doe, and was of a very great circuite. From hence wee went to Vgini and Ser- ringe, where wee ouertooke the ambassadour of Zelabdim Echebar with a maruailous great company of men, elephants, and camels. Here is great trade of cotton and cloth made of cotton, and great store of drugs. From thence we went to Agra passing many riuers, which by reason of the raine were so swollen, that wee waded and swamme oftentimes for our liues. Agra is a very great cite and populous, built with stone, hauing faire and large streetes, with a faire riuer running by it, which falleth into the gulfe of Bengala. It hath a faire castle and a strong ditch with a very faire ditch. Here bee many Moores and Gentiles, the king is called Zelabdim Echebar: the people for the most part call him The great Mogor. From thence wee went for Fatepore, which is the place where the king kept his court. The towne is greater then Agra, but the houses and streetes be not so faire. Here dwell many people both Moores and Gentiles. The king hath in Agra and Fatepore as they doe credibly report 1000. elephants, thirtie thousand hoxses, 1400. tame Deere, 800. concubines: such store of Dunces, Tigers, Buffles, Cocks & Haukes, that is very strange to see. He kepeth a great court, which they call Dericcan. Agra and Fatepore are two very great cities, either of them much greater then London and very populous. Betwene Agra and Fatepore are 12. miles, and all the way is a market of victuals & other things, as full as though a man were still in a towne, and so many people as if a man were in a market. They haue many fine cartes, and many of them carued and gilded with gold, with two wheeles which be drawn with two litle Bulls about the bignesse of our great dogs in England, and they will runne with any horse, and carie two or threemen in one of these cartes: they are covered with silke or very fine cloth, and be vsed here as our Coches be in England. Wither is great resort of marchants from Persia and out of India, and very much merchandise of silke and cloth, and of precious stones, both Rubies, Diamants, and Pearles. The king is apparelled in a white Cabie made like a shirt tied with strings on the one side, and a litle cloth on his head coloured oftentimes with red or yealow. None come into his house but his eunuches which keepe his women. Here in Fatepore we staid all thre butill the 28. of September 1585. and then master Iohn Newberie tooke his iourney toward the cite of Lahor, determining from thence to goe for Persia and then for Aleppo or Constantinople, whether hee could get soonest passage into, and directed me to goe for Bengala and for Pegu, and did promise me, if it pleased God, to meete me in Bengala within two yeeres with a shippe out of England. I left William Leades the ieweller in seruice with the king Zelabdim Echebar in Fatepore, who did entertaine him very well, and gaue him an house and five slaues, an horse, and euery day five S. S. in money. I went from Agra to Satagam in Bengala, in the companie of one hundred and foure score boates laden with Salt, Opium, Hinge, Lead, Carpets, and diuers other commodities downe the riuer Iemena. The chiefe marchants are Moores and Gentiles. In these countries they haue many strange ceremonies. The Bramanes which are their priests, come to the water and haue a string about their necks made with great ceremonies, and lade by water with both their hands, and turne the string first with both their hands within, and then one arme after the other out. Though it be neuer so cold, they will wash themselves in cold water or in warme. These Gentiles will eat no flesh nor kill any thing. They liue with rice, butter, milke, and fruits. They pray in the water naked, and dresse their meat & eat it naked, and for their penance they lie flat vpon the earth, and rise vp and turne themselves about 30. or 40. times, and vse to heaue by their hands to the sunne, & to kisse the earth, with their armes and legs stretched along out, and their right leg alwayes before the left. Euery time they lie downe, they make a scoze on the ground with their finger to know when their stint is finished. The Bramanes marke themselves in the foreheades, eares and throates with a kind of yellow geare which they grind, & euery morning they do it. And they haue some old men which go in the streetes with a boxe of yellow powder, and marke men on their heads & necks as they meet them. And their wines do come by 10. 20. & 30. together to the water side singing, & there do wash themselves, & then vse their ceremonies, & marke themselves in their foreheades and faces, and carie some with them, and so depart singing. Their daughters be married, at, or before the age of 10. yeeres. The men may haue 7. wiues. They be a kind of craftie people, worse then the Iewes. When they salute one another, they heaue by their hands to their heads, and say Rame, Rame. For Agra I came to Prage, where the riuer Iemena entrench into the mightie riuer Ganges, and Iemena loofeth his name, Ganges commeth out of the Northwest, & runneth East into the

the gulfe of Bengala. In those parts there are many Tigers and many partridges & turtle-doues, and much other soule. Here be many beggers in these countreies which goe naked, and the people make great account of them: they call them Schefche. Here I sawe one which was a monster among the rest. He would haue nothing vpon him, his beard was very long, and with the haire of his head he couered his priuities. The nailes of some of his fingers were two inches long, for he would cut nothing from him, neither would he speake. He was accompanied with eight or tenne, and they spake for him. When any man spake to him, he would lay his hand vpon his brest and bowe himselfe, but would not speake. Hee would not speake to the king. We went from Prage downe Ganges, the which is here very broad. Here is great store of fish of sundry sorts, & of wild foule, as of swannes, geese, cranes, and many other things. The countrey is very fruitfull and populous. The men for the most part haue their faces shauen, and their heads very long, except some which bee all shauen saue the crowne: and some of them are as though a man should set a dish on their heads, and shauē them round, all but the crowne. In this riuier of Ganges are many Islands. His water is very sweete and pleasant, and the countrey adioyning very fruitfull. From thence wee went to Bannaras which is a great towne, and great store of cloth is made there of cotton, and Shalies for the Moores. In this place they be all Gentiles, and be the greatest idolaters that euer I sawe. To this towne come the Gentiles on pilgrimage out of farre countreys. Here alongst the waters side bee very many faire houses, and in all of them, or for the most part they haue their images standing, which be euill faouered, made of stone and wood, some like lions, leopards, and monkeis, some like men & women, and peacocks, and some like the deuil with foure armes and 4 hands. They sit crosse legged, some with one thing in their hands, & some another, & by breake of day and before, there are men & women which come out of the towne and wash themselves in Ganges. And there are diuers old men which vpon places of earth made for the purpose, sit praying, and they giue the people three or foure straws, which they take & hold them betweene their fingers when they wash themselves: and some sit to marke them in the foreheads, and they haue in a cloth a litle Rice, Barlic, or money, which, when they haue washed themselves, they giue to the old men which sit there praying. Afterwards they go to diuers of their images, & giue them of their sacrifices. And when they giue, the old men say certaine prayers, and then is all holy. And in diuers places there standeth a kind of image which in their language they call Ada. And they haue diuers great stones carued, whereon they poure water, & throw therevpon some rice, wheate, barley, and some other things. This Ada hath foure hands with clawes. Moreover, they haue a great place made of stone like to a well with steppes to goe downe; wherein the water standeth very foule and stincketh: for the great quantitie of flowers, which continually they throwe into it, doe make it stinke. There be alwayes many people in it: for they say when they wash themselves in it, that their sinnes be forgiven them, because God, as they say, did wash himselfe in that place. They gather by the land in the bottoome of it, and say it is holy. They neuer pray but in the water, and they wash themselves ouer head, and lade by water with both their handes, and turne themselves about, and then they drinke a litle of the water three times, and so goe to their gods which stand in those houses. Some of them will wash a place which is their length, and then will pray vpon the earth with their armes and legs at length out, and will rise vp and lie downe, and kisse the ground twentie or thirtie times, but they will not stirre their right foote. And some of them will make their ceremonies with fiftene or sixteene pots litle and great, and ring a litle bell when they make their mixtures tenne or twelue times: and they make a circle of water round about their pots and pray, and diuers sit by them, and one that reacheth them their pots: and they say diuers things ouer their pots many times, and when they haue done, they goe to their gods, and shawe their sacrifices which they thinke are very holy, and marke many of them which sit by, in the foreheads, which they take as a great gift. There come fittie and sometime an hundred together, to wash them in this well, and to offer to these idols,

They haue in some of these houses their idoles standing, and one sitteth by them in warme weather with a fanne to blowe winde vpon them. And when they see any company comming, they ring a litle bell which hangeth by them, and many giue them their almes, but especially those which come out of the countrey. Many of them are blacke and haue clawes of bzalle with long nayles, and some ride vpon peacocks and other foules which be euill faouered, with long haukes bills, and some like one thing and some another, but none with a good face. Among the rest there is one which they make great account of: for they say hee giueth them all things both foode and apparell, and one sitteth alwayes by him with a fanne to make wind towards him. Here some bee burned to ashes, some scorched in the fire and throwen into the water, and dogges and fores doe presently eate them. The wiues here doe burne with their husbands when they die, if they will not, their heads be shauen, and neuer any account is made of them afterward.

Bannaras.

A pilgrimage
of the Gentiles.

The people goe all naked save a litle cloth bound about their middle. Their women haue their necks, armes and eares decked with rings of silver, copper, tinne, and with round hoopcs made of Iuorie, adorned with amber stones, and with many agats, and they are marked with a great spot of red in their foreheads, and a stroke of red by to the crowne, and so it runneth three maner of wayes. In their Winter, which is our May, the men weare quilted gownes of cocton like to our matraces and quilted caps like to our great Grocers morters, with a slit to looke out at, and so tied downe beneath their eares. If a man or a woman be sicke and like to die, they will lay him befoze their idols all night, and that shall helpe him or make avenge of him. And if he do not mend that night, his friends will come and sit with him a litle and cry, and afterwards will cary him to the waters side and set him vpon a litle raft made of reeds, and so let him goe downe the riuer. When they be married the man and the woman come to the water side, and there is an olde man which they call a Bramane, that is, a pyist, a cowe, and a calfe, or a cowe with calfe. Then the man and the woman, cowe and calfe, and the olde man goe into the water together, and they giue the olde man a white cloth of foure yards long, and a basket crosse bound with diuers things in it: the cloth hee laicth vpon the backe of the cowe, and then he taketh the cowe by the ende of the taile, and laicth certaine wordes: and she hath a copper or a brasse pot full of water, and the man doeth hold his hand by the olde mans hand, and the wiuces hand by her husbands, and all haue the cowe by the taile, and they poure water out of the pot vpon the cowes taile, and it runneth through all their hands, and they lade by water with their handes, and then the olde man doeth tie him and her together by their clothes. Which done, they goe round about the cowe and calfe, and then they giue somewhat to the poore which be alwayes there, and to the Bramane or pyiest they giue the cowe and calfe, and after ward goe to diuers of their idoles and offer money, and lie downe flat vpon the ground and kisse it diuers times, and then goe their way. Their chiefe idoles bee blacke and euill fauoured, their nouehes monstrous, their eares gilded, and full of iewels, their teeth and eyes of gold, silver, and glasse, some hauing one thing in their handes, and some another. You may not come into the houses where they stand, with your shoes on. They haue continually lampes burning befoze them. From Baharas I went to Patenaw downe the riuer of Ganges: where in the way we passed many faire towne, and a countrey very fruitfull: and many very great riuers doe enter into Ganges, and some of them as great as Ganges, which cause Ganges to bee of a great breadth, and so broad that in the time of raine you cannot see from one side to the other. These Indians when they bee scorched and throwen into the water, the men swimme with their faces downewards, the women with their faces vppwards, I thought they tied something to them to cause them to doe so: but they say no. There be very many thienes in this countrey, which be like to the Arabians: for they haue no certaine abode, but are sometime in one place and sometime in another. Were the women bee so decked with silver and copper, that it is strange to see, they vse no shoes by reason of the rings of silver and copper which they weare on their toes. Here at Patanaw they finde gold in this maner. They digge deepe pits in the earth, and wash the earth in great bolles, and therein they finde the gold, and they make the pits round about with byicke, that the earth fall not in. Patenaw is a very long and a great towne. In times past it was a kingdom, but now it is vnder Zelabdim, Echebar the great Mogor. The men are tall and slender, and haue many old folks among them: the houses are simple, made of earth and couered with strawe, the streetes are very large. In this towne there is a trade of cotton, & cloth of cotton, much sugar, which they cary from hence to Bengala and India, very much Opium & other commodities. He that is chiefe here vnder the king is called Tipperdas, and is of great account among the people. Here in Patenaw I saw a dissembling prophet which late vpon a horse in the market place, and made as though he slept, and many of the people came and touched his feete with their hands, and then killed their hands. They tooke him for a great man, but sure he was a litle lubber. I left him there sleeping. The people of these countreies be much giuen to such prating and dissembling by hypocrites.

This tying of new married folks together by the clothes, was used by the Mexicans in old time.

Patenaw.

Gold found.

Tanda III Gouren

From Patanaw I went to Tanda which is in the land of Gouren. It hath in times past bene a kingdom, but now is subdued by Zelabdim Echebar. Great trade and traffique is here of cotton, and of cloth of cotton. The people goe naked with a litle cloth bound about their waste. It standeth in the countrey of Bengala. Here be many Tigers, wild Buis, and great stoze of wilde foule: they are very great idolaters. Tanda standeth from the riuer Ganges a league, because in times past the riuer flowing ouer the bankes, in time of raine did dzotome the countrey and many villages, and so they do remaine. And the old way which the riuer Ganges was wont to run, remaineth drie, which is the occasion that the citie doeth stand so farre from the water. From Agra downe the riuer Iewena, and downe the riuer Ganges, I was siue moneths cunning to Bengala, but it may be sailed in much shorter time.

I went from Bengala into the country of Couche, which lieth 25. dayes iourney Northwards from Tanda. The king is a Gentile, his name is Suckel Counle: his countrey is great, and lieth not far from Cauchin China: for they say they haue pepper from thence. The port is called Cachegate. All the countrey is set with Bambos or Canes made sharpe at both the endes & driuen into the earth, and they can let in the water & drowne the ground about knee deepe, so that men nor horses can passe. They poison all the waters if any wars be. Here they haue much silke & muske, and cloth made of cotton. The people haue eares which be maruailous great of a span long, which they draw out in length by deuises when they be young. Here they be all Gentiles, and they will kill nothing. They haue hospitals for sheepe, goates, dogs, cats, birds, & for all other liuing creatures. When they be old & lame, they keepe them vntill they die. If a man catch or buy any quicke thing in other places & bring it thither, they will giue him money for it or other victuals, & keepe it in their hospitals or let it go. They will giue meat to the Anes. Their smalmony is almonds, which oftentimes they vse to eat. From thence I returned to Hugeli, which is the place where the Portugals keepe in the country of Bengala which standeth in 23. degrees of Northerly latitude, and standeth a league from Saragan: they call it Porto Piqueno. We went through the wildernes, because the right way was full of thienes, where we passen the countrey of Gouren, where we found but few villages, but almost all wildernes, & saw many buffes, swine & deere, grasse longer then a man, and very many Tigers. Not far from Porto Piqueno south westward, standeth an haueu which is called Angeli, in the countrey of Orixa. It was a kingdom of it selfe, & the king was a great friend to strangers. Afterwards it was taken by the king of Patan which was their neighbour, but he did not enioy it long, but was taken by Zelabdim Echebar, which is king of Agra, Delli, & Cambaia. Orixa standeth 6. daies iourney from Saragan south westward. In this place is very much Rice, and cloth made of cotton, & great stoze of cloth which is made of grasse, which they call Yerua, it is like a silke. They make good cloth of it which they send for India & diuers other places. To this haueu of Angeli come euery yere many ships out of India, Negapatan, Sumatra, Malacca, and diuers other places; & lade from thence great stoze of Rice, & much cloth of cotton woodd, much sugar, & long pepper, great stoze of butter & other victuals for India. Satagam is a faire citie for a citie of the Moores, and very plentifull of all things. Here in Bengala they haue euery day in one place or other a great market which they call Chandeau, and they haue many great boates which they call pericofe, where withall they go from place to place and buy Rice and many other things: these boates haue 24. or 26. oares to rowe them, they be great of burthen, but haue no couerture. Here the Gentiles haue the water of Ganges in great estimation, for hauing good water nere them, yet they will fetch the water of Ganges a great way off, and if they haue not sufficient to drinke, they will sprinkle a litle on them, and then they thinke themselves well. From Saragam I travelled by the countrey of the king of Tippara or porto Grande, with whom the Mogores or Mogen haue almost continuall warres. The Mogen which be of the kingdom of Recon and Rame, be stronger then the king of Tippara, so that Chatigan or porto Grande is oftentimes vnder the king of Recon.

There is a countrey 4. daies iourne from Couche or Quichen before mentioned, which is called Bortanter and the citie Bortia, the king is called Dermain; the people whereof are very tall and strong, and there are marchants which come out of China, & they say out of Muscouia or Tartarie. And they come to buy muske, cambals, agars, silke, pepper and saffron like the saffron of Persia. The countrey is very great, 3. moneths iourney. There are very high mountains in this countrey, & one of them so steep that when a man is 6. daies tourney off it, he may see it perfectly. Upon these mountains are people which haue eares of a spanne long: if their eares be not long, they call them apes. They say that when they be vpon the mountaines, they see ships in the Sea sayling to and fro; but they know not from whence they come, nor whether they go. There are marchants which come out of the East, they say, from vnder the sunne, which is from China, which haue no beards, and they say there it is something warme. But those which come from the other side of the mountaines which is from the North, say there it is very cold. These Northen marchants are apparelled with woollen cloth and hats, white hosen close, and bootes which be of Moscouia or Tartarie. They report that in their countrey they haue very good horses, but they be litle: some men haue foure, five, or sixe hundred horses and kine: they liue with milke and fleshe. They cut the tailles of their kine, and sell them very deere, for they bee in great request, and much esteemed in those partes. The haire of them is a yard long, the rumpe is about a spanne long: they vse to hang them for haireie vpon the heades of their Elephants: they bee much vled in Pegu and China: they buye and sell by scozes vpon the ground. The people be very swiffe on foote.

From Chatigan in Bengala, I came to Bacola; the king whereof is a Gentile, a man

Couche: this seemeth to be Quichen, accounted by some among the provinces of China

Once Gentiles liue.

In Mexico they vse like wise for small money the true Cacao which are like almonds, Hugely.

Porto Angeli,

The like cloth may be made of the long grasse in Virginia.

Satagam,

Tippara or porto Grande,

Bortanter a great Northern country. Marchants of China, Moscouie and Tartarie,

These seeme to be the mountains of Imaus, called by the people Cumao.

The apparel of the Tartarie marchants.

Cowe tailles are great request.

Bacola.

very well disposed and delighteth much to shoot in a gun. His countrey is very great and fruitful, and hath store of Rice, much cotton cloth, and cloth of silke. The houses be very faire and high builded, the streetes large, the people naked, except a litle cloth about their waste. The women weare great store of silver hoopess about their neckes and armes, and their legs are ringed with silver and copper, and rings made of elephants teeth.

Serrepore.

From Bacola I went to Serrepore which standeth vpon the riuer of Ganges, the king is called Chondery. They be all here about rebels against their king Zebaldim Echebar: for here are a great many riuers & Islands, that they flee from one to another, whereby his hozemen cannot preuaile against them. Great store of cotton cloth is made here.

Sinnergan.

Sinnergan is a towne six leagues from Serrepore, where there is the best and finest cloth made of cotton that is in all India. The chiefe king of all these countries is called Isacan, and he is chiefe of all the other kings, and is a great friend to all Christians. The houses here, as they be in the most part of India, are very litle, and couered with strawe, and haue a fewe mats round about the wals, and the dooze to keepe out the Tygers and the Foxes. Many of the people are very rich. Here they will eate no flesh, nor kill no beast: they liue of Rice, milke, and fruits. They goe with a litle cloth before them, and all the rest of their bodies is naked. Great store of Cotton cloth goeth from hence, and much Rice, wherewith they serue all India, Ceilon, Pegu, Malacca, Sumatra, and many other places.

Sundina Island

I went from Serrepore the 28. of Nouember 1586. for Pegu in a small ship of foist of one Albert Caruallos, and so passing downe Ganges, and passing by the Island of Sundina, porto Grande, of the countrie of Tippera, the kingdom of Recon and Mogen, leauing them on our left side with a faire wind at Northwest: our course was South & by East, which brought vs to the barre of Negrais in Pegu: if any contrary wind had come, we had thowen many of our things ouer-board: for we were so pestered with people & goods, that there was scant place to lie in. From Bengala to Pegu is 90. leagues. We entred the barre of Negrais, which is a braue barre & hath 4. sadomes water where it hath least. Thre dayes after we came to Cosmin, which is a very pretie towne, and standeth very pleasantly, very well furnished with all things. The people be very tall & well disposed; the women white, round faced, with litle eyes: the houses are high built, set vpon great high postes, & they go vpon to them with long ladders for feare of the Tygers which be very many. The countrey is very fruitful of all things. Here are very great Figs, Oranges, Cocones, and other fruits. The land is very high that we fall withall, but after we be entred the barre, it is very lowe and full of riuers, for they goe all too and fro in boates, which they call paroes, and keepe their houses with wife and childzen in them.

Negrais.

Cosmin.

Ladders used to auoyd the danger of wild beasts.

Dwelling in boats.

From the barre of Nigras to the citie of Pegu is ten dayes iourney by the riuers. We went from Cosmin to Pegu in Paroes of boates, and passing by the riuers wee came to Medon, which is a pretie towne, where there be a wonderfull number of Paroes, for they keepe their houses and their markets in them all vpon the water. They rowe too and fro, and haue all their marchandizes in their boates with a great Sombbrero of shadow ouer their heads to keepe the sunne from them, which is as broad as a great cart wheele made of the leaues of the Coco trees and fig trees, and is very light.

Medon.

Dela.

From Medon we went to Dela, which is a very faire towne, and hath a faire port into the sea, from whence go many ships to Malacca, Mecca, and many other places. Here are 18. or 20. very great and long houses, where they tame and keep many elephants of the kings: for there about in the wilderness they catch the wilde elephants. It is a very fruitfull countrey. From Dela we went to Cirion, which is a good towne, and hath a faire port into the sea, whither come many ships from Mecca, Malacca, Sumatra, and from diuers other places. And there the ships stae and discharge, & send vpon their goods in Paroes to Pegu. From Cirion we went to Macao, which is a pretie towne, where we left our boats of Paroes, & in the morning taking Delingeges, which are a kind of Coches made of cozds & cloth quilted, & caried vpon a stang betweene 3. or 4. men: we came to Pegu the same day. Pegu is a citie very great, strong, and very faire, with walles of stone, and great ditches round about it. There are two townes, the old towne and the newe. In the olde towne are all the marchants strangers, and very many marchants of the countrey. All the goods are sold in the olde towne which is very great, and hath many suburbs round about it, and all the houses are made of Canes which they call Bambos, and be couered with strawe. In your house you haue a Warehouse which they call Godon, which is made of hicke to put your goods in, for oftentimes they take fire and burne in an houre foure or five hundred houses: so that if the Godon were not, you should be in danger to haue all burned, if any winde should rise, at a trice. In the newe towne is the king, and all his Nobilitie and Gentrie. It is a citie very great and populous, and is made square and with very faire walles, and a great ditch round.

Cirion.

Macao.

Coches caried on mens shoulders. Pegu.

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round about it full of water, with many crocodiles in it: it hath twenty gates, and they be made of stone, for every square five gates. There are also many Turrets for Centinels to watch, made of wood, and gilded with golde very faire. The Streets are the fairest that ever I saw, as straight as a line from one gate to the other, and so broad that twenty men may ride a front thozow them. On both sides of them at every mans doore is set a palmer tree which is the nut tree, which make a very faire shew and a very commodious shadow, so that a man may walke in the shade all day. The houses be made of wood, and covered with tiles. The kings house is in the middle of the city, and is walled and ditched round about: and the buildings within are made of wood very sumptuously gilded, and great workmanship is vpon the forefront, which is likewise very costly gilded. And the house wherein his Pagode or idole standeth is covered with tiles of silver, and all the walles are gilded with golde. Within the first gate of the kings house is a great large roome, on both sides whereof are houses made for the kings elephants, which be marvellous great and faire, and are brought by sea warres and in service of the king. And among the rest he hath foure white elephants, which are very strange and rare: for there is none other king which hath them but he: if any other king hath one, hee will send unto him for it. When any of these white elephants is brought unto the king, all the merchants in the city are commanded to see them, and to giue him a present of halfe a ducat, which doth come to a great summe: for that there are many merchants in the city. After that you haue giuen your present you may come and see them at your pleasure, although they stand in the kings house. This king in his title is called the king of the white elephants. If any other king haue one, and will not send it him, he will make warre with him for it: for he had rather lose a great part of his kingdome, then not to conquere him. They do very great service unto these white elephants; every one of them standeth in an house gilded with golde, and they doe scede in vessels of silver and gilt. One of them when he doth go to the riuer to be washed, as every day they do, goeth vnder a canopy of cloth of golde or of silke carried ouer him by sixe or eight men, and eight or ten men goe before him playing on drummes, shawmes, or other instruments: and when he is washed and cometh out of the riuer, there is a gentleman which doth wash his feet in a silver basin: which is his office giuen him by the king. There is no such account made of any blacke elephant, be he neuer so great. And surely there be woonderfull faire and great, and some be nine cubites in height. And they do report that the king hath about five thousand elephants of warre, besides many other which be not taught to fight. This king hath a very large place wherein he taketh the wilde elephants. It standeth about a mile from Pegu, builded with a faire court within, and is in a great groue of wood: and there be many huntinen, which go into the wildernesse with the elephants: for without the the they are not to be taken. And they be taught for that purpose: and every hunter hath five or sixe of them: and they say that they anoint the the elephants with a certaine ointment, which when the wild elephant doth smell, he will not leaue her. When they haue brought the wilde elephant neere vnto the place, they send word vnto the towne, and many horsemen and footmen come out and cause the the elephant to enter into a strait way which doeth goe to the palace, and the the and he do runne in: for it is like a wood: and when they be in, the gate doth shut. Afterward they get out the female: and when the male seeth that he is left alone, he weepeth and crieth, and runneth against the walles, which be made of so strong trees, that some of them doe breake their teeth with running against them. Then they picke him with sharpe canes, & cause him to go into a strait house, and there they put a rope about his middle and about his feet, and let him stand there thzee or foure dayes without eating or drinking: and then they bring a female to him, with meat and drinke, and within few dayes he becommeth tame. The chief force of the king is in these elephants. And when they go into the warres they set a frame of wood vpon their backs, bound with great cordes, wherein sit foure or sixe men, which fight with gunnes, bowes and arrowes, darts and other weapons. And they say that their skinnes are so thicke that a pellet of an harquebush will scarce pearce them, except it be in some tender place. Their weapons be very badde. They haue gunnes, but shoot very badly in them, darts and swozrs short without points. The king keepeth a very great state: when he sitteth abroad as he doth every day twice, all his noble men which they call Shemines sit on each side, a good distance off, and a great guard without them. The Court yard is very great. If any man will speake with the king, he is to kneele downe, to heaue by his hands to his head, and to put his head to the ground thzee times, when he encreth, in the middle way, and when he commeth neere to the king: and then he sitteth downe and talketh with the king: if the king like well of him, he sitteth neere him within thzee or foure paces: if he thinke not well of him, he sitteth further off. When he goeth to warre, he goeth very strong. At my being there he went to Ochia in the countrey of Siam with thzee hundred thousand men, and five thousand elephants. Thirey thousand men were his guard. These

Foure white
elephants.

The king of
the white
elephants.

Ochia & city of
Siam.

people

people to cate roots, herbs, leaues, dogs, cats, rats, Serpents, and snakes; they refuse almost nothing. When the king rideth abroad, he rideth with a great guard, and many noblemen, oftentimes vpon an elephant with a fine castle vpon him very fairely gilded with gold; and sometimes vpon a great frame like an hoysiter, which hath a little house vpon it covered ouer head, but open on the sides, which is all gilded with golde, & set with many rubies & sapphires, whercof he hath infinite stoze in his country, and is caried vpon sirtene or eightene mens shouldrs. This coach in their language is called Serrion. Very great feasting and triumphing is many times befoze the king both of men and women. This king hath little fozte by Sea, because hee hath but very few ships. He hath houses full of golde and siluer, and bringeth in often, but spendeth very little, and hath the mines of rubies and sapphires, and spinelles. Neere vnto the palace of the king, there is a treasure woonderfull rich; the which because it is so neere, he doth not account of it: and it standeth open for all men to see in a great walled court with two gates, which be alwayes open. There are foure houses gilded very richly, and covered with leade: in every one of them are Idogodes or images of huge stature and great value. In the first is the picture of a king in golde with a crowne of golde on his head full of great rubies and sapphires, and about him there stand foure childzen of golde. In the second house is the picture of a man in siluer woonderfull great, as high as an house; his foot is as long as a man, and he is made sitting, with a crowne on his head very rich with stones. In the thiro house is the picture of a man greater then the other, made of bzaffe, with a rich crowne on his head. In the fourth and last house doth stand another, made of bzaffe, greater then the other, with a crowne also on his head very rich with stones. In another court not farre from this stand foure other Idogodes or idoles, maruellous great, of copper, made in the same place where they do stand; for they be so great that they be not to be remooued: they stand in foure houses gilded very faire, and are themselves gilded all ouer sauz their heads, and they shew like a blacke Mozian. Their expences in gilding of their images are woonderfull. The king hath one wife and about thzee hundred concubines, by which they say he hath fourefoize or fourefoize and ten childzen. He sitteth in iudgement almost every day. They vse no speech, but giue by their supplications written in the leaues of a tree with the point of an yron bigger then a bodkin. These leaues are an elle long, and about two inches broad; they are also double. He which giueth in his supplication, doth stand in a place a little distance off with a present. If his matter be liked of, the king accepteth of his present, and granteth his request: if his sute be not liked of, he returneth with his present; for the king will not take it.

In India there are few commodities which serue for Pegu, except Opium of Cambaia, painted cloth of S. Thome, or of Masulipatan, and white cloth of Bengala, which is spent there in great quantity. They bring thither also much cotton, yarne red coloured with a root which they call Saia, which will neuer lose his colour: it is very wel sold here, and very much of it commeth yereely to Pegu. By your money you lose much. The ships which come from Bengala, S. Thome, and Masulipatan, come to the bar of Nigras and to Cosmin. To Marrauan a port of the sea in the kingdome of Pegu come many ships from Malacca laden with Sandall, Porcelanes, and other wares of China, and with Camphora of Borneo, and Pepper from Achen in Sumatra. To Cirion a port of Pegu come ships from Mecca with woollen cloth, Scarfers, Veluets, Opium, and such like. There are in Pegu eight Brokers, whom they call Tareghe, which are bound to sell your goods at the price which they be woorth, and you giue them for their labour two in the hundred: and they be bound to make your debt good, because you sell your marchandises vpon their word. If the Broker pay you not at his day, you may take him home, and keepe him in your house: which is a great shame for him. And if he pay you not presently, you may take his wife and childzen and his slaues, and binde them at your dooze, and set them in the Sunne; for that is the law of the country. Their current money in these parts is a kinde of bzaffe which they call Gans, wherewith you may buy golde, siluer, rubies, muske, and all other things. The golde and siluer is marchandise, and is worth sometimes more, and sometimes lesse, as other wares be. This bzafen money doeth goe by a weight which they call a biza; and commonly this biza after our account is worth about halfe a crowne or somewhat lesse. The marchandise which be in Pegu, are golde, siluer, rubies, sapphires, spinelles, muske, beniamin or frankincense, long pepper, rinae, leade, copper, lacca whercof they make hard ware, rice, and wine made of rice, and some sugar. The elephants doe cate the sugar canes, or els they would make very much. And they consume many canes likewise in making of their Idollas or Idole temples, which are in great number both great and small. They be made round like a sugar loafe, some are as high as a Church, very broad beneath, some a quarter of a mile in compass: within they be all earth done about with stone. They consume in these Idollas great quantity of golde; for that they be all gilded aloft: and many of them from the top to the bottome: and euery ten or twelue peeres they

This manner of carriage on mens shouldrs is used in Peru, and in Florida.

Paper of the leaues of a tree.

An excellent colour with a root called Saia.

Woollen cloth and scarfers sold in Pegu.

The mouey of Pegu.

The severall merchandises of Pegu.

The forme of their Temples or Idollas.

must be new gilded, because the raine consumeth off the golde: for they stand open abroad. If they did not consume their golde in these vanities, it would be very plentiful and good cheape in Pegu. About two dayes journey from Pegu there is a Varelle or Pagode, which is the pilgrimage of the Pegues: it is called Dogonne, and is of a wonderfull bignesse, and all gilded from the foot to the topp. And there is an house by it whereth the Tallipoies which are their Priests doe preach. This house is siue and fifty paces in length, and hath three pawnes or walks in it, and forty great pillars gilded, which stand betweene the walks: and it is open on all sides with a number of small pillars, which be likewise gilded: it is gilded with golde within and without. There are houses very faire round about for the pilgrims to lie in: and many goodly houses for the Tallipoies to preach in, which are full of images both of men and women, which are all gilded ouer with golde. It is the fairest place, as I suppose, that is in the world: it standeth very high, and there are foure wayes to it, which all along are set with trees of fruits, in such wise that a man may goe in the shade about two miles in length. And when their feast day is, a man can hardly passe by water or by land for the great presse of people; for they come from all places of the kingdom of Pegu thither at their feast. In Pegu they haue many Tallipoies or priests, which preach against all abuses. Many men resort vnto them. When they enter into their kiack, that is to say, their holy place or temple, at the doore there is a great iarre of water with a cocke or a sandle in it, and there they wash their feet; and then they enter in, and lift by their hands to their heads first to their preacher, and then to the Sunne, and so sit downe. The Tallipoies go very strangely apparelled with one camboline or thinne cloth next to their body of a browne colour, another of yellow doubled many times vpon their shoulder: and those two be girded to them with a broad girdle: and they haue a skinne of leather hanging on a string about their necks, wherupon they sit, bare headed & bare footed; for none of them weareth shooes; with their right armes bare and a great broad sombrero or shadow in their hands to defend them in the Summer from the Sunne, and in the Winter from the raine. When the Tallipoies or priests take their Orders first they go to schoole vntill they be twenty yeres olde or more, and then they come before a Tallipoie appointed for that purpose, whom they call Rowli: he is of the chiefest and most learned, and he opposeth them, and after ward examineth them many times, whether they will leaue their friends, and the company of all women, and take vpon them the habit of a Tallipoie. If any be content, then he rideth vpon a horse about the streets very richly apparelled, with drummes and pipes, to shew that he leaueth the riches of the world to be a Tallipoie. In few dayes after, he is caried vpon a thing like an hoistiller, which they call a serion, vpon ten or twelue mens shoulders in the apparel of a Tallipoie, with pipes and drummes, and many Tallipoies with him, and all his friends, and so they go with him to his house, which standeth without the towne, and there they leaue him. Every one of them hath his house, which is very litle, set vpon six or eight posts, and they go vpon to them with a ladder of twelue or fouretee staires. Their houses be for the most part by the hie wayes side, and among the trees, and in the woods. And they go with a great pot made of wood or fine earth, and couered, tied with a broad girdle vpon their shoulder, which connecth vnder their arme, wherewith they go to begge their victuals which they eate, which is rice, fish, and herbs. They demand nothing, but come to the doore, and the people presently doe giue them, some one thing, and some another: and they put all together in their pocke: for they say they must eate of their almes, and therewith content themselves. They keepe their feasts by the Poone: and when it is new Poone they keepe their greatest feast: and then the people send rice and other things to that kiack or church of which they be; and there all the Tallipoies doe meete which be of that Church, and eate the victuals which are sent them. When the Tallipoies do preach, many of the people carry them gifts into the pulpit where they sit and preach. And there is one which sitteth by them to take that which the people bring. It is diuided among them. They haue none other ceremonies nor seruice that I could see, but onely preaching.

I went from Pegu to Iamahey, which is in the countrey of the Langeianms, whom we call Jangomes; it is siue and twenty dayes journey North-east from Pegu. In which journey I passed many fruitfull and pleasant countreys. The countrey is very lowe, and hath many faire riuers. The houses are very bad, made of canes, and couered with straw. Here are many wilde buffes and elephants. Iamahey is a very faire and great towne, with faire houses of stone, well peopled, the streets are very large, the men very well set and strong, with a cloth about them, bare headed and bare footed: for in all these countreys they weare no shooes. The women be much fairer then those of Pegu. Here in all these countreys they haue no wheat. They make some cakes of rice. Wither to Iamahey come many marchants out of China, and bring great store of muske, golde, siluer, and many other things of China worke. Here is great store of victuals: they haue such plenty that they will not milke the buffes, as they doe in all other places.

The Tallipoies
or Priests of
Pegu.

The apparell
of their priests.

Observation of
new moones.

Iamahey siue &
twenty dayes
journey North-
eastward from
Pegu.

Here is great store of copper and beniamin. In these countreys when the people be sicke they make a bow to offer meat unto the diuell, if they escape: and when they be recovered they make a banker with many pipes & drummes and other instruments, and dancing all the night, and their friends come and bring gifts, cocos, figges, arreceas, and other fruits, and with great dauncing and reioycing they offer to the diuell, and say, they giue the diuel to eat, and driue him out. When they be dauncing and playing they will cry & hallow very loud; and in this sort they say they driue him away. And when they be sicke a Tallipooy or two euery night doth sit by them & sing, to please the diuell that he should not hurt them. And if any die he is caried vpon a great frame made like a tower, with a couering all gilded with golde made of canes caried with foureteene or sixteene men, with drummes and pipes and other instruments playing before him to a place out of the towne and there is burned. He is accompanied with all his friends and neighbours, all men: and they giue to the tallipoies or priests many mats and clorb: and then they returne to the house and there make a feast for two dayes: and then the wife with all the neighbours wiues & her friends go to the place where he was burned, and there they sit a certaine time add cry and gather the pieces of bones which be left vnburned and bury them, and then returne to their houses and make an end of all mourning. And the men and women which be neere of kin do haue their heads, which they do not vse except it be for the death of a friend: for they much esteeme of their haire.

They burne
their dead.

Caplan is the
place where
the rubies and
other preci-
ous stones are
found.

Caplan is the place where they finde the rubies, saphires, and spinelles: it standeth sixe dayes iourney from Aua in the kingdom of Pegu. There are many great high hills out of which they digge them. None may go to the pits but onely those which digge them.

In Pegu, and in all the countreys of Aua, Langeiannes, Siam, and the Bramas, the men weare bunches of little round balles in their priuy members: some of them weare two and some thre. They cut the skin and so put them in, one into one side and another into the other side; which they do when they be 25 or 30 yeeres olde, and at their pleasure they take one or more of them out as they thinke good. When they be married the husband is for euery child which his wife hath, to put in one vntill he come to thre and then no more: for they say the women doe desire them. They were inuented because they should not abuse the male sexe. For in times past all those countries were so giuen to that villany, that they were very scarce of people. It was also obtained that the women should not haue past thre cubits of cloth in their nether clothes, which they binde about them; which are so strait, that when they go in the streets, they shew one side of the leg bare about the knee. The bunches aforesayd be of diuers sorts: the least be as big as a little walnut, and very round: the greatest are as big as a little hennes egge: some are of brasse and some of siluer: but those of siluer be for the king and his noble men. These are gilded and made with great cunning, and ring like a hile bell. There are some made of leade, which they call Selwy because they ring but little: and these be of lesser price for the poorer sort. The king sometimes taketh his out, and giueth them to his noblemen as a great gift: and because he hath vsed them, they esteeme them greatly. They will put one in, and heale vp the place in seuen or eight dayes.

Anthony Galua-
no writeth of
these balles.

The Bramas which be of the kings countrey (for the king is a Brama) haue their legs or bellies, or some part of their body, as they thinke good themselves, made black with certaine things which they haue: they vse to picke the skinne, and to put on it a kinde of anile or blacking, which doth continue alwayes. And this is counted an honour among them: but none may haue it but the Bramas which are of the kings kindred.

The people of
Pegu weare no
beards.

These people weare no beards: they pull out the haire on their faces with little pinsons made for that purpose. Some of them will let 16 or 20 haire grow together, some in one place of his face and some in another, and pulleth out all the rest: for he carrieth his pinsons alwayes with him to pull the haire out alldone as they appeare. If they see a man with a beard they wonder at him. They haue their teeth blacked both men and women, for they say a dogge hath his teeth white, therefore they will blacke theirs.

The Pegues if they haue a sute in the law which is so doubtfull that they cannot well determine it, put two long canes into the water where it is very deepe: and both the parties go into the water by the poles, and there sit men to iudge, and they both do diue vnder the water, and he which remaineth longest vnder the water doth winne the sute.

Malacca.

The 10 of January I went from Pegu to Malacca, passing by many of the ports of Pegu, as Martauan, the Island of Tani, from whence commeth great store of tinne which serueth all India, the Islands of Tanaferi, Iunfaloon, and many others; and so came to Malacca the 8 of February, where the Portugals haue a castle which standeth nere the sea. And the countrey fall without the towne belongeth to the Malayos, which is a kinde of proud people. They go naked with a cloth about their middle, and a litle roll of cloth about their heads. Whither come many ships from China & from the Malucos, Banda, Timor, and from many other Islands of the Iauas, which bring great

great store of spices and drugs, and diamonds and other iewels. The voyages into many of these Islands belong vnto the captaine of Malacca : so that none may goe thither without his licence : which yeeld him great summes of money euery yeere. The Portugals heere haue often times warres with the king of Achem which standeth in the Island of Sumatra : from whence commeth great store of pepper and other spices euery yeere to Pegu and Mecca within the Red sea, and other places.

When the Portugals go from Macao in China to Iapan, they carry much white silke, golde, muske, and porcelanes : and they bring from thence nothing but siluer. They haue a great caracke which goeth thither euery yere, and she bringeth from thence euery yere aboute sixe hundred thousand crusadoes : and all this siluer of Iapan, and two hundred thousand crusadoes more in siluer which they bring yereely out of India, they imploy to their great aduantage in China : and they bring from thence golde, muske, silke, copper, porcelanes, and many other things very costly and gilded. When the Portugals come to Canton in China to traffike, they must remaine there but certaine dayes : and when they come in at the gate of the city, they must enter their names in a booke, and when they goe out at night they must put out their names. They may not lie in the towne all night, but must lie in their boats without the towne. And their dayes being expired, if any man remaine there, they are euillblessed and imprisoned. The Chinians are very suspicious, and doe not trust strangers. It is thought that the king doth not know that any strangers come into his countrey. And further it is credibly reported that the common people see their king very seldom or not at all, nor may not looke vp to that place where he sitteth. And when he rideth abroad he is caried vpon a great chaire or serryon gilded very faire, wherein there is made a little houle with a lattice to looke out at : so that he may see them, but they may not looke by at him : and all the time that he passeth by them, they heaue vp their hands to their heads, & lay their heads on the ground, and looke not vp vntill he be passed. The order of China is when they mourne, that they weare white thred shoes, and hats of straw. The man doth mourne for his wife two yeeres, the wife for her husband three yeeres : the sonne for his father a yeere, and for his mother two yeeres. And all the time which they mourne they keepe the dead in the house, the bowels being taken out and filled with chownam or lime, and coffined : and when the time is expired they carry them out playing and piping, and burne them. And when they returne they pull off their mourning weeds, and marry at their pleasure. A man may keepe as many concubines as he will, but one wife onely. All the Chineans, Iaponians, and Cauchin Chineans do write right downwards, and they do write with a fine pensill made of dogs or cats hair.

The voyage to Iapan.

Eight hundred thousand crusadoes in siluer employed yereely by the Portugals in China.

The writing of the people of China &c.

Laban is an Island among the Iauas from whence come the diamonds of the New water. And they finde them in the riuers : for the king will not suffer them to digge the rocke.

Laban. Diamonds.

Iambas an Island among the Iauas also, from whence come diamonds. And the king hath a masse of earth which is golde, it groweth in the middle of a riuer : and when the king doth lacke gold, they cut part of the earth and melt it, whereof commeth golde. This masse of earth doth appeare but once in a yere : which is when the water is low : and this is in the moneth of April.

Iambas.

Golde.

Bima is another Island among the Iauas, where the women trauell and labour as our men do in England, and the men keepe house and go where they will.

Bima.

The 29 of March 1588, I returned from Malacca to Martauan, and so to Pegu, where I remained the second time vntill the 17 of September, and then I went to Cosimin, and there tooke shipping : and passing many dangers by reason of contrary windes, it pleased God that we arrived in Bengala in Nouember following : where I stayed for want of passage vntill the thirde of February 1589, and then I shipped my selfe for Cochin. In which voyage we endured great extremity for lacke of fresh water : for the weather was extreme hote, and we were many marchants and passengers, and we had very many calmes, and hote weather. Yet it pleased God that we arrived in Ceylon the first of March, where we stayed fixe dayes to water, and to furnish our selues with either necessary provision. This Ceylon is a braue Island, very fruitful & faire ; but by reason of continuall warres with the king thereof, all things are very deare : for he will not suffer any thing to be brought to the castle where the Portugals be : wherefore often times they haue great want of victuals. Their provision of victuals commeth out of Bengala euery yere. The king is called Raia, and is of great force ; for he commeth to Columbo, which is the place where the Portugals haue their fort, with an hundred thousand men, and many elephants. But they be naked people all of them ; yet many of them be good with their pieces which be muskets. When the king talketh with any man, he standeth vpon one legge, and setteth the other foot vpon his knee with his sword in his hand : it is not their order for the king to sit but to stand. His apparell is a fine painted cloth made of cotton wooll about his middle : his haire is long and bound vp with a little fine cloth about his head : all the rest of his body is naked. His guard are a

He returneth from Malacca.

Bengala.

Ceylon.

thousand

thousand men, which stand round about him, and he in the middle; and when he marcheth, many of them goe before him, and the rest come after him. They are of the race of the Chingalapes, which they say are the best kinde of all the Malabars. Their eares are very large; for the greater they are, the more honourable they are accounted. Some of them are a Spanie long. The wood which they burne is Cinamom wood, and it smelleth very sweet. There is great store of rubies, sapphires, and spinelles in this Island: the best kinde of all be here; but the king will not suffer the inhabitants to digge for them, lest his enemies should know of them, and make warres against him, and so driue him out of his countrey for them. They haue no horses in all the countrey. The elephants be not so great as those of Pegu, which be monstrous huge: but they say all other elephants do feare them, and none dare fight with them, though they be very small. Their women haue a cloth bound about them from their middle to their knee: and all the rest is bare.

Blacke people.

All of them be blacke and but litle, both men and women. Their houses are very litle, made of the branches of the palmer or coco-tree, and couered with the leaues of the same tree.

Cape de Comori.

The eleuenth of March we sailed from Ceylon, and so doubled the cape of Comori. Not far from thence, betwene Ceylon and the maine land of Negaparan, they fish for prattles. And there is fished euery yere very much; which doth serue all India, Cambaia, and Bengala, it is not so orient as the pearle of Baharim in the gulfe of Persia. From cape de Comori we passed

Coulam,

by Coulam, which is a fort of the Portugals: from whence commeth great store of pepper, which commeth for Portugall: for oftentimes there lodeth one of the caracks of Portugall. Thus

Cochin.

passing the coast we arrived in Cochin the 22 of March, where we found the weather warme, but scarcity of victuals: for here groweth neither corne nor rice: and the greatest part commeth from Bengala. They haue here very bad water, for the riuer is farre off. This bad water causeth many of the people to be like lepers, and many of them haue their legs swollen as bigge as a man in the waste, & many of them are scant able to go. These people here be Malabars, and of the race of the Naires of Calicut: and they differ much from the other Malabars. These haue their heads very full of haire, and bound by with a string: and there doth appeare a bush without the band wherewith it is bound. The men be tall and strong, and good archers with a long bow and a long arrow, which is their best weapon: yet there be some caluers among them, but they handle them badly.

How pepper groweth.

Peere groweth the pepper; and it springeth by by a tree or a pole, and is like our iuy berry, but something longer like the wheat eare: and at the first the bunches are Greene, and as they waxe ripe they cut them off and dry them. The leafe is much lesser then the iuy leafe and thinner. All the inhabitants here haue very litle houses couered with the leaues of the coco-trees.

Blacke people.

The men be of a reasonable stature; the women litle; all blacke, with a cloth bound about their middle hanging downe to their hammes: all the rest of their bodies be naked: they haue horrible great eares with many rings set with pearles and stones in them. The king goeth incathed, as they do all; he doth not remaine in a place about foure or five dayes: he hath many houses, but they be but litle: his guard is but small: he remooueth from one house to another according to their order. All the pepper of Calicut and course cinamom groweth here in this countrey. The best cinamom doth come from Ceylon, and is pilled from fine poong trees. Here are very many palmer or coco trees, which is their chiefe food: for it is their meat and drinke: and yeldeth many other necessary things, as I haue declared before.

How Calicut, or Cananor,

The Naires which be vnder the king of Samorin, which be Malabars, haue alwayes wars with the Portugals. The king hath alwayes peace with them; but his people goe to the sea to robbe & steale. Their chiefe captaine is called Cogi Alli; he hath three castles vnder him. When the Portugals complaine to the king, he sayth he doth not send them out: but he consenteth that they go. They range all the coast from Ceylon to Goa, and go by foure or five parowes or boats together; and haue in euery one of them fifty or threescore men, and boord presently. They do much harme on that coast, and take euery yere many foists and boats of the Portugals. Many of these people be Moores. This kings countrey beginneth twelue leagues from Cochin, and reacheth nere vnto Goa. I remained in Cochin vntill the second of Nouember, which was eight moneths; for that there was no passage that went away in all that time: if I had come two dayes sooner I had found a passage presently. From Cochin I went to Goa, where I remained three dayes. From Cochin to Goa is an hundred leagues. From Goa I went to Chaul, which is threecore leagues, where I remained three and twenty dayes: and there making my pprovision of things necessary for the shippe, from thence I departed to Ormus; where I stayed for a passage to Balsara fifty dayes. From Goa to Ormus is foure hundred leagues.

Goa,

Chaul,

Ormus,

Here I thought good, before I make an end of this my booke, to declare some things which India and the countrey farther Eastward do bring forth.

The

The pepper groweth in many parts of India, especially about Cochin: and much of it doeth grow in the fields among the bushes without any labour: and when it is ripe they go and gather it. The Szubbe is like unto our ivy tree: and if it did not run about some tree or pole, it would fall downe and rot. When they first gather it, it is greene; and then they lay it in the Sun, and it becommeth blacke.

The pepper tree.

The ginger groweth like unto our garlike, and the root is the ginger: it is to be found in many parts of India.

Ginger.

The cloues doe come from the Isles of the Moluccoes, which be diuers Islands: their tree is like to our bay tree.

Cloues.

The nutmegs and maces grow together, and come from the Isle of Banda: the tree is like to our walnut tree, but somewhat lesser.

Nutmegs & maces.

The white sandol is wood very sweet & in great request among the Indians; for they grinde it with a litle water, and anoynt their bodies therewith: it commeth from the Isle of Timor.

Camphora is a precious thing among the Indians, and is solde dearer then golde. I thinke none of it commeth for Chyffendome. That which is compounded commeth from China: but that which groweth in canes and is the best, commeth from the great Isle of Borneo.

Camphora.

Lignum Aloes commeth from Cauchinchina.

Lignum Aloes.

The beniamin commeth out of the countreys of Siam and Iangomes.

The long pepper groweth in Bengala, in Pegu, and in the Islands of the Iauas.

Long pepper.

The muske commeth out of Tartarie, and is made after this order, by report of the marchants which bring it to Pegu to sell; In Tartarie there is a litle beast like unto a yong roe, which they take in snares, and beat him to death with the blood: after that they cut out the bones, and beat the flesh with the blood very small, and fill the skin with it: and hereof commeth the muske.

Muske.

Of the amber they holde diuers opinions; but most men say it commeth out of the sea, and that they finde it vpon the shores side.

Amber.

The rubies, saphires, and spinelles are found in Pegu.

Rubies, saphires and spinelles.

The diamants are found in diuers places, as in Bismagar, in Agra, in Delli, and in the Islands of the Iauas.

Diamants.

The best pearles come from the Island of Baharim in the Persian sea, the woosler from the Piscaria nere the Isle of Ceylon, and from Aynam a great Island on the Southermost coast of China.

Spodium and many other kindes of drugs come from Cambaia.

Spodium.

Now to retorne to my voyage; from Ormus I went to Balsara or Basora, and from Basora to Babylon: and we passed the most part of the way by the strength of men by haling the boat vpon the riuer with a long cord. From Babylon I came by land to Mosul, which standeth nere to Ninie, which is all ruinated and destroyed; it standeth fast by the riuer of Tigris. From Mosul I went to Merdin, which is in the countrey of the Armenians; but now there dwell in that place a people which they call Cordies, or Curdi. From Merdin I went to Orsa, which is a very faire towne, and it hath a goodly fountaine ful of fish; where the Hoopes hold many great ceremonies and opinions concerning Abraham: for they say he did once dwell there. From thence I went to Bir, & so passed the riuer of Euphrates. From Bir I went to Aleppo, where I stayed certaine moneths for company; and then I went to Tripolis; where finding English Shipping, I came with a prosperous voyage to London, where by Gods assistance I safely arriued the 29 of April 1591, hauing bene eight yeeres out of my native countrey.

Basora.

Babylon.

Mosul.

Merdin.

Orsa.

Bir, Aleppo, Tripolis.

The report of Iohn Huighen van Linschoten concerning M. Newberies and M. Fitches imprisonment, and of their escape, which happened while he was in Goa.

In the moneth of December, Anno 1583, there arriued in the towne and Island of Ormus foure English men, which came from Aleppo in the countrey of Syria, hauing sailed out of England, & passed thro' the straights of Gibraltar to Tripoli a towne and hauen lying on the coast of Syria, where all the ships discharge their wares & marchandises, & from thence are caried by land vnto Aleppo, which is nine dayes iourny. In Aleppo there are resident diuers marchants & factours of all nations, as Italians, French men, English men, Armenians, Turks and Hoopes, euery man hauing his religion apart, paying tribute vnto the great Turke. In that towne there is great traffique, for that from thence euery yeere twice, there trauell two Caffys, that is, companies of people and camels, which trauell vnto India, Persia, Arabia, and all the countreys bozdering on the same, and deal in all sortes of marchandise,

John Newbery
had bene in
Ormuz before.
Anno. 1581.

chandise, both to and from those countreys, as I in another place haue already declared. Three of the sayd English men aforesayd, were sent by the company of English men that are resident in Aleppo, to see if in Ormus they might keepe any factours, and so traffique in that place, like as all the Italians do, that is to say, the Venetians which in Ormus, Goa, and Malacca haue their factours, and traffique there, as well for stones and pearles, as for other wares and spices of those countreys, which from thence are caried ouer land into Venice. One of these English men had bene once before in the sayd towne of Ormus, and there had taken good information of the trade, and vpon his aduise and aduertisement, the other were as then come thither with him, bringing great store of marchandises with them, as Clothes, Saffron, all kinde of drinking glasses, and Haberdashers wares, as looking glasses, knives, and such like stuffe: and to conclude, brought with them all kinde of small wares that may be deuised. And although those wares amounted vnto great summes of money, notwithstanding it was but onely a shadow or colour, thereby to giue no occasion to be mistrusted, or scene into: for that their principall intent was to buy great quantities of precious stones, as Diamants, Pearles, Rubies, &c. to the which end they brought with them a great summe of money and golde, and that very secretly, not to be deceiued or robbed thereof, or to ruine into any danger for the same. They being thus arrived in Ormus, hired a shoppe, and beganne to sell their wares: which the Italians perceiuing, whose factours continue there (as I sayd before) and fearing that those English men finding good vent for their commodities in that place, would be resident therein, and so daily increase, which would be no small losse and hinderance vnto them, did presently inuent all the subtile meanes they could to hinder them: and to that end they went vnto the Captaine of Ormus, as then called Don Gonzalo de Meneles, telling him that there were certaine English men come into Ormus, that were sent onely to spie the countrey; and sayd further, that they were heretikes: and therefore they sayd it was conuenient they should not be suffered so to depart, without being examined, and punished as enemies, to the example of others. The Captaine being a friend vnto the English men, by reason that one of them which had bene there before, had giuen him certaine presents, would not be perswaded to trouble them, but shipped them with all their wares in a shippe that was to saile for Goa, and sent them to the Viceroy, that he might examine and trie them, as he thought good: where when they were arriued, they were cast into prison, and first examined whether they were good Christians or no: and because they could speake but badde Portugall, onely two of them spake good Dutch, as hauing bene certaine yeres in the Low countreys, and there traffiked, there was a Dutch Iesuite bozn in the towne of Bruges in Flanders, that had bene resident in the Indies for the space of thirty yers, sent vnto them, to vndermine and examine them; where in they behaued themselves so well, that they were holden and esteemed for good and Catholike Christians: yet still suspected, because they were strangers, and specially English men. The Iesuites still tolde them that they should be sent prisoners into Portugall, wishing them to leaue off their trade of marchandise, and to become Iesuites, promising them thereby to defend them from all trouble. The cause why they sayd so, and perswaded them in that earnest manner, was, for that the Dutch Iesuite had secretly bene aduertised of great summes of money which they had about them, and sought to get the same into their fingers, for that the first house and promise they make at their entrance into their Order, is, to procure the welfare of their sayd Order, by what meanes soeuer it be. But although the English men denied them, and refused the Order, saying, that they were unfit for such places; neuertheless they proceeded so farre, that one of them, being a Painter (that came with the other three for company, to see the countreys, and to seeke his fortune, and was not sent thither by the English merchants) partly for feare, and partly for want of meanes to relieue himselfe, promised them to become a Iesuite: and although they knew and well perceiued he was not any of those that had the treasure, yet because he was a Painter, wherof there are but few in India, and that they had great need of him to paint their Church, which otherwise would cost them great charges, to bring one from Portugall, they were very glad thereof, hoping in time to get the rest of them with all their money into their fellowship: so that to conclude, they made this Painter a Iesuite, where he continued certaine dayes, giuing him good store of worke to doe, and entertaining him with all the fauour and friendship they could deuise, and all to winne the rest, to be a pray for them: but the other three continued still in prison, being in great feare, because they vnderstood no man that came to them, nor any man almost knew what they sayd: till in the end it was tolde them that certaine Dutch men dwelt in the Archbishops house, and counsell giuen them to send vnto them, wherat they much reioyced, and sent to me and an other Dutch man, desiring vs once to come and speake with them, which we presently did, and they with teares in their eyes made complaint vnto vs of their hard vsage, shewing vs from point to point (as it is sayd before) why they were come

into the countrey, withall desiring vs for Gods cause, if we might by any meanes, to helpe them, that they might be set at libertie vpon sureties, being ready to endure what iustice should ordaine for them, saying, that if it were found contrary, and that they were other then traouelling marchants, and sought to finde out further benefit by their wares, they would be content to be punished. With that we departed from them, promising them to do our best: and in the end we obtained so much of the Archbishop, that he went vnto the Viceroy to deliuer our petition, and perswaded him so well, that he was content to set them at libertie, and that their goods should be deliuered vnto them againe, vpon condition they should put in sureties for two thousand pardawes, not to depart the countrey befoze other order should be taken with them. Thereupon they presently found a Citizen of the towne that was their surety for two thousand pardawes, to whom they paped in hand one thousand and three hundred pardawes, and because they sayd they had no moze ready money, he gaue them credit, seeing what store of marchandise they had, wherby at all times if need were, he might be satisfied: and by that meanes they were deliuered out of prison, and hired themselves an house, and beganne to set open shoppe: so that they vtered much ware, and were presently well knowne among all the marchants, because they alwayes respected gentlemen, specially such as bought their wares, shewing great courtesie and honour vnto them, wherby they woon much credit, and were beloved of all men, so that euery man fauoured them, and was willing to doe them pleasure. To vs they shewed great friendship, for whose sake the Archbishop fauoured them much, and shewed them very good countenance, which they knew well how to increase, by offering him many presents, although he would not receiue them, neither would euer take gift or present at any mans hands. Likewise they behaued themselves so discretely that no man caried an euill eye; no, nor an euill thought towards them. Which liked not the Iesuites, because it hindered them from that they hoped for, so that they ceased not still by this Dutch Iesuite to put them in feare, that they should be sent into Portugall to the King, counselling them to yeeld themselves Iesuites into their Cloister, which if they did, he sayd they would defend them from all troubles, saying further, that he counselled them therin as a friend, & one that knew for certaine that it was so determined by the Viceroyes Priuy councill: which to effect he sayd they staye but for shipping that should saile for Portugall, with diuers other perswasions, to put them in some feare, and so to effect their purpose. The English men to the contrary, durst not say any thing to them, but answered, that as yet they would stay a while, and consider thereof, thereby putting the Iesuites in comfort, as one among them, being the principall of them (called Iohn Newbery) complained vnto me often times, saying that he knew not what to say or thinke therein, or which way he might be ridde of those troubles: but in the end they determined with themselves to depart from thence, and secretly by meanes of other friends they imploied their money in pzeious stones; which the better to effect, one of them was a Jeweller, and for the same purpose came with them. Which being concluded among them, they durst not make knowne to any man, neither did they credite vs so much, as to shew vs their mindes therein, although they tolde vs all whatsoeuer they knew. But on a Whit Sunday they went abroad to sport themselves about three miles from Goa, in the mouth of the riuer in a countrey called Bardes, hauing with them good store of meate and drinke. And because they should not be suspected, they left their house and shoppe, with some wares therein vsolde, in custody of a Dutch boy, by vs prouided for them, that looked vnto it. This boy was in the house not knowing their intent, and being in Bardes, they had with them a Patamar, which is one of the Indian postes, which in the Winter times carie letters from one place to the other, whom they had hired to guide them: and because that betwene Bardes and the firme land there is but a litle riuer, in a manner halfe drie, they passed ouer it on foot, and so trauelled by land, being neuer heard of againe: but it is thought they arrived in Aleppo, as some say, but they know not certainly. Their greatest hope was that Iohn Newbery could speake the Arabian tongue, which is vsed in all those countreys, or at the least vnderstood; for it is very common in all places thereabouts, as French with vs. Fewes being come to Goa, there was a great sirc and murmuring among the people, and we much woondered at it: for many were of opinion, that we had giuen them counsell so to do; and presently their surety seized vpon the goods remaining, which might amount vnto aboute two hundred pardawes; and with that and the money he had receiued of the English men, he went vnto the Viceroy, and deliuered it vnto him: which the Viceroy hauing receiued, forgane him the rest. This flight of the English men grieved the Iesuites most, because they had lost such a pzeape, which they made sure account of: wherupon the Dutch Iesuite came to vs to aske vs if we knew thereof, saying, that if he had suspected so much, he would haue dealt otherwise, for that he sayd, he once had in his hands of theirs a bagge wherein was forty thousand venseanders (each venseander

The Arabian
tongue gene-
rally in the
East.

being two pardawes) which was when they were in prison. And that they had alwayes put him in comfort to accomplish his desire: vpon the which promise he gaue them their money againe, which other wise they should not so lightly haue come by, or peraduenture neuer, as he openly sayd: and in the end he called them hereticks, and spies, with a thousand other railing speeches, which he vttered against them. The English man that was become a Iesuite, hearing that his companions were gone, and perceiuing that the Iesuites shewed him not so great fauour, neither vsed him so well as they did at the first, repented himselfe; and seeing he had not as then made any sollemne promise, and being counselled to leaue the house, and tolde that he could not want a living in the towne, as also that the Iesuites could not keepe him there without he were willing to stay, so they could not accuse him of anything, he tolde them flatly that he had no desire to stay within the Cloister. And although they vsed all the meanes they could to keepe him there, yet he would not stay, but hired an house without the Cloister, and opened shoppe, where he had good stoz of worke: and in the end married a Melizos daughter of the towne, so that he made his account to stay there while he liued. By this English man I was instructed of all the wayes, trades, and voyages of the countrey, betweene Aleppo and Ormus, and of all the ordinaances and common customes which they vsually holde during their voyage ouer the land, as also of the places and townes where they passed. And since those English mens departures from Coa, there neuer arriued any strangers, either English or others, by land, in the sayd countrey, but onely Italians which daily traffique ouer land, and vse continuall trade going and coming that way.

The voyage of *M. John Eldred* to *Tripolis* in *Syria* by sea, and from thence by land and riuier to *Babylon* and *Balsara*. 1583.



Departed out of London in the ship called the Tiger, in the company of *M.* John Newbery, *M.* Ralph Fitch, and sixe or seuen other honest marchants vpon Shroue munday 1583, and arriued in Tripolis of Syria the first day of May next insuing: at our landing we went on Daping vpon S. Georges Island, a place where Christians dying aboard the ships, are wont to be buried. In this city our English marchants haue a Consull, and our nation abide together in one house with him, called Fondeghi Ingles, builded of stone, square, in maner like a Cloister, & euery man hath his seuerall chamber, as it is the vse of all other Christians of seuerall nations. This towne standeth vnder a part of the mountaine of Libanus two English miles distant from the port: on the side of which port, trending in some of an halfe Hoone, stand five blockhouses or small forts, wherein is some very good artillery, and the forts are kept with about an hundred Janifaries. Right befoze this towne from the seaward is a banke of mouing sand, which gathereth and increaseth with the Westerne winds, in such sort, that, according to an olde prophesie among them, this banke is like to swallow vp & ouerwhelme the towne: for euery yere it increaseth and eateth vp many gardens, although they vse all policy to diminish the same, and to make it firme ground. The city is about the bignesse of Biltow, and walled about, though the walles be of no great force. The chiefe strength of the place is in a Castell, which standeth on the South side within the walles, and ouerlooketh the whole towne, and is strongly kept with two hundred Janifaries and good artillery. A riuier passeth thorow the midst of the city, where with they water their gardens and mulberry trees, on which there grow abundance of silke wormes, where with they make great quantity of very white silke, which is the chiefe natural commodity to be found in and about this place. This rode is more frequented with Christian marchants, to wit, Venetians, Genouois, Florentines, Partisians, Sicilians, Raguses, and lately with English men, then any other port of the Turkes dominions. From Tripolis I departed the 14 of May with a carauan, passing three dayes ouer the ridge of mount Libanus, at the end whereof we arriued in a city called Hammah, which standeth on a goodly plaine replenished with corne & cotton wooll. On these mountaines which we passed grow great quantity of gall trees, which are somewhat like our oaks, but lesser and more crooked: on the best tree a man shall not finde aboue a pound of galles. This towne of Hammah is fallen and falleth more and more to decay, and at this day there is scarce one halfe of the wall standing, which hath bene very strong and faire: but because it cost many mens liues to win it, the Turke will not haue it repaired; and hath witten in the Arabian tongue ouer the castle gate, which standeth in the midst of the towne, these words: Cursed be the father and the sonne that shall lay their hands to the repairing hereof. Refreshing our selues one day here, we passed forward with camels three dayes more vntill we came to Aleppo, where we arriued the 21 of May. This is the greatest place of traffique for a dry towne that is in all those parts: for hither resort Iewes, Tartarians, Persians, Armenians,

The description
of Tripolis
in Syria.

Stoze of white
silke.

The city of
Hammah,
Cotton wooll,
Gall trees.

Aleppo.

Armenians, Egyptians, Indians, and many sorts of Christians, and enjoy freedom of their consciences, and bring thither many kinds of rich merchandises. In the midst of this towne also standeth a goodly castle raised on high, with a garison of foure or five hundred Janifaries. Within foure miles round about are goodly gardens and vineyards and trees, which beare goodly fruit neere unto the riuers side, which is but small; the walles are about thre English miles in compasse, but the suburbs are almost as much more. The towne is greatly peopled. We departed from the nce with our camels the last of May with M. John Newbery and his company, and came to Birrah in three dayes, being a small towne situated vpon the riuer Euphrates, where it be-
 ginneth first to take his name, being here gathered into one chanell, whereas befoze it commeth
 downe in manifolde branches, and therefore is called by the people of the countrey by a name
 which signifieth a thousand heads. Here is plenty of victuals, wherof we all furnished our selues
 for a long iourney downe the aforesayd riuer. And according to the maner of those that trauell
 downe by water, we prepared a small barke for the conveyance of our selues and of our goods.
 These boats are flat bottomed, because the riuer is shallow in many places: and when men tra-
 uell in the moneth of July, August, and September, the water being then at the lowest, they are
 constrained to cary with them a spare boat or two to lighten their owne boats, if they chance to
 fall on the sholds. We were eight and twenty dayes vpon the water betweene Birrah and Felu-
 gia, where we disembarked our selues and our goods. Euery night after the Sunn setteth, we tie
 our barke to a stake, go on land to gather sticks, and set on our pot with rice or brused wheat, and
 hauing supped, the marchants lie aboord the barke, and the mariners vpon the shores side as nere
 as they can vnto the same. In many places vpon the riuers side we met with troops of Arabi-
 ans, of whom we bought milke, butter, egges, and lambs, and gaue them in barter, (for they care
 not for money) glasses, combes, corall, amber, to hang about their armes and necks, and for chur-
 ned milke we gaue them bread and pomgranat peeles, wherewith they vse to tanne their goats
 skinnes which they churme withall. Their haire, apparell, and colour are altogether like to those
 vagabond Egyptians, which heretofore haue gone about in England. Their women all without
 exception ware a great round ring in one of their nostrils, of golde, silver, or yron, according to
 their ability, and about their armes and smalles of their legs they haue hoops of golde, silver or
 yron. All of them as wel women and children as men, are very great swimmers, and often times
 swimming they brought vs milke to our barke in vessels vpon their heads. These people are ve-
 ry theuifish, which I proued to my cost: for they stole a casket of mine, with things of good value
 in the same, from vnder my mans head as he was asleepe: and therefore travellers keepe good
 watch as they passe downe the riuer. Euphrates at Birrah is about the breadth of the Thames at
 Lambeth, and in some places narrower, in some broader: it runneth very swiftly, almost as fast
 as the riuer of Trent: it hath diuers sorts of fish in it, but all are scaled, some as bigge as salmons,
 like barbills. We landed at Felugia the eight and twentieth of June, where we made our abode
 seuen dayes, for lacke of camels to cary our goods to Babylon: the heat at that time of the yere is
 such in those parts, that men are loth to let out their camels to trauell. This Felugia is a village
 of some hundred houses, and a place appointed for discharging of such goods as come downe the
 riuer: the inhabitants are Arabians. Not finding camels here, we were constrained to vnlade
 our goods, and hired an hundred asses to cary our English merchandises onely to New Babylon
 ouer a short desert, in crossing whereof we spent eightcene hours traueilling by night, and part
 of the morning, to auoid the great heat.

Birrah.

Euphrates shall
 low.

Eight & twenty
 dayes iour-
 ney by riuer.

Arabians by
 on the riuer of
 Euphrates.

The Arabian
 women weare
 golde rings in
 their nostrils.

Euphrates De-
 scribed.

Felugia.

The ruines of
 olde Babylon.

New Babylon.
 The riuer Ti-
 gris.

In this place whith we crossed ouer, stood the olde mighty city of Babylon, many olde ruines
 wherof are easily to be scene by day-light, which I John Eldred haue often beheld at my good lea-
 sure, hauing made thre voyages betweene the new city of Babylon and Aleppo ouer this desert.
 Here also are yet standing the ruines of the olde tower of Babel, which being vpon a plaine ground
 seemeth a fare off very great, but the nerer you come to it, the lesser and lesser it appeareth: sun-
 dry times I haue gone thither to see it, and found the remnants yet standing about a quarter of a
 mile in compasse, and almost as high as the stone-woke of Pauls steeple in London, but it is
 much bigger. The bricks remaining in this most ancient monument be halfe a yard thicke,
 and thre quarters of a yard long, being dried in the Sunne onely, and betweene euery course of
 bricks there lieth a course of mottes made of canes, which remaine sound and not perished, as
 though they had bene layed within one yere. The city of New Babylon ioyneth vpon the a-
 fforesayd small desert where the Olde city was, and the riuer of Tigris runneth close vnder the
 wall, and they may if they will open a sluice, and let the water of the same riuer round about the
 towne. It is about two English miles in compasse, and the inhabitants generally speake thre
 languages, to wit, the Persian, Arabian and Turkish tongues: the people are of the Spaniards
 complexion: and the women generally weare in one of the grilles of their noses a ring like a
 wedding

wedding ring, but somewhat greater, with a pearle and a Turkish Stone set therein: and this they do be they neuer so poore.

This is a place of very great traffique, and a very great thowfare from the East Indies to Aleppo. The towne is very well furnished with victuals which come downe the riuer of Tigris from Mosul which was called Ninue in olde time. They bying these victuals and diuers sorts of marchandises upon rakis bozne upon goats skins blowne by ful of wind in maner of bladders. And when they haue discharged their goods, they sel the rakis for fire, and let the wind out of their goats skins, and carry them home againe upon their asses by land, to make other voyages downe the riuer. The building here is most of byicke dried in the Sun, and very litle or no stone is to be found: their houses are all flat-roofed and low. They haue no raine for eight moneths together, nor almost any clouds in the skie, night nor day. Their Winter is in Nouember, December, January and February, which is as warme as our Summer in England in a maner. This I know by good experience, because my abode at seuerall times in this city of Babylon hath bene at the least the space of two yeres. As we come to the city, we passe ouer the riuer of Tigris on a great bridge made with boats chained together with two mighty chaines of yron. From thence we departed in flat bottomed barks more strong & greater then those of Euphrates, and were eight and twenty dayes also in passing downe this riuer to Balsara, but we might haue done it in eghteene or lesse, if the water had bene higher. Upon the waters side stand by the way diuers townes resembling much the names of the olde prophets: the first towne they call Ozeah, & another Zecchiah. Before we come to Balsara by one dayes iourney, the two riuers of Tigris and Euphrates meet, and there standeth a castle called Curna, kept by the Turks, where all marchants pay a small custome. Here the two riuers ioyned together begin to be eight or nine miles broad: here also it beginneth to ebbe and flow, and the water ouerflowing maketh the countrey all about very fertile of coigne, rice, pulle, and dates. The towne of Balsara is a mile and an halfe in circuit: all the buildings, castle and wals are made of byicke dried in the Sun. The Turke hath here five hundred Janisaries, besides other souldiers continually in garison and pay, but his chiefe strength is of gallies which are about five and twenty or thirty very faire and furnished with goodly ordnance. To this port of Balsara come monethly diuers ships from Ormuz, laden with all sorts of Indian marchandise, as spices, drugs, Indico, and Calcut cloch. These ships are vsually from forty to threescore tunnes, hauing their planks sowed together with coide made of the barke of Date trees, and in stead of Decau they vse the shuierings of the barke of the sayd trees, and of the same they also make their tackling. They haue no kinde of yron worke belonging to these vessels, saue only their ankers. If from this place six dayes sailing downe the gulfe, they go to a place called Baharem in the mid way to Ormus; there they fish for pearles foure moneths in the yere, to wit, in Iune, Iuly, August, and September. My abode in Balsara was iust six moneths, during which time I receiued diuers letters from M. Iohn Newbery from Ormus, who as he passed that way with her Maiesties letters to Zelabdim Echebar king of Cambaia, & vnto the mighty emperor of China, was traitterously there arrested, and all his company, by the Portugals, and after ward sent prisoner to Goa: where after a long and cruell imprisonment he and his companions were deliuered vpon sureties, not to depart the towne without leaue, at the sute of one father Thomas Steuens an English religious man, which they found there: but shortly after thzee of them escaped, whereof one, to wit, M. Ralph Fitch, is since come into England. The fourth, which was a painter called Iohn Story, became religious in the college of S. Paul in Goa, as we vnderstood by their letters. I and my companion William Shales hauing dispatched our businesse at Balsara, imbarked our selues in company of seuentie barks all laden with marchandise, hauing euery barke 14 men to draw them, like our Westerne bargemen on the Thames, and we were forty foure dayes comming by against the streame to Babylon, where arriuing and paying our custome, we with all other sorts of marchants bought vs camels, hired vs men to lade and dziue them, furnished our selues with rice, butter, bilket, hony made of dates, onions and dates: and euery marchant bought a propoztion of liue muttons, and hired certaine shepheards to dziue them with vs: we also bought vs tents to lie in, and to put our goods vnder: and in this our carauan were foure thousand camels laden with spices and other rich marchandises. These camels will liue very well two or thzee dayes without water: their feeding is on thistles, worme-wood, magralue, and other strong weeds which they finde vpon the way. The gouernment and deciding of all quarels and dueties to be payed, the whole carauan committeth to one speciall rich marchant of the company, of whose honesty they conceiue best. In passing from Babylon to Aleppo, we spent forty dayes, traouelling twenty, or foure and twenty miles a day, telling our selues commonly from two of the clocke in the afternoone, vntil thzee in the moorning, at which time we begin to take our iourney. Eight dayes iourney from Babylon toward Aleppo, neere vnto a towne

Rafts borne
vpon bladders
of goats skins.

Seldome raine.

Eight & twenty
dayes iour-
ney more by ri-
uer, from Baby-
lon to Balsara.

Curna castle.

Balsara.

Ships made
without yron
in: the Persian
gulfe.

Zelabdim Eche-
bar king of
Cambaia.

He returneth
from Balsara
to Aleppo.

Their promi-
sion of victu-
als.

A Carauan of
four thousand
Camels.

towne called Heir, as we crosse the riuer Euphrates by boates, about 3. miles from the town there is a valley wherein are many springs throwing out abundantly at great mouths, a kind of blacke substance like unto tarre, which serueth all the countrey to make stanch their barkes and boates: euery one of these springs maketh a noise like unto a Smiths forge in the blowing & puffing out of this matter, which neuer ceaseth night nor day, and the noise may be heard a mile off continually. This vale swalloweth by all beauiet things that come vpon it. The people of the countrey call it in their language Babil gehenam, that is to say, Hell dooze. As we passed through these deserts, we saw certaine wild beasts, as wild asses all white, Roebucks, wolves, leopards, fores, and many hares, whereof we chased and killed many. Aborise the king of the wandring Arabians in these deserts, hath a butie of 40. s. sterling, vpon euery Camels lode, which he sendeth his officers to receiue of the Caraitans, and in consideration hereof, he taketh vpon him to conduct the sayd Caraitans if they need his helpe, and to defend them against certaine prowling thieues. I and my companion William Shales came to Aleppo with the Caravan the eleuenth of June, 1584. where we were ioyfully receiued 20. miles distant from the town by M. William Barret our Consull, accompanied with his people and Janissaries, who fell sicke immediately and departed this life within 8. dayes after, and elected befoze his death M. Anthonie Bare Consul of our English nation in his place, who laudably supplied the same room 3. yeeres. In which meane time, I made two voyages moze vnto Babylon, and returned by the way aforesayd, ouer the deserts of Arabia. And after wards, as one desirous to see other parts of the countrey, I went from Aleppo to Antioch, which is thence 60. English miles, and from thence went downe to Tripolis, where going aboard a small vessel, I arriued at Ioppe, and trauelled to Rama, Lycia, Gaza, Jerusalem, Bethleem, to the riuer of Jordan, and the sea or lake of Zodome, and returned backe to Ioppe, & from thence by sea to Tripolis, of which places because many others haue published large discourses, I surcease to write. Within few dayes after imbarcking my selfe at Tripolis the 22. of December, I arriued (God be thanked) in safety here in the riuer of Thames with diuers English marchants, the 26. of March, 1588, in the Hercules of London, which was the richest ship of English marchants goods that euer was knowen to come into this realme.

William Barret
Consull in A.
leppo.
M. Wil. Barret.

Two botages
moze made to
Babylon.

The money and measures of *Babylon, Balsara, and the Indies*, with the customes, &c. written from *Aleppo in Syria, An. 1584.* by *M. Will. Barret.*

BABYLON:

The weight, measure, and money currant there, and the customes of merchandize.



Manas of Babylon is of Aleppo 1 roue 5 ounces and a halfe: and 68 manas and thre seuenth parts, make a quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 li. 8 ounces of London: and 100 manas is a quintall of Babylon, which maketh in Aleppo 146 roues, and of London 722 li. and so much is the sayd quintall: but the marchants accord is by so much the mana, and in the sayd place they bate the tare in all sorts of commodities, according to the order of Aleppo touching the tare.

The measure of Babylon is greater then that of Aleppo 21 in \bar{v} 100. For bringing 100 pikes of any measurable ware from Aleppo thither, there is found but 82 pikes in Babylon, so that the 100 pikes of Babylon is of Aleppo 121 pikes, very little lesse.

The currant mony of Babylon are Sates, which Say is 5 medines, as in Aleppo, and 40 medines being 8 Sates make a duckat currant, and 47 medines passe in value as the duckat of gold of Venice, and the dollars of the best sort are worth 33 medines. The roials of plate are sold by the 100 drams at prise, according as they be in request: but amongst the marchants they bargain by the 100 metrais, which are 150 drams of Aleppo, which 150 drams are 135 single roials of plate: but in the mint of castile, they take the by the 100 drams, which is 90 roials of plate, and those of the mint giue 5 medines lesse in each 100 drams then they are woorth to be sold among the marchants, and make payment at the terme of 40 dayes in Sayes.

The custome in Babylon, as wel inward as outward, is in this maner: Small wares at 6 per 100, Cozal and amber at 5 and a halfe per 100, Venice cloth, English cloth, Kersties, Hockars, Chamblets, Silks, Veluets, Damasks, Sattins & such like at 5 per 100: & they rate the goods without reason as they lust themselves. The Coaso, Doabo, and other exactions 6 medines per bale, all which they pay presently in ready mony, according to the custome and vse of the emperor.

To the Ermin of the mine \bar{v} ordinarie vse is to giue 30 Sates in curtessie, otherwise he would by authoritie of his office come aboard, & for despight make such search in the barke, that he would turne all things topsie turuie.

BALSARA:

The weight, measure, and money in the citie of Balsara.

A Mana of Balsara answereth 5 rouses 2 ounces & a halfe of Aleppo weight, & 19 manas and one 4 part of Balsara, answereth the quintall of Aleppo, which is 494 reucs, 8 ounces English, and 20 manas is the quintall of Balsara, which is 104 Alepine, and of London 514 li. 8 ounces, and so much is the sayd quintall, but the marchants bargaine at so much the mana or wolsene (which is all one) and they abate the tare in euery mana, as the sort of spice is, and the order taken therefore in that place.

The measure of Balsara is called a pike, which is iust as the measure of Babylon, to say, 100 pikes of Balsara make of Aleppo 121 pikes, vt supra in the rate of Babylon.

The currant mony of Balsara is as foloweth. There is a sort of flusses of copper called Estiu, whercof 12 make a mamedine, which is the value of one medine Aleppine, the said mamedine is of siluer, hauing the Hoysesco stampe on both sides, and two of these make a danine, which is 2 medines Aleppine.

The said danine is of siluer, hauing the Turkesco stampe on both sides, & 2 and a halfe of these make a Saie, which is in valute as the Saie of Aleppo.

The said Saie is of the similitude and stampe of Aleppo, bring (as appeares) 60 estiu. Also one Saie and 20 estiu make a larine, which is of Aleppo money 6 medines and a halfe.

The sayd larine is a strange piece of money, not being round as all other currant money in Christianitie, but is a small rod of siluer of the greatnesse of the pen of a goose feather, wherewith we vse to write, and in length about one eight part thereof, which is wrested, so that the two ends meet at the iust halfe part, and in the head the reof is a stampe Turkesco, and these be the best currant money in all the Indias, and 6 of these larines make a duckat, which is 40 medines or eight Saies of Aleppo.

The duckat of gold is woorth there 7 larines, and one danine, which is of Aleppo money 48 medines and a halfe.

The Venetian money is woorth larines 88 per 100 meticals, which is 150 dzams of Aleppo, vt supra.

The roials of plate are worth 88 larines by the 100 meticals, & albeit among the marchants they sel by the 100 meticals, yet in the mint or caille, they sel by the 100 dzams, hauing there lesse then the worth 5 medines in each hundred dzams, and haue their payment in 40 dayes made them in Saies or larines.

The custome of the said places, as well in ward as out ward, are alike of all sorts of goods, to say 6 by the 100, and Coaso, Boabo, & Scruian medines 6 by the bale in ward & out ward, to say, 3 in ward, and as much out ward: but who so leaueh his goods in the custome house payeth nothing, where other wise at the taking thereof away, he should pay 3 med, by the bale, and of the said goods there is no other duty to pay, and this commeth to passe whē the customers esteeme the goods too high. For in such a case they may be diuicn to take so much commoditie as the custome amounteth to, and not to pay them in money, for such is the order from the Grand Signior.

Hauing paid the custome, it behoueth to haue a quittance or cocket sealed and firmēd with the customers hand, in confirmatiō of the dispatch and clearing, and befoze departure thence, to cause the sayd customer to caule search to be made, to the end that at the voiages returne there be no cauillation made, as it oftentimes happeneth.

Note that 100 meticals of Balsara weigh 17 ounces and a halfe sottile Venetian, and of Aleppo dzams 150, vt supra.

The freight of the barkes from Ormuz to Balsara, I would say from Balsara to Ormuz, they pay according to the greatnesse thereof. To say, for cariage of 10 cares 180 larines, those of 15 cares 270 larines, those of 20 cares 360 larines, those of 30 cares 540 larines. Note that a care is 4 quintals of Balsara. They pay also to the pilot of the barke for his owne cariage one care, and to all the rest of the mariners amongst them 3 cares freight, which is in the whole 4 cares, and paying the aboue sayd pifes and freights, they are at no charges of victuals with them, but it is requisite that the same be declared in the charter partie, with the condition that they lade not aboord one rotulo more then the freight, vnder paines that finding more in Ormuz, it is forfeit, and besides that to pay the freight of that which they haue laden.

And in this accord it behoueth to deale warlike, and in the presence of the Ermin or some other honest man (whercof there are but few) for they are the worst people in all Arabia. And this diligence must be put in exercutiō, to the end the barks may not be ouerladen, because they are to passe many sands betwixt Balsara and Ormuz,

ORMUZ:

The weight, measure, and money currant in the kingdom of Ormuz:

Silkes and drugs they weigh by the barre, and of every sort of goods the weight is different. To say, of some drugs 3 quintals, and 3 erubi or roues, and other some 4 quintals 25 rottiloes, and yet both is called a barre, which barre, as well great as litle, is 20 frafoll, and every frafoll is 10 manas, and every mana 23 chiansi, and every chiansi 10 meticals and a halfe. Note that every quintall maketh 4 erubi or roues, and every roue 32 rottiloes, & every rottilo 16 ounces, and every ounce 7 meticals, so that the quintall commeth to be 128 rottiloes, which is Aleppine 26 rottiloes and one third part, which is 132 li. english weight. And contrarywise ½ quintal of Aleppo (which is 494 rottiloes 8 ounces english) maketh 477 rottiloes and a halfe of Ormuz, which is 3 quintals 2 roues, 29 rottiloes and a halfe.

What a rottilo is.

Note that there are bars of divers weights, vt supra, of which they bargain simply, according to the sort of commoditie, but if they bargain of the great barre, the same is 7 quintals and 24 rottiloes, which is 958 li. 9 ounces of London weight, and of Aleppo 193 rottiloes and a halfe.

Touching the money of Ormuz, they bargain in marchandize at so many leches by the barre, which lech is 100 Alaries, and maketh larines 100 & a halfe, which maketh pardaos 38, & larines one halfe, at larines 5 by the pardaos. One alarie is sadines 10, and every sadine is 100. danatic.

The larine is worth 5 sadines and one fourth part, so that the sadine is worth of Aleppo money 1 medine and 1 fourth part, & the larine as in Balsara worth of Aleppo money 6 medines & a half. The pardaos is 5 larines of Balsara.

There is also stamped in Ormuz a Seraphine of gold, which is litle and round, and is worth 24 sadines, which maketh 30 medines of Aleppo.

The Venecian money is worth in Ormuz larines 88 per 100 meticals, & the roials are worth larines 86 lesse one sadine, which is every thousand meticals, 382 asures: but those that will not sel them, vse to melt them, and make them so many larines in the king of Ormuz his mint, whereby they clear 2 per 100, and somewhat more: and this they doe because neither Venecian money nor roials run as currant in Ormuz, per aduise.

The measure of Ormuz is of 2 sorts, the one called codo which increaseth vpon the measure of Aleppo 3 per 100, for bringing 100 pikes of any measurable wares from Aleppo to Ormuz, it is found in Ormuz to be 103 codes. Also these measures of Ormuz increaseth vpon those of Balsara and Babylon 25 and two third parts per 100: for bringing 100 pikes of any measurable wares from Balsara or Babylon, there is found in Ormuz 125 codes and two third parts.

The other measure is called a vare, which was sent from the king of Portugall to the India, by which they sell things of small value, which measure is of 5 palmes or spans, and is one code and two third parts, so that buying 100 codes of any measurable wares, and returning to measure it by the sayd vare, there are found but 60 vares, contrarywise 100 vares make 166 codes and two third parts.

Note that all such ships as lade hozles in Ormuz for Goa or any other place of India, lading 10 hozles or upwards, in what places soeuer the said hozles be taken a hozle in the India, the marchandize which is to be discharged out of that ship wherein the said hozles come, are bound to pay no custome at all, but if they lade one hozle lesse then ten, then the goods are bound to pay the whole custome. And this law was made by Don Emanuel king of Portugall, but it is to be diligently forseeene, whither all those hozles laden be bound to pay the king his custome: for many times by the king of Portugall his commandement, there is fauour shewed to the king of Cochin his brother in armes, so that his hozles that come in the same ship, are not to answer custome. As for example: If there were 4 hozles laden in one ship, all which were to pay custome to the king, and one other of the king of Cochins which were not to pay any custome, the same cauleth all the marchandize of that ship to be subiect to pay custome, per aduise. But if they lade ten hozles vpon purpose to pay the king his custome in Goa, and in the voyage any of them should die in that case, if they bring the taile of the dead hozle to the custome in Goa, then the marchandize is free from all custome, because they were laden in Ormuz to pay custome in Goa. Moreouer, if the hozles should die before the midst of the voyage, they pay no custome at all, and if they die in the midst of the voyage, then they pay halfe custome, but if any hozle die after the mid voyage, they pay custome no lesse then if they arrive safe. Notwithstanding, the marchandize (whether the said hozles die before or in the mid voyage or after the mid voyage) are free from all custome.

The custome of Ormuz is cleuen in the 100, to say, 10 for the king, and 1 for the arming of the foists: but for small wares as glasses, and looking glasses of all sorts, and such like, made for apparell, pay no custome. But cloth of Wool, Karles, Hockaires, Chamlets, and all sortes of Silke,

Silke, Saffron, and such like, pay custome, being esteemed reasonably.

There is also another custome, which they call caida, which is, that one bringing his goods into Ormuz, with purpose to send y^e same further into India, the same are bound to pay 3 by the 100, but none other are bound to pay this custome, except the Armenians, Moores, and Iewes: for the Portugals and Venerians pay nothing thereof.

Note y^e in Ormuz they abate tace of all sorts of commodities, by an order obserued of custome,

The freight from Ormuz to Chaul, Goa, and Cochin, is as foloweth: Pokaires larines 6 per table of 60 pikes, Aquariola 8 larines by ordinarie chist, ratlins 10 by chist, which is a quintall of roues 128. Ruuia of Chalangi larines 10 per quintall, glasses larines 8 per chist, of 4 foote and a halfe, glasses in great chists 14 & 15 larines by chist. Small wares larines 12 by chist of five foot. Tamari for Palchat ladines 2 and a half, and 3 by the fardle. Tamarie for Diu and Chaul 4 ladines, and 4 and a halfe by bale. Other drugs and things which come from Persia pay according to the gre arncle of the bales.

The freight mentioned, they pay as appeareth, when they ship the sayd goods in ships where hoyses goe: otherwise, not hauing hoyses, they pay some what lesse, because of the custome which they are to pay.

The vse of the Iodia ships is, that the patrones thereof are not at any charge neither with any passenger, nor yet with any mariner in the ship, but that euery one at the beginning of the voyage doe furnish to maintaine his owne table (if he will eate) and for drinke they haue a great iarre of water, which is garded with great custodie.

GOA.

The weight, measure, and money currant in Goa.

The quintall of Goa is 5 manas, and 8 larines, & the mana is 24 rotulos, so that the quintall of Goa is 128 rot. and euery rot. is 16 ounces, which is of Venice weight 1 li. and a halfe, so that the quintall of Goa is 192 li. soile Venice, which is 26 rotulos 8 ounces Aleppine, and of London weight 132 li. English, as the weight of Ormuz.

All the marchandize, spices and drugs, are sold by this quintal, except some drugs, as lignū de China, Galanga, & others, whereof they bargaine at so much per candill, aduertising that there be two sorts of candill, one of 16 manas, the other of 20 manas, that of 16 manas commeth to be iust 3 quintals, and that of 20 manas, 3 quintals, 3 roues. Note that 4 roues make a quintall, and the roue is 32 rotulos, as in Ormuz.

Note that 4 roues make a quintall.

There is also another weight which they call Harco, which is eight ounces or halfe a rotulo of Goa, & 9 ounces of Venice soile: with this they weigh amber, corail, muske, ambzacan, ciuet, and other fine wares.

There is also another sort of weight called Hangiallino, which is 5 graines of Venice weight and therewith they weigh diamants and other iewels.

Note that in Goa they vse not to abate any tare of any goods, except of sacks or wraps, & therefore it requireth great aduisement in buying of the goods, especially in the mulke of Tartaria which commeth by way of China in bladders, and so weigh it without any tare rebating.

Spilke of Tartaria by y^e way of China.

The measure of Goa is called a code, which encreaseth vpon the measure of Babylon & Balsara after the rate of 17 & one eight part by the 100, so that bringing 100 pikes of any measurable ware from thence to Goa, it is found 117 pikes 7 eight parts, and bringing 100 codes from Ormuz to Goa, there is found but 93 codes and one fourth part.

There is also the vare in Goa, which is iust as the vare of Ormuz, and therewith they measure onely things that are of small value.

For the mony of Goa, there is a kind of mony made of lead and tin mingled, being thicke and round, and stamped on the one side with the sphaere or globe of the world, and on the other side two arrowes & 5 rounds: and this kind of mony is called Basaruchi, and 15 of these make a vinton of naughty mony, and 5 vintons make a tanga, and 4 vintenas make a tanga of bale money: so that the tanga of bale money is 60 basaruchies, and the tanga of good mony 75 basaruchies, & 5 tangas make a seraphine of gold, which in marchandize is worth 5 tangas good money: but if one would change them into basaruchies, he may haue 5 tangas, and 16 basaruchies, which ouerplus they cal cerafagio, & when they bargain of the pardaw of gold, each pardaw is ment to be 6 tangas good mony, but in marchandize they vse not to demauns pardawes of gold in Goa, except it be for iewels and hoyses, for all the rest they take of seraphins of silver, per aduiso.

The roials of plate, I say, the roial of 8 are worth per custome & commandement of the king of Portugall 400 reies, and euery rey is one basaruchie & one fourth part, which maketh tangas 6, and

and 53 balaruchies as their iust value, but for that the said roials are excellent silver and currant in diuers places of the India, and chiefly in Malacca, where the ships are to depart at their due times (called Monsons) every one to haue the said roials pay moze then they are worth, & the ouerplus, as is aboue said they call serafagio. And first they giue $\frac{1}{2}$ iust value of the 100 roials of 8, at 5 tangas 50 balaruchies a piece, which done, they giue seraphins 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12, 15, untill 22 by the 100, according as they are in request.

The ducket of gold is worth 9 tangas and a halfe good money, and yet not stable in price, for that when the ships depart from Goa to Cochin, they pay them at 9 tangas and 3 fourth partes, and 10 tangas, and that is the most that they are woorth.

The larines are woorth by iust value balaruchies 93 and 3 fourth partes, and 4 larines make a seraphine of silver, which is 5 tangas of good money, and these also haue serafagio of 6, 7, 8, 10, untill 16, by the 100, for when the ships depart for the North, to say, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, or Bassaim, all carry of the same, because it is money moze currant then any other.

There is also a sort of seraphins of gold of the stampe of Ormuz, whereof there are but fewe in Goa, but being there, they are woorth siue larines and somewhat moze, according as they are in request.

There is also another litle sort of money, round, hauing on the one side a crosse, and on the other side a crowne, which is woorth one halfe a tanga of good money, and another of the same stampe lesse then that which they call Imicuo de buona moneda, which is woorth 18 balaruchies 3 fourth partes a picce.

Note that if a man bargain in marchandize, it behooueth to demaund tangas of good money: for by nominating tangas onely, is vnderstood to be base money of 60 balaruchies, which wanteth of the good money vt supra.

The custome of Goa is 8 in the 100 inward, and as much outward, and the goods are esteemed iustly rather to the merchants aduantage then the kings. The custome they pay in this order. Comming with a ship from Ormuz to Goa without hoyses, they pay 8 in the 100 whether they sell part or all, but if they would carie of the sayd marchandise to any other place, they pay none other custome, except others buy it and carie it forth of the countrey, and then they pay it 8 in the 100. And if one hauing paid the custome should sell to another with composition to passe it forth as for his proper accounts to saue the custome, this may not be, because the seller is put to his oth, whether he send the goods for his owne account, or for the account of any others that haue bought the same, and being found to the contrary, they pay custome as aboue said. And in this order the merchants pay of all the goods which come from any part of the Indies. But if they come from Ormuz to Goa with hoyses, they are not subiect to pay any custome inward, notwithstanding if they send all or any part thereof for any other place, or returne it to Ormuz, they pay the custome outward, although they could not sell.

They vse also in Goa amongst the common sort to bargain for coales, wood, lime & such like, at so many bzaganines, accounting 24 balaruchies for one bzaganine, albeit there is no such money stamped. The custome of the Portugals is, that any Moore or Gentile, of what condition or state soeuer he be, may not depart from Goa to go within the land, without licence of certaine deputies deputed for that office, who (if they be Moores or Gentiles) doe set a seale vpon the arme, hauing thereon the armes of Portugal, to be knowen of the porters of the citie, whether they haue the said licence or no.

COCHIN.

The weight, measure, and money, currant in Cochin.

ALl the marchandise which is sold or buy within the sayd citie, they bargain for it at so many serafines per quintal, which is 128, rotulos of iust weight with $\frac{1}{2}$ quintall & rotulo of Goa and Ormuz: aduertising that there are diuers sorts of bars according to the sorts of commodities, and in traffiquing, they reason at so much the bar. Note that there are bars of 3 quintals & 3 quintals and halfe, and 4 quintals. They abate a vled tare of all marchandize, according to the sort of goods, and order taken for the same.

The measure of Goa and Cochin are all one.

The money of Cochin are all the same sorts which are currant in Goa, but the ducket of gold in value is 10 tangas of good money.

The custome of Cochin as wel inward as outward for all strangers, is eight in the hundred, but those that haue bene married foure yeere in the countrey pay but foure in the hundred, per aduiso.

MALACCA.

The weight, measure, and money of Malacca.

For the marchandise bought and sold in the citie they reckon at so much the barre, which barre is of diuers sorts, great and small, according to the ancient custome of the said citie, & diuer sortie of the goods. But for the clothes they bargain at so much the barre, which barre is 3 quintals, 2 rouses and 10 rotilos. As I haue aboue said, all kind of drugs haue their sorts of barres limited. Note that euery quintal is 4 rouses, and euery rouse 32 rotilos, which is 128 rotilos the quintal, the which answereth to Aleppo 95 rotilos, and to London 472 li. per quintal.

The measures of Malacca are as the measures of Goa. In Malacca they abate tare according to their distinction and agreement, for that there is no iust tare limited.

For the money of Malacca, the least money currant is of tinne stamped with the armes of Portugall, and 12 of these make a Chazza.

The Chazza is also of tinne with the said armes, and 2 of these make a challaine.

The Challaine is of tinne with the said armes, and 40 of these make a tanga of Goa good money, but not stamped in Malacca.

There is also a sort of siluer money which they call Parachines, and is worth 6 tangas of good money, which is 360 reyes, and is stamped with two letters, S. T. which is S. Thomas on the one side, and the armes of Portugall on the other side.

There is also a kind of money called cruzados stamped with the armes of Portugall, & is worth 6 tangas good money, the larines are euery 9 of them worth 2 cruzados, which is 12 tangas good money, and these larines be of those which are stamped in Bassara and Ormuz.

The roials of 8 they call Pardaos de Reales, and are worth 7 tangas of good money.

The custome of Malacca is 10 in the 100 as wel inward as outward, and those which pay the custome inwards, if in case they send the same goods for any other place within terme of a yeere and a day, pay no custome for the same.

A note of charges from *Aleppo* to *Goa*, as foloweth.

* Or, by the Camels burden.

For camels from Aleppo to Birrha,	Medines 60 per * somme.
For mules from Aleppo to Birrha,	med. 45. per somme.
For custome at Birrha,	med. 10. per somme.
For Auania of the Cady at Birrha,	med. 200.
For 4 dishes raisins, and 20 pounds sope,	med. 35.
For a present to the Ermine the summe of	med. 400.
For a barke of 30 or 35 sommes, Duc. 60 is	med. 2400. per barke.
For meat for the men the summe of	med. 200.
For custome at Racca the summe of	med. 5. per somme.
For 3 platters of raisins, and 15 pounds of sope,	med. 25.
For custome to king Aborissei, Duc. 20, is	med. 800.
For custome at Dea the summe of	med. 230. per barke.
For 4 dishes raisins, and 20. pounds of sope,	med. 35.
For custome at Bosara, the summe of	med. 10. per barke.
For 2 dishes raisins, and 10 pound of sope,	med. 17.
For custome in Anna, in 10 per summe,	med. 10. per somme.
For 4 dishes of raisins, and 20 pound of sope,	med. 35.
For custome in Adite, medines 10 per barke,	med. 10. per barke.
For 2 dishes raisins, and 10 pound of sope,	med. 17.
For custome at Gweke,	med. 10. per barke.
For 2 dishes raisins, and 20 pound of sope,	med. 17.
For custome in Ist,	med. 10. per somme.
For 4 platters raisins, and 20 pound of sope,	med. 35.
Charges of presents at Felugia,	med. 30.
For camels from Felugia to Babylon,	med. 30. per somme.
For custome in Babylon, as in the booke appeareth,	
For a barke from Babylon to Bassara,	med. 900.
For custome of small wares, at Corno,	med. 20. per somme.
For custome of clothes at Corno, the summe of	med. per somme.
For 3 dishes raisins, and 20 pound of sope,	med. 36.

For freight from Balsara to Ormus, according to the greatnesse, as in this booke appeareth,
 For custome in Ormus, as is abovesaid in this booke.
 For freight from Ormus to Goa, as is in this booke shewed,
 For custome in Goa, as is abovesaid.

A declaration of the places from whence the goods subscribed doe come.

Cloves, from Maluco, Tarenate, Amboina, by way of Iaua.
 Nutmegs, from Banda.
 Naces from Banda, Iaua, and Malacca.
 Pepper Sawzie, from Cochin.
 Pepper common, from Malabar.
 Sinnamon, from Seilan.
 Cinne, from Malacca.
 Sandals wilde, from Cochin.
 Sandals domestick, from Malacca.
 Uerzini, from S. Thomas, and from China.
 Spicknard, from Zindi, and Lahor.
 Quicksilver, from China.
 Galls, from Cambaia, Bengala, Istria & Syria.
 Ginger Dabulin, from Dabul.
 Ginger Belledin, from the Countrie within Cambaia.
 Ginger Sorattin, from Sorat within Cambaia.
 Ginger Mordassi, from Mordas within Cambaia.
 Ginger Meckin, from Mecca.
 Hirabolans of all sorts, from Cambaia.
 White sucket from Zindi, Cambaia and China.
 Corcunia, from diuers places of India.
 Cozall of Leuant, from Malabar.
 Chonin, from Balsara.
 Requitria, from Arabia Felix.
 Garble of Nutmegs from Banda.
 Sal Armoniacke, from Zindi and Cambaia.
 Zedoari, from diuers places of India.
 Cubeb, from China.
 Amomum, from China.
 Camphora, from Brimeo neere to China.
 Myrrha, from Arabia Felix.
 Costo dulce, from Zindi, and Cambaia.
 Borazo, from Cambaia, and Lahor.
 Asa fetida, from Lahor.
 Ware, from Bengala.
 Seragni, from Persia.
 Cassia, from Cambaia, and from Gran Cayro.
 Storax calamita, from Rhodes, to say, from Aneda, and Canemarie within Caramania.
 Storax liquida, from Rhodes.
 Tutia, from Persia.
 Cagiers, from Malabar, and Maldiu.
 Ruuia to die withall, from Chalangi.
 Alumme di Rocca, from China, and Constantinople.
 Chopra, from Cochin and Malabar.
 Oppopanax, from Persia.
 Lignum Aloes, from Cochin, China, and Malacca.
 Demnar, from Siacca and Binton.
 Galange, from China, Chaul, Goa, & Cochin.
 Laccha, from Pegu, and Balaguare.
 Carabbe, from Almanie.
 Coloquintida, from Cyprus.
 Agaricum, from Alemania.
 Scamonea, from Syria, and Persia.
 Bdelium, from Arabia felix, and Mecca.
 Cardamomum small, from Barcelona.
 Cardamomum great, from Bengala.
 Tamarinda, from Balsara.
 Aloe Secutrina, from Secutra.
 Aloe Epatica, from Pat.
 Safran, from Balsara, and Persia.
 Lignum de China, from China.
 Rhaponticum, from Persia, and Puglia.
 Thus, from Secutra.
 Turbith, from Diu, and Cambaia.
 Nuts of India, from Goa, and other places of India.
 Nux vomica, from Malabar.
 Sanguis Draconis, from Secutra.
 Armoniago, from Persia.
 Spodio di Cana, from Cochin.
 Margaratina, from Balaguare.
 Dulke from Tartarie, by way of China.
 Ambrachan, from Melinde, and Mosambique.
 Indico, from Zindi and Cambaia.
 Silkes fine, from China.
 Long pepper, from Bengala and Malacca.
 Latton, from China.
 Momia, from the great Cayro.
 Belzuinum Mandolalo, from Sian, and Baros.
 Belzuinum burned, from Bonnia.
 Castorium, from Almanie.
 Corallina, from the red sea.
 Masticke, from Sio.
 Mella, from Romania.
 Oppium, from Puglia, and Cambaia.
 Calamus Aromaticus, from Constantinople.
 Capari, from Alexandria and other places.
 Dates, from Arabia felix, and Alexandria.
 Dictamnium album, from Lombardia.
 Draganti, from Morea.
 Euphorbium, from Barbaria.
 Epithimum, from Candia.
 Sena, from Mecca.
 Gumme Arabike, from Zaffo.
 Grana, from Coronto.
 Ladanum, from Cyprus and Candia.
 Lapis Iazzudis, from Persia.

Lapis Zudaffi, from Zaffetto.
 Lapis Spongij is found in sponges,
 Lapis Hæmatites, from Almanic,
 Manna, from Persia,
 Auripigmentum, from manie places of Tur-
 kie.
 Pilatro, from Barbaria,
 Pistaches, from Doria,
 Mome-seede, from Persia,
 Sumack, from Cyprus,
 Sebesten, from Cyprus.

Galbanum, from Persia,
 Dente d' Abolio, from Melinde, and Mosam-
 bique,
 Folium Indicum, from Goa, and Cochin.
 Diasprum viride, from Cambaia.
 Petra Bezzuar, from Tartaria,
 Sarcacolla, from Persia,
 Melleghete, from the West parts,
 Sugo di Requillicie, from Arabia felix,
 Chochenillo, from the West India,
 Rubarbe, from Persia, and China.

The times or seasonable windes called *Monsons*, wherein the ships depart from place to place in the East *Indies*.

NOte, that the Citie of Goa is the principall place of all the Orientall India, and the winter there beginneth the 15 of May with very great raine, and so continueth till the first of August, so that during that space, no shyppe can passe over the barre of Goa, because throughe the continuall houres of raine all the sandes ioyne together neere unto a mountaine called Oghane, and all these sandes being ioyned together, runne into the shoales of the barre and port of Goa, and can haue no other issue, but to remaine in that port, and therefore it is shut vp vntill the first of August, but at the 10 of August it openeth by reason of the raine which ceaseth, and the sea doeth then scoure the lands away againe.

The monson from Goa to the Northward, to say, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Basaim, and other places.

The ships depart betwixt the tenth and 24 of August, for the Northward places aboute sayde, and to these places they may saile all times of the yeere, except in the winter, which beginneth and endeth at the times abovesaid.

The monson from the North parts, for Goa.

The ships depart from Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, and other places Northwards for Goa, betwixt the 8 and 15 of Januarie, and come to Goa about the end of Februarie.

The first monson from Diu for the straight of Mecca.

The ships depart from Diu about the 15 of Januarie, and returne from the straights to Diu in the moneth of August.

The second monson from Diu for the straight of Mecca.

The ships depart betwixt the 25 and first of September, and returne from the straights to Diu, the first and 15 of May.

The monson from Secutra for Ormus.

The ships depart about the tenth of August for Ormus: albeit Secutra is an Island and hath but few ships, which depart as abovesaid.

The monson wherein the Moores of the firme land come to Goa.

About the fifteenth of September the Moores of the firme lande beginne to come to Goa, and they come from all parts, as well from Balaguat, Bezenegar, as also from Sudalcan, and other places.

The monson wherein the Moores of the firme land depart from Goa.

They depart from Goa betwixt the 10 and 15 day of Nouember. Note that by going for the North is meant the departing from Goa, for Chaul, Diu, Cambaia, Daman, Basaim, Ghassain, and other places vnto Zindi: and by the South is vnderstood, departing from Goa, for Cochin, and all that coast vnto Cape Comori.

The first monson from Goa for Ormus.

The shippes depart in the moneth of October from Goa, for Ormus, passing with Easterly windes along the coast of Persia.

The second monson from Goa to Ormus.

The ships depart about the 20 of Januarie passing by the like navigation and windes as in the first monson, and this is called of the Portugals and Indians Entremonson.

The third monson from Goa to Ormus.

The ships depart betwixt the 25 of March, and 6 of Aprill, hauing Easterly windes, till they passe Secutra, and then they find Westerly windes, and therefore they set their course ouer for the coast of Arabia, till they come to Cape Rasalgate and the straight of Ormus, and this monson

is almost troublesome of all: for they make two navigations in the height of Seylan, which is 6 degrees and somewhat lower.

The first monson from Ormus for Chaul and Goa.

The ships depart from Ormus for Chaul, and Goa in the month of September, with North, and North-east winds.

The second monson from Ormus for Chaul and Goa.

The second monson is betwixt the five and twentieth and last of December, with like winds as the former monson.

The third monson from Ormus for Chaul, and Goa.

The third monson the ships depart from Ormus, for Chaul and Goa, betwixt the first and 15 of April, and they saile with Southeast winds, East and North-east winds, coasting upon the Arabia side from Cape Mofandon unto Cape Rasalgate, and having lost the sight of Cape Rasalgate, they haue Westery winds, and so come for Chaul and Goa, and if the said ships depart not before the 25 of April, they are not then to depart that monson, but to winter in Ormus because of the winter.

The first monson from Ormus for Zindi.

The ships depart for Ormus betwixt the 15 and 20 of April.

The second monson from Ormus for Zindi.

The ships depart betwixt the 10 and 20 of October for Zindi from Ormus.

The monson from Ormus for the red sea.

The ships depart from Ormus betwixt the first and last of Januarie.

Hitherto I haue noted the monsons of the ships departing from Goa to the Northward: Now follow the monsons wherein the ships depart from Goa to the Southward.

¶ The monson from Goa for Calicut, Cochin, Seilan, and all that coast.

The ships depart from those places betwixt the 1 and 15 of August, and there they find it navigable all the yeere except in the winter, which continueth as is aforesaid, from the 15 of May till the 10 of August. In like manner the ships come from these places for Goa at euery time in the yeere except in the winter, but of all other the best time is to come in Nouember, December and Ianuary. Note.

The first monson from Goa, for Pegu.

The ships depart from Goa, betwixt the 15 and 20 of April, and winter at S. Thomas, and after the 5 of August, they depart from S. Thomas for Pegu.

The second monson from Goa for Pegu.

The ships depart from Goa betwixt the 8 and 24 of August, going straight for Pegu, and if they passe the 24 of August, they cannot passe that monson, neither is there any more monsons till April as is aforesaid. Note that the chiefest trade is, to take money of S. Thomas rials, and patechoni, and to goe to S. Thomas, and there to buy Tellami, which is fine cloth of India, whereof there is great quantitie made in Coromandel, and brought thither, and other merchandise are not good for that place except some dozen of very faire Emeraulds orientall. For of golde, silver, and Rubies, there is sufficient store in Pegu.

¶ Merchandise good for Pegu.

The monson from Pegu for the Indies.

The ships depart from Pegu betwixt the 15 and 25 of Januarie, and come to Goa about the 25 of March, or in the beginning of April. Note, that if it passe the 10 of May before the sayde ships be arriued in Goa, they cannot come thither that monson, and if they haue not then set the coast of India, they shall with great perill fetch S. Thomas.

The first monson from Goa for Malacca.

The ships depart betwixt the 15 and last of September, and arriue in Malacca about the end of October.

The second monson from Goa to Malacca.

The ships depart about the 5 of May from Goa, and arriue in Malacca about the 15 of June.

The first monson from Malacca to Goa.

The ships depart about the 10 of September, and come to Goa about the end of October.

The second monson from Malacca to Goa.

The ships depart from Malacca about the 10 of February, and come to Goa about the end of

March. But if the said ships should stay till the 10 of May, they cannot enter into Goa, and if at that time also they should not be arrived at Cochin, they are forced to returne to Malacca, because the winter and contrary windes then come upon them.

The monson from Goa for China.

The ships depart from Goa in the moneth of April.

The monson from China for Goa.

The ships depart to be the 10 of May in Goa, and being not then arrived, they turne backe to Cochin, and if they cannot fetch Cochin, they returne to Malacca.

The monson from Goa to the Moluccaes.

The ships depart about the 10 or 15 of May, which time being past, the shippes can not passe over the barre of Goa for the cause abovesaid.

The monson of the ships of the Moluccaes arrivall in Goa.

The ships which come from the Moluccaes arrive upon the bar of Goa about the 15 of April.

The monsons of the Portugall ships for the Indies.

The ships which come from Portugall depart thence ordinarily betwixt the tenth & fifteenth of March, comming the straight way during the moneth of July to the coast of Melinde, and Mosambique, and from thence goe straight for Goa, and if in the moneth of July they should not be at the coast of Melinde, they can in no wise that yeere fetch Melinde, but returne to the Isle of Saint Helena, and so are not able, that time being past, to fetch the coast of Inoia, and to come straight for Goa. Therefore (as is abovesaid) they returne to the Island of Saint Helena, and if they cannot make the said Island, then they runne as lost upon the coast of Guinea: but if the said ships be arrived in time upon the coast of Melinde, they set forwarde for Goa, and if by the fifteenth of September they cannot fetch Goa, they then goe for Cochin, but if they see they cannot fetch Cochin, they returne to Mosambique to winter there upon the sayd coast. Albeit in the yeere of our Lord 1580 there arrived the ship called San Lorenzo, being wonderfull soze sea-beaten, the eight of October, which was accounted as a myracle for that the like had not bene seene before.

Note.

Note.

The monson from India for Portugall.

The shippes depart from Cochin betweene the fifteenth and last of January, going on till they have sight of Capo de buona speranza, and the Isle of Saint Helena, which Islande is about the midway, being in sixteene degrees to the South. And it is a litle Island being fruitfull of all things which a man can imagine, with great store of fruit: and this Island is a great succour to the shipping which returne for Portugall. And not long since the said Island was found by the Portugales, and was discovered by a shippe that came from the Indies in a great storme, in which they found such abundance of wilde beastes, and boares, and all sort of fruite, that by meanes thereof that pooze ship which had bene soute moneths at sea, refreshed themselves both with water and meate very well, and this Island they calles S. Helena, because it was discovered upon S. Helens day. And undoubtedly this Island is a great succour, and so great an ayde to the ships of Portugall, that many would surely perish if that helpe wanted. And therefore the king of Portugall caused a Church to be made there for devotion of S. Helena: where there are onely resident Eremites, and all other are forbidden to inhabite there by the kings commaundement, to the ende that the ships may be the more sufficiently furnished with victuals, because the ships which come fro India come but slenderly victualled, because there groweth no corne there, neither make they any wine: but the ships which come from Portugall to the Indies touch not in the sayd Island, because they set out being sufficiently furnished with bread and water from Portugall for eight moneths voyage. Any other people then the two Eremites abovesaid, cannot inhabite this Island, excepte some sicke man that may be set there a shope to remaine in the Eremites companie, for his helpe and recovery.

Note.

The monson from Goa to Mosambique.

The ships depart betwixt the 10 and 15 of Januarie.

The monson from Mosambique to Goa.

The ships depart betweene the 8 and last of August, and arrive in Chaul or Goa in the moneth of October, till the 15 of November.

The monson from Ormus to Bengala.

The ships depart betwixt the 15 and 20 of June, and goe to winter at Teue and depart thence about the 15 of August for Bengala.

The voyage passed by sea into *Aegypt*, by *John Euesham*
Gentleman. *Annò 1586.*

He 5 of December 1586 we departed from Grauesend in the Tiger of London, wherein was Master under God for the voyage Robert Rickman, and the 21. day at night we came to the Isle of Wight: departing from thence in the morning following we had a faire winde, so that on the 27 day wee came in sight of the rocke of Lisbone, and so sayling along we came in sight of the South Cape, the 29 of the same, and on the morrowe with a Westerly winde we entered the Straighes: and the second of January being as high as Cape de Gare, we departed from our flecte towards Argier. And the 4 day we arrived at the port of Argier aforesaid, where we staid till the first of March. At which time we set saile towards a place called Tunis, to the Eastward of Argier 100 leagues, where we arrived the 8 of the same. This Tunis is a small citie up 12 miles from the sea, and at the port or roade where shipping doe ride, is a castle or fort called Goletta, sometimes in the hands of the Christians, but now of the Turkes: at which place we remained till the thirde of April: at which time wee set saile towards Alexandria, and hauing sometime faire windes, sometime contrary, we passed on the 12 day betwene Sicilia and Malta (where neere adioyning hath beene the fort and holde of the knights of the Rhodes) and so the 19 day we fell with the Isle of Candy, and from thence to Alexandria, where we arrived the 27 of April, and there continued till the 5 of October.

The said citie of Alexandria is an old thing decayed or ruinated, hauing bene a faire and great citie neere two miles in length, being all vaulted underneath for provision of fresh water, which water cometh thither but once every yeere, out of one of the foure riuers of paradise (as it is termed) called Nilus, which in September floweth neere eightene foote vpright higher then his accustomed manner, and so the banke being cut, as it were a sluice, about thirty miles from Alexandria, at a towne called Rosseto, it doth so come to the saide Citie, with such abundance, that barkes of twelue tunne doe come vpon the same water, which water doth fill all the vaults, cisternes, and wells in the said Citie, with very good water, and doth so continue good, till the next yeere following: for they haue there very litle raine or none at all, yet haue they exceeding great dewes. Also they haue very good corne, and very plentifull: all the Countrey is very hot, especially in the moneths of August, September, and October. Also within the saide Citie there is a pillar of Marble, called by the Turkes, King Pharaoes needle, & it is foure square, euery square is twelue foote, and it is in height 90 foote. Also there is without the wals of the said Citie, about twentie score paces, another marble pillar, being round, called Pompey his pillar: this pillar standeth vpon a great square stone, euery square is fiftene foote, and the same stone is fiftene foote high, and the compasse of the pillar is 37 foote, and the heighth of it is 101 feete, which is a wonder to thinke how euer it was possible to set the said pillar vpon the said square stone. The port of the said Citie is strongly fortified with two strong Castles, and one other Castle within the citie, being all very well planted with munition: and there is to the Eastward of this Citie, about thre dayes iourney the citie of Grand Cayro, other wise called Memphis: it hath in it by report of the registers bookes which we did see, to the number of 2400 Churches, and is wonderfully populous, and is one dayes iourney about the wals, which was iourneyed by one of our Harriers for triall thereof. Also neere to the saide citie there is a place called the Pyramides, being, as I may well terme it, one of the nine wonders of the world: that is, seuen severall places of flint and marble stone, foure square, the wals thereof are seuen yards thicke in those places that we did see: the squarenes is in length about twentie score euery square, being built as it were a pointed diamond, broad at the foote, and small or narrow at the toppe: the heighth of them, to our iudgement, doth surmount twise the heighth of Pauls Steeple: within the saide Pyramides, no man doth know what there is, for that they haue no entrance but in the one of them, there is a hole where the wall is broken, and so we went in there, hauing toge-light with vs, for that it hath no light to it, and within the same, is as it were a great hall, in the which there is a costly tombe, which tombe they say, was made for king Pharao in his life time, but he was not buried there, being drowned in the red sea: also there are certaine vaults or dungeons, which goe downe verie deepe under these Pyramides with faire staires, but no man dare venter to goe downe into them, by reason that they can carry no light with them, for the dampe of the earth doth put out the light: the red sea is but thre dayes iourney from this place, and Ierusalem about seuen dayes iourney from thence: but to returne to Cayro. There is a Castle wherein is the house that Pharaoes wines were kept in, and in the Palace or Court thereof stande 55 marble pillars, in such order, as our Exchange standeth in London: the said pillars are in heighth 60 foote, and in compasse 14

Tunis.

The description of Alexandria.

Cayro.

foote: also in the said Citie is the castle where Ioseph was in prison, where to this day they put in rich men, when the king would haue any summe of mouey of them: there are seuen gates to the sayd prison, and it goeth neere fiftie yardes downe right: also, the water that serueth this castle, cometh out of the foze saide riuer of Nilus, vpon a wall made with arches, five miles long, and it is twelue foote thicke. Also there are in old Cayro two Monasteries, the one called S. Georges, the other S. Maries: & in the Courts where the Churches be, was the house of king Pharao. In this Citie is great store of marchandize, especially pepper, and nutmegs, which come thither by land, out of the East India: and it is very plentifull of all maner of victuals, especially of bread, rootes, and hearbes: to the Eastwards of Cayro, there is a Well, five miles off, called Matria, and as they say, when the Virgin Marie fled from Bethleem, and came into Egypt, and being there, had neither water, nor any other thing to sustaine them, by the pzoidence of God, an Angell came from heauen, and strake the ground with his wings, where presently issued out a fountaine of water: and the wall did open where the Israelites did hide themselves, which fountaine or well is walled foure square till this day. Also we were at an old Citie, all ruinated and destroyed, called in olde time, the great Citie of Carthage where Hannibal and Queene Dido dwelt: this Citie was but narrow, but was very long: for there was, and is yet to bee seene, one streete three mile long, to which Citie fresh water was brought vpon arches (as afoze) about 25 miles, of which arches some are standing to this day. Also we were at diuers other places on the coast, as we came from Cayro, but of other antiquities we saw but few. The towne of Argier which was our first and last port, within the streights standeth vpon the side of an hill, close vpon the sea shore: it is very strong both by sea and land, and it is very well victualed with all maner of fruites, bread and fish good store, and very cheape. It is inhabited with Turkes, Moores, and Iewes, and so are Alexandria and Cayro. In this towne are a great number of Christian captiues, whereof there are of Englishmen onely fiftene, from which port we set sayle towards England, the seuenth of Ianuarie, Anno 1587, and the 30 day of the sayd moneth, we arriued at Dartmouth on the coast of England.

Carthage.

Argier,

The second voyage of M. Laurence Aldersey, to the Cities of Alexandria, and Cayro in Aegypt. Anno 1586.



I Embarked my selfe at Bristol, in the Hercules, a good ship of London, and set saile the 21 day of Februarie, about ten of the clocke in the mozning, hauing a merry winde: but the 23 day, there arose a very great storme, and in the mids of it we descried a small boate of the burden of ten tunnes, with foure men in her, in very great danger, who called a maine for our helpe. Whereupon our Master made towards them, and tooke them into our ship, and let the boate, which was laden with timber, and appertained to Chesflow, to runne a drift. The same night about midnight arose another great storme, but the winde was large with vs, vntill the 27 of the same moneth, which then grew somewhat contrary: yet not withstanding we held on our course, and the tenth day of March, we descried a saile about Cape Sprat, which is a litle on this side the streight of Gibraltar, but we spake not with her. The next day we descried twelue sayle more, with whom we thought to haue spoken, to haue learned what they were, but they made very fast away, and we gaue them ouer.

Thursday the 16 of March, we had sight of the streights, and of the coast of Barbary. The 18 day we passed them, and sailed towards Patras. Upon the 23 of March, we met with the Centurion of London which came from Genoa, by whom we sent letters to England, and the foure men also which we tooke in, vpon the coast of England, before mentioned.

The 29 of March we came to Goleta a small Island, and had sight of two shippes, which we iudged to be of England.

Tuesday the fourth of Aprill, we were before Malta, and being there becalmed, our Master caused the two ship boates to be had out, and they towed the ship, till we were out of sight of the Castle of Malta. The 9 day of Aprill we came to Zante, and being before the towne, William Aldridge, seruant to Master Thomas Cordall of London, came aboard vs, with whom our Master and twelue more of our company, thought to haue gone on shoare, but they could not be permitted: so we all came aboard againe, and went to Patras, where we arriued vpon good Friday, and lay there with good entertainment at the English house, where was the Consull Master Grimes, Ralph Ashley, and Iohn Doddington, who very kindly went with vs, and shewed vs the pleasures of the towne.

They brought vs to the house of the Cady, who was made then to vnderstand of the 20 Turkes that

Goleta,

Malta,

Zante,

Patras.

that wee had aboard, which were to goe to Constantinople, being redeemed out of captiuitie, by sir Francis Drake in the West Indies, and brought with him into England, and by order of the Queenes Maiestie sent now into their Countrey. Whereupon the Cady commaunded them to be brought befoze him, that he might see them: and when he had talked with them, and vnderstood howe strangely they were deliuered, hee marueiled much, and admired the Queenes Maiestie of England, who being but a woman, is not withstanding of such power and renowne amongst all the princes of Christendome, with many other honourable wordes of commending her Maiestie. So he tooke the names of those 20. Turkes, and recorded them in their great bookes, to remaine in perpetuall memozy. After this, our foresaid countrey men brought mee to the Chappel of S. Andrew, where his tombe or sepulchre is, and the boord vpon which hee was beheaded, which boord is now so rotten, that if any man offer to cut it, it falleth to powder, yet I brought some of it away with me.

Upon Tuesday in Easter weeke, we set out towards Zante againe, and the 24. of April with much adoe, we were all permitted to come on shoare, and I was caried to the English house in Zante, where I was very well entertained. The commodities of Zante are Currans and oyle: the situation of the Towne is vnder a very great hill, vpon which standeth a very strong Castle, which commaundeth the Towne. At Zante we tooke in a Captaine and 16. souldiers, with other passengers. Wee departed from Zante vpon Tuesday the 15. of April, and the next day we ankered at a small Island, called Seriuahia, which is desolate of people, sauing a fewe religious men, who entertained vs well, without taking any money: but of courtesie we bestowed somewhat vpon them for their maintenance, and then they gaue vs a couple of leane sheepe, which we caried aboard. The last day of April, wee arrived at Candie, at a Castle, called Sowday, where wee set the Captaine, Souldiers, and Mariners aboard, which wee tooke in at Zante, with all their carriage.

Seriuahia.

Candie.

The second day of May wee set saile againe, and the fourth day came to the Islands of Milo, where we ankered, and found the people there very courteous, and tooke in such necessaries as we wanted. The Islands are in my iudgement a hundred in number, and all within the compasse of a hundred miles.

May.
The Islands
of Milo, in olds
time called
Sporades.

The 11. day, the Chaus, which is the greatest man there in authoritie, for certaine offences done in a little Chappell by the water side, which they saide one of our shippe had done, and imputed it to mee, because I was seene goe into it three dayes befoze, came to vs, and made much a doe, so that we were faine to come out of our shippe armed: but by three pieces of golde the bhabling was ended, and we came to our shippe. This day wee also set saile, and the next day passed by the Castle of Serpeto, which is an old ruinated thing, and standeth vnder a hills side.

The 13. day, we passed by the Island of Paris, and the Island of the bankes of Helicon, and the Island called Ditter, where are many boares, and the women bee witches. The same day also wee passed by the Castle of Tino, standing vpon a very high mountaine, and nere vnto it is the Island of Diana.

The 15. of May, wee came to Sio, where I stayed thirtie and thre dayes. In it is a very proper Towne, after the building of that Countrey, and the people are ciuill: and while we were here, there came in six Gallies, which had bene at Alexandria, and one of them which was the Admirall, had a Prince of the Moores prisoner, whom they tooke about Alexandria, and they meant to present him to the Turke. The towne standeth in a valley, and a long the water side pleasantly. There are about 26. winde-mills about it, and the commodities of it are cotton wooll, cotton yarne, masticke, and some other drugs.

Sio.

As we remained at Sio, there grew a great controuersie betwene the mariners of the Hercules, and the Greekes of the Towne of Sio, about the bringing home of the Turkes, which the Greekes tooke in ill part, and the boyes cried out, Viue el Re Philippe: whereupon our men beate the boyes, and threwe stones, and so a boyle beganne, and some of our men were hurt: but the Greekes were fetcht out of their houses, and manacled together with yrons, and thre adred to the Gallies: about fourtie of them were sent to the prison, and what became of them, when we were gone, we know not, for we went thence within two dayes after, which was the 19. of June.

The 20. day wee passed by the Island of Singonina, an Island risen by the casting of stones in that place: the substance of the ground there is brimstone, and burneth sometimes so much, that it bloweth by the rockes.

Singonina.

The 24. of June wee came to Cyprus, and had sight in the way of the aforesaide six Gallies, that came from Alexandria, one whereof came vnto vs, and required a present for himselfe, and for two of the other Gallies, which we for quietnesse sake gaue them.

The 27. of June, wee came to Tripolie, where I stayed till the fift of July, and then tooke passage

passage in a small barke called a Caramusalin, which was a passage boat, and was bound for Bichieri, thirteene miles on this side Alexandria, which boate was freighted with Turkes, Moores, and Jewes.

The 20. day of July, this barke which I passed in ranne upon a rocke, and was in very great danger, so that we all began some to be ready to swimme, some to leape into the shippe boate, but it pleased God to set vs quickly off the rocke, and without much harme.

Bichieri.

The 28. of July I came to Bichieri, where I was well entertained of a Jewe which was the Customer there, giving me Huskadine, and drinking water himselfe: having broken my fast with him, he provided mee a Camell for my carriage, and a Mule for mee to ride upon, and a Moore to runne by me to the City of Alexandria, who had charge to set mee safe in the English house, whither I came, but found no Englishmen there: but then my guide brought mee aboard a ship of Alderman Martins, called the Tyger of London, where I was well received of the Master of the said ship, whose name was Thomas Rickman, and of all the company.

The English house in Alexandria.

The said Master having made me good cheere, and made me also to drinke of the water of Nilus, having the keyes of the English house, went thither with me himselfe, & appointed mee a faire chamber, and left a man with me to provide me all things that I needed, and every day came himselfe to me, and carried me into the City, and shewed me the monuments thereof, which be these.

The monuments of Alexandria.

He brought mee first to Pompey his pillar, which is a mighty thing of gray marble, and all of one Stone, in height by estimation aboute 52 yards, and the compasse about sixe sadome.

The City hath thye gates, one called the gate of Barbaria, the other of Merina, and the thirde of Rosseto.

He brought me to a stone in the streete of the Citie, whereupon S. Marke was beheaded: to the place where S. Katherine died, having there hid herselfe, because she would not marry: also to the Bath of S. Katherine.

I saw there also Pharaos needle, which is a thing in height almost equall with Pompeys pillar, and is in compasse sixe sadome, and a halfe, and all of one stone.

I was brought also to a most bzauie and daintie Bath, where we washed our selues: the Bath being of marble, and of very curious workmanship.

The Citie standeth vpon great arches, or vaultes, like unto Churches, with mightie pillars of marble, to holde vp the foundation: which arches are built to receive the water of the riuer of Nilus, which is for the vse of the Citie. It hath thye Castles, and a hundred Churches: but the part that is destroyed of it, is sixe times more then that part which standeth.

Rosseto.

The last day of July, I departed from Alexandria towards Cayro in a passage boate, wherein first I went to Rosseto, standing by the riuer side, having 13. or 14. great churches in it, their building there is of stone and brick, but as for lodging, there is little, except we bring it with vs.

From Rosseto we passed along the riuer of Nilus, which is so famous in the world, to rise as broad as the Thames at London: on both sides grow date trees in great abundance. The people be rude, in somuch that a man cannot traueile without a Lanizary to conuocit him.

The Turkes Lent.

The time that I stayed in Egypt was the Turkes and Moores Lent, in all which time they burne lamps in their churches, as many as may hang in them: their Lent endureth 40. dayes, and they haue thye Lents in the pere: during which time they neither eate nor drinke in the day time, but all the night they do nothing else.

Between Rosseto and Cayro there are along the water side thye three hundred citties and townes, and the length of the way is not aboute thye hundred miles.

Cayro.

To this famous Citie of Cayro I came the fift day of August, where I found M. William Alday, and William Caesar, who entertained me in very good sort. M. Caesar brought mee to see the Pyramides which are thye in number, one wherof king Pharao made for his owne tombe, the tombe it selfe is almost in the top of it: the monuments be high and in forme 4. square, and every of the squares is as long as a man may shoote a rouing arrowe, and as high as a Church, I sawe also the ruines of the Citie of Memphis hard by those Pyramides.

The house of Ioseph is yet standing in Cayro, which is a sumptuous thing, having a place to walke in of 56. mighty pillars, all gilt with gold, but I sawe it not, being then lame.

The 11. day of August the lande was cut at Cayro, to let in the water of the riuer of Nilus, which was done with great ioy and triumph.

The 12. of August I set from Cayro towards Alexandria againe, and came thither the 14. of August. The 26. day there was kept a great feast of the Turkes and Moores, which lasted two dayes, and for a day they neuer ceased shooting off of great Ordnance.

The English Consulat at Argier.

From Alexandria I sailed to Argier, where I lay with M. Typton Consull of the English nation, who vsed me most kindly, and at his owne charge. Hee brought mee to the kings Court,

and

and into the presence of the King, to see him, and the manners of the Court: the King doeth onely beare the name of a King, but the greatest government is in the hands of the souldiers.

The king of Potanca is prisoner in Argier, who comming to Constantinople, to acknowledge a duety to the great Turke, was betrayed by his owne nephew, who wrote to the Turke, that hee went onely as a spy, by that meanes to get his kingdome. I heard at Argier of seuen Gallies that were at that time cast away at a towne called Fornenera: thye of them were of Argier, the other foure were the Christians.

We found here also 13. Englishmen, which were by force of weather put into the bay of Tunis, where they were very ill vsed by the Moores, who forced them to leaue their barke: whereupon they went to the Councell of Argier, to require a redresse and remedy for the iniurie. They were all belonging to the shippe, called the Golden Noble of London, whereof Master Birde is owner. The Master was Stephen Halsewood, and the Captaine Edmond Bence.

The thirde day of December, the pinnesse called the Mooneshine of London, came to Argier with a prize, which they tooke vpon the coast of Spaine, laden with sugar, hides, and ginger: the pinnesse also belonging to the Golden Noble: and at Argier they made sale both of shippe and goods, where wee left them at our comming away, which was the seuenth day of Januarie: and the first day of February, I landed at Dartmouth, and the seuenth day came to London, with humble thanks to Almighty God, for my safe arriuall.

A true report of a worthy fight, performed in the voyage from Turkie, by five Ships of London, against 11. Gallies, and two Frigats of the King of Spaines, at Pantalarea within the Streights, Anno, 1586. Written by Philip Iones.

THe Marchants of London, being of the incorporation of the Turky trade, hauing receiued intelligences, and aduertisements, from time to time, that the King of Spaine grudging at the prosperitie of this kingdome, had not onely of late arrested all English ships, bodie, and goods, in Spaine, but also maligning the quiet traffique which they vsed to and in the dominions, and prouinces, vnder the obedience of the Great Turke, had giuen order to the Captaines of his gallies in the Leuant, to hinder the passage of all English ships, and to endeavour by their best meanes, to intercept, take, and spoile them, their persons, and goods: they hereupon thought it their best course to set out their fleete for Turkie, in such strength and abilitie for their defence, that the purpose of their Spanish enemy might the better be prevented, and the voyage accomplished with greater securitie to the men and shippes. For which cause, five tall, and stout shippes, appertaining to London, and intending onely a Marchants voyage, were prouided and furnished with all things belonging to the Seas; The names whereof were these:

1. The Marchant Royall, a very braue and good shippe, and of great repute.
2. The Tobie.
3. The Edward Bonauenture.
4. The William, and Iohn.
5. The Susan.

These five departing from the coast of England, in the moneth of November 1585. kept together as one fleete, til they came as high as the Isle of Sicile, within the Leuant. And there, according to the order and direction of the voyage, each shippe began to take leaue of the rest, and to separate himselfe, setting his course for the particular port, whereunto hee was bounde: one for Tripolie in Syria, another for Constantinople, the chiefe Citie of the Turkes Empire, situated vpon the coast of Romania, called of olde, Thracia, and the rest to those places, wherunto they were priuately appointed. But befoze they deuided themselves, they altogether consulted, of and about a certaine and speciall place for their meeting againe after the lading of their goods at their severall portes. And in conclusion, the generall agreement was to meete at Zante, an Island nere to the maine continent of the West part of Morea, well knownen of all the Pilots, & thought to be the fittest place of their Rendezous. Concerning which meeting, it was also covenanted on eche side, and promised, that whatsoeuer ship of these 5, should first arrive at Zante, should there stay and expect the comming of the rest of the fleete, for the space of twentie dayes. This being done, ech man made his best hast according as winde and weether would serue him to fulfill his course, and to dispatch his businesse; and no neede was there to admonish or incourage any man, seeing no time was ill spent, nor oppoortunitie omitted on any side, in the performance of ech mans duety, according to his place.

It fell out that the Tobie which was bound for Constantinople had made such good speede, and gotten such good weather, that the first of all the rest came back to the appointed place of Zante, and not forgetting the former conclusion, did there cast ancre, attending the arrivall of the rest of the fleet, which accordingly (their business first performed) failed not to keepe promise. The first next after the Tobie was the Royal Marchant, which together with the William and John came from Tripolie in Syria, and arrived at Zante within the compass of the foresaide time limited. These ships in token of the joy on all parts conceived for their happy meeting, spared not the discharging of their Ordnance, the sounding of drums & trumpets, the spreading of Ensignes with other warlike and ioyfull behaviours, expelling by these outward signes, the inward gladnesse of their mindes, being all as ready to ioyne together in mutuall consent to resist the cruel enemy, as now in sporting mance they made myzth and pastime among themselves. These three had not bene long in the haven, but the Edward Bonaventure also, together with the Susan her consort, were come from Venice with their lading, the sight of whom increased the joy of the rest, and they no lesse glad of the presence of the others, saluted them in most friendly and kinde sort, according to the manner of the Seas: and whereas some of these ships stood at that instant in some want of victuals, they were all content to stay in the port, till the necessites of each shippe were supplied, and nothing wanted to set out for their returne.

In this port of Zante the newes was fresh and currant, of two severall armies and fleets provided by the king of Spaine, and lying in waite to intercept them: the one consisting of 30. strong Gallies, so well appointed in all respects for the warre, that no necessary thing wanted: and this fleet hovered about the Streights of Gibraltar. The other armie had in it 20. Gallies, whereof some were of Sicilie, and some of the Island of Malta, under the charge and government of John Andrea Dorea, a Captaine of name serving the king of Spaine. These two divers and strong fleets waited and attended in the Seas for none, but the English shippes, and no doubt made their account and sure reckoning that not a shippe should escape their furie. And the opinion also of the inhabitants of the Isle of Zante was, that in respect of the number of Gallies in both these armies, having received such streight commandement from the king, our ships and men being but few, and little in comparision of them, it was a thing in humane reason impossible, that we should passe either without spoiling, if we resisted, or without composition at the least, and acknowledgement of duetie to the Spanish king.

But it was neither the report of the attendance of these armies, nor the opinions of the people, nor any thing else, that could daunt or dismay the courages of our men, who grounding themselves upon the goodnesse of their cause, and the promise of God, to bee deliuered from such as without reason sought their destruction, carried resolute mindes, notwithstanding all impediments to adventure through the Seas, and to finish their Navigation, maugre the beards of the Spanish Souleiers. But least they should seeme too carelesse, and too secure of their estate, and by laying the whole and entire burden of their safetie upon Gods providence, should foolishly presume altogether of his helpe, and neglect the meanes which was put into their handes, they failed not to enter into counsell among themselves, and to deliberate advisedly for their best defence. And in the end with generall consent, the Marchant Royall was appointed Admirall of the fleet, and the Tobie Viceadmiral, by whose orders the rest promised to be directed, and each shippe vowed not to breake from another, what soever extremitie should fall out, but to stand to it to the death, for the honour of their Countrey, and the frustrating of the hope of the ambitious and proud enemy.

Thus in good order they left Zante and the Castle of Gracia, and committed themselves againe to the Seas, and proceeded in their course and voyage in quietnes, without sight of any enemy, till they came nere to Pantalarea, an Island so called, betwixt Sicilie, and the coast of Africke: into sight whereof they came the 13. day of July 1586. And the same day in the morning about 7. of the clocke they descried 13. sailes in number, which were of the Gallies, lying in waite of purpose for them, in and about that place. As soone as the English ships had spied them, they by and by according to a common order, made themselves ready for a fight, layed out their Ordnance, scoured, charged, and primed them, displayed their ensignes, and left nothing undone to arme themselves thoroughly. In the meane time, the Gallies moze and moze approached the ships, and in their banners there appeared the armes of the Isles of Sicilie, and Malta, being all as then in the service and pay of the Spaniard. Immediately, both the Admirals of the Gallies sent from each of them a frigate, to the Admirall of our English ships, which being come nere them, the Sicilian frigate first hailed them, and demanded of them whence they were: They answered that they were of England, the armes whereof appeared in their colours. Whereupon the saide frigate expostulated with them, and asked why they delayed to sende or come with their Captaines and pursers to Don Pedro de Leiva their Generall, to acknowledge their duty and obedience to him

in the name of the Spanish king, Lord of those seas: Our men replied, and said, that they owed no such duetie nor obedience to him, and therefore would acknowledge none, but commanded the frigate to depart with that answer, and not to stay longer a babbling, vpon her perill. With that away she went, and vpon comes toward them the other frigate of Malca, and there in like sort hailed the Admirall, and would needs know whence they were, and where they had bene. Our Englishmen in the Admirall, not disdainning an answer, tolde them that they were of England, Marchants of London, had bene at Turkie, and were now returning home: and to be requited in this case, they also demanded of the frigate whence she and the rest of the Gallies were: the messenger answered, we are of Malca, and for mine owne part my name is Cauallero. These Gallies are in seruice and pay to the king of Spaine, vnder the conduct of Don Pedro de Leiu a noble man of Spaine, who hath bene commanded hither by the King with this present force and armie, of purpose to intercept you. You shall therefore (quoth he) do well to repaire to him, to know his pleasure, he is a noble man of good behauiour and courtesie, and meanes you no ill. The Captaine of the English Admirall, whose name was M. Edward Wilkinson, replied and said. We purpose not at this time to make triall of Don Pedro his courtesie, whereof we are suspitious and doubtful, and not without good cause: vsing wit hall good words to the messenger, and willing him to come aboard him, promising securitie and good vllage, that thereby he might the better knowe the Spaniards minde: whereupon he indeed left his frigate, and came aboard him, whom hee intertained in friendly sort, and caused a cuppe of wine to be drawne for him, which he tooke and beganne, with his cap in his hand, and with reuerend termes to drinke to the health of the Queene of England, speaking very honourably of her State, and giuing good speeches of the courteous vllage and intertainment that he himselfe had receiued in London, at the time that the duke of Alençon, brother to the late French king was last in England: and after he had well drunke, hee tooke his leaue, speaking well of the sufficiencie and goodnesse of our shippes, and especially of the Marchant Royal, which he confessed to haue seene befoze, riding in the Thames nere London. He was no sooner come to Don Pedro de Leiu the Spanish general, but he was sent off againe, and returned to the English Admirall, saying that the pleasure of the Generall was this, that either their Captaines, Masters and Purters should come to him with speed, or else hee would set vpon them, and either take them or sink them. The reply was made by M. Wilkinson aforesaid, that not a man should come to him: and for the bzagge and threat of Don Pedro, it was not that Spanish brauado that should make them yeeld a jot to their hinderance, but they were as ready to make resistance, as he to offer an iniurie. Whereupon Cauallero the messenger left bzagging, and began to perswade them in quiet sort, and with many wordes, but all his labour was to no purpose, and as his threat did nothing terrifie them, so his perswasion did nothing moue them to doe that which hee required. At the last he intreated to haue the Marchant of the Admirall caried by him as a messenger to the Generall, that so he might be satisfied, and assured of their mindes by one of their owne company. But M. Wilkinson would agree to no such thing, although Richard Rowie the marchant himselfe seemed willing to bee employed in that message, and laboured by reasonable perswasions to induce M. Wilkinson to graunt it, as hoping to be an occasion by his presence and discrete answers to satisfie the Generall, and thereby to saue the effusion of Christian blood, if it should grow to a battel. And he seemed so much the more willing to be sent, by how much deeper the othes and protestations of this Cauallero were, that he would (as hee was a true knight and a souldier) deliuer him backe againe in safetie to his company. Albeit, M. Wilkinson, which by his long experience had receiued sufficient triall of Spanish inconstancie and perurie, wished him in no case to put his life and libertie in hazard vpon a Spaniards othe. But at last, vpon much intreatie, hee yeelded to let him go to the General, thinking in deed, that good speeches and answers of reason would haue contented him, where as otherwise refusall to do so, might peraduenture haue prouoked the more discontentment.

M. Rowie therefore passing to the Spanish Generall, the rest of the Gallies hauing espied him, thought in deed that the English were rather determined to yeelde, then to fight, and therefore came flocking about the frigate, euery man crying out, Que nueuas, que nueuas, Haue these English men yeelded: the frigate answered, Not so, they neither haue, nor purpose to yeeld, onely they haue sent a man of their company to speake with our Generall: and being come to the Gallie wherein he was, he shewed himselfe to M. Rowie in his armour, his guard of souldiers attending vpon him in armour also, and began to speake very proudly in this sort: Thou Englishman, from whence is your fleete, why stand ye aloofe off, knowe ye not your duetie to the Catholique King, whose person I here represent: Where are your billes of lading, your letters, passports, and the chiefe of your men: Thinke ye my attendance in these seas to be in vaine, or my person to no purpose: Let all these things be done out of hand as I command, vpon paine of my further displeasure
and

and the spoyle of you all: These wordes of the Spanish Generall were not so outragiously pronounced, as they were mildly answered by M. Rowie, who tolde him that they were al Marchants, vsing trafique in honest sort, and seeking to passe quietly, if they were not vzed further then reason. As for the king of Spaine, he thought (for his part) that there was amitie betwixt him and his soueraigne the Queene of England, so that neither he nor his officers should goe about to offer any such iniurie to English Marchants, who as they were farre from giuing offence to any man, so they would be loath to take an abuse at the handes of any, or sit downe to their losse, where their abilitie was able to make defence. And as touching his commandement aforesaid, for the acknowledging of dutie, in such particular sort, he told him, that where there was no dutie owing, there none should be performed, assuring him that their whole company and shippes in generall, stood resolutely vpon the negatiue, and would not yeeld to any such vncreasonable demaund, toynd with such imperious and absolute maner of commanding. Why then, said he, if they wil neither come to yeeld, nor shew obedience to me in the name of my king, I wil either sinke them or bring them to harbor, and so tell them from me. With that the frigate came away with M. Rowie, and brought him aboard the English Admirall againe according to promise: who was no sooner entred in, but by and by defiance was sounded on both sides: the Spaniards heued off the noses of the Gallies, that nothing might hinder the leuell of the shot, and the English on the other side courageously prepared themselves to the combat, euery man according to his roome, bent to performe his office with alacritie and diligence. In the meane time a Cannon was discharged from the Admirall of the gallies, which being the onset of the fight, was presently answered by the English Admirall with a Culuering: so the skirmish began, and grew hot and terrible, there was no powder nor shot spared: ech English ship matched it selfe in good order against two Spanish Gallies, besides the inequalitye of the frigates on the Spaniards side: and although our men performed their parts with singular valure, according to their strength, insomuch that the enemy as amazed therewith would oftentimes pause and stay, and consult what was best to be done, yet they ceased not in the midst of their businesse to make prayer to Almighty God the reuenger of all euils, and the giuer of victories, that it would please him to assist them in that good quarrell of theirs, in defending themselves against so proud a tyrant, to teach their handes to warre, and their fingers to fight, that the glory of the victory might redound to his Name, and to the honor of true Religion, which the insolent enemy sought so much to ouerthrowe. Contrarily, the idolish Spaniards tried out according to their maner, not to God, but to our Lady (as they terme the virgin Mary) saying, O Lady helpe, O blessed Lady giue vs the victory, and the honor thereof shalbe thine. Thus with blowes & prayers on both sides the fight continued furious and sharpe, and doubtful a long time to which part the victory would incline: til at the last the Admirall of the Gallies of Sicilie began to warpe from the fight, and to holde by her side for feare of sinking, and after her went also two others in like case, whom al the sort of them inclosed, labouring by all their meanes to keepe them about water, being ready by the force of English shot which they had receiued, to perish in the seas: & what slaughter was done among the Spaniards themselves, the English were vncertaine, but by a probable coniecture apparant afar off, they supposed their losse was so great, that they wanted men to continue the charging of their pieces: whereupon with shame and dishonor, after 5. houres spent in the battel, they withdrew themselves: and the English contented in respect of their deepe lading, rather to continue their voyage then to follow the chase, ceased from further blowes, with the losse onely of two men slaine amongst them all, and another hurt in his arme, whom M. Wilkinson with his good wordes and friendly promises did so comfort, that he nothing esteemed the smart of his wound in respect of the honour of the victory, and the shameful repulse of the enemy.

the fight of five
houres,

Thus with ductifull thanks to the mercy of God, & his gracious assistance in that danger, the English ships proceeded in their Nauigation, and comming as high as Alger, a port to vne vpon the coast of Barbary, they fell with it, of purpose to refresh themselves after their wearinesse, and to take in such supply of fresh water & victuals, as they needed: they were no sooner entred into the port, but immediatly the king thereof sent a messenger to the ships to knowe what they were, with which messenger the chiefe master of ech shippe repaired to the king, and acquainted him not onely with the state of their ships, in respect of marchandize, but with the late fight which they had passed with the Spanish Gallies, reporting euery particular circumstance in word as it fell out in action: wherof the said king shewed himselfe marueilous glad, intertaining them in the best sort, and promising abundant reliefe of all their wants, making generall proclamation in the city vpon paine of death, that no man of what degree or state soeuer he were, should presume either to hinder them in their affaires, or to offer them any maner of iniury in body or goods. By vertue wherof they dispatched al things in excellent good sort, with al fauor & peaceableness: only such prisoners and captiues of the Spaniards as were in the Citie, seeing the good vlsage which they receiued, and
hearing

bearing also what seruice they had performed against the foresaide Gallies, grudget exceedingly against them, and sought as much as they could to practise some mischief against them: and one amongst the rest seeing an Englishman alone in a certaine lane of the Citie, came vpon him suddenly, and with his knife thrust him in the side, yet made no such great wound, but that it was easily recovered. The English company hearing of it, acquainted the king with the fact, who immediately sent both for the party that had received the wound, and the offender also, and caused an executioner in the presence of himselfe and the English, to chastise the slave euen to death, which was performed to the ende that no man should presume to commit the like part, or to doe any thing in contempt of his royal commandement.

The English hauing receiued this good iustice at the kings hands, and al other things that they wanted, or could craue for the furnishing of their shippes, tooke their leaue of him, and of the rest of their friendes, that were resident in Alger, and put out to Sea, looking to meeete with the second army of the Spanish king, which waited for them about the mouth of the Straights of Gibraltar, which they were of necessitie to passe. But comming neere to the said Streight, it pleased God to raise at that instant a very darke and mistie fogge, so that one ship could not discern another, if it were 40. paces off: by meanes whereof, together with the notable faire Easterne winds that then blew most fit for their course, they passed with great speed through the Streight, and might haue passed with that good gale, had there bene 500. Gallies to withstand them, and the aire neuer so cleare for euery ship to be seene. But yet the Spanish Gallies had a sight of them when they were come within 3. English miles of the towne, and made after them in all possible haste, and although they saw that they were farre out of their reach, yet in a vaine fury and foolish pride, they shot off their Ordnance, and made a stirre in the Sea as if they had bene in the midst of them, which vanitie of theirs ministred to our men notable matter of pleasure and mirth, seeing men to fight with Hadawes, and to take so great paines to so small purpose.

The second Spanish fleet lying in waite for the English.

But thus it pleased God to deride, and delude all the forces of that proud Spanish king, which he had prouided of purpose to distresse the English, who notwithstanding passed through both his Armies, in the one, little hurt, and in the other nothing touched, to the glory of his immortall Name, the honour of our Prince and Councrey, and the iust commendation of ech mans seruice performed in that voyage.

The returne of Master William Harborne from Constantinople ouer land to London, 1588.



Departed from Constantinople with 30. persons of my suit and family the 3. of August. Passing through the Countries of Thracia, now called Romania the great, Valachia & Moldavia, where arriuing the 5. of September I was according to the Grand Signior his commandement very courteously interceined by Peter his pollicie prince, a Greeke by profession, with whom was concluded that her Maiesties subiects there trafficking should pay but thre vpon

the hundreth, which as well his owne Subiects as all other nations answered: whose letters to her Maiestie be extant. Whence I proceeded into Poland, where the high Chanceler sent for mee the 27. of the same moneth. And after most honorable intertainment imparted with me in secret maner the late passed and present occurrents of that kingdome, & also he writ to her Maiestie.

The letters of the Prince of Moldavia to the Queen. Letters of the Chanceler of Poland to the Queen.

Thence I halted unto Elbing, where the 12. of October I was most friendly welcomed by the Senate of that City, whom I finde and iudge to be faithfully deuoted to her Maiesties seruice, whose letters likewise vnto the same were presented me. No lesse at Dantzick the 27. of that moneth I was courteously receiued by one of the Burroughsmasters accompanied with two others of the Senate, & a Ciuill doctour their Secretarie. After going through the land of Pomer I rested one day at Scerin, where, for that y duke was absent, nothing ensued. At Rostoke I passed through the Citie without any stay, and at Wismar receiued like friendly greeting as in the other places: but at Lubeck, for that I came late and departed early in the morning, I was not visited. At Hamburg the 19. of Nouember, and at Srood the ninth of December in like maner I was saluted by a Burroughsmaster and the Secretarie, and in all these places they presented mee sundry fozes of their best wine and fresh fish, euery of them with a long discourse, congratulating, in the names of their whole Senate, her Maiesties victoy over the Spaniard, and my safe returne, concluding with offer of their ready seruice to her future disposing. Yet the Dantzicks after my departure thence caused the Marchants to pay custome for the goods they brought with them in my company, which none other towne neither Infidels nor Christians on y way euer demanded. And notwithstanding the premises, I was most certainly informed of sundry of our nation there

resident that most of the Hanse-towns upon the sea coasts, especially Dantzick, Lubeck, and Ham-borough haue laden and were shipping for Spaine, great pꝛouision of coine, cables, ropes, powder, salt peter, hargubusses, armour, iron, leade, copper, and all other munition seruing for the warre. Whereupon I gather their fained courtellie pꝛoceeded rather for feare then of any good affection vnto her Maiesties seruice; Elbing and Stoad onely excepted, which of ouerit for their commoditie I esteemed well affected.

The priuilege of Peter the Prince of Moldauia graunted to the English Marchants.

Petrus Dei gratia princeps Valachiz & Moldauiz; significamus pꝛæsentibus, vniuersis & singulis quorum interest ac intererit, quod cum magnifico domino Guilielmo Hareborne oratore Serenissimæ ac potentissimæ dominæ, dominæ Elizabethæ Dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, ac Hiberniæ Reginæ apud Serenissimum ac potentissimum Turcarum Imperatorem hanc constitutionem fecerimus: Nimirum vt dehinc suę Serenitatis subditis, omnibusque mercatoribus integrum sit hic in prouincia nostra commorandi, conuersandi, mercandi, vendendi, contrahendi que, imò omnia exercendi, quæ mercaturæ ac vitæ humanæ societas vsusque requirit, sine vlla alicuius contradictione, aut inhibitione: saluo ac integro ratmen iure Telonij nostri; hoc est, vt a singulis rebus centum ducatorum pretij, tres numerent. Quod ratum ac firmum constitutione nostra haberi volumus. In cuius rei firmitus testimonium, sigillum nostrum appressum est. Actum in castris nostris die 27. mensis Augusti, anno Domini 1588.

The same in English.

Peter by the grace of God pꝛince of Valachia and Moldauia; we signifie by these pꝛesents to all and singular persons, whom it doth or shall concerne, that we haue made this agreement with the worship gentleman William Hareborne Ambassadoꝝ of the right high and mighty pꝛince, the Lady Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, with the most puissant and mightie Emperour of the Turkes: To witte, that from hence forth it shall be lawfull for her highnesse subiects and all her Marchants, to remaine, conuerse, buy, sel, bargain and exercise all such things, as the trade of marchandise, and humane societie and vse requireth, without any hinderance or let: the right of our Custome alwayes reserued; That is, that they pay three ducats vpon all such things as amount to the pꝛice of one hundred ducats. Which by this our ordinance we command to be surely and firmly obserued; For the moꝛe assured testimony whereof, our seale is hereunto annexed. Given in our Campe the 27. of the moneth of August in the yeere of our Lord 1588.

A briefe extract specifying the certaine dayly paiments, answered quarterly in time of peace, by the *Grand Signior*, out of his Treasurie, to the Officers of his *Seraglio* or Court, successiue in degrees: collected in a yeerely totall summe, as followeth.

This owne diet every day, one thousand and one aspers, according to a former custome receiued from his auncestoꝝ: notwithstanding that otherwise his diurnall expence is very much, and not certainly knowen, which summe maketh sterling money by the yeere, two thousand, one hundred, 92. pounds, three shillings, eight pence. The five and fourtie thousand Ianizaries dispersed in sundry places of his dominions, at six aspers the day, amounteth by the yeere to five hundred, fourescore and eleuen thousand, and three hundred pounds.

The Azamoglans, tribute children, farre surmount that number, for that they are collected from among the Christians, from whom betweene the yeeres of sixe and twelue, they are pulled away yeerely perforce: whereof I suppose those in seruice may be equall in number with the Ianizaries abovesaid, at three aspers a day, one with another, which is two hundred, fourescore and fiftene thousand, sixe hundred and fiftie pounds.

The five Bassas, whereof the Viceroy is supreme, at one thousand aspers the day, besides their yeerely reuenues, amounteth sterling by the yeere to ten thousand, nine hundred and fiftie pounds.

The five Beglerbegg, chiefe presidents of Greece, Hungary and Sclauonia, being in Europe, in Nacolia, and Caramania of Asia, at one thousand aspers the day: as also to eigheteene other gouernours of Prouinces, at five hundred aspers the day, amounteth by the yeere, to thirtie thousand sixe hundred, and threescore pounds.

The Bassa, Admirall of the Sea, one thousand aspers the day, two thousand, one hundred, ioure scoze and ten thousand pounds.

The Aga of the Ianizaries, generall of the footemen, five hundred aspers the day, and maketh by the peere in sterling money, one thousand, fourescoze and fifteene pounds.

The Imbrahur Bassa, Master of his horse, one hundred and fiftie aspers the day, is sterling money, three hundred and eight and twenty pounds.

The chiefe Esquire under him, one hundred and fiftie aspers, is three hundred and eight and twenty pounds.

The Agas of the Spahi, Captaines of the horsemen, sixe, at one hundred and fiftie aspers to either of them, maketh sterling, one thousand, nine hundred, three scoze and cleuen pounds.

The Capagi Bassas head porters foure, one hundred and fiftie aspers to ech, and maketh out in sterling money by the peere, one thousand, three hundred, and foure teene pounds.

The Silinghir Bassa, Contoller of the household, one hundred and twentie aspers the day, and maketh out in sterling money by the peere, two hundred, three scoze and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Chaus Bassa, Captaine of the Pensioners, one hundred and twentie aspers the day, and amounteth to by the peere in sterling money, two hundred, three scoze and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Capigilar Caiasi, Captaine of his Barge, one hundred and twentie aspers the day, and maketh out by the peere in sterling money, two hundred, three scoze and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Solach Bassi, Captaine of his guard, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three scoze and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Giebrigi Bassi, master of the armoury, one hundred and twenty aspers, two hundred, three scoze and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Topagi Bassi, Master of the artillerie, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three scoze and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Echim Bassi, Physicion to his person, one hundred and twentie aspers, two hundred, three scoze and two pounds, sixteene shillings.

To fourtie Physicions vnder him, to ech fourtie aspers, is three thousand, eight hundred, three scoze and sixe pounds, sixteene shillings.

The Mustafaracas spearemen, attending on his person, in number five hundred, to either three scoze aspers, and maketh sterling, three scoze and five thousand, and seuen hundred pounds.

The Cilingeri, gentlemen, attending vpon his diet, fourtie, at fourtie aspers ech of them, and amounteth to sterling by the peere, three thousand, five hundred and foure pounds.

The Chausi Pensioners, foure hundred and fourtie, at thirtie aspers, twenty eight thousand, nine hundred, and eight pounds.

The Capagi porters of the Court and City, foure hundred, at eight aspers, and maketh sterling money by the peere, seuen thousand, and eight pounds.

The Solachi, archers of his guard, three hundred and twenty, at nine aspers, and commeth vnto in English money, the summe of five thousand, three hundred and sixe pounds.

The Spahi, men of Armes of the Court and the City, ten thousand, at twenty five aspers, and maketh of English money, five hundred, forty and seuen thousand, and five hundred pounds.

The Ianizaires sixteene thousand, at six aspers, is two hundred and ten thousand, and two hundred and forty pounds.

The Giebegi furbushers of armor, one thousand, five hundred, at sixe aspers, and amounteth to sterling money, nineteene thousand, seuen hundred, and fourescoze pounds.

The Seiesir, seruitors in his Quier or stable, five hundred, at two aspers, and maketh sterling money, two thousand, one hundred, fourescoze and ten pounds.

The Saeh, Sadlers and bit makers, five hundred, at seuen aspers, seuen thousand, six hundred, three scoze and five pounds.

The Carergi, Carriers vpon Hules, two hundred, at five aspers, two thousand, one hundred, fourescoze and ten pounds.

The Cinegi, Carriers vpon Camels, one thousand, five hundred, at eight aspers, and amounteth in sterling money, to twenty five thousand, two hundred, and fourescoze pounds.

The Reiz, or Captaines of the Gallies, three hundred, at ten aspers, and amounteth in English money by the peere, the summe of five thousand, five hundred, three scoze and ten pounds.

The Alechingi, Masters of the said Gallies, three hundred, at seuen aspers, foure thousand, five hundred, fourescoze and nineteene pounds.

The Getti, Boateswames therof, three hundred, at sixe aspers, is thzee thousande, nine hundred, fourty and two pounds.

The Oda Basi, Purfers, three hundred, at five aspers, maketh thzee thousand, two hundred, and fourescore pounds.

The Azappi souldiers two thousand sixe hundred at foure Aspers, whereof the six hundred do continually keepe the gallies, two and twentie thousand, seven hundred fourescore and six pounds.

The Mariers Basi masters ouer the shipwrights and kalkers of the nauie, nine, at 20. Aspers the pice, amounteth to thzee thousand fourescore and foure pound, foure shillings.

The Master Dasi shipwrights & kalkers, one thousand at fourtene aspers, which amounteth by the yeere, to thirtie thousand, sixe hundred thzee score pound.

Summa totalis of dayly payments amounteth by the yeere sterling, one million, nine hundred thzee score eight thousand, seven hundred thirtie five pounds, nineteene shillings eight pence, answered quarterly without default, with the summe of foure hundred fourescore twelue thousand, one hundred fourescore and foure pounds foure shillings eleuen pence, and is for euery day sixe thousand thzee hundred fourescore and thirtene pounds, fifteene shillings ten pence.

Annuities of lands neuer improved, five times more in value then their summes mentioned, given by the saide *Grand Signior*, as followeth.

TO the Viceroy for his Timar or annuitie 60. thousand golde ducats.
 To the second Bassa for his annuitie 50. thousand ducats.
 To the third Bassa for his annuitie 40. thousand ducats.
 To the fourth Bassa for his annuitie 30. thousand ducats.
 To the fifth Bassa for his annuitie 20. thousand ducats.
 To the Captaine of the Ianizaries 20. thousand ducats.
 To the Ieu Merhorbasi master of his hozie 15. thousand ducats.
 To the Captaine of the pensioners 10. thousand ducats.
 To the Captaine of his guard 5. thousand ducats.

Summa totalis 90. thousand li. sterling.

Beside these aboue specified, be sundry other annuities given to diuers others of his aforesaid officers, as also to certaine called Sahims, diminishing from thzee thousand to two hundred ducats, esteemed treble to surmount the annuitie abouesaid.

The Turkes chiefe officers.

The Viceroy is high Treasurer, notwithstanding that vnder him be thzee subtreasurers called Tescadars, which bee accomptable to him of the receipts out of Europe, Asia and Africa, saue their yeerely annuitie of lands.

The Lord Chancelloz is called Nissangi Bassa, who sealeth with a certaine proper character such licences, safe conducts, passeports, especiall graunts, &c. as proceed from the Grand Signior: notwithstanding all letters to fozeine princes so signed he after inclosed in a bagge, and sealed by the Grand Signior, with a signet which he ordinarily weareth about his necke, credited of them to haue bene of ancient appertayning to king Salomon the wise.

The Admirall giueth his voyce in the election of all Begg, Captaines of Islandes, to whom hee giueth their charge, as also appointeth the Subbassas, Bayliffes or Constables ouer Cities and Townes upon the Sea coastes about Constantinople, and in the Archipelago, whereof hee reapeth great profit.

The Subbasi of Pera payeth him yeerely fifteene thousande ducats, and so likewise either of the others according as they are placed.

The Refsiskop serueth in office to the Viceroy and Chancelloz, as Secretary, and so likewise doeth the Cogie Master of the Rolls, befoze which two, passe all writings presented to, or granted by the said Viceroy and Chancelloz, offices of especiall credite and like profite, mozeouer rewarded with annuities of lands.

There are also two chiefe Judges named Cadi Lesker, the one ouer Europe, and the other ouer Asia and Africa, which in Court doe sit on the Bench at the left hand of the Bassas, These sell all offices to the vnder Judges of the land called Cadies, whereof is one in euery Citie or towne, befoze

before whom all matters in controuersie are by iudgement decided, as also penalties and corrections for crimes ordained to be executed upon the offenders by the Subbassi.

The number of Souldiers continually attending vpon the *Beglerbegs* the gouernours of Prouinces and *Saniacks*, and their petie Captaines mainteined of these Prouinces.

The <i>Beglerbegs</i>	Of	G	Ræcia, fourtie thousand	} persons.
		B	Buda, fiftene thousand	
		S	clauonia, fiftene thousand	
		N	arolia, fiftene thousand	
		C	aramania, fiftene thousand	
		A	rmenia, eightene thousand	
		P	ersia, twentie thousand	
		V	idrum, fiftene thousand	
		C	hirusta, fiftene thousand	
		C	araemiti, thirtie thousand	
G	ierful, two and thirtie thousand			
The <i>Beglerbegs</i>	Of	B	agdat, five and twentie thousand	} persons.
		B	allara, two and twenty thousand	
		L	assaja, seuentene thousand	
		A	lepo, five and twentie thousand	
		D	amasco, seuentene thousand	
		C	ayro, twelue thousand	
		A	bes, twelue thousand	
		M	ecca, eight thousand	
		C	ypus, eightene thousand	
		T	unis in Barbary, eight thousand	
T	ripolis in Syria, eight thousand			
A	lger, fourtie thousand			

Whose *Sangiacks* and petie Captaines be three hundred sixtie eight, euery of which retaining continually in pay from five hundred, to two hundred Souldiers, may be one with another at the least, three hundred thousand persons.

Chiefe officers in his *Seraglio* about his person

Be these	C	apiaga, High porter.
	A	lnader Balsi, Treasurer.
	O	da Balsi, Chamberlaine.
	K	illergi Balsi, Steward.
	S	araiaga, Comptroller.
	P	eskerolen, Groome of the chamber.
	E	dostoglan, Gentleman of the Ewer.
	S	ehetaraga, Armour bearer.
	C	hoataraga, he that carrieth his riding cloake.
E	bietaraga, Groome of the stoole.	

There be many other maner Officers, which I esteeme superfluous to write.

The *Turkes* yeerely reuenue.

The Grand Signiors annual reuenue is said to be foureteene Millions and an halfe of golden ducats, which is sterling five millions, eight score thousand pounds.

The tribute payd by the Christians his Subjects is one gold ducat yeerely for the redemption of euery head, which may amount vnto not to little as one Million of golden ducats, which is sterling three hundred threescore thousand pounds.

Howeuer, in time of warre he exacteth manifolde summes for maintenance of his Armie and Naue of the said Christians.

The Emperour payeth him yeerely tribute for Hungary, threescore thousand dollars, which is sterling thirtene thousand pound, besides presents to the Viceroy and *Baslas*, which are said to surmount to twentie thousand dollars.

Ambassadors allowances.

The Ambassadors of the Emperoz is allowed one thousand Aspers the day.

The Ambassadors of the French king heretofore enjoyed the like: but of late yeeres by means of displeasure conceived by Mahumet then Viceroy, it was reduced to six crownes the day, beside the provision of his Esquier of his stable.

The Ambassadors of Poland, and for the state of Venice are not Ligiers as these two above-said. The said Polack is allowed 12. French crownes the day during his abode, which may be for a month. Very seldome do the state of Venice send any Ambassador otherwise, then enforced of urgent necessity: but in stead thereof keepe there their Agent, president ouer other Merchants, of them termed a bailife, who hath none allowance of the Grand Signior, although his port & state is in maner as magnificent as the other aforesaid ambassadors. The Spanish Ambassador was equall with others in lanizaries: but for so much as he would not according to custome follow the list of other ambassadors in making presents to the Grand Signior, he had none allowance. His abode there was 3. yeeres, at the end whereof, having concluded a truce for 6. yeeres, taking place from his first coming in Nouember last past 1580, he was not admitted to the presence of the Grand Signior.

The letters of *Siman Bassa* chiefe counsellour to *Sultan Murad* *Can* the *Grand Signior*, to the sacred Maiestie of *Elizabeth* *Queene of England*, shewing that vpon her request, and for her sake especially, hee graunted peace vnto the King and kingdome of *Poland*.



Loriosissima & splendore fulgidissima foeminarum, selectissima Princeps
 magnanimorum IESVM sectantium, regni inclyti Angliæ Regina Serenissi-
 ma Elizabetha, moderatrix rerum & negotiorum omnium plebis & fa-
 milia Nazarenorum sapientissima; Origo splendoris & gloriae dulcissima;
 nubes pluuiarum gratissima, heres & domina beatitudinis & gloriae regni
 inclyti Angliæ; ad quam omnes supplices confugiunt, incrementum omniu-
 um rerum & actionum Serenitatis vestrae beatissimum, exitusque felicissi-
 mos à Creatore omnipotente oprantes, mutuâque & perpetua familiaritate nostra digna vota
 & laudes sempiternas offerentes: Significamus Ser. vestrae amicissimè; Quia sunt anni aliquot,
 à quibus annis potentissima Cæsarea celsitudo bella ineffabilia cū Casul-bas, Principe nempe
 Persarum gessit; ratione quorum bellorum in partes alias bellū mouere noluit, ob eamque cau-
 sam in partibus Poloniæ latrones quidam Cosaci nuncupati, & alij facinorosi in partibus illis ex-
 istentes, subditos Cæsaris potentissimi turbare & infestare non desierunt. Nunc autem partibus
 Persicis compositis & absolutis, in partibus Poloniæ & alijs partibus exurgentes facinorosos pu-
 nire constituitis, Beglerbegō Græciæ exercitu aliquo adiuncto, & Principi Tartarorum manda-
 to Cæsaris misso, anno proximè præterito pars aliqua Regni Poloniæ infestata, turbata & deua-
 stata fuit, & Cosaci alijq; facinorosi iuxta merita sua puniti fuerunt. Quo rex Poloniæ viso duos
 legatos ad Cæsareâ celsitudinē mittens, quod facinorosos exquirere, & poena perfecta punire,
 & ab annis multis ad portam Cæsareæ celsitudinis missum munus augere vellet, significauit. Cæ-
 sareâ autem celsitudo (cui Creator omnipotens tantam suppeditauit potentiam, & quæ omnes
 supplices exaudire dignata est) supplicatione Regis Poloniæ non accepta, iterum in regem Po-
 loniæ exercitum suum mittere, & Creatoris omnipotentis auxilio regnum eius subuertere con-
 stituerat. Vcrum Legato Serenitatis vestrae in porta beata & fulgida Cæsareæ celsitudinis re-
 sidente sese interponente, Et quod Serenitati vestrae ex partibus Poloniæ, fruges, puluis, arbores
 nauū, tormenta, & alia necessaria suppeditarentur significante, & pacem pro regno & rege Po-
 loniæ petente, nequè regnum Poloniæ ex parte Cæsareæ celsitudinis turbaretur vel infestaretur
 intercedente, Serenitatisque vestrae hanc singularem esse voluntatem exponente, Legati serenitatis
 vestrae significatio & intercessio cū Cæsareæ celsitudinē significata fuisset, In fauorem se-
 renitatis vestrae, cui omnis honos & gratia debetur, iuxta modum prædictum, ut Cosaci facino-
 rosi exquirantur & poena perfecta puniantur, aut ratione muneris aliquantuli eorum delicta cō-
 donentur, hac inquam conditione literæ Cæsareæ celsitudinis ad Regem Poloniæ sunt datæ.
 Si autem ex parte Serenitatis vestrae scedus & pax sollicitata non fuisset, nulla ratione Cæsareâ
 celsitudo foedus cum regno Poloniæ iniisset. In fauorem autem Serenitatis vestrae regno & Re-
 gi Poloniæ singularem gratiam Cæsareâ celsitudo exhibuit. Quod tam Serenitas vestra, quam
 etiam Rex & regnum Poloniæ sibi certò persuadere debent. Serenitatem vestram benè feli-
 cissimèque valere cupimus. Datum Constantinopoli in fine mensis Sabauum nuncupati, Anno
 prophetæ nostri sacratī Mahumedi nonagesimo, nonagesimo, octauo, IESV vero Anno mil-
 lesimo quingentesimo nonagesimo, die duodecimo mensis Iunij.

The same in English.

Most glorious, and the most resplendent of women, most select Princess, most gracious Elizabeth Queene of the valiant followers of Iesus in the famous kingdom of England; most wise governesse of all the affaires and busineses of the people and family of the Nazarens, most sweet fountaine of brightnesse and glory, most acceptable cloud of raine, inheritresse & Ladie of the blessednesse and glory of the renowned kingdome of England, to whom in humble wise all men offer their petitions: wishing of the almightie Creator most happie increase and prosperous successe vnto all your Maiesties affaires and actions, and offering vp mutuall & perpetuall bowes worthy of our familiarity, with eternall prayes: In most friendly manner we signifie vnto your princely Highnesse, that certaine yeeres past the most mightie Cesarlike maiestie of the Grand Signor waged vspeakeable warres with Casul-bas the Prince of the Persians, in regarde of which warres he would not goe in battell against any other places; and for that cause certaine sheeues in the partes of Polonia called Cosacks, and other notozious persons liuing in the same partes ceased not to trouble and molest the subiects of our most mightie Emperour. But now having finished and brought to some good issue his affaires in Persia, determining to punish the said malefactors of Poland, and for that purpose committing an army vnto the Beglerbeg of Grecia, and the yeere last past, sending his imperiall commaundement vnto the Prince of the Tartars, he hath foraged, molested, and layed waste some part of the kingdome of Poland, and the Cosacks and other notozious offenders have receiued condigne punishment. Whith the king of Poland perceiuing sent two Embassadours to his imperiall Highnesse signifying; that he would hunt out the said malefactors, and inflict most seuerer punishments vpon them, and also that he would better his gift, which he hath for many yeeres heretofore ordinarily sent vnto the porch of his imperiall Highnesse. Howbeit his imperiall maiestie (vpon whom the almightie creator hath bestowed so great power, and who vouchsafeth to giue eare vnto all humble suppliants) reiecting the supplication of the King of Poland, determined againe to send his armie against the said king, and by the helpe of the Almighty creator, utterly to subuert and overthrow his kingdome. But your Maiesties Embassadour resident in the blessed and glorious porch of his imperiall Highnesse interposing himselfe as a mediatur, signifying that from the partes of Poland you were furnished with coyne, gun-powder, masses of ships, guns, and other necessaries, and crauing peace on the behalfe of the kingdome and king of Poland, and making intercession, that the said king might not be molested nor troubled by the meanes of the Grand Signor, & declaring that this was your Maiesties most earnest desire; so soone as the report and intercession of your Maiesties Embassadour was signified vnto the Grand Signor, for your sake, vnto whom all honour and fauourable regard is due; vpon the condition aforesaid, namely, that the wicked Cosacks might be sought out and grieuouly punished, or that their offences might be remitted for the value of some small gift, vpon this condition (I say) the letters of his imperiall Highnesse were sent vnto the king of Poland. Howbeit had not this conclusion of league and amitie bene solicited on the behalfe of your Maiestie, his imperiall Highnesse would neuer haue vouchsafed the same vnto the kingdome of Poland. But for your Maiesties sake his imperiall Highnesse hath exhibited this so singular a fauour vnto the said king and kingdome of Poland. And hercof your Maiestie and the king of Poland ought certainly to be perswaded. We wish your Maiestie most happily and well to fare. Given at Constantinople in the ende of the moneth called Sabau, in the yeare of our sacred prophet Mahomet 998, and in the yeere of Iesus 1590, the 12 of June.

The second letters Patents graunted by the Queenes Maiestie
to the Right worshipfull companie of the English Marchants for the Leuant, the seuenth of Ianuarie 1592.



Lizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Irelande, defender of the faith &c. To all our Officers, ministers and subiects, and to all other people aswell within this our Realme of England, as else where under our obeytance and iurisdiction or otherwise vnto whom these our letters shalbe seene, shewed, or read, greeting,

Where our welbeloued subiects Edward Osborne knight Alderman of our citie of London, William Hareborne Esquire, and Richard Scaper of our saide citie Marchant, haue by great aduantage and industrie with their great cost and charges

ges by the space of sunny late yeeres trauelled, and caused trauell to be taken aswell by secrete and good meanes, as by dangerous wayes and passages both by lande and sea to finde out and set open a trade of marchandize and traffike into the landes, Ilandes, Dominions, and territories of the great Turke, commonly called the Grand Signor, not before that time in the memoire of any man now living knowne to be commonly vsed and frequented by way of marchandize by any the marchantes or other subiectes of vs or our progenitoys: And also haue by their like good meanes and industrie and great charges procured of the sayde Grand Signor in our name, amitie, safetie and freedome for trade and traffike of marchandize to be vsed and continued by our subiects within his sayd dominions, whereby we perceiue and finde that both many good actions haue bene done and performed, and hereafter are likely continually to be done and performed for the peace of Christendome: Namely by the reliefe and discharge of many Christians which haue bene, and which hereafter may happen to be in thalidome and bondage vnder the sayde Grand Signor and his vassals or subiects, And also good and profitable vent and vterance of the commodities of our Realme, and sundry other great benefices to the advancement of our honour and dignitie Royall, the maintenance of our Naue, the encrease of our customes, and the reuenues of our Crowne, and generally the great wealth of our whole Realme.

And whereas we are enjoyned of the sayd Edward Osborne knight, William Hareborne, and Richard Staper, that George Barne, Richard Martine, Iohn Harte knights, and other marchants of our sayd Citie of London haue by the space of eight or nine yeeres past ioyned themselves in companie, trade and traffike with them the sayd Edward Osborne knight, William Hareborne and Richard Staper, into the sayde dominions of the sayd great Turke, to the furtherance thereof and the good of the Realme.

And whereas further it is made knowne vnto vs, that within fewe yeeres now past our louing and good subiects Thomas Cordall, Edward Holmeden, William Garraway and Paul Banning, and sundry other marchants of our said Citie of London, haue likewise at their great costes and charges, builded and furnished diuerse good and seruicable shippes and therewith to their like costs and charges haue traded and frequented, and from time to time doe trade and frequent and traffike by sea with the commodities of our Realme to Venice, Zante, Candie, and Zephalonia and other the dominions of the Segniozie and State of Venice, and thereby haue made and mainteyned, and doe make and continually maintaine diuers good shippes with martiners skilfull and site and necessarie for our seruice: and doe vent out of our Realme into those partes diuerse commodities of our Realme, and returne hither into our sayde Realme many good and necessarie commodities for the common wealth thereof: All which traffike, as well inward as outward vntill it hath bene otherwise brought to passe by the sayde endeuours, costs, and charges of our sayde subiects, was in effect by our subiectes wholly discontinued.

Knowe yee, that hereupon we greatly rennoing the wealth of our people and the encouragement of them and other our louing subiects in their good enterpryses for the advancement of lawfull traffike to the benefite of our common wealth, haue of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heyres, and successours, doe giue and graunt vnto our sayd trustie and welbeloued subiectes Edward Osborne Knight, George Barne Knight, George Bonde knight, Richard Martine knight, Iohn Harte knight, Iohn Hawkins knight, William Massam, Iohn Spencer, Richard Saltonstall, Nicholas Mosley Aldermen of our sayde Citie of London, William Hareborne, Edward Barton, William Borrough Esquires, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordall, Henrie Paruis, Thomas Laurence, Edward Holmeden, William Garraway, Robert Dowe, Paul Banning, Roger Clarke, Henrie Anderson, Robert Offley, Philip Grimies, Andrewe Banning, James Staper, Robert Sadler, Leonarde Power, George Salter, Nicholas Leate, Iohn Eldred, William Shales, Richard May, William Wilkes, Andrewe Fones, Arthur Jackson, Edmund Ansell, Ralph Ashley, Thomas Farrington, Robert Sandie, Thomas Garraway, Edward Lethlande, Thomas Dalkins, Thomas Norden, Robert Bate, Edward Sadler, Richard Darfall, Richard Martine Iunior, Ralph Fitch, Nicholas Pearde, Thomas Simons, and Francis Dorrington, that they and euery of them by the name of Governour and companie of Marchants of the Leuant shall from hence forth for the terme of twelue yeeres next ensuing the date hereof bee one bodie, fellowshippe and companie of themselves both in deede and in name: And then by the name of Governour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant wee doe ordeyne, incorporate, name, and declare by these presentes, and that the same fellowshippe and companie from hence forth shall and may haue one Governour, And in consideration that the sayde Edward Osborne Knight hath bene of the

The marchants
above named
be made a fel-
lowship and
companie for
12 yeeres by
the name of
the Governour
and companie
of the mar-
chants of the
Leuant.

the chiefe secreters forth and actors in the opening and putting in practise of the sayde trade to the dominions of the sayde Grand Signor: Wee doe therefore specially make, ordaine, and constitute the sayde Edwarde Osborne Knight, to bee nowe Governour during the time of one whole yeere nowe next following, if hee so long shall live: And after the expiration of the sayde yeere, or deceale of the sayde Edward Osborne the choyse of the next Governour, and so of euery Governour from time to time during the sayde terme of twelue yeeres to be at the election of the sayde fellowshippe or companie of marchantes of the Leuant or the moze part of them yeerely to be chosen, and that they the sayde Sir Edwarde Osborne, and all the residue of the sayde fellowshippe or companie of Marchantes of the Leuant and euerie of them, and all the sonnes of them and of euery of them, and all such their apprentices and seruants of them and of euery of them, which haue bene or hereafter shall be employed in the sayde trade by the space of foure yeeres or bywardes by themselves, their seruantes, factozs or deputies, shall and may by the space of twelue yeeres from the day of the date of these our letters Patents freely traffike, and vse the trade of Marchandize as well by sea as by lande into and from the dominions of the sayde Grand Signor, and into and from Venice, Zante, Candie and Zephalonia, and other the dominions of the Signiorie and State of Venice, and also by lande through the Countreies of the sayde Grand Signor into and from the East India, lately discovered by Iohn Newberie, Ralph Fitch, William Leech, and Iames Scorie, sent with our letters to that purpose at the proper costs and charge of the sayde Marchants or some of them: and into and from euerie of them in such order, manner, forme, libertie and condition to all intentes and purposes as shall be betweene them of the sayde fellowshippe or companie of Marchantes of the Leuant or the moze part of them for the time being limited and agreed, and not otherwise, without any molestation, impeachment, or disturbance; any lawe, statute, vsage, or diuersitie of Religion or faith, or any other cause or matter whatsoeuer to the contrarie notwithstanding.

Sir Edward Osborne appointed the first Governour.

A privilege for the East Indies.

And that the sayde Governour and companie of Marchantes of the Leuant, or the greater part of them for the better gouernement of the sayde fellowshippe and companie, shall and may within fortye dayes next and immediatly following after the date hereof, and so from thence forth yeerely during the continuance of this our graunt, assemble themselves in some conuenient place, and that they or the greater parte of them being so assembled, shall and may elect, ordaine, nominate, and appoint twelue discret and honest persons of the sayde companie to be assistants to the sayde Governour, and to continue in the sayde office of assistants, vntill they shall die or bee remooued by the sayde Governour and companie or the greater part of them. And if it happen the sayde assistants or any of them to die, or be remooued from their sayde office at anye time during the continuance of this our graunt: that then and so often it shall and may bee lawfull to and for the sayde Governour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant, or the greater part of them to elect and chuse one or moze other persons of the sayd companie into the place or places of euery such person or persons so dying or happening to be remooued, as is aforesayde. And wee will and ordaine that the same person or persons so as is aforesayde to be elected shall be of the sayd number of assistants of the sayde companie. And this to be done so often as the case shall so require. And that it shall and may be lawfull to and for the sayde Edwarde Osborne Knight, George Barne Knight, George Bonde knight, Richard Martine knight, Iohn Hart knight, Iohn Hawkins knight, William Massam, Iohn Spencer, Richard Saltonstall, Nicholas Mosley, William Hareborne, Edwarde Barron, William Borrough, Richard Staper, Thomas Cordall, Henrie Paruis, Thomas Laurence, Edwarde Holmeden, William Garraway, Robert Dowe, Paul Banning, Roger Clarke, Henrie Anderson, Robert Offley, Philip Grimes, Andrewe Banning, James Staper, Robert Sadler, Leonarde Power, George Salter, Nicholas Leate, Iohn Eldred, William Shales, Richard May, William Wilkes, Andrewe Fones, Arthur Iackion, Edmund Ansell, Ralph Ashley, Thomas Farrington, Robert Sandie, Thomas Garraway, Edwarde Lethlande, Thomas Dalkins, Thomas Norden, Robert Bare, Edward Sadler, Richard Darfall, Richard Martine Junior, Ralph Fitch, Nicholas Pearde, Thomas Simons, and Francis Dorrington aforesayde, or any of them to assemble themselves for or about any the matters, causes or affaires or busineses of the sayde trade in any place or places for the same conuenient from time to time during the sayde terme of twelue yeeres within our dominions or else where. And that also it shall and may bee lawfull for them or the moze part of them to make, ordaine and constitute reasonable lawes and orders for the good gouernement of the sayde companie, and for the better aduancement and continuance of the sayde trade and traffike: the same lawes and ordinances not being contrarie

or repugnant to the lawes, statutes or customes of our Realme: And the same lawes and ordinances so made to put in vze, and execute accordingly, and at their pleasures to reuoke and alter the same lawes and ordinances or any of them as occasion shall require.

And we doe also for vs, our heires and successors of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion graunt to and with the sayd Governour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant, that when and as often at any time during the sayde terme and space of twelue yeeres as any custome, pondage, subsidie or other duetie shall be due and payable vnto vs, our heires, or successors for any goods or marchandize whatsoeuer, to be carried or transported out of this our port of London into any the dominions aforesayde, or out of or from any the sayde dominions vnto our sayde port of London, that our Customers, and all other our Officers for receites of custome, pondage, subsidie or other duetie vnto whom it shall appertaine, shall vpon the request of the sayde Governour for the time being, giue vnto the sayde companie thre monethes time for the payment of the one halfe, and other thre monethes for the payment of the other halfe of their sayde custome, pondage, or other subsidie or duetie for the same, receiuing good and sufficient boude and securitie to our vse for the payment of the same accordingly. And vpon receipt of the sayde boude to giue them out their cockets or other warrants to lade out and receiue in the same their goods by vertue hereof without any disturbance. And that also as often as at any time during the sayde terme of twelue yeeres any goods or marchandize of any of the sayde companie laden from this our port of London in any the dominions beforesayde shall happen to miscarie befoze their safe discharge in the partes for and to the which they be sent: That then and so often so much custome, pondage, and other subsidie as they answered vs for the same, shall after due prooue made befoze the Treasurour of England for the time being of the sayde losse, and the iust quantitie thereof, be by the vertue hereof allowed vnto them, by warrant of the sayde Treasurour to the sayde Customers in the next marchandize that they shall or may shippe for those partes, according to the true rates of the customes, pondage, or subsidies heretofore payde for the goods so lost or any part or parcell thereof.

And for that the sayde companie are like continually to bring into this our Realme a much greater quantitie of fozen commodities from the fozen Countreyes, places, or territories aforesayde, then here can be spent for the necessarie vse of the same, which of necessitie must be transported into other countreyes, and there vented, we for vs, our heires and successors of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion doe graunt to and with the sayd Governour and companie that at all times from time to time during the space of thirtene moneths next after the discharge of any the sayde goods so brought in, and the subsidies, pondage, customes and other duties for the same being befoze hande payde or compounded for as aforesayd, it shall be lawfull for them or any of them or any other person or persons whatsoeuer being naturall subiects of the Realme which may or shall buy the same of them or any of them to transport the same in English bottomes freely out of this Realme without payment of any further custome, pondage, or other subsidie to vs, our heires or successors for the same, whereof the sayde subsidies, pondage, or customes or other duties shall be so forncely payde and compounded for, as aforesayd, and so proued. And the sayd customer by vertue hereof shall vpon due and sufficient prooue thereof made in the custome house giue them sufficient cocket or certificate for the safe passing out thereof accordingly. And to the ende no deceit be vled herein to vs our heires, and successors, certificate shall be brought from our collector of custome inwards to our customer outwards that the sayd marchandizes haue within the time limited answered their due custome, subsidie, pondage and other duties for the same inwards.

And furthermore we of our ample and abundant grace, meere motion, and certaine knowledge haue graunted, and by these presents for vs our heires and successors doe graunt vnto the said Governours and companie of marchantes of the Leuant, that they and such onely as be and shall be of that companie, shall for the sayd terme of twelue yeeres haue, vse, and enioy the whole and ouerly trade and traffike, and the whole entire and onely libertie, vse, and priuiledge of crading and trafficking, and vsing seate of marchandise by and through the Leuant seas otherwise called the Mediterran seas into and from the sayd dominions of the Grand Signor, and dominions of the state of Venice; and by and through the sayd Grand Signors dominions to and from such other places in the East Indies discovered as aforesayd. And that they the sayd Governour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant and euery particular and seuerall person of that companie their and euery one of their seruants, factors, and deputies shall haue full and free authoritic, libertie, facultie, licence, and power to trade and trafficke by and through the sayd Leuant seas into and from all and euery the sayd dominions of the sayde Grand Signor, and
the

the dominions of the state of Venice, and the sayde Indies, and into and from all places where by occasion of the sayd trade they shall happen to arrive or come, whither they be Christians, Turkes, Gentiles, or others: And by and through the sayd Leuant seas into and from all other seas, riuers, portes, regions, territories, dominions, coastes and places with their ships, barks, pinases and other vessels, and with such mariners and men as they will leade or haue with them, or sende for the sayde trade as they shall thinke good at their owne proper costes and expences.

And for that the shippes sayling into the sayde Countreys must take their due and proper times to proceede in these voyages, which otherwise as wee well perceine can not be performed in the rest of the yeere following: Therefore we of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and mere motion for vs our heires and successors doe graunt to and with the sayd Gouvernour and companie of Marchantes of the Leuant, that foure good shippes well furnished with ordnance and other munition for their defence, and two hundred mariners English men to guide and sayle in the same foure shippes at all times during the sayde twelue yeeres shall quietly bee permitted and suffered to depart and goe in the sayde voyages, according to the purpose of these presents, without any stay or contradiction by vs our heires and successors, or by the Lord high Admirall or any other officer or subiect of vs, our heires or successors in any wise: Any restraint, lawe, statute, vltage or matter whatsoeuer to the contrarie notwithstanding.

Provided neuerthelesse, that if wee shall at any time within the sayde twelue yeeres haue iust cause to arme our Naue in warrelke manner in defence of our Realme, or for offence of our enemies: and that it shall be founde needefull and conuenient for vs to toyne to our Naue the shippes of our subiects to be also armed for warres to such number as cannot bee supplied if the sayd foure shippes should be permitted to depart as aboue is mentioned; then vpon knowledge giuen by vs or our Admirall to the sayde Gouvernour or companie about the fifteenth day of the moneth of March, or thye monethes before the saide companie shall beginne to make readie the same foure shippes that we may not spare the sayd foure ships and the mariners requisite for them to be out of our Realme during the time that our Naue shall be vpon the seas, that then the sayde companie shall forbear to send such foure shippes for their trade of marchandise vntill that we shall retake our sayd Naue from the sayd seruice.

And further our will and pleasure is, and wee doe by these presentes graunt that it shall be lawfull to and for the sayd Gouvernour and companie of Marchantes of the Leuant to haue and vse in and about the affaires of the sayde companie a common seale for matters concerning the sayde companie and trade. And that also it shall be lawfull for the Marchants, Mariners, and Sea-men, which shall be vsed and employed in the sayde trade and voyage to set and place in the toppes of their ships or other vessels the Armes of England with the redde-crosse in white ouer the same as heretofore they haue vsed.

And we of our further Royall fauour and of our especiall grace, certaine knowledge, and mere motion haue graunted and by these presents for vs our heires and successors doe graunt to the sayd Gouvernour and companie of Marchants of the Leuant, that the sayde landes, territories, and dominions of the sayde Grand Signor, or the dominions of the Signiorie of Venice, or any of them within the sayde Leuant or Meditteran sea shall not be visited, frequented, or haunted by the sayde Leuant sea by way of marchandize by any other our subiects during the saide terme of twelue yeeres contrarie to the true meaning of these presents. And by vertue of our prerogatiue Royall, which wee will not in that behalfe haue argued or brought in question, wee straightly charge, commaunde and prohibite for vs our heires and successors all our subiects of what degree or qualitie soeuer they bee, that none of them directly or indirectly doe visite, haunt, frequent, trade, trafike or aduventure by way of marchandise into or from any of the sayd dominions of the sayd Grand Signor, or the dominions of the saide Segniorie of Venice, by or through the sayde Leuant sea other then the sayd Gouvernour and companie of marchants of the Leuant, and such particular persons as be or shall be of that companie, their factors, agents, seruants and assignes. And further for that wee plainly vnderstande that the States and Governours of the citie and Segniorie of Venice haue of late time set and rayled a newe impost and charge ouer and besides their auncient impost, custome, and charge of and vpon all manner of marchandize of our Realme brought into their dominions, and also of and vpon all marchandise caried or laden from their sayd Countrey or dominions by our subiects or in the ships or bottomes of any of our subiectes to the great and incoleurable charge and hinderance of our sayd subiects trading thither; wee therefore minding the redresse thereof, doe also by these presents for vs, our heires and successors further straightly prohibite

prohibitie and forbid not onely the subiectes of the sayde State and Segniozie of Venice, but also of all other Nations or Countreies whatsoeuer other then the sayd Gouvernour and companie of marchants of the Leuant, and such onely as be or shall be of that companie, their factozs, agents, seruantes, and assignes: That they or any of them during the sayde terme of twelue peeres, shall bring or cause to be brought into this our Realme of Englande, or any part thereof anie manner of small fruices called cozrants, being the raplins of Corinth, or wine of Candie, vnllesse it be by and with the licence, consent, and agreement of the sayde Gouvernour and companie in writing vnder their sayd common seale first had and obteyned vpon paine vnto euery such person and persons that shall trade and traffike into any the sayde dominions of the State and Segniozie of Venice by sea, or that shall bring or cause to be brought into our saide Realme any of the said cozrants being the raplins of Corinth, or wines of Candia, other then the sayd companie in paine of our indignation, and of forfeiture and losse aswell of the shyppe and shyps with the furniture thereof, as also of the goods, marchandize, and thinges whatsoeuer they be of those which shall attempt or presume to commit or doe any matter or thing contrarie to the prohibition aforesayd. The one halfe of all the sayde forfeitures to be to vs, our heires and successours, and the other halfe of all and euery the sayde forfeitures we doe by these presents, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion clearly and wholie for vs, our heires and successours, giue and graunt vnto the saide Gouvernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant,

And further all and enery the sayde offendours for their sayde contempt to suffer imprisonment during our pleasures, and such other punishment as to vs for so high a contempt shall seeme meete and conuenient, and not to be in any wise deliuered until they and euery of them shall be come bounde vnto the sayd Gouvernour for the time being in the summe of one thousand poundes or lesse at no time, then after to sayle or traffike by sea into any the dominions aforesaide, or to bring or cause to be brought from any the places aforesayde any cozrants, raplins of Corinth, or wines of Candia contrarie to our expresse commaundement in that behalfe hereint set downe and published.

Whowed alwayes, and our expresse will is notwithstanding the premisses that if our sayde subiectes shall at any time hereafter be recompensed of and for all such newe imposts and charges as they and euery of them shall pay, and likewise be freely discharged of and from the payment of all manner of newe imposte or taxe for any of their marchandise which they hereafter shall bring into or from any the dominions of the sayde State or Segniozie of Venice, and from all bondes and other assurances by them or any of them to be made for or in that behalfe, that then immediatly from and after such recompence and discharge made as aforesayde our sayde prohibition and restraint in these presents mentioned, shall not be of any strength or force against the sayde Citie or State of Venice, or any the subiectes thereof, but for and during such time onely and in such case when hereafter the sayde State of Venice shall againe beginne to rare or leuie any manner of newe imposte within the sayde dominions vpon any the goods or marchandizes of our sayde subiectes hereafter to be brought into any the dominions of the said State or Segniozie of Venice. Any thing in these our letters Patents contained to the contrarie thereof in any wise notwithstanding.

And further wee straightly charge and commaunde, and by these presentes prohibite all and singular Customers and Collectozs of our Customes, pondage, and subsidies, and all other Officers within our Port and Citie of London and else where, to whom it shall appertaine and euery of them, That they or any of them by themselves, their clerkes, or substitutes shall not receiue or take, or suffer to be receiued or taken for vs or in our name, or to our vse, or in the name, or vnto the vse of our heires or successours of any person or persons, any summe or summes of money, or other consideration during the sayde terme of twelue peeres for any custome, pondage, taxe or subsidie of any cozrants, raplins of Corinth, or wines of Candie aforesayd saue onely of and in the name of the sayde Gouvernour and companie of marchantes of the Leuant, or of some of that companie without the consent of the sayde Gouvernour and companie in writing vnder their sayd common seale, first had and obteyned, and vnto them shewed for the testifying their sayd consent. And for the better and more sure obseruation thereof wee will and graunt for vs, our heires or successours by these presentes, that our Treasurer and Barons of the Exchequer for the time being by force of these presentes, and the inrollment thereof in the sayde Court of our Exchequer, at all and euery time and times during the sayde terme of twelue peeres, at and vpon the request of the sayde Gouvernour and companie, their Attourney or Attourneys, Deputies or assignes, shall and may make and direct vnder the seale of the sayde Court one or more sufficient writte or writtes close or patent, vnto

unto euery or any of the sayd Customers or other Officers to whom it shall appertaine, commaunding them and euery of them thereby, that neither they nor any of them at any time or times during the sayd space of twelue yeeres shall take entrie of any coyants, raisins of Corineth, or wines of Candia, or take or make any agreement for any custome, portage, or other substaie for any of the sayd coyants, raisins of Corineth, or wines of Candie, with any person or persons whatsoeuer, or bet then with, or in the name and by the priuie of the sayd gouernour and company or some of the same company.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion we haue condescended and graunted, and by these presents for vs our heires and successours doe condescend and graunt to the sayd Gouernour and company of marchants of Leuant, that wee our heires and successours, during the sayd terme, will not graunt libertie, licence, or power to any person or persons whatsoeuer contrary to the tenour of these our letters patents, to saile, passe, trade, or traffique by the sayde Leuant Sea, into, or from the sayde dominions of the sayd Grand Signior or the dominions of the State of Venice or any of them, contrary to the true meaning of these presents, without the consent of the sayd Gouernour and Companie or the most part of them.

And whereas Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet haue not yet assented to bee incorporated into the sayd societie of Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, neuertheless heereince, as we be informed, they haue bene traders that way heretofore; our will and pleasure is, and we doe hereby expressly commaund and charge that if it happen at any time within two moneths next following after the date hereof, the sayd Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet or either of them, to submit themselues to be of the sayd companie, and doe giue such assurance as the sayd Gouernour and companie, or the moze part of them shall allow of, to beate, pay, and perfozme such orders, constitutions, payments and contributions, as other of the sayd companie shall be ordered to beate, pay, and perfozme, that then euery of the sayd Henry Farrington and Henry Hewet to doing and submitting himselfe, shall vpon his or their request vnto the sayd Gouernour bee admitted into the sayd companie and copozation of Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, and haue and enioy the same, and as great liberties, priuileges, and preheminences, as the rest of the sayde copozation or companie may, or ought to haue by vertue of this our graunt. Any thing in these presents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

And our will and pleasure is, and hereby wee doe also ordaine that it shall and may bee lawfull, to, and for the sayde Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant or the moze part of them, to admit into, and to be of the sayd companie, any such as haue bene or shall bee employed as seruants, factors, or agents in the trade of marchandise by the sayd Leuant Seas, into any the countries, dominions or territories of the sayd Grand Signior or Signiorie or State of Venice, according as they or the most part of them shall thinke requisite.

And where Anthony Radcliffe, Steuen Some, and Robert Brooke Aldermen of the saide Citie of London, Simon Laurence, John Wattes, John Newton, Thomas Middleton, Robert Coxe, John Blunt, Charles Faith, Thomas Barnes, Alexander Dansey, Richard Aldworth, Henry Cowlthirke, Caesar Doffie, Martine Bonde, Oliuer Stile and Nicolas Stile Marchants of London for their abilities and sufficiencies haue bene thought fit to be also of the sayd Company of the saide gouernour and Company of Marchants of Leuant: Our will and pleasure and expresse commaundment is, and wee doe hereby establish and ordeine, that euery such of the same Anthony Radcliffe, Steuen Some, Robert Brooke, Simon Laurence, John Wattes, John Newton, Thomas Middleton, Robert Coxe, John Blunt, Charles Faith, Thomas Barnes, Alexander Dansey, Richard Aldworth, Henry Cowlthirke, Caesar Doffie, Martine Bonde, Oliuer Stile, and Nicolas Stile, as shall pay vnto the saide Gouernour and companie of Marchants of Leuant the summe of one hundred and thirtie poundes of lawfull English money within two monethes next after the date hereof towards the charges that the same Company haue already bene at in and about the establishing of the sayde trades shall from thencefoorth bee of the same company of Marchants of Leuant as fully and amply and in like maner, as any other of that societie or Company.

Provided also, that wee our heires and successours at any time during the sayd twelue yeeres may lawfully appoynt and authorize two other persons exercising the lawfull trade of marchandize, and being fit men to bee of the sayd companie of Gouernour and companie of marchants of Leuant, so that the sayd persons to bee nominated or authorized, shall aide, doe, beate, and paie such payments and charges touching and concerning the same trade and Companie of marchants

of Leuant, ratable as other of the sayd Companie of marchants of Leuant shall, and doe, or ought to beare and pay: and doe also performe and obserue the orders of the sayd Companie allowable by this our graunt, as others of the same doe or ought to doe. And that such two persons so to bee appointed by vs our heires or successours, shall and may with the sayd Company vse the trade and feate of marchandise aforesayd, and all the liberties and priuileges herein before granted, according to the meaning of these our letters patents, any thing in these our letters patents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided also, that if any of the marchants before by these presents named or incorporated, to bee of the sayd fellowship of Governour and companie of the marchants of Leuant, shall not bee willing to continue or bee of the same Companie, and doe giue notice thereof, or make the same knowen to the sayd Governour within two moneths next after the date hereof, that then such person so giuing notice, shall no further or any longer be of that companie, or haue trade into those parties, nor be at any time after that of the same corporation or companie, or vse trade into any the territories or countries aforesayd.

Provided alwayes neuertheless, that euery such person so giuing notice and hauing at this present any goods or marchandises in any the Territories or countreys of the sayd Grand Signior, or Signorie or State of Venice, may at any time within the space of eightene moneths next, and immediately following after the date hereof, haue free libertie, power, and authoritie to retorne the same or the value thereof into this Realme, without vsing any traffique there, but immediately from thence hither, paying, bearing, answering, and performing all such charges, duties and summes of money ratable as other of the same corporation or company doe or shall pay, beare, answer, or performe for the like.

Provided also, that if any of the persons before by these presents named or incorporated to bee of the sayd fellowship of Governour and Companie of the marchants of Leuant, or which hereafter shall bee admitted to bee of the sayd Corporation or Companie, shall at any time or times hereafter refuse to bee of the sayd Corporation or Companie, or to beare, pay, or be contributive to, or not beare and pay such ratable charges and allowances, or to obserue or performe such ordinances to bee made as is aforesayd, as other of the same company are, or shall bee ordered, to beare, paie, or performe, that then it shall and may bee lawfull for the rest of the sayd Governour and companie of marchants of Leuant, presently to expell, remooue, and displace euery such person so refusing, or not hearing or paying out, of, and from the sayd Corporation and companie, and from all priuilege, libertie, and preheminence which any such person should, or might claime, or haue by vertue of this our graunt, and in place of them to elect others exercising the lawfull trade of marchandise to bee of the sayd Companie. And that euery such person so expelled, remooued, or displaced by consent of the sayd Governour and companie of marchants of Leuant, or the more part of them, shall bee from thenceforth utterly disabled to take any benefite by vertue of this priuilege, or any time after to bee admitted or received againe into the same, any thing in these presents contained to the contrary notwithstanding.

Provided alwayes, that if it shall hereafter appeare to vs our heires and successours, that this graunt or the continuance thereof in the whole or in any part thereof, shall not bee profitable to vs our heires and successours, or to this our realme, that then and from thenceforth, vpon and after eightene moneths warning to bee giuen to the sayd companie by vs our heires and successours, this present graunt shall cease, bee voyd, and determined to all intents, constructions and purposes.

And further of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere motion, wee haue condescended and graunted, and by these presents for vs our heires and successours, doe condescend and graunt to the sayde Governour and companie of marchants of Leuant, that if at the ende of the sayd terme of twelue yeeres it shall serme meete and conuenient to the sayde Governour and Companie, or any the parties aforesayd, that this present graunt shall bee continued: And if that also it shall appeare vnto vs, our heires and successours, that the continuance thereof shall not bee prejudiciall or hurtfull to this our realme, but that wee shall finde the further continuance thereof profitable for vs our heires and successours and for our realme with such conditions as are herein mentioned, or with some alteration or qualification thereof, that then wee our heires and successours at the instance and humble petition of the sayde Governour and Companie, or any of them so suing for the same, and such other person and persons our subiectes as they shall nominate and appoint, or shall bee by vs, our heires and successours newly nominated, not exceeding in number twelue, new letters patents vnder the great seale of England

England in due forme of lawe with like covenants, graunts, clauses, and articles, as in these presents are contained, or with addition of other necessarie articles or changing of these in some partes, for, and during the full terme of twelue yeeres then next following. Willing now hereby, and straightly commaunding and charging all and singular our Admirals, Vice-admirals, Iustices, Maiors, Shyrriffes, Cheateors, Constables, Bailiffes, and all and singular other our Officers, Ministers, Liege men and subiects whatsoeuer, to bee aiding, fauouring, helping, and assisting vnto the sayd Companie and their successours, and to their Deputies, Officers, Factors, seruantes, assignes and ministers, and euery of them, in executing and enjoying the premisses as well on land as on Sea, from time to time, & at all times when you or any of you shal thereto bee required, any Statute, Acte, ordinance, Prouiso, Proclamation or restraint heretofore had, made, set forth, ordained or provided, or any other matter, cause or thing whatsoeuer to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

Although he presse mention of the true yeerely value or certaintie of the premisses, or any of them, or of any other gifts or graunts by vs, or any of our progenitours to the sayde Governour and Companie of the marchants of Leuant before this time made, in these presents is not made: Or any Statute, Acte, Ordinance, prouision, proclamation or restraint to the contrary thereof before this time had, made, done, or provided, or any other matter, thing or cause whatsoeuer, in any wise notwithstanding. In witness whereof wee haue caused these our letters to be made publyc. Witness our selfe at Westminster the seueneth day of Iansuarie in the fourē and thirtieth yeere of our raigne.

Per breue de priuato Sigillo.
Baillie.

To the Worshipfull and his very louing Uncle M.

Rowland Hewish Esquier, at Sand in
Deuonshire.



It, considering the goodnesse of your Nature which is woont kindly to accept from a friend, euen of meane things being giuen with a good heart, I haue presumed to trouble you with the reading of this rude discourse of my trauailes into Turkie, and of the deliuerie of the present with such other occurrents as there happened woorthie the obseruation: of all which proceedings I was an eie-witnesse, it pleasing the Ambassadour to take mee in with him to the *Grand Signior*. If for lacke of time to put it in order I haue not performed it so well as it ought, I craue pardon, assuring you that to my knowledge I haue not missed in the truth of any thing. If you aske mee what in my trauels I haue learned, I answer as a noble man of France did to the like demaund, *Hoc vnum didici, mundi contemptum*: and so concluding with the wise man in the booke of the Preacher, that all is vanitie, and one thing onely is necessarie, I take my leaue and commit you to the Almighty. From London the 16. March 1597.

Your louing Nephew
Richard Wrag.

A description of a Voiage to Constantinople and Syria, begun the 21. of March 1593. and ended the 9. of August, 1595. wherein is shewed the order of deliuering the second Present by Master Edward Barton her maiesties Ambassador, which was sent from her Maiestie to Sultan Murad Can, Emperour of Turkie.



Let saile in the Ascension of London, a new shippe very well appointed, of two hundred and thre score tunnes (whereof was master one William Broadbanke, a prouident and skilfull man in his facultie) from Grauesend the one and twentie of March 1593. And vpon the eight of Aprill following wee passed the streights of Gibraltar, and with a small Westerne gale, the 24. of the same, we arriued at Zante an Island vnder the Venetians. The fourth of May wee departed, and the one and twentie wee arriued at Alexandretta in Cilicia in the very bottome of the Mediterrane sea, a roade some 25. miles distant from Antioch, where our marchants land their goods to bee sent for Aleppo.

From thence wee set saile the first of June, and by contrary windes were driven vpon the coast of Caramania into a road neere a litle Island where a castle standeth, called Castle Rosso, some thirtie leagues to the Eastwards of the Rhodes, where after long search for fresh water, we could finde none, vntill certaine pooze Greekes of the Island brought vs to a well where we had 5 or 6 tuns. That part of the country next the sea is very barren & full of mountains, yet found we there an olde tombe of marble, with an epitaph of an ancient Greeke character, by antiquity neere wozne out and past reading; which to the beholders seemed a monument of the greatness of the Grecian monarchy. From thence we went to the Rhodes; and by contrary windes were driven into a port of Candy, called Sirtia: this Island is vnder the Venetians, who haue there 600 souldiers, beside certaine Greekes, continually in pay. Here with contrary winds we stayed six weeks, and in the end, hauing the winde prosperous, we sailed by Nicaria, Pharos, Delos, and Andros, with sight of many other Islands in the Archipelago, and arrived at the two castles in Hellespont the 24 of August. Within few dayes after we came to Galipoli some thirtie miles from this place, where foure of vs tooke a Parma or boat of that place, with two water men, which rowed vs along the Thracian shoze to Constantinople; which sometime sailing and sometime rowing, in foure dayes they performed. The first of September we arrived at the famous port of the Grand Signior, where we were not a litle welcome to *H. Edward Barton* vntill then her Maiesties Agent, who (with many other great persons) had for many dayes expected the present. Five or six dayes after the shippe arrived neere the Seuen towers, which is a very strong hold, and so called of so many turrets, which it hath, standing neere the sea side, being the first part of the city that we came vnto. Vnto the Agent appointed the master of the Ascension to stay with the shippe vntill a faire winde and opportunity serued to bring her about the Seraglio to salute the Grand Signior in his moskyra or church: for you shall vnderstand that he hath built one neere the wall of his Seraglio or pallace adioyning to the Sea side; whereunto twice or thise a weeke hee resorteth to performe such religious rites as their law requireth: where hee being within few dayes after, our shippe set out in their best maner with flagges, streamers and pendants of diuers coloured silke, with all the mariners, together with most of the Ambassadors men, hauing the winde faire, and came within two cables length of this his moskira, where (hee to his great content beholding the shippe in such brauery) they discharged first two volies of small shot, and then all the great ordinance twice ouer, there being seuen and twentie or eight and twentie pieces in the ship. Which performed, he appointed the Buktangi-Bassa or captain of the great and spacious garden or parke, to giue our men thanks, with request that some other day they would shew him the like spozte when hee would haue the Sultana or Empresse a beholder thereof, which few dayes after at the shippes going to the Custome-house they performed.

The grand Signiors salutation thus ended, the master brought the ship to an anchor at Rapamac neere the ambassadors house, where hee likewise saluted him with all his great ordinance once ouer, and where he landed the Present, the deliuerie whereof for a time was staied: the cause of which staie it shall neither be dishonorable for our nation, or that woorthie man the ambassadoz to shew you. At the departure of Sinan Bassa the chiefe Vizir, and our ambassadors great friend toward the warres of Hungarie there was another Bassa appointed in his place, a churlish and harsh natured man, who vpon occasion of certaine Genouezes, escaping out of the castles standing toward the Turine Sea, nowe called the blacke Sea, there imprisoned, apprehended and threatened to execute one of our Englishmen called John Field, for that hee was taken thereabouts, and knowne not many dayes before to haue brought a letter to one of them: vpon the solliciting of whose liberrie there fell a iarre betweene the Bassa (being nowe chiefe Vizir) and our ambassadoz, and in choler he gaue her maiesties ambassadoz such woords, as without sustaining some great indignitie hee could not put by. Whereupon after the arrivall of the Present, he made an Arz, that is, a bill of Complaint to the grand Signior against him, the maner in exhibiting whereof is thus performed.

The plaintifes expect the grand Signiors going abroad from his pallace, either to Santa Sophia or to his church by the sea side, whither, with a Perma (that is one of their vsuall whirries) they appoch within some two or thre score yards, where the plaintife standeth by, and holdeth his petition ouer his forehead in sight of the grand Signior (for his church is open to the Sea side) the rest sitting still in the boat, who appointeth one of his Dwarfes to receiue them, and to bring them to him. A Dwarf, one of the Ambassadors fauozites, so soone as he was discerned, beckned him to the shoze side, tooke his Arz, and with speed carried it to the grand Signior. Now the effect of it was this; that except his highnesse would redresse this so great an indignitie, which the Vizir his slave had offered him and her maiestie in his person, he was purposed to detaine the Present vntill such time as he might by letters ouer-land from her maiestie be certified, whither she would

Candy.

The Ascension arrived at the 7 towers.

The ship saluted the grand Signior.

The cause of staying the Present.

An Arz to the grand Signior.

would put vp so great an iniurie as it was. Whereupon he presently returned answere, requesting the ambassadoꝝ within an houre after to goe to the Douan of the Vizir, vnto whom himselfe of his charge would send a gowne of cloth of gold, and commaund him publickely to put it vpon him, and with kind entertainment to embrace him in signe of reconciliation. Whereupon our ambassadoꝝ returning home, tooke his horse, accompanied with his mē, and came to the Vizirs court, where, according to the grand Signiors command, he with all shew of kindnesse embraced the ambassadoꝝ, and with courteous speeches reconciled himselfe, and with his own hands put the gowne of cloth of gold vpon his backe. Which done, hee with his attendants returned home, to the small admiration of all Christians that heard of it, especially of the French and Venetian ambassadoꝝ, who neuer in the like case against the second person of the Turkish Empire durst haue attempted to hold an enterprize with hope of so friendly audience, and with so speedie redresse. This reconciliation with the great Vizir thus made, the ambassadoꝝ prepared himselfe for the deliuerie of the Present, which vpon the 7 of October 1593, in this maner he performed.

The great hall of Justice.

Reconciliation with the Vizir made.

The Ascension with her flags and Armeers, as aforesaid, repaired nigh vnto the place where the ambassadoꝝ should land to go vnto the Seraglio: for you must understand that all Christian ambassadoꝝ haue their dwelling in Pera where most Christians abide, from which place, except you would go 4 or 5 miles about, you cannot by land go to Constantinople, whereas by Sea it is little broder then the Thames. Our Ambassadoꝝ likewise appaſſelled in a sute of cloth of siluer, with an upper gowne of cloth of gold, accompanied with 7 gentlemen in costly sues of Satin; with 30 other of his men very well appaſſelled, and all in one liuerie of sad French russet cloth gownes, at his house tooke boate: at whose landing the ship discharged all her ordnance, where likewise attended 2 Bassas, with 40 or 50 Chaulses to accompany y^e ambassadoꝝ to the court, & also horses for the ambassadoꝝ & his gentlemen, very richly furnished, with Turkish seruants attendā to take the horses whē they should light. The ambassadoꝝ thus honorably accompanied, the Chaulses fozeinost, next his men on foote all going by two and two, himselfe last with his Chause and Dugaman oꝝ Interpreter, and 4 Janissaries, which he doeth vsually entertaine in his house to accompany him continually abroad, came to the Seraglio about an English mile from the water side, where first hee passed a great gate into a large court (much like the space before White hall gate) where he with his gentlemen alighted and left their horses. From hence they passed into another stately court, being about 6 scope in bꝛeath, and some 10 scope yards long, with many trees in it; where all the court was with great pompe set in order to entertaine our ambassadoꝝ. Vpon the right hand all the length of the court was a gallerie arched ouer, and boꝛne by with stone pillars, much like the Roiall Exchange, where stood *most of his guard in rankes from the one end to the other in costly aray, with round head pieces on their heads of mettall and gilt ouer, with a great plume of fethers somewhat like a long bynch standing by before. On the left hand stood the Cappagies oꝝ porters, and the Chaulses, All these courtiers being about the number of 2000. (as I might well gesse) most of them appaſſelled in cloth of gold, siluer, velvet, satin and scarlet, did together with bowing their bodies, laying their hands vpon their bꝛests in courteous maner of salutation, entertaine the Ambassadoꝝ: who likewise passing between them, & turning himselfe sometime to the right hand and sometime to the left, answered them with the like. As he thus passed along, certaine Chaulses conducted him to the Douan, which is the seat of Justice, where certaine dayes of the weeke the grand Vizir, with the other Vizirs, the Cadi-lesker oꝝ lord chiefe Justice, & the Musti oꝝ high priest do sit to determine vpon such causes as be brought before them, which place is vpon the left side of this great court. Whither the ambassadoꝝ with his gentlemen came, where hee found the Vizir thus accompanied as aforesayd, who with great shew of kindnesse receiued him: and after receit of her maiesties letters, & conference had of the Present, of her maiesties health, of the state of England, and such other matters as concerned our peaceable traffique in those parts: dinner being prepared was by many of y^e Courtiers brought into another inner roome next adioining, which consisted of an hundred dishes oꝝ therabouts, most boiled & roasted, where the ambassadoꝝ accompanied with the Vizirs went to dinner, his gentlemen likewise with the rest of his men hauing a dinner with the like varietie prepared vpon y^e same side of the court, by these lues late done to their meat, 40 or 50 Chaulses standing at the vpper end attending vpon the gentlemen to see them serued in good order; their ozinke was water mingled with rose water & sugar brought in a Luchro (that is a goates skinn) which a man carrieth at his backe, and vnder his arme leaſeth it run out at a spout into cups as men wil call for it. The dinner thus with good order brought in, and for halfe an houre with great sobrietie and silence performed, was not so orderly taken vp; for certaine Moglans officers of the kitchen (like her maiesties blarke guard) came in disordered manner and tooke away the dishes, and he whose hungry eye one dish could not satisfie, turned two or three one into the other, and thus of a sudden was a cleane riddance made of all. The ambassadoꝝ

The ambassadoꝝ goeth to the court with the present.

The ambassadoꝝ came to the Seraglio.

*All these are captaines of hundreds and of fifties.

The ambassadoꝝ receiued by the Vizir with all kindnesse.

Dinner brought in.

Dinner taken away.

after dinner with his gentlemen, by certaine officers were placed at the upper ende upon the left side of the court, nere vnto a great gate which gaue entrance to a third court bring but litle paved with stone. In the midst whereof was a litle house built of marble, as I take it, within which sate the grand Signor, according to whole commandement giuen there were gownes of cloth of gold brought out of the warrope, and put upon the ambassadoz and 7 of his gentlemen, the ambassadoz himselfe hauing 2, one of gold, and the other of crimosin velvet, all the rest one a piece. Then certaine Cappagies had the Present, which was in trunks there ready, deliuered them by the ambassadoz men, it being 12 goodly pieces of gilt plate, 36 garments of fine English cloth of all colors, 20 garments of cloth of gold, 10 garments of sattin, 6 pieces of fine Holland, and certaine other things of good value; al which were caried round about the court, each man taking a piece, being in number very neere 100 parcels, and so 2 and 2 going round that all might see it, to the greater gloz of the present, and of him to whom it was giuen: they went into the innermost court passing by the window of that roome, where the grand Signior sate, who, as it went by to be laid by in certaine roomes adioining, tooke view of all. Presently after the present followed the ambassadoz with his gentlemen; at the gate of which court stood 20 or 30 Agaus which be eunuchs. Within the court yard were the Turkes Dwarfes and Dunbe men, being most of them youths. At the dooze of his roome stood the Bustangi-bassa, with another Bassa to lead the ambassadoz and his followers to the grand Signior who sate in a chaire of estate, apparellled in a gowne of cloth of siluer. The floore vnder his secte, which part was a foote higher then the rest, was couered with a carpet of green sattin embrodere most richly with siluer, orient perles & great Turkeses; y other part of the house was couered with a carpet of Carnation sattin imbrodere w gold, none were in the roome with him, but a Bassa who stood next the wall ouer against him hanging down his head, & looking submissely vpon the ground as all his subiects doe in his presence. The ambassadoz thus betwixt two which stood at the dooze being led in, either of them taking an arme, kissed his hand, and so backward with his face to the Turke they brought him nigh the doze againe, where he stood vntill they had like wise done so with all the rest of his gentlemen. Which ended, the ambassadoz, according as it is the custome when any present is deliuered, made his thre demands, such as he thought most expedient for her maiesties honoz, & the peaceable traffique of our natio into his dominions: whereunto he answered in one word, Nolo, which is in Turkish as much as, it shal be done: for it is not the maner of the Turkish emperoz familiarly to confer with any Christian ambassadoz, but he appointeth his Vizir in his person to graunt their demands if they be to his liking; as to our ambassadoz he granted all his demands, & gaue order that his daily allowance for his house of moxy, flesh, wood, & haie, should be augmented with halfe as much moze as it had bene before. Whereupon the ambassadoz taking his leaue, departed with his gentlemen the same way he came, the whole court saluting him as they did at his coming in; & coming to the second court to take our horses, after we were mounted, we staid halfe an hoire, vntill the captain of the guard with 2000 hozsien at the least passed before, after whom followed 40 or 50 Chaulses next before the ambassadoz to accompany him to his house. And as before at his landing, so now at his taking boat, the ship discharged all her great ordinance, where arriuing, he like wise had a great banquet prepared to entertaine those which came to bring him home. The pompe & solemnitie of the Present, with the day thus ended, he shortly after presented the Sultana or emperesse who (by reason that she is mother to him which was heire to the erown Imperial) is had in far greater reuerence then any of his other Queens or concubines. The Present sent her in her maiesties name was a iewel of her maiesties picture, set with some rubies and diamants, 3 great pieces of gilt plate, 10 garments of cloth of gold, a very fine case of glasse bottles siluer & gilt, with 2 pieces of fine Holland, which so gratefully she accepted, as that she sent to know of the ambassadoz what present he thought she might returne y would most delight her maiestie; who sent word that a sute of princely attire being after the Turkish fashion would for the rarenesse thereof be acceptable in England. Whereupon she sent an upper gowne of cloth of gold very rich, an vnder gowne of cloth of siluer, and a girde of Turkie worke, rich and faire, with a letter of gratification, which for the rarenesse of the stile, because you may be acquainted with it, I haue at the ende of this discourse hereunto annexed, which letter and present, with one from the grand Signor, was sent by M. Edward Bushell, and M. William Aldridge our-land the 20 of March, who passed through Valachia and Moldaui, & so through Poland, where Michael prince of Valachia, and Aron Voiuoda prince of Moldaui receiving letters from the ambassadoz, entertained the with al curtesie, through whose meanes by the great fauour which his lordship had with the grand Signior, they had not long before both of them bene aduanted to their princely dignities. Hee likewise presented Sigala the Admirall of the Seas, with Abrim Bassa, who married the great Turkes daughter, and all the other Vizirs with diuers pieces of plate, fine English cloth & other costly things: the particulars whereof

Gownes of cloth of gold for the ambassadoz and his gentlemen.

The Present.

The Present viewed.

The ambassadoz kissed the grand Signiors hand.

The ambassadoz demands granted.

The Sultanas present.

The Sultanas present to the Queene.

Letters sent for England.

The other Vizirs presents.

whereof, to avoid tediousnesse, I omit. All the presents thus ended, the ship shooting ten pieces of ordnance at the Seraglio point, as a last fare well, departed on her journey for England the first of November, my selfe continuing in Constantinople untill the last of July after. This yere in the spring there was great preparation for the Hungarian wars; and the great Turke threatened to goe himselfe in person: but like Heliogabalus, his affections being more serviceable to Venus then to Mars, he stayed at home. Yet a great army was dispatched this yere; who, as they came out of Asia to goe for Hungary, did so pester the streets of Constantinople for the space of two moneths in the spring time, as scarce either Christian or Jew could without danger of losing his money passe by and downe the city. What insolencies, murders and robberies were committed not onely upon Christians but also upon Turks I omit to write, and I pray God in England the like may never be seene: and yet I could wish, that such amongst vs as haue inioyed the Gospel with such great and admirable peace and prosperitie vnder her Maiesties government this forty yeeres, and haue not all this time brought forth better fruits of obedience to God, and thankfulness to her Maiesty, were there but a shorzt time to beholde the miserable condition both of Christians and others living vnder such an infidell prince, who not onely are wrapped in most palpable & grosse ignorance of mind, but are cleane without the meanes of the true knowledge of God: I doubt not but the sight hereof (if they be not cleane void of grace) would stirre them vp to more thankfulness to God, that euer they were bozne in so happy a time, and vnder so wise and godly a prince professing the true religion of Christ.

The Ascension departed.

Great preparation for the Hungarian warres.

The number of souldiours which went to the warres of Hungary this yere were 470000; as by the particulars given by the Admirall to the Ambassadour hereunder do appeare. Although all these were appointed and supposed to goe, yet the victories which the Christians in the spring had against the Turks strooke such a terrour in many of the Turkish souldiours, as by report diuers upon the way thither left their Captaines and stolc away.

The number of Turkish souldiers which were appointed to goe into Hungary against the Christian Emperour. May 1594.

Sinan Bassa generall, with the Saniacke masould, that is, out of office, with the other Saniacks in office of degree, 40000.

Achmigi, that is, Adventurers, 50000.

The Agha or Captaine with his Janisaries, and his Siebegies, 20000.

The Beglerbeg of Græcia, with all his Saniacks, 40000.

The company of Spaheis or horsemen, 10000.

The company of Silicari, 6000.

The company of Sagbulue and of Solbulue both together, 8000.

The Bassa of Belgrad,

The Bassa of Temiswar,

The Bassa of Bosna.

The Bassa of Buda.

The Saniack of Gersech.

} 80000.

Out of Asia.

The Bassa of Caramania.

The Bassa of Laras.

The Bassa of Damasco.

The Bassa of Suas.

The Bassa of Van or Nan.

The Bassa of Vsdrum.

} 120000.

Of Tartars there be about 100000.

Thus you may see that the great Turke maketh warre with no small numbers. And in anno 1597, when Sultan Mahomet himselfe went in person into Hungary, if a man may beleue reports, he had an army of 600000.

For the city of Constantinople you shall vnderstand that it is matchable with any city in Europe, as well in bignesse as for the pleasant situation thereof, and commodious traffike and bringing of all maner of necessary pprovision of victuals, and whatsoeuer els mans life for the sustentation thereof shall require, being seated vpon a promontory, looking toward Pontus Euxinus vpon the North-east, and to Proponis on the South-west, by which two seas by shipping is brought great

great store of all manner of victuals. The city it selfe in forme representeth a triangular figure, the sea washing the walles vpon two sides thereof, the other side faceth the continent of Thracia; the grand Signiors seraglio standeth vpon that point which looketh into the sea, being cut off from the city by a wall, so that y^e wall of his pallace containeth in circuit about two English miles: the seuen towers spoken of before stand at another corner, & Constantines olde pallace to the North at the third corner. The city hath a threefolde wall about it; the innermost very high, the next lower then that, and the third a countermure, and is in circuit about ten English miles: it hath foure and twenty gates: and when the empire was remoued out of the West into the East, it was enriched with many spoiles of olde Rome by Vespasian and other emperours, hauing many monuments and pillars in it worthy the obseruation; amongst the rest in the midd of Constantinople standeth one of white marble called Vespasians pillar, of 38 or 40 yards high, which hath from the base to the top proportions of men in armour fighting on horsebacke: it is likewise adorned with diuers goodly buildings & stately Heselquitas, whereof the biggest is Sultan Solimans a great warrior, which liued in the time of Charles the fifth; but the fairest is Santa Sophia, which in the time of the Christian emperours was the chiefe cathedraall church, and is still in greatest account with the great Turke: it is built round like other Greeke churches, the paucements and walles be all of marble, it hath beneath 44 pillars of diuers coloured marble of admirable heigh and bignesse, which stand vpon great round feet of brasse, much greater then the pillars, and of a great heigh, some ten yards distant from the wall: from which vnto these pillars is a great gallery built, which goeth round about the church; and vpon the outside of the gallery stand 66 marble pillars which beare by the round rooffe being the top of the church: it hath threepulpits or preaching places, and about 2000 lampes brought in by the Turke. Likewise vpon one side in the top is the picture of Christ with the 12 Apostles, but their faces are defaced, with two or three ancient tombs of Christians: to the West sticketh an arrow in the toppe of the church, which, as the Turkes report, Sultan Mahomet shot when he first tooke the city. Recre adioyning be two chapels of marble, where lie buried most of the emperours with their children & sultanas. The 16 of July, accompanied with some other of our nation we went by water to the Blacke sea, being 16 miles distant fro Constantinople, the sea at the way thither being little broader then the Thames; both sides of the shoze are beautified with faire & goodly buildings. At the mouth of this Bosphorus lieth a rocke some foure score yards from the maine land, where vpon standeth a white marble pillar called Pompeys pillar, the shadow whereof was 23 foote long at nine of the clocke in the forenoone: ouer against it is a turret of stone vpon the maine land 120 steps high, hauing a great glasse-lanchoyne in the toppe foure yards in diamiter and three in heigh, with a great copper pan in the midd to holde oile, with twenty lightes in it, and it serueth to giue passage into this straight in the night to such ships as come from all parts of those seas to Constantinople: it is continually kept by a Turke, who to y^e end hath pay of the grand Signior. And thus hauing spent eleuen moneths in Constantinople, accompanied with a chaunc, & carrying certaine mandates from the grand Signior to the Bassa of Aleppo for the kinde vlage of our nation in those parts, the 30 of July I tooke passage in a Turkish carmasale or shippe bound for Sidon; and passing thorow Propontis, hauing Salimbria with Heraclia most pleasantly situated on the right hand, and Proconesus now called Marmora on the left, we came to Gallipoly, and so by Hellepont, betwene the two castles before named called Sestos and Abydos, famous for the passages made there both by Xerxes and great Alexander, the one into Thracia, the other into Asia, and so by the Sigean Promontory, now called Cape Ianitzaizy, at the mouth of Hellepont vpon Asia side, where Troy stood, where are yet ruines of olde walles to be seene, with two hills rising in a piramidall forme, not unlikely to be the tombs of Achilles and Ajax. From thence we sailed along, hauing Tenedos and Lemnos on the right hand, and the Troian fields on the left: at length we came to Mytlen and Sio long time inhabited by the Genoueses, but now vnder the Turke. The Island is beautified with goodly buildings and pleasant gardens, and aboundeth with fruits, wine, and the gum masticke. From thence sailing alongst the gulfe of Ephesus with Nicaria on the right hand, Samos and Smirna on the left, we came to Patmos, where S. Iohn wrote the Reuelation. The Island is but small, not about fife miles in compasse: the chiefe thing it yeeldeth is corn: it hath a port for shipping, and in it is a monastery of Greekeish Caloieros. From thence by Cos (now called Lango) where Hipocrates was bozne: & passing many other Islands and rocks, we arriued at Rhodes, one of the strongest and fairest cities of the East: here we stayed threep or foure dayes; and by reason of a By which went in the ship to Paphos in Cyprus, who vsed me with all kindnesse, I went about the city, and tooke the view of all: which city is still with all the houses and walles thereof maintained in the same order as they tooke it from the Rhodian knights.ouer the doozes of many of the houses, which be strongly built of stone, do remaine

Santa Sophia,

Pompeys pillar.

Gallipoly.

Troy.

Zio.

Patmos.

Cos.

Rhodes.

maine vndefaced, the armes of England, France, Spaine, and many other Christian knights, as though the Turkes in the view thereof glozied in the taking of all Christendome, whose armes there they beholde. From thence we sailed to Paphos an olde ruinous towne standing vpon the Westerne part of Cyprus, where S. Paul in the Acts conuerted the gouernoz. Departing hence, we came to Sidon, by the Turkes called Sayofa, within tenne or twelue miles of the place where Tirus stood, which now being eaten in by the sea, is, as Ezekiel prophesied, a place for the spreading out of a net. Sidon is situated in a small bay at the foot of mount Libanus, vpon the side of an hill looking to the North: it is walled about, with a castle nigh to the sea, and one toward the land which is ruined, but the walle thereof standeth. Some halfe mile by toward the mountaine be certaine ruines of buildings, with marble pillars, remaining: heere for three dayes we were kindly entertained of the captaine of the castle: and in a small barcke we sailed from hence along the shore to Tripoli, & so to Alexandretta, where the 24 of August we arriued. From thence with a Venetian carauan we went by land to Aleppo, passing by Antioch, which is seated vpon the side of an hill, whose walles still stand with 360 turrets vpon them, and neere a very great plaine which beareth the name of the city, thozow which runneth the riuer Orontes, in Scripture called Farfar. In Aleppo I stayed vntill February following; in this city, as at a mart, meeie many nations out of Asia with the people of Europe, hauing continuall traffike and interchangeable course of marchandise one with another: the state and trade of which place, because it is so well knowne to most of our nation, I omitte to write of. The 27 of February I departed from Aleppo, and the fifth of March imbarcked my selfe at Alexandretta in a great ship of Venice called the Nana Ferra, to come for England. The 14 we put into Salino in Cyprus, where the ship staying many dayes to lade cotton wooll and other commodities, in the meane time accompanied with M. William Barrer my countrey man, the master of the ship a Greeke, and others, we tooke occasion to see Nicosia, the chiefe city of this Island, which was some twenty miles frō this place, which is situated at the foot of an hill: to the East is a great plaine, extending it selfe in a great length from the North to the South: it is walled about, but of no such strength as Famagusta (another city in this Island neere the Sea side) whose walles are cut out of the maine rocke. In this city be many sumptuous and goodly buildings of stone, but vnhabited; the cause wherof doth giue me iust occasion to shew you of a rare iudgement of God vpon the owners sometime of these houses, as I was credibly informed by a Cipriot a marchant of good wealth in this city. Before it came in subiection to the Turkes, while it was vnder the Venetians, there were many barons and noble men of the Cipriots, who partly by vsurping moze superiority ouer the common people then they ought, and partly through their great reuenues which yeerely came in by their cotton wooll and wines, grew so insolent and proud, and withall so impiouly wicked, as that they would at their pleasure command both the wiues and children of their poore tenants to serue their vncleane lusts, & holding them in such slaucry as though they had bene no better then dogges, would wage them against a grayhound or spaniell, and he who woon the wager should euer after holde them as his proper goods and chattels, to do with them as he listed, being Christians as well as themselves, if they may deserue so good a name. As they behaued themselves most vnchristianly toward their brethren, so and much moze vngodly (which I should haue put in the first place) did they towards God; for as though they were too great, standing on foot or kneeling to serue God, they would come riding on horsebacke into the church to heare their masse: which church now is made a publike bathstane or market place for the Turkes to sell commodities in: but beholde the iudgement of the righteous God, who papeth the sinner measure for measure. The Turkes the yeere before the ouerthrowe giuen them at Lepanto by Don Iohn tooke Cyprus. These mighty Nimrods fled some into holes & some into mountaines to hide themselves; wherupon the Turkes made generall proclamation, that if they would all come in and yeeld themselves, they would restore them to their former reuenues and dignities: who not mistrusting the mischieuous pretense of the Turkes, assembled together to make themselves knowne; whom after the Turkes had in possession, they (as the Lords executioners) put them with their wiues and children all to the sword, pretending thereby to cut off all future rebellion, so that at this day is not one of the noble race knowne aliue in the Island, onely two or three remaine in Venice but of litle wealth, which in the time of the warres escaped. After we had stayed in this Island some thirty dayes, we set saile in the foresayd shippe being about the burthen of 900 tunnes, hauing in her passengers of diuers nations, as Tartars, Persians, Jewes, and sundry Christians. Amongst all which I had often conference with a Jew, who by reason of his many yeeres education at Safec a place in Iudea neere Ierusalem, where they study the Rabbines with some other arts as they thinke good, as also for his trauels into Persia and Ormus, he seemed to be of good experience in matters abroad, who related vnto me such conference as he had

Sidon.

Ezek. 26. 5.

Antioch.

Aleppo.

Nicosia.

20 great iudgement of God vpon the noble men of Cyprus.

with

Indians skill
full in Astro-
nomy.

with a Banane at Ormus, being one of the Indians inhabiting the countrey of Cambaia. This Baniane being a Gentile had skill in Astronomie, as many of that nation haue, who by his books written in his owne tongue and Characters, could tell the time of Eclipses both of Sunne and Moone, with the Change and Full, and by iudgement in Astrologie gaue answere to any question demanded. Being asked concerning his opinion in religion, what he thought of God: He made answere, that they held no other god but the sun, (to which planet they pray both at the rising and setting) as I haue seene sundry doe in Aleppo: his reason was drawn from the effects which it worketh in giuing light to the moone & other starres, and causing all things to grow and encrease vpon the earth: answere was made, that it did mooue with the rest, as the wheelles of a clocke, and therefore of force must haue a moouer. Likewise in the Eclipse being darkened it is manifestly pproved that it is not god, for God is altogether goodnesse and brightnesse, which can neither be darkened nor receiue detriment or hurt: but the Sun receiueth both in the Eclipse, as it is apparant: to which hee could not answere; but so they had receiued from their ancestors, that it was without beginning or ende, as in any Orbicular or round body neither beginning or end could be found. He likewise sayd, that there were other Gentiles in y^e Indies which worship the moone as chiefe, and their reason is. The moone when the riseth goeth with thousands of starres accompanied like a king, and therefore is chiefe: but the Sunne goeth alone, and therefore not so great. Against whom the Banianes reason, that it is not true, because the Moone and starres receiue their light from the Sunne, neither doth the Sunne vouchsafe them his company but when he list, and therefore like a mighty prince goeth alone, yet they acknowledge the Moone as Queene or Uiceroy. Law they hold none, but onely seuen precepts which they say were giuen them from their father Noe, not knowing Abraham or any other. First, to honor father and mother; secondly, not to steale; thirdly, not to commit adultery; fourthly, not to kill any thing liuing; fifthly, not to eat any thing liuing; sixthly, not to cut their haire; seventhly, to go barefoot in their churches. These they hold most strictly, & by no meanes will breake them: but he that brea- keth one is punished with twenty stripes: but for the greatest fault they will kill none, neither by a short death nor a long, onely he is kept some time in prison with very little meat, and hath at the most not aboue twenty or siue & twenty stripes. In the yere they haue 16 feasts, and then they go to their church, where is pictured in a broad table the Sun, as we vse to paint it, the face of a man with beames round about, not hauing any thing els in it. At their feast they spot their faces in di- uers parts with saffron all yellow, and so walke by and downe the streets; and this they doe as a custome. They hold, there shall be a resurrection, and all shall come to iudgment, but the account shall be most straight, in so much that but one of 10000 shall be receiued to fauor, and those shall liue againe in this world in great happinesse: the rest shall be tormented. And because they will escape this iudgement, when any man dieth, he and his wife be both burnt together euen to ashes, and then they are throwen into a riuer, and so dispersed as though they had neuer bene. If the wife will not burne with her dead husband, shee is holden euer after as a whoze. And by this meanes they hope to escape the iudgment to come. As for the soule, that goeth to the place from whence it came, but where the place is they know not. That the body should not be made againe, they rea- son wth the philosophers, saying, that of nothing nothing can be made (not knowing that God made the whole world and their god the Sun of nothing) but beholding the course of nature, that no- thing is made but by a meanes, as by the seed of a man is made another, and by cozne cast into the ground there cometh by new cozne: so, say they, man cannot be made except some part of him be left, and therefore they burne the whole: for if he were buried in the earth, they say there is a small bone in the necke which would neuer be consumed: or if he were eaten by a beast, that bone would not consume, but of that bone would come another man; and then the soule being re- stored againe, he should come into iudgement, whereas now, the body being destroyed, the soule shall not be iudged: for their opinion is, that both body and soule must be united together, as they haue sin- ned together, to receiue iudgement; and therefore the soule alone cannot. Their seuen precepts which they keepe so strictly are not for any hope of reward they haue after this life, but onely that they may be blessed in this world, for they thinke that he which brea-keth them shall haue ill suc- cesse in all his businesse.

The seuen pre-
cepts of Bani-
anes.

They say, the three chiefe religions in the world be of the Christians, Jewes, & Turks, & yet but one of them true: but being in doubt which is the truest of the three, they will be of none: for they hold that all these three shall be iudged, and but few of them which be of the true shall be sa- ued, the examination shall be so straight: and therefore, as I haue sayd before, to preuent this iudgement, they burne their bodies to ashes. They say, these three religions haue too many pre- cepts to keepe them all wel, & therefore wonderful hard it wil be to make account, because so few doe obserue all their religion aright. And thus passing the time for the space of three moneths in
this

this sea voyage, we arriued at Venice the tenth of June: and after I had seene Padua, with o-
ther English men, I came the ordinary way ouer the Alpes, by Augusta, Noremberg, and so for
England; where to the praise of God, I safely arriued the ninth of August 1595.

A letter written by the most high and mighty Empresse the
wife of the Grand Signior Sultan *Murat Can* to the Queenes
Maicesty of England, in the yeere of our Lord,

1594.



L principio del ragionamento nostro sia scrittura perfetta nelle quattro parte del
mondo, in nome di quello che ha creato indifferente mente tante infinite creatu-
re, che non haueuano anima ni persona, & di quello che fa girar gli noue cieli,
& che la terra sette volte una sopra l'altra fa firmar; Signor & Re senza vi-
cere, & che non ha comparacion alla sua creatione ne opera, & uno senza pre-
cio, adorato incomparabilmente, l'altissimo Dio creatore; che non ha similitu-
dine, si come e descritto dalli propheti: a la cui grandessa non si arriue; & alla
perfectione sua compinta non si oppone, & quel omnipotente creatore & cooperatore; alla grandessa
del quale inchinano tutti li propheti; fra quali il maggior & che ha ottenuto gracia, horto del paradiso,
so, ragi dal sole, amato del altissimo Dio e *Mahomet Mustaffa*, al qual & suoi adherenti & imitato-
ri sia perpetua pace: alla cui sepultura odorifera s'isa ogni honore. Quello che e imperator de sette cli-
mati, & delle quattro parti del mondo, inuincibile Re di Gracia, *Agiamia*, *Vngeria*, *Tartaria*, *Va-
lachia*, *Rossia*, *Turchia*, *Arabia*, *Bagdet*, *Caramania*, *Abessis*, *Gionasir*, *Siruan*, *Barbaria*, *Algie-
ri*, *Franchia*, *Cornacia*, *Belgrado*, &c. sempre felicissimo, & de dodeci *Auoli* possessor della corona,
& della stirpe di *Adam*, sin hora Imperator, figliolo del Imperatore, conseruato de la diuina prou-
idenza, Re di ogni dignita & honore, *Sultan Murat*, che Il Signor Dio sempre augmenti le sue for-
ze, & padre di quello a cui aspetta la corona imperiale, horto & cypresso mirabile, degno della sedia
regale, & vero herede del comando imperiale, dignissimo *Mehemet Can*, filio del *Sultan Murat Can*,
che dio compisca la suoi disegni, & alung a li suoi giorni felici: Dalla parte della madre del qual si scri-
ue la presente alla serenissima & gloriosissima fra le prudentissime *Donne*, & eletta fra li triomfanti
sotto il standardo di *Iesu Christo*, potentissima & ricchissima regitrice, & al mondo singularissima fra
il feminil sesso, la serenissima *Regina d'Inghilterra*, che segue le vestigie de *Maria uirgine*, il fine
della quale sia con bene & perfectione, secondo il suo desiderio. Le mando una salutacion di pace, cosi
onorata, che non basta tutta la copia di rosignoli con le loro musiche arinare, non che con questa car-
ta: l'amore singularare che e conciputo fra noi, e simile a vn' horto di *Vccelli uagi*; che il Signor
Dio la faci degna di saluacione, & il fine suo sia tale, che in questo mondo & nel futuro sia con pace.
Doppo comparsi li suoi honorati presenti da la sedia de la *Serenita vostra*, sapera che sono capitati in
una hora che ogni punto e stato una consolation di lungo tempo, per occasione del *Ambassadore* di vo-
stra serenita venuto alla felice porta del Imperatore, con tanto nostro contento, quanto si posso deside-
rare, & con quello una lettera di vostra serenita, che ci e stata presentata dalli nostri *Eunuochi* con
gran honore; la carta de la quale odoraua di *camfora* & *ambracano*, & l'inchiostro di musco perfec-
to, & quella peruenuta in nostro mano tutta la continenza di essa a parte a parte ho ascoltato intenta-
mente. Quello che hora si conuiene e, che corrispondente alla nostra affecione, in tutto quello che si a-
ffetta alle cose attenente alli paesi che sono sotto il comando di vostra serenita, lei non manchi di
sempre tenermi, dato noticia, che in tutto quello che li occorerà, Io possi compiacerla; de quello che fra
le nostre serenita e conueniente, accioche quelle cose che si interpreterano, habino il desiderato buon
fine; perche Io faro sempre ricordeuole al altissimo Imperatore delle occorenze di vostra serenita, per
che sia in ogni occasione compiacinta. La pace sia con vostra serenita, & con quelli che segnano dre-
tamente la via di Dio. Scritta all'primi dell' luna di *Rabie Linol*, anno del profeta 1002, & di *Iesu*

1594.

The same in English.

*L*et the beginning of our discourse be a perfect writing in the four parts of the world, in the
name of him which hath indifferently created such infinite numbers of creatures, which had
neither soule nor body, and of him which moueth the nine heauens, and stablisheth the earth se-
uen times one about another, which is Lord and king without any deputy, who hath no compari-
son to his creation and worke, and is one inestimable, worshipped without all comparison, the
most high God, the creator, which hath nothing like unto him, according as he is described by the
Prophets, to whose power no man can attaine, and whose absolute perfection no man may con-
troll; and that omnipotent creator and fellow-worke, to whose Maicesty all the Prophets sub-
mit

mit themselves, among whom the greatest, and which hath obtained greatest fauour, the garden of Paradise, the beame of the Sunne, the beloued of the most high God is Mahomet Mustassa, to whom and to his adherents and followers be perpetuall peace, to whose fragrant sepulture all honour is perfozmed. He which is emperor of the seuen climats and of the foure parts of the world, the inuincible king of Graecia, Agiamia, Hungaria, Taitaria, Valachia, Rossia, Turchia, Arabia, Bagdet, Caramania, Abessis, Giouafir, Siruan, Barbaria, Alger, Franchia, Coruacia, Belgrade, &c. alwayes most happy, and possessor of the crowne from the iudgement of his ancestors; and of the seed of Adam, at this present emperour, the sonne of an emperour, prescribed by the diuine prouidence, a king woorthy of all glozpe and honour, Sultan Murad, whose forces the Lord God alwayes increaseth, and father of him to whom the imperiall crowne is to descend, the paradise and woonderfull tall cypzelle, woorthy of the royall throne, and true heire of the imperiall authority, most woorthy Mehemet Can, the sonne of Sultan Murad Can, whose enterprises God vouchsafeth to accomplish, and to prolong his happy dayes: on the behalfe of whose mother this present letter is written to the most gracious and most glorious, the wisest among women, and chosen among those which triumph vnder the standard of Iesus Christ, the most mighty and most rich gouernour, and most rare among womankind in the world, the most gracious Queene of England, which follow the steps of the virgine Mary, whose end be prosperous and perfect, according to your hearts desire. I send your Maiesty to honozable and sweet a salutation of peace, that al the focke of Nightingales with their melody cannot attaine to y like, much lesse this simple letter of mine. The singular loue which we haue conceiued one toward the other is like to a garden of pleasant birds: and the Lord God vouchsafeth to saue and keepe you, and send your Maiesty an happy end both in this world and in the world to come. After the arrivall of your honozable presents from the Court of your Maiesty, your Highnesse shall vnderstand that they came in such a season that euery minute ministred occasion of long consolation by reason of the comming of your Maiesties Aniballadour to the triumphant Court of the Emperour, to our so great contentment as we could possibly wish, who brought a letter from your Maiesty, which with great honour was presented vnto vs by our eunukes, the paper whereof did smell most fragrantly of camfoz and ambargriese, and the incke of perfect muske; the contents whereof we haue heard very attentiuely from point to point. I thinke it therefore expedient, that, according to our mutuall affection, in any thing whatsoever may concerne the countreys which are subiect to your Maiesty, I neuer faile, hauing information giuen vnto me, in whatsoever occasion shall be ministred, to gratifie your Maiesty to my power in any reasonable and conuenient matter, that all your subiects busineses and affaires may haue a wished and happy end. For I will alwayes be a sollicitour to the most mighty Emperour for your Maiesties affaires, that your Maiesty at all times may be fully satisfied. Peace be to your Maiesty, and to all such as follow rightly the way of God. Written the first day of the Moone of Rabie Liul in the yere of the Prophet,

1002.

Ann. Dom.
1594.



THE SECOND PART OF THIS

Second volume containing the principall Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English nation, made to the South and Southeast quarters of the world without the Straights of *Gibraltar*, namely to the Ilands of *Madera*, and of the *Canaries*, to the kingdome of *Barbarie*, to the Iles of *Capo Verde*, to the riuer of *Senega*, to the coast of *Ghinea* and *Benin*, about the cape of *Buona Esperansa*, and so to *Goa* in the *East Indies*, and likewise beyond cape *Comori* to the Iles of *Nicobar*, to *Sumatra*, to the chanell of *Sincapura* ouer against the city of *Malacca*, and to diuers other places.

The voyage of *Macham* an English man, wherein he first of any man discovered the Iland of *Madera*, recorded *verbatim* in the Portugall history, written by *Antonio Galuano*.



In the yeere 1344, King Peter the fourth of that name reigning in Aragon, the Chronicles of his age write that about this time the Iland of *Madera*, standing in 32 degrees, was discovered by an English man, which was named *Macham*, who sailing out of England into Spaine, with a woman that he had stolen, arrived by tempest in that Iland, and did cast anker in that haue of bay, which now is called *Machico* after the name of *Macham*. And because his loue was sea-sicke, he went on land with some of his company, and the shippe with a good winde made saile away, and the woman died for thought.

Madera first discovered by one *Macham* an Englishman.

Macham, which loued her dearely, built a chapell, or hermitage, to bury her in, calling it by the name of *Iesus*, and caused his name and hers to be written or grauen upon the stone of her tombe, and the occasion of their arriual there. And afterwa^td he ordeined a boat made of one tree (for there be trees of a great compasse about) and went to sea in it, with those men that he had, and were left behinde with him, and came vpon the coast of *Afrika*, without saile or oare. And the *Boozes* which saw it tooke it to be a maruellous thing, and presented him vnto the king of that countrey for a woonder, and that king also sent him and his companions for a miracle vnto the king of *Castile*.

Macham made there a chapell, naming it *Iesus* chapell.

In the yeere 1395, King Henry the third of that name reigning in Castile, the information which *Macham* gaue of this Iland, and also the ship of his company, moued many of France and Castile to go and discover it, and also the great *Canaria*, &c.

In the yeere 1417, King Iohn the second reigning in Castile, and his mother Lady *Katherine* being Regent, one Monsieur *Ruben* of *Bracamont*, which was Admirall of France, demanding the conquest of the Ilands of the *Canaries*, with the title of King, for a kinsman of his named Monsieur *Iohn Berancourt*, after that the Queene had giuen him them, and holpen him, he departed from *Siuil* with a good army. And they affirme also, that the principall cause which moued him to this, was to discover the Iland of *Madera*, which *Macham* had found, &c. *ibidem* pag. 2. of *Antonio Galuano*.

This note following, concerning the ayde and assistance of the English Marchants, giuen to King *Iohn* the first of *Portugall*, for the winning of *Ceuta* in *Barbarie*, which was the first occasion of all the Portugall discoveries, is taken out of *Thomas Walsingham* his Latine Chronicle. Anno 1415.

Moc anno Ioannes primus Rex Portugallix fretus auxilio Mercatorum Anglix quam maximè, & Alemanorum, vicit Agarenos in terra Regis Beinarinorum, multis eorum milibus ad generum Cereris destinatis: cepitque ciuitatem eorum quam amplissimam supra mare sitam, vocatam Ceuta eorum lingua,

The same in English.

This pere Iohn the first king of Portugall, being principally assisted by the helpe of the English Merchants, and Almaines, overcame the Moores in the dominion of the king of Barbary, putting many thousands of them to the sword, and he tooke their city which was very mighty, seated upon the sea, which is called Ceura in their language.

Confirmatio treugarum inter Regem Anglie Eduardum quartum, & Ioannem secundum Regem Portugallie, datarum in oppido montis Maioris 8 Februarij, & apud Westmonasterium 12 Septembris, 1482, anno regni 22 Regis Eduardi quarti, lingua Lusitanica ex opere sequenti excerpta.

Libro das obras de Garcia de Resfende, que tracta da vida e feitos del Rey dom Ioham secundo.

Embaixada que el Rey mandou a el Rey d' Inglaterra, cap. 33.

E Da qui de Monte Mor mandou el Rey por embaixadores a el rey dom Duarte de Inglaterra Ruy de Sousa pessoa principal e de muyto bon saber e credito, de que el Rey muyto confiana, e ho doctor Ioam d' Eluas, e Fernam de Pina por secretario. E foram por mar muy honradamente com muy boa companhia: hos quaes foram en nome del Rey confirmar as ligas antiquas com Inglaterra, que polla condissandellus ho nouo Rey de hum reyno e do outro era obrigado a mandar confirmar: e tambien pera mostrarem ho titulo que el rey tinha no senhorio de Guinee, pera que depois de visto el rey d' Inglaterra defendesse em todos seus reynos, que ninguen armasse nem podesse mandar a Guinee: e assi mandasse desfazer huma armada, que pera laa faziam, per mandado do Duque de Medina Sidonia hum Ioam Tintam e hum Guilherme Fabiam Ingrefes. Com ha qual embaixada el rey d' Inglaterra mostrou receber grande contentamento, e foy delle com muyta honra recebida, e em tudo fez inteiramente ho que pellos embaixadores lhe foy requerido. De que elles trouxeram autenticas escrituras das diligencias que conpublicos pregonos fizeram: e assi as prouisiones das aprouaones que eras necessarias: e com tudo muyto ben acabado, e ha vontade del reyse vieram.

These writings are in the Colzer.

The Ambassage which king Iohn the second, king of Portugall, sent to Edward the fourth king of England, which in part was to stay one Iohn Tintam, and one William Fabian English men, from proceeding in a voyage which they were preparing for Guinea, 1481, taken out of the booke of the workes of Gracias de Resfende, which intreateth of the life and acts of Don Iohn the second, king of Portugall, Chap. 33.



And afterwards the king sent as Ambassadors from the towne of Monee maior to king Edward the fourth of England, Ruy de Sousa, a principall person, and a man of great wise doime and estimation, and in whom the king reposed great trust, with doctoꝝ Iohn d' Eluas, and Ferdinand de Pina, as secretary. And they made their voyage by sea very honourably, being very well accompanied. These men were sent on the behalfe of their king, to confirme the ancient leagues with England, wherein it was conditioned that the new king of the one and of the other kingdom, should be bound to send to confirme the olde leagues. And likewise they had order to shew and make him acquainted with the title which the king held in the segneury of Ginnee, to the intenc that after the king of England had seene the same, he should giue charge choꝝow all his kingdomes, that no man should arme oꝝ set foorth ships to Ginnee: and also to request him, that it would please him to giue commandment to dissolve a certaine flect, which one Iohn Tintam and one William Fabian, English men, were making, by commandment of the duke of Medina Sidonia, to goe to the afozelsayd parts of Ginnee. With which ambassage the king of England seemed to be very well pleased, and they were receiued of him with very great honour, and he condescended vnto all that the ambassadors required of him, at whose hands they receiued authenticall writings of the diligence which they had performed, with publication thereof by the heralbs: and also prouises of those confirmations which were necessary. And having dispatched all things well, and with the kings good will, they returned home into their countrey.

The first cause of this ambassage.

The second cause.

The third cause.

A briefe note concerning an ancient trade of the English Marchants to the *Canarie-lands*, gathered out of an olde ligie booke of *M. Nicolas Thorne* the elder a worshipfull marchant of the city of *Bristol*.

IT appeareth evidently out of a certaine note or letter of remembrance, in the custody of me Richard Hakluyt, written by *M. Nicolas Thorne* the elder a principall marchant of *Bristol*, to his friend and factour *Thomas Midnall* and his owne seruant *William Ballard* at that time resident at *S. Lucar* in *Andaluzia*; that in the peere of our Lord 1526 (and by all circumstances and probabilities long before) certaine English marchants, and among the rest himselfe with one *Thomas Spacheford* exercised usuall and ordinary trade of merchandise vnto the *Canarie Ilands*. For by the sayd letter notice was giuen to *Thomas Midnall* and *William Ballard* aforesayd, that a certaine ship called *The Christopher* of *Cadiz* bound for the *West Indies* had taken in certaine fardels of cloth both coarse and fine, broad and narrow of diuers sorts and colours, some arouas of packthreed, sixe cerons or bagges of lope with other goods of *M. Nicolas Thorne*, to be deliuered at *Santa Cruz* the chiefe towne in *Tenerife* one of the *seuen Canarie-lands*. All which commodities the sayd *Thomas* and *William* were authorized by the owner in the letter before mentioned to barter & sell away at *Santa Cruz*. And in lieu of such mony as should arise of the sale of those goods they were appointed to returne backe into *England* good stoz of *Dycheil* (which is a certaine kinde of mosse growing vpon high rocks, in those dayes much vsed to die withall) some quantity of *sugar*, and certaine hundreds of *kid-Thunes*. For the procuring of which and of other commodities at the best and first hand the sayd *Thomas* and *William* were to make their abode at *Santa Cruz*, and to remaine there as factours for the abouesayd *M. Nicolas Thorne*.

The English had an ordinary trade to the Canaries 1526.

And here also I thought good to signifie, that in the sayd letters mention is made of one *Thomas Tison* an English man, who before the fozesayd yere 1526 had found the way to the *West Indies*, and was there resident, vnto whom the sayd *M. Nicolas Thorne* sent certaine armour and other commodities specified in the letter aforesayd.

A description of the fortunate Ilands, otherwise called the Ilands of *Canaria*, with their strange fruits and commodities: composed by *Thomas Nicols* English man, who remained there the space of *seuen yeeres* together.

MY intent is particularly to speake of the *Canaria Ilands*, which are *seuen* in number, wherein I dwelt the space of *seuen yeeres* and more, because I finde such variety in sundry writers, and especially great vntruths, in a booke called *The New found world Antartike*, set out by a French man called *Andrew Theuer*, the which his booke he dedicated to the *Cardinall of Sens*, keeper of the great seale of *France*.

It appeareth by the sayd booke that he had read the works of sundry *Philosophers*, *Astronomers*, and *Cosmographers*, whose opinions he gathered together. But touching his owne trauell, which he affirmeth, I refer to the iudgement of the expert in our dayes, and therefore for mine owne part I write of these *Canaria Ilands*, as time hath taught me in many yeres.

The Iland of *Canaria*.

THE Iland of *Canaria* is almost equal in length and bredth, containing 12 leagues in length, touching the which as principall and the residue, the *Spaniards* holde opinion, that they discovered the same in their navigation toward *America*, but the *Portugals* say, that their nation first found the sayd Ilands in their navigation toward *Aethiopia* and the *East Indies*.

But truth it is that the *Spaniards* first conquered these Ilands, with diuers English gentlemen in their company, whose posterity this present day inuoyeth them. Some write that this Iland was named *Canaria* by meane of the number of dogs which there were found: as for example, *Andrew Theuer* sayth, that one *Juba* carried two dogs from thence: but that opinion could I neuer learne by any of the naturall people of the countrey, although I haue talked with many in my time, and with many of their children. For truth it is, that there were dogs, but such as are in all the *Northwest Ilands*, and some part of the *West India*, which serued the people in stead of sheepe for victuall. But of some of the conquerors of those Ilands I haue heard say that the reason why they were called the *Canaria Ilands* is, because there grow generally in them all square canes in great multitude together, which being touched will cast out a liquour as white

English men at the first conquest of the Canaries.

as milke, which liquoz is ranke poison, and at the first entry into these Ilands some of the discoverers were therewith poisoned: for many yeeres after that conquest the inhabitants began to plant both wine and sugar, so that Canaria was not so called by sugar canes.

The people which first inhabited this land were called Canaries by the conquerors, they were clothed in goat skinnes made like vnto a loose cassocke, they dwelt in caues in the rocks, in great amity and brotherly loue. They spake all one language: their chiefe feeding was gelt dogges, goates, and goates milke; their bread was made of barley meale and goates milke, called Gofia, which they vse at this day, and thereof I haue eaten diuers times, for it is accounted exceeding holtsome.

Touching the originall of these people some holde opinion, that the Romans which dwelt in Africa exiled them thither, as well men as women, their tongues being cut out of their heads, for blasphemie against the Romane gods. But howsoever it were, their language was speciall, and not mixed with Romane speech or Arabian.

This Iland is now the principallest of all the rest, not in fertility, but by reason it is the seat of iustice and government of all the residue. This Iland hath a speciall Gouernour for the Iland onely, yet notwithstanding there are thre Judges called Auditours, who are superiour Judges, and all in one ioyntly proceed as the Lord Chancellor of any realme.

To this city from all the other Ilands come all such by appeale, as haue sustained any wrong, and these good Judges do reme dy the same. The city is called Ciuias Palmarum, it hath a beautifull Cathedraall church, with all dignities thereunto pertaining. For the publike weale of the Iland there are sundry Aldermen of great authority, who haue a councill house by themselves. The city is not onely beautifull, but the citizens curious and gallant in apparell. And after any raine or foule weather a man may goe cleane in Velvet slippers, because the ground is sandy, the aire very temperate, without extreame heat or colde.

They reape wheat in February, and againe in May, which is excellent good, and maketh bread as white as snow. This Iland hath in it other thre townes, the one called Telde, the second Galdar, and the thirde Guia. It hath also twelue sugar houses called Ingenios, in which they make great quantity of good sugar.

The maner of the growth of sugar is in this sort, a good ground giueth foorth fruit nine times in 8 yeere: that is to say, the first is called Planta, which is layd along in a furrow, so that the water of a fluce may come ouer euery roote being couered with earth: this root bringeth foorth sundry canes, and so consequently all the rest. It groweth two yeeres before the yeelding of profit, and not sixe moneths, as Andrew Theuer the French man writeth.

Then are they cut euen with the ground, and the tops & leaues called Coholia cut off, and the canes bound into bundels like faggots, and so are caried to the sugar house called Ingenio, where they are ground in a mill, and the iuice thereof conueyed by a conduct to a great vessell made for the purpose, where it is boyled till it waxe thicke, and then is it put into a fornae of earthen pots of the molde of a sugar loafe, and then is it carried to another house, called a purging house where it is placed to purge the blacknesse with a certaine clay that is layd thereon. Of the remainder in the cauldron is made a second sort called Escumas, and of the purging liquoz that droppeth from the white sugar is made a thirde sort, and the remainder is called Panela or Neras, the refuse of all the purging is called Remiel or Malasses: and thereof is made another sort called Refinado.

When this first fruit is in this sort gathered, called Planta, then the Cane-field where it grew is burned ouer with sugar straw to the stumps of the first canes, and being husbanded, watered and trimmed, at the end of other two yeeres it yeeldeth the second fruit called Zoca. The thirde fruit is called Tertia Zoca, the fourth Quarta Zoca, and so orderly the rest, till age cause th the olde Canes to be planted againe.

This Iland hath singular good wine, especially in the towne of Telde, and sundry sorts of good fruits, as Baratas, Mellons, Peares, Apples, Oranges, Limons, Pomgranats, Figs, Peaches of diuers sorts, and many other fruits; but especially the Plantano which groweth nere brooke sides, it is a tree that hath no timber in it, but groweth directly upward with the body, hauing maruelous thicke leaues, and euery leafe at the toppe of two yards long and almost halfe a yard broad. The tree neuer yeeldeth fruit but once, and then is cut downe; in whose place springeth another, and so still continueth. The fruit groweth on a branch, and euery tree yeeldeth two or thre of those branches, which beare some moze and some lesse, as some forty and some thirty, the fruit is like a Cucumber, and when it is ripe it is blacke, and in eating moze delicate then any conferue.

This Iland is sufficiently provided of Oren, Kine, Camels, Goats, Sheepe, Capons, Hens, Ducks, and Pidgeons, and great Partridges. Wood is the thing that most wanteth: and because

Ciuias Palmarum.

The planting and growth of sugar canes.

The making of sugar.

Wine.

Plantano.

cause I haue particularly to intreat of the other sixe Ilands, I leaue further enlarging of Canaria, which standeth in 27 degrees distant from the Equator.

The Ile of Tenerif.

The Iland of Tenerif standeth in 27 degrees and a halfe from the equator, and is distant from Canaria 12 leagues Northward. This Iland containeth 17 leagues in length, and the land lieth high in forme of a ridge of lowen land in some part of England, and in the midst of the sayd place standeth a round hill called Pico Dereiche, situated in this sort. The top of this pike consisteth of heigth directly upward 15 leagues & more, which is 45 English miles, out of the which often times proceedeth fire and brimstone, and it may be about halfe a mile in compasse: the sayd top is in forme of likeness of a caldron. But within two miles of the top is nothing but ashes & ynnish stones: yet beneath that two miles is the colde region couered all the yere with snow, and somewhat lower are mighty huge trees growing, called Vinatico, which are exceeding heauy, and will not rot in any water, although they lie a thousand yeeres therein. Also there is a wood called Barbafano, of like vertue, with many Sauiue trees and Pine trees. And beneath these sorts of trees are woods of Bay trees of 10 & 12 miles long, which is a pleasant thing to trauell thorow, among the which are great numbers of small birds, which sing exceeding sweet, but especially one sort that are very litle, and of colour in all respects like a Swallow, sauing that he hath a litle blacke spot on his breast as broad as a peny. He singeth more sweetly then all the rest, but if he be taken and imprisoned in a cage, he liueth but a small while. This Iland bringeth forth all sorts of fruits, as Canaria doth: and also all the other Ilands in generall bring forth shrubs or bushes, out of the which issueth a iuice as white as milke, which after a while that it hath come out waxeth thicke, and is exceeding good birdlime, the bush is called Taybayba. This Iland also bringeth forth another tree called Drago, which groweth on high among rocks, and by incision at the foot of the tree issueth out a liquor like blood, which is a commō drug among Apothecaries. Of the wood of this tree are made targets greatly esteemed, because if any sword or dagger hit thereon, they sticke so fast that it is hard plucking them out.

time.

Orchel good
for dying.

This is the most fruitfull Iland of all the rest for cozne, and in that respect is a mother or nurse to all the others in time of need. There groweth also a certaine mosse upon the high rocks called Orchel, which is bought for Diars to die withall. There are 12 sugar houses called Ingenios, which make great quantity of sugar. There is also one league of ground which standeth between two towne, the one called Larotaua, and the other Rialeio, and it is thought that the like plot of ground is not in all the world. The reason is, that this one league of ground produceth sweet water out of the cliffes or rocky mountaines, cozne of all sortes, fruites of all sortes, and excellent good litle, flaxe, ware, and hony, and very good wines in abundance, with great store of sugar and fire-wood. Out of this Iland is laden great quantity of wines for the West India, and other countreys. The best groweth on a hill side called the Ramble.

There is in that Iland a faire city, standing thre leagues from the sea, nere vnto a lake called Laguna, wherein are two faire parish churches, there dwelleth the gouernour who ruleth all that Iland with iustice. There are also aldermen for the publike weale, who buy their offices of the king: the most of the whole inhabitants of this city are gentlemen, merchants, and husband men.

There are other foure towne called Santa Cruz, Larotaua, Rialeio, and Garachico.

Santa Cruz.

In this Iland befoze the conquest dwelt seuen kings, who with all their people dwelt in caues, and were clothed in goat skinnes, as the Canaria people were, and vsed such like order of diet as they had. Their order of buriall was, that when any died, he was carried naked to a great caue, where he was propped vp against the wall standing on his feet. But if he were of any authority among them, then had he a staffe in his hand, and a vessell of milke standing by him. I haue seene caues of 300 of these coppes together, the flesh being dried by, the body remained as light as parchment. These people were called Guanches, naturallly they spake another language cleane contrary to the Canarians, and so consequently enery Iland spake a feuerall language.

Note (gentle reader) that the Iland of Canaria, the Ile of Tenerif, and the Ile of Palma appertaine to the king of Spaine, vnto whom they pay fifty thousand duckats yeerely for custome and other profits. All these Ilands ioyntly are one bishopricke, which pay to the bishop twelue thousand duckats yeerely. And thus I conclude of the Ile of Tenerif, which standeth in 27 degrees and a halfe, as I haue befoze declared.

Gomera.

The Iland of Gomera standeth Westward from Tenerif, in distance sixe leagues: this is but a small Iland contyning eight leagues in length. It is an Earldome, & the Lord thereof is called,

called the earle of Gomera. But in case of any controuersie the vassals may appeale to the kings superioꝝ Judges which reside in Canaria.

This Iland hath one proper towne called Gomera, which hath an excellent good port oꝝ harbour for ships, where oftentimes the Indian fleet take refreshing for their voyage.

There is also sufficient graine and fruit for the maintenance of themselves.

There is one Ingenio oꝝ Sugar-house, with great plenty of wine and other sorts of fruits, as Canaria and Tenerif hath.

This Iland yeeldeth no other commodity but onely oꝝchell; it standeth in 27 degrees distant from the Equatoꝝ toward the pole Arcticke.

The Ile of *Palma.*

The Ile of Palma standeth twelue leagues distant from the Ile of Gomera North-westward. This Iland is fruitfull of wine and sugar: it hath a proper city called the city of Palma, where is great contraction for wines, which are laden for the West India & other places. This city hath one faire church, and a gouernour, and adermen to maintaine and execute iustice. It hath also another pretty towne, called S. Andrewes. It hath also foure Ingenios which make excellent sugar, two of the which are called Zauzes, and the other two, Tassacort.

This Iland yeeldeth but little bread-cozne; but rather is thereof provided from Tenerif and other places.

Their best wines grow in a soile called the Brenia, where yearly is gathered twelue thousand butts of wine like unto Palmsties. This Iland standeth round, and containeth in circuit nere sixe and twenty leagues. It hath plenty of all sorts of fruits, as Canaria and Tenerif haue, it standeth in twenty seuen degrees and a halfe.

The Iland of Yron, called *Hierro.*

This Iland standeth ten leagues distant from the Iland of Palma Westward: it is but a little Iland, whith containeth sixe leagues in circuit, and hath but small extention. It appertaineth to the earle of Gomera. The chiefest commodity of this Iland is goats flesh and oꝝchell. There is no wine in all that Iland, but onely one vineyard that an English man of Taunton in the West countrey planted among rocks, his name was Iohn Hill.

The only vine-
yard in Hierro
planted by Ioh.
Hill of Taunton.

This Iland hath no kind of fresh water, but onely in the middle of the Iland groweth a great tree with leaues like an Oliue tree, which hath a great cisterne at the foot of the sayd tree. This tree continually is covered with clouds, and by meanes thereof the leaues of the sayd tree continually drop water, very sweet, into the sayd cisterne, which commeth to the sayd tree from the clouds by attraction. And this water sufficeth the Iland for all necesseties, as well for the cattell, as for the inhabitants. It standeth in 27 degrees.

The Iland of *Lanzarota.*

The Iland of Lanzarota standeth eighteene leagues distant from grand Canaria Southeastward. The onely commodity of this Iland is goats flesh and oꝝchell. It is an earledome, and doth appertaine to Don Augustine de Herrera, with title of earle of Fortauentura and Lanzarota. But the vassals of these earledomes may in any cause of wrong appeale to the Kings Judges, which reside in Canaria, as I haue sayd before: because although the king hath reserved to himselfe but onely the three fruitfull Ilands, called Canaria, Tenerif, and Palma, yet he also reserved the rod of iustice to himselfe, because otherwise the vassals might be euill intreated of their Lords.

From this Iland do weckly resort to Canaria, Tenerif, & Palma, boats laden with dried goats flesh, called Tulsimetta, which serueth in stead of bacon, and is very good meat. This Iland standeth in 26 degrees, and is in length twelue leagues.

The Ile of *Forteuentura.*

The Ile of Forteuentura standeth fifty leagues from the promontory of Cabo de Guer, in the firme land of Africa, and foure & twenty leagues distant from Canaria Eastward. This Iland doth appertaine to the lord of Lanzarota. It is reasonable fruitfull of wheat and barley, and also of kine, goats, and oꝝchel: this Ile is fiftene leagues long and ten leagues broad. On the North side it hath a little Iland about one league distant from the maine Iland, betweene both of the which it is nauigable for any ships, and is called Graciola.

Both Forteuentura and Lanzarota haue very little wine of the growth of those Ilands. It standeth in 27 degrees.

Thus

Thus much haue I written of these seuen Ilands by experience, because I was a dweller there, as I haue layd befoze, the space of seuen yeeres in the affaires of master Thomas Locke, master Anthonie Hickman, and master Edward Castelin, who in those dayes were worthy merchants, and of great credite in the citie of London.

A description of the Iland of Madera.

The Iland of Madera standeth in 32 degrees distant from the equinoctiall line, and seente leagues from the Ile of Tenerif North-eastward and South-west from Hercules pillars. This Iland was first discouered by one Macham an Englishman, and was after conquered and inhabited by the Portugall nation. It was first called the Iland of Madera, by reason of the great wilderness of sundry sortes of trees that there did growe, and yet doe, as Cedars, Cypres, Quatico, Barbazano, Pine trees, and diuers others, and therefore the sayd Iland continueth still with the same name. Howbeit they hold opinion, that betweene the sayd Iland and the Ile of Palma is an Iland not yet discouered, which is the true Iland Madera called saint Brandon. This Iland yeeldeth a great summe of money to the king of Portugall secretly: it hath one faire citie called Fouchall, which hath one faire port or harbour for shippes, and a strong bulwarke, and a faire Cathedrall church, with a bishop and other dignities thereunto appertaining. There is also iustice and government according to the Portugall vse. But causes of appellacion are remitted to the citie of Lisbonne in Portugall to the kings superiour iudges there. This Iland hath another towne called Machico, which hath like wise a good road for shippes, which towne and road were so called after the name of Macham the Englishman, who first discouered the same. There are also sirteene sugar houses called Ingenios, which make excellent good sugar.

There is besides the goodly timber befoze declared, great store of diuers sortes of fruites, as Peares, Apples, Plummes, wild Dates, Peaches of diuers sortes, Mellons, Batatas, Drenoges, Lemmons, Pomgranates, Citrons, Figges, and all maner of garden herbes. There are many Dragon trees, such as grow in the Canarie Ilands, but chiefly this Iland produceth great quantitie of singular good wines which are laden for many places. On the North side of this Iland three leagues distant from the maine Iland standeth another litle Iland called Porto santo: the people thereof liueth by husbandrie, for the Iland of Madera yeeldeth but litle corne, but rather is thereof prouided out of France and from the Iland of Tenerif. On the East side of the Ile of Madera sixe leagues distant standeth another litle Iland called the Desert, which produceth onely Orchell, and nourisheth a great number of Goates, for the prouision of the maine Iland, which may be thirtie leagues in circuit: and the land is of great heighth where the foresayd trees growe. It is woonder to see the conueyance of the water to the Ingenios by Pipes through the mountaines.

In the mid way betweene Tenerif and the Iland of Madera standeth a litle solitarie Iland called the Saluages, which may bee about one league in compasse, which hath neither tree nor fruit, but is onely food for Goates.

W The originall of the first voyage for traffique into the kingdom of Marocco in Barbarie, begun in the yeere 1551. with a tall ship called the *Lion of London*, whereof went as captaine Master *Thomas Windam*, as appeareth by this extract of a letter of *Iames Aldaie*, to the worshipfull master *Michael Locke*, which *Aldaie* professeth himselfe to haue bene the first inuenter of this trade.



Worshipfull Sir, hauing lately bene acquainted with your intent to prosecute the olde intermitted discouerie for Catai, if therein with my knowledge, trauell or industrie I may doe you seruice, I am readie to doe it, and therein to aduenture my life to the vttermoost point. Truth it is, that I haue bene by some men (not my friends) euill spoken of at London, saying that although I be a man of knowledge in the Arte of Nauigation and Cosmographie, and that I haue bene the inuenter of some voyages that be now growen to great effect; yet say they maliciously and without iust cause, that I haue not bene willing at any season to proceed in those voyages that I haue taken in hand, taking example especially of two voyages. The one was when I was master in the great Barke *Aucher* for the Leuant, in which voyage I went not, but the causes they did not know of my let from the same, nor of the other. But first the very

truth

tructhis, that I was from the same voyage letted by the Princes letters, which my Master Sebastian Gabora had obtained for that purpose, to my great griefe. And as touching the second voyage which I invented for the trade of Barbarie, the living God knoweth that I say most true, that when the great Sweate was, (whereon the chiefe of those with whom I ioyued in that voyage died, that is to say, Sir Iohn Luttrell, Iohn Fletcher, Henry Ostrich and others) I my selfe was also taken with the same Sweate in London, and after it, whether with euill diet in keeping, or how I know not, I was cast into such an extreame feuer, as I was neither able to vido nor goe: and the shippe being at Portesmouth, Thomas Windam had her away from thence, before I was able to stand vpon my legges, by whom I lost of that instant fourescore pound. Besides I was appointed by them that died (if they had liued) to haue had the whole gouernment both of shippe and goods, because I was to them the sole inuenter of that trade.

In the first voyage to Barbary there were two Moores, being noble men, whereof one was of the Kings blood, conuayed by the said Master Thomas Windham into their Countrey out of England.

Yours humble at your commandement,

James Alday.

The second voyage to *Barbary* in the yeere 1552. Set foorth by the right worshipfull Sir *John Yorke*, Sir *William Gerard*, Sir *Thomas Wroth*, Master *Frances Lambert*, Master *Cole*, and others; Written by the relation of Master *James Thomas* then Page to Master *Thomas Windham* chiefe Captaine of this voyage.



Two Shippes that went on this voyage were three, whereof two were of the Riuer of Thames, that is to say, the Lyon of London, whereof Master Thomas Windham was Captaine and part owner, of about an hundred & fiftie tunnes: The other was the *Burcolfe* about fourescore tunnes, and a Portugall Carauel bought of certaine Portugals in Newport in Wales, and fraighted for this voyage, of summe sixtie tunnes. The number of men in the flecte were an hundred and twentie. The Master of the Lyon was one Iohn Kerry of Mynhed in Somersetsshire, his Mate was Dauid Landman. The chiefe Captaine of this small flecte was Master Thomas Windham a Norfolk gentleman borne, but dwelling at Marshfield-parke in Somersetsshire. This flecte departed out of King-rode neere Bristol about the beginning of May 1552, being on a Sunday in the morning: and the Sunday foynight next ensuing in the evening came to an anchor at their first port in the roade of Zafia, or Astafon the coast of Barbarie, standing in 32. degrees of latitude, and there put on land part of our merchandise to be conueied by land to the citie of Marocco: which being done, and having refreshed our selues with victuals and water, we went to the second port called Santa Cruz, where we discharged the rest of our goods, being good quantitie of linnen and woollen cloth, corall, amber, Jet, and diuers other things well accepted of the Moores. In which road we found a French ship, which not knowing whether it were warre or peace betweene England and France, drew her selfe as neere vnder the towne walls as she could possibly, crating aide of the towne for her defence, if need were, which indeed seeing vs draw neere, shot at vs a peece from the wall, which came ouer the Lion our Admirall, between the maine maste & her foremast. Whereupon we comming to an anchor, presently came a pinnes aboard vs to know what we were, who vnderstanding that we had bene there the yere before, & came with the good leaue of their king in marchant wise, were fully satisfied, and gaue vs good leaue to bring our goods peaceably on shore, where the Viceroy, whose name was Sibill Manache, within short time after came to visite vs, and vled vs with all curtesie. But by diuers occasions we spent here very neere three moneths before we could get in our lading, which was Sugar, Dates, Almonds, and Malassos or Sugar Syzrope. And for all our being here in the heate of the Sommer, yet none of our company perished by sickness. Our ships being laden, wee drew into the Sea for a Westerne wind for England. But being at sea, a great leake fell vpon the Lion, so that we were driuen to Lancerota, and Fortuentura, where, betweene the two Islands, we came to a road, whence wee put on land out of our sayd ship 70. chestes of Sugar vpon Lancerota, with some dozen or fiftene of our company, where the inhabitants supposing we had made a wrongfull prize of our carauell, suddenly came with force vpon our people, among whom I my selfe was one, tooke vs prisoners, and spoiled the sugars: which thing being perceiued from our ships, they manned out three boates, thinking

Asafi.

Santa Cruz.

The English were at Santa Cruz the yere before being 1551.

to rescue vs. and brake the Spaniards to flight, whereof they slew righteene, and tooke their gouernour of the Island prisoner, who was a very aged gentleman about 70. yeeres of age. But chaling the enemy so farre, for our recouerie, as powder and arrowes wanted, the Spaniardes perceiuing this, returned, and in our mens retire they slew sixe of them. Then a Parle grew, in the which it was agreed, that we the prisoners should be by them restored, and they receiue their olde gouernour, giuing vs a testimonie vnder his and their hands, what damages wee had there receiued, the which damages were here restored, and made good by the king of Spaine his marchants vpon our returne into England. After wee had searched and mended our leake, being returned aboard, we came vnder saile, and as wee were going to the sea on the one side of the Island, the Cacafuego and other ships of the king of Portugals Armada entered at the other, and came to anker in the road from whence we were but newly departed, and shot off their great ordinance in our hearing. And here by the way it is to bee vnderstood that the Portugals were much offended with this our new trade into Barbarie, and both in our voiage the yeere before, as also in this they gaue out in England by their marchants, that if they tooke vs in those partes, they would vse vs as their moztall enemies, with great threates and menaces. But by God and good prouidence wee escaped their handes. From this Island shaping our course for England, we were seuen or eight weekes before we could reach the coast of England. The first port wee entered into was the haven of Plimouth, from whence within short time wee came into the Thames, and landed our marchandise at London, about the ende of the moneth of October, 1552.

A voiage made out of England vnto Guinea and Benin in Affrike, at the charges of certaine marchants Aduenturers of the Citie of London, in the yeere of our Lord 1553.



Was desired by certaine of my friends to make some mention of this Voiage, that some memoarie thereof might remaine to our posteritie, if either iniquitie of time consuming all things, or ignorance creeping in by barbarousnesse and contempt of knowledge should hereafter buty in obliuion so woorthie attempts, so much the greater to bee esteemed, as before neuer enterprised by Englishmen, or at the least so frequented, as at this present they are, and may bee, to the great commoditie of our marchants, if the same be not hindered by the ambition of such, as for the conquering of soztie or fittie miles here and there, and erecting of certaine forresses, thinke to be Lordes of halfe the world, enuying that other should enioy the commodities, which they themselues cannot wholly possesse. And although such as haue bene at charges in the discourring and conquering of such landes ought by good reason to haue certaine priuileges, preheminences, and tributes for the same, yet (to speake vnder correction) it may seeme somewhat rigorous, and agaynst good reason and conscience, or rather agaynst the charitie that ought to be among Christian men, that such as invade the dominions of other should not permit other friendly to vse the trade of marchandise in places neerer, or seldome frequented of them, whereby thir trade is not hindered in such places, where they themselues haue at their owne election appointed the Partes of their traffike. But forasmuch as at this present it is not my intent to accule or defend, approoue or improoue, I will cease to speake any further hereof, and proceed to the description of the first voyage, as brieely and faithfully as I was aduertised of the same, by the information of such credible persons, as made diligent inquisition to know the truth thereof, as much as shall be requisite, omitting to speake of many particular things, not greatly necessarie to be knowen: which neuertheless, with alfo the exact course of the navigation, shall be moze fully declared in the second voyage. And if here in fauour or friendship shall perhaps cause some to thinke that some haue bene sharply touched, let them lay apart fauour and friendship, and giue place to truth, that honest men may receiue praise for well doing, and let wofull persons reproch, as the iust stipend of their euill desertes, whereby other may be deterred to doe the like, and vertuous men encouraged to proceed in honest attempts.

But that these voyages may be moze plainly vnderstood of all men, I haue thought good for this purpose, before I intreat hereof, to make a brieue description of Africa, being that great part of the world, on whose West side beginneth the coast of Guinea at Cabo Verde, about twelue degrees in latitude, on this side the Equinocciall line, and two degrees in longitude from the measuring

luring line, so running from the North to the South, and by East in some places, within 5, 4, and 3 degrees and a halfe unto the Equinoctiall, and so forth in maner directly East and by North, for the space of 36 degrees or thereabout, in longitude from the West to the East, as shall more plainly appeare in the description of the second voyage.

A briefe description of *Afrike* gathered by *Richard Eden.*

Tunis.
Bugia.
Tripoli.
Numidia.



Ilands of
Tunis.
Malta.
The deserts of
Lybia.
Barbarie.

Mauritania.
The kingdom
of Fes & Ma-
rocco.

Tremisen.

Oram.
Mersalquiber.

Sala.

Azamor.

The Ilands of
Canarie.
Guinea.
Aethiopiens.

Marocco.
Fes.

Tremisen.

Guinea.

Africa \bar{y} great.

Africa the lesse.

Carthage.

Prefter Iohn.

Cape de Bona
Speranza.
Alcair.

In Africa the lesse are these kingdomes: the kingdom of Tunis and Constantina, which is at this day vnder Tunis, and also the region of Bugia, Tripoli, and Ezzah. This part of Afrike is very barren by reason of the great deserts, as the deserts of Numidia and Barca. The principall ports of the kingdome of Tunis are these: Golecta, Bizerta, Potofarnia, Bona, and Stora. The chiefe citie of Tunis are Constantina and Bona, with diuers other. Under this kingdome are many Ilands, as Zerbi, Lampadola, Pantalarea, Limoso, Beir, Gamelaro, and Malta, where at this present is the great master of the Rhodes. Under the South of this kingdome are the great deserts of Lybia. All the nations in this Africa the lesse are of the sect of Mahomet, and a rusticall people, liuing scattered in villages. The best of this part of Afrike is Barbaria lying out the coast of the sea Mediterraneum.

Mauritania (now called Barbaria) is diuided into two parts, as Mauritania Tingitana, and Cæsariensis. Mauritania Tingitana is now called the kingdom of Fes, and the kingdom of Marocco. The principall citie of Fes is called Fessa: and the chiefe citie of Marocco is named Marocco.

Mauritania Cæsariensis is at this day called the kingdom of Tremisen, with also the citie called Tremisen or Telenin. This region is full of deserts, and reacheth to the Sea Mediterraneum, to the citie of Oram, with the port of Mersalquiber. The kingdom of Fes reacheth vnto the Ocean Sea, from the West to the citie of Argilla: and the port of the sayd kingdom is called Sala.

The kingdom of Marocco is also extended aboute the Ocean Sea, vnto the citie of Azamor and Azah, which are vpon the Ocean Sea, toward the West of the sayd kingdom. Here Mauritania Tingitana (that is to say, by the two kingdomes of Fes, and Marocco) are in the Sea, the Ilands of Canarie, called in old time, The fortunate Ilands. Toward the South of this region is the kingdom of Guinea, with Senega, Ialoso, Gambia, and many other regions of the Blacke Moores, called Aethiopiens or Negros, all which are watered with the riuer Niger called in old time Niger. In the sayd regions are no citie, but onely certaine lowe cottages made of boughes of trees, plastered with chalke, and couered with strawe. In these regions are also very great deserts.

The kingdom of Marocco hath vnder it these seuen kingdomes: Hea, Sus, Guzula, the territorie of Marocco, Duccala, Hazchora, and Tedle. The kingdom of Fes hath as many: as Fes, Temefne, Azgar, Elabach, Errif, Garet, and Elcair. The kingdom of Tremisen hath these regions: Tremisen, Tenez, and Elgazair, all which are Machometists. But all the regions of Guinea are pure Gentiles, and idolatrous, without profession of any religion, or other knowledge of God, then by the law of nature.

Africa the great is one of the three parts of the world, knowne in old time, and seuered from Asia, on the East by the riuer Nilus, on the West from Europe by the pillars of Hercules. The hither part is now called Barbarie, and the people Moores. The inner part is called Lybia and Aethiopia. Afrike the lesse is in this wise bounded. On the West it hath Numidia: On the East Cyrenaica: On the North, the sea called Mediterraneum. In this countrey was the noble city of Carthage.

In the East side of Afrike beneath the red sea, dwelleth the great and mighty Emperour and Christian king Prefter Iohn, well knowne to the Portugales in their voyages to Calicut. His dominions reach very farre on euery side: and hath vnder him many other Kings both christian and heathen that pay him tribute. This mightie prince is called Dauid the Emperour of Aethiopia. Some write that the king of Portugall sendeth him yeerely eight shippes laden with marchandize. His kingdom confineth with the red Sea, and reacheth far into Afrike toward Aegypt and Barbarie. Southward it confineth with the Sea toward the Cape de Bona Speranza: and on the other side with the sea of land, called Mare de Sabione, a very dangerous sea lying between \bar{y} great citie of Alcair, or Cairo in Aegypt, and the countrey of Aethiopia: In the which way are many vnhabitable

habitable deserts, continuing for the space of five dayes iourney. And they affirme, that if the sayd Christian Emperoz were not hindered by those deserts (in the which is great lacke of victuals, & especially of water) he would or now haue inuaded the kingdom of Egypt, and the citie of Alcair. The chiefe city of Ethiopia, where this great emperoz is resident, is called Amacaiz, being a faire citie, whose inhabitants are of the colour of an Oliue. There are also many other cities, as the city of Sava vpon the riuer of Nilus, where the Emperour is accustomed to remaine in the Sommer season. There is likewise a great city named Barbaregaf, and Afcou, from whence it is said that the Quene of Saba came to Hierusalem to heare the wisdom of Salomon. This citie is but litle, yet very faire, and one of the chiefe cities in Echiopce. In this prouince are many exceeding high mountains, vpon the which is said to be the earthly paradise: and some say that there are the trees of the Sunne and Moone, whereof the antiquitie maketh mention: yet that none can passe thither by reason of great deserts of an hundred dayes iourney. Also beyond these mountains is the Cape of Bona Speranza. And to haue said thus much of Afrike it may suffice.

Amacaiz.

From whence the Quene of Saba came.

The earthly Paradise. The trees of the Sunne and the Moone.

The first voiage to Guinea and Benin.

In the yeere of our Lord 1553. the twelfth day of August, sailed from Portsmouth two goodly ships, the Primerose and the Lion, with a pinnas called the Moone, being all well furnished aswell with men of the lustiest sort, to the number of seuen score, as also with ordnance and victuals requisite to such a voiage: hauing also two captaines, the one a stranger called Anthonie Anes Pinteado, a Portugall bozne in a towne named The Port of Portugall, a wise, discrete, and sober man, who for his cunning in sailing, being as well an expert Pilos as a politike captaine, was sometime in great fauour with the king of Portugall, and to whom the coasts of Brasile and Guinea were committed to be kept from the Frenchmen, to whom he was a terrour on the Sea in those parts, and was furthermore a gentleman of the king his masters house. But as fortune in maner neuer fauoreth but flattereth, neuer promisseth but deceiveth, neuer raiseth but casteth downe againe: and as great wealth & fauour haue alwaies companions, emulation and enuie, he was after many aduersities & quarrels made against him, inforced to come into England: where in this golden voyage he was euil matched with an vnequal companion, and vnlke match of most sundry qualitics & conditions, with vertues few or none aduoynd. Thus departed these noble ships vnder saile on their voyage: But first captaine Windam putting forth of his ship at Portsmouth a kinsman of one of the head marchants, and the wing herein a muster of the tragicall partes hee had conceived in his braine, and with such small beginnings nourished so monstrous a birth, that moze happy, yea and blessed was that yong man being left behind, then if he had bene taken with them, as some do wish he had done the like by theirs. Thus sailed they on their voyage, vntill they came to the Island of Madera, where they took in certaine wines for the stoye of their ships, and paid for them as they agreed of the price. At these Islands they met with a great Galion of the king of Portugall, full of men and ordnance: yet such as could not haue preuailed if it had attempted to withstand or resist our ships, for the which cause it was set forth, not onely to let and interruyt these our shippes of their purposed voiage, but al other that should attempt the like: yet chiefly to frustrate our voiage. For the king of Portugall was sinistherly informed, that our ships were armed to his castle of Mina in those parties, where as nothing lesse was meant.

Pinteado.

Brasile. Guinea.

The Islands of Madera.

The castle of Mina.

After that our ships departed from the Island of Madera forward on their voiage, began this worthy captaine Pinteados sorrow, as a man tormented with the company of a terrible Hydra, who hitherto flattered with him, & made him a faire countenance and shew of loue. Then did he take vpon him to command all alone, setting waight both by captaine Pinteado, and the rest of the marchants factors, sometimes with opprobrious words, and sometimes with threathnings most shamefully abusing them, taking from Pinteado the seruice of the boies and certain mariners that were assigned him by the order and direction of the worshipful merchants, and leaving him as a commo mariner, which is the greatest despite and grief that can be to a Portugale or Spaniard, to be diminished of their honoz, which they esteem aboue all riches. Thus sailing forward on their voiage, they came to the Islands of Canarie, continuing their course fro thence vntill they arrived at the Island of S. Nicholas, where they victualled themselves with fresh meat, of the flesh of wild goats, whereof is great plenty in that Island, & in maner of nothing els. From hence following on their course and tarrying here & there at the desert Islands in the way, because they would not come too timely to the countrey of Guinea for the heat, and tarrying somewhat too long (for what can be well ministered in a commo wealth, where inequality with tyrannie will rule alone) they came at the length to the first land of the countrey of Guinea, where they sel with the great riuer of Sesto, where they

The Islands of Canarie. The Island of S. Nicholas.

The riuer of Sesto.

might

Graines.

might for their merchandizes haue laden their ships with the graines of that countrey, which is a very hate fruit, and much like unto a fig as it groweth on the tree. For as the figs are full of small seeds, so is the said fruit full of graines, which are loose within the cob, hauing in the mids thereof a hole on euery side. This kind of spice is much vsed in cold countreies, & may there be sold for great advantage, for exchange of other wares. But our men, by the perswasion or rather inforcement of this eragicall captaine, not regarding and setting light by that commoditie, in comparision of fine gold they thirsted, sailed an hundred leagues further, until they came to the golden land: where not attempting to come nere the castile pertaining to the king of Portugall, which was within the riuer of Mina, they made sale of their ware only on this side & beyond it, for the gold of that countrey, to the quantitie of an hundred and fiftie pounds weight; there being in case that they might haue dispatched all their ware for gold, if the vntaine braine of Windam had, or could haue giuen eare to the counsell and experience of Pinteado. For when that Windam not satisfied with the gold which he had, and more might haue had if he had taried about the Mina, commanding the said Pinteado (for so he tooke vpon him) to lead the ships to Benin, being vnder the Equinoctial line, and an hundred and fiftie leagues beyond the Mina, where he looked to haue their ships laden with pepper: and being counselled of the said Pinteado, considering the late time of the yere, for that time to go no further, but to make sale of their wares such as they had for gold, wherby they might haue bene great gainers: Windam not assenting herunto, fell into a sudden rage, reuiling the sayd Pinteado, calling him Jew, with other opprobrious words, saying, This whoreson Jew hath promised to bring vs to such places as are not, or as he cannot bring vs vnto: but if he do not, I will cut off his eares and nail them to the mast. Pinteado gaue the foresaid counsell to go no further for the safegard of the men and their liues, which they should put in danger if they came too late, for the Rossia which is their Winter, not for cold, but for smothering heate, with close and cleudie aire and storming weather, of such putrifying qualitie, that it rotted the coates of their barkes: or els for conning to soene for the scorching heat of the sunne, which caused them to linger in the way. But of force and not of will brought he the ships before the riuer of Benin, where riding at an Anker, they sent their pinnas by into the riuer 50 or 60 leagues, from whence certaine of the marchants with captaine Pinteado, Francisco a Portugale, Nicholas Lambart gentleman, and other marchants were conducted to the court where the king remained, ten leagues from the riuer side, whither when they came, they were brought with a great company to the presence of the king, who being a blacke Doeze (although not so blacke as the rest) sat in a great huge hall, long and wide, the wals made of earth without windowes, the roofof thin boords, open in sundry places, like vnto louers to let in the aire.

Furie admittes
they no counsell

The Rossia.

Rottning
heat.
Benin.Francisco.
Nich. Lambart.The king of
Benin his courtReuerence to
ward the king.

And here to speake of the great reuerence they giue to their king, it is such, that if we would giue as much to our Sauio? Christ, we should remoue from our heads many plagues which we daily deserue for our contumpt and impietic.

So it is therfore, that when his noble men are in his presence, they neuer looke him in the face, but sit cowering, as we vpon our knees, to they vpon their buttocks, with their elbowes vpon their knees, and their hands before their faces, not looking by until the king command them. And when they are coming toward the king, as far as they do see him, they do shew such reuerence, sitting on the ground with their faces couered as before. Likewise when they depart from him, they turn not their backs toward him, but goe creeping backward with like reuerence.

And now to speake somewhat of the communication that was bet ween the king and our men, you shall first vnderstand that he himselfe could speake the Portugall tongue, which he had learned of a child. Therefore after he had commanded our men to stand by, and demanded of them the cause of their coming into that countrey, they answered by Pinteado, that they were marchants trauctling into those parties for the commodities of his countrey, for exchange of wares which they had brought from their conneries, being such as should be no lesse commodious for him and his people. The king the hauing of old lying in a certaine store-house 30 or 40 kintals of Pepper (euery kintall being an hundred weight) willed them to looke vpon the same, and againe to bring him a sight of such merchandizes as they had brought with them. And therupon sent with the captaine and the marchants certaine of his men to conduct them to the waters side, with other to bring the ware from the pinnas to the court. Who when they were returned and the wares seen, the king grew to this ende with the marchants to prouide in 30 dayes the lading of all their ships with pepper. And in case their merchandizes would not extend to the value of so much pepper, he promised to credite them to their next returne, and therupon sent the countrey round about to gather pepper, causing the same to be brought to the court: So that within the space of 30 dayes they had gathered foure score tunne of pepper.

The commun-
ication bet-
ween the king
of Benin and
our men.

Pepper.

The kings
kindnes to
wards our
men.

In the meane season our men partly hauing no rule of themselves, but eating without measure
of

of the fruits of the countrey, and drinking the wine of the Palme trees that droppe in the night from the cut of the branches of the same, and in such extreme heate running continually into the water, not vled befoze to such sudden and vehement alterations (then the which nothing is more dangerous) were thereby brought into swellings and agues: in somuch that the later time of the yeere coming on, caused them to die sometimes three & sometimes 4 or 5 in a day: Then Windam perceiving the time of the 30 daies to be expired, and his men dying to fast, sent to the court in post to Capitaine Pinteado, & the rest to come away and to tary no longer. But Pinteado with the rest, wrote backe to him againe, certifying him of the great quantity of pepper they had already gathered & looked daily for much more: desiring him further more to remember the great praise and name they should win, if they came home prosperously, and what shame of the contrary: With which answer Windam not satisfied, and many of their men dying daily, willed and commaunded them againe either to come away forthwith, or els threatened to leaue them behinde. When Pinteado heard this answer, thinking to perswade him with reason, hee tooke his way from the court toward the ships, being conducted thither with men by the kings commandement.

In the meane season Windam all raging, brake by Pinteados Cabin, brake open his chestes; spoiled such provision of cold stilled waters and suckers as he had provided for his health, and left him nothing, neither of his instruments to saile by, nor yet of his apparrell: and in the meane time falling sicke, him selfe died also. Whose death Pinteado comming aboord, lamented as much as if he had bene the deere friend he had in the world. But certaine of the mariners and other officers did spit in his face, some calling him Jewe, saying that he had brought them thither to kill them: and some drawing their swords at him, making a shew to slay him. Then he perceiving that they would needs away, desired them to tary that he might fetch the rest of the marchants that were left at the court, but they would not grant this request. Then desired he them to give him the ship-boate, with as much of an old saile as might serue for the same, promising them therewith to bring Nicholas Lambert and the rest into England, but all was in vaine. Then wrote he a letter to the court to the marchants, informing them of all the matter, and promising them if God would lend him life to returne with all haste to fetch the. And thus was Pinteado kept aboard against his will, thrust among the boyes of the ship, not vled like a man, nor yet like an honest boy, but glad to find fauour at the cookes hand. Then departed they, leaving one of their ships behind them, which they sunke for lacke of men to cary her. After this, within 6 or 7 dayes sayling, dyed also Pinteado for verry penitence & thought that stroke him to the heart. A man worthy to serue any prince, and most wisely vled. And of seuen score men came home to Plimmouth scarcely forty, and of them many died. And that no man should suspect these words which I haue laide in commendation of Pinteado, to be spoken vpon fauour otherwise then trueth, I haue thought good to adde herunto the copie of the letters which the king of Portugall and the infant his brother wrote vnto him to reconcile him; at such time as vpon the king his masters displeasure (and not for any other crime or offence, as may appeare by the said letters) he was only for pouertie inforced to come into England, where he first perswaded our marchants to attempt the said voyages to Guinea. But as the king of Portugall too late repented him that he had so punished Pinteado, vpon malicious informations of such as enuied the mans good fortune: even so may it hereby appeare that in some cases euen Lions themselves may either be hindered by the contempt, or aided by the help of the poore mife, according vnto the fable of Esope.

The death of Windam. Pinteado emul vied of the mariners.

This Lambert was a Londoner home, whose father had but lord Spaines of London.

The death of Pinteado.

Pinteado first perswaded our men to the voyage of Guinea.

The copie of *Anthony Anes Pinteado* his letters patents, whereby the king of *Portugall* made him knight of his house, after all his troubles and imprisonment, which, by wrong information made to the king, he had sustained of long time, being at the last deliuered, his cause known and manifested to the king by a gray Frier the kings Confessor.

IThe king doe give you to vnderstand lord Francis Desseaso, one of my counsell and ouersee of my house, that in consideration of the good seruice which Anthony Anes Pinteado, the sonne of Iohn Anes, dwelling in the towne called the Port, hath done vnto me, my will and pleasure is, to make him knight of my house, allowing to him in pension seuen hundred rees monethly, and euery day one calpaze of barley, as long as he kepeth a horse, & to be paid according to the ordinance of my house. Providing alwaies that he shall receiue but one marriage gift. And this also in such addition, that the time which is accepted in our ordinance, forbidding such men to marry for getting such children as might succede them in this allowance, which is 6 yeeres after the making of this patent, shall be first expired befoze he do marry. I therefore command you to cause this to be entered in the booke called the Matricula of our household, vnder the title of knights. And when it is so entered,

Seuen hundred rees are ten shillings. Sixty is halfe a bushell.

let the Clarke of the Matricula, for the certaintie therof, write on the backside of this Aluala, or patent, the number of the lease wherein this our grant is entered. Which done, let him returne this writing into the said Anthonie Anes Pinteado for his warrant.

I Diego Henriques haue written this in Almanin the two and twentie day of September, in the yere of our Lord 1551. And this beneuolence the king gaue unto Anthonie Anes Pinteado, the five and twentie day of July this present yere.

Rey.

The Secretaries declaration written vnder the kings grant.

Your Maiestie hath vouchsafed, in respect and consideration of the good service of Athony Anes Pinteado, dwelling in the port, and soune of Iohn Anes, to make him knight of your house, with ordinarie allowance, of seuen hundred reys pension by the moneth, and one alcaire of barley by the day, as long as he keepeth a horse: and to be payde according to the ordinance of your house, with condition that hee shall haue but one marriage gift: and that not within the space of five yeres after the making of these letters Patents. The Secretaries note. Entered in the booke of the Matricula. Fol. 683.

Francisco de Siquera.

The copie of the letter of *Don Lewes*. the infant, and brother to the king of *Portugall*, sent into *England* to *Anthonie Anes Pinteado*.

Anthonie Anes Pinteado, I the infant brother to the king, haue me heartily commended unto you. Peter Gonsalues is gone to seeke you, desiring to bring you home again into your countrey. And for that purpose he hath with him a safe conduct for you, granted by the king, that thereby you may freely and without all feare come home. And although the weather be foule and stormie, yet faile not to come: for in the time that his Maiestie hath giuen you, you may doe many things to your contentation and gratifying the king, whereof I would be right glad: and to bring the same to passe, I will do all that lieth in me for your profite. But forasmuch as Peter Gonsalues will make further declaration hereof unto you, I say no more at this present. Written in Lisbon, the eight day of December. Anno 1552.

The infant *Don Lewes*.

All these fore said writings I saw vnder seale, in the house of my friend Nicholas Lief, with whom Pinteado left them, at his vnfortunate departing to Guinea. But, not withstanding all these friendly letters and faire promises, Pinteado durst not attempt to goe home, neither to keepe companie with the Portugals his countrey men, without the presence of other: forasmuch as he had secreete admonitions that they intended to slay him, if time and place might haue serued their wicked intent.

The second voyage to *Guinea* set out by *Sir George Barne*, *Sir Iohn Torke*, *Thomas Lok*, *Anthonie Hickman* and *Edward Caselin*, in the yere 1554. The Captaine whereof was *M. Iohn Lok*.



In the first voyage I haue declared rather the order of the history, then the course of the navigation, whereof at that time I could haue no perfect information: so in the description of this second voyage, my chiefe intent hath beene to shew the course of the same, according to the obseruation and ordinarie custome of the mariners, and as I receiued it at the handes of an expert Pilot, being one of the chiefe in this voyage, who also with his owne hands wrote a brieve declaration of the same, as he found and tried all things, not by coniecture, but by the art of sayling, and instruments pertaining to the mariners facultie. Not therefore assuming to my selfe the commendations due vnto other, neither so bold as in any part to change or otherwise dispose the order of this voyage so well obserued by art and experience, I haue thought good to set forth the same, in such sort and phrase of speech as is commonly vled among them, and as I receiued it of the said Pilot, as I haue said. Take it therefore as followeth.

In the yere of our Lord 1554 the eleuenth day of October, we departed the riuer of *Chames* with

with three goodly ships, the one called the *Trinitie*, a ship of the burden of seuen score tunne, the other called the *Bartholomew*, a ship of the burden of three score, the third was the *Iohn Euangelist*, a ship of seuen score tunne. With the sayd ships and two pinnesses (whereof the one was drowned on the coast of England) we went forward on our voyage, and stayed at *Douer* fourteene dayes. We staid also at *Rie* three or foure dayes. Howeuer last of all we touched at *Dartmouth*.

Robert Gaind was matter of the Iohn Euangelist.

The first day of *November* at nine of the clocke at night, departing from the coast of England, we set off the *Start*, bearing *Southwest* all that night in the sea, and the next day all day, and the next night after, vntill the third day of the said moneth about noone, making our way good, did runne threescore leagues.

The 17 day in the morning we had sight of the *Ile of Madera*, which doth rise to him that cometh in the *Northnortheast* part by right land in the west part of it, and very high: and to the *Southsoutheast* a low long land, and a long point, with a saddle thorow the middle of it, standing in two and thirtie degrees: and in the *West* part, many springs of water running downe from the mountaine, and many white fields like vnto coyne fields, & some white houses to the *South-east* part of it: and the toppe of the mountaine sheweth very ragged, if you may see it, and in the *North-east* part there is a bight or bay as though it were a harborow: Also in the said part, there is a rocke a litle distance from the shoare, and ouer the sayd bight you shall see a great gappe in the mountaine.

The Ile of Madera.

The 19 day at twelue of the clocke we had sight of the *isle of Palmes* and *Teneriffa* and the *Canaries*. The *Ile of Palmes* lieth round, & lieth *Southeast* and *Northwest*, and the *Northwest* part is lowest. In the *South* is a round hill ouer the head land, and another round hill aboue that in the land. There are betweene the *Southeast* part of the *Ile of Madera* & the *Northwest* part of the *Ile of Palmes* seuen and fifty leagues. This *Ile of Palmes* lieth in eight and twenty degrees. And our course from *Madera* to the *Ile of Palmes* was *South* and *South* and by *West*, so that we had sight of *Teneriffa* and of the *Canaries*. The *Southeast* part of the *Ile of the Palmes*, & the *Northnortheast* of *Teneriffa* lie *Southeast* and *Northwest*, and betweene them are 20 leagues. *Teneriffa* and the great *Canary* called *Gran Canaria*, and the *West* part of *Forteuentura* stande in seuen and twenty degrees and a halfe. *Gomera* is a faire *Iland* but very ragged, & lieth *West-southwest* off *Teneriffa*. And whosoever wil come betweene them two *Ilands* must come *South* and by *East*, and in the *South* part of *Gomera* is a cowne and a good robe in the said part of the *Iland*: and it standeth in seuen and twentie degrees and three *terces*. *Teneriffa* is an high land, with a great high pike like a *sugar loafe*, and vpon the said pike is *snow* throughout all the whole yeere. And by reason of that pike it may be knowen aboue all other *Ilands*, and there we were becalmed the twentieth day of *November*, from sixe of the clocke in the morning, vntill foure of the clocke at afternoone.

The Ile of Palmes. Teneriffa. The Canaries.

From Madera to the Ile of Palmes.

Gran Canaria. Forteuentura. The Iland of Gomera.

Teneriffa, Snow.

The two and twentieth day of *November*, vnder the *Tropike of Cancer* the *Sunne* goeth downe *West* and by *South*. Upon the coast of *Barbarie* five and twentie leagues by *North* *Cape blanke*, at three leagues off the maine, there are *fifteene* fadomes and good shellground, and *sande* among and no *streames*, and two small *Ilands* standing in two and twentie degrees and a *terce*.

The coast of Barbarie. Cape Blanke.

From *Gomera* to *Cape de las Barbas* is an hundred leagues, and our course was *South* and by *East*. The said *Cape* standeth in two and twentie and a halfe: and all that coast is *flatte*, *fifteene* or *seuenteene* fadome deepe. *Seuen* or *eight* leagues off from the *riuer del Oro* to *Cape de las Barbas*, there vse many *Spaniards* and *Portugals* to trade for *fishing*, during the moneth of *November*: and all that coast is very low lands. Also we went from *Cape de las Barbas* *Southsouthwest*, and *Southwest* and by *South*, till we brought our selues in *twentie* degrees and a halfe, reckoning our selues *seuen* leagues off: and there were the least shoales of *Cape Blanke*.

The riuer del Oro.

Then we went *South* vntill we brought our selues in 13 degrees, reckoning our selues *five* and *twentie* leagues off. And in 15 degrees we did reare the *Crossiers*, and we might haue reared them sooner if we had looked for them. They are not right a *rosse* in the moneth of *November*, by reason that the nights are *short* there. Neuertheless we had the sight of them the 29 day of the said moneth at night.

The crossiers or rosse stars.

The first of *December*, being in 13 degrees we set our course *South* and by *East*, vntill the fourth day of *December* at 12 of the clocke the same day. Then we were in nine degrees and a *terce*, reckoning our selues 30 leagues off the shoales of the *riuer* called *Rio Grande*, being *West-southwest* off them, the which shoales be 30 leagues long.

Rio Grande.

The fourth of *December* we beganne to set our course *South-east*, we being in *sixe* degrees and a halfe.

The ninth day of December we set our course Eastsoutheast: the fourteenth day of the sayde moneth we set our course East, we being in five degrees and a halfe, reckoning our selues thirtie and sixe leagues from the coast of Guinea.

Cape Mensurado,
The riuer of
Sesto.

The nineteenth of the said moneth we set our course East and by North, reckoning our selues seuentene leagues distant from Cape Mensurado, the said Cape being Eastnorth east of vs, and the riuer of Sesto being East,

The one and twentieth day of the said moneth, we fell with Cape Mensurado to the Southeast, about two leagues off. This Cape may be easily knowen, by reason y^e the rising of it is like a Pope-head. Also toward the Southeast there are thre trees, whereof the Eastermost tree is the highest, and the middlmost is like a hie sticke, & the Southermost like unto a giber: and vpon the maine are foure or five high hilles rising one after another like round bonnocks or billocks. And the Southeast of the thre trees, handiernwise: and all the coast along is white sand. The said Cape standeth within a litle in sixe degrees.

The two and twentieth of December we came to the riuer of Sesto, & remained there vntill the nine and twentieth day of the said moneth. Here we thought it best to send befoze vs the pinncle to the riuer Dulce, called Rio Dulce, that they might haue the beginning of the market befoze the comming of the Iohn Euangelist.

The riuer of
Sesto.
Rio Dulce.

At the riuer of Sesto we had a tunne of rraines. This riuer standeth in sixe degrees, lacking a terce. From the riuer of Sesto to Rio Dulce are five and twentie leagues. Rio Dulce standeth in five degrees and a halfe. The riuer of Sesto is easie to be knowen, by reason there is a ledge of rockes on the Southeast part of the Rode. And at the entring into the haucn are five or sixe trees that beare no leaues. This is a good harborow, but very narrow at y^e entrance into the riuer. There is also a rocke in the haucns mouth right as you enter. And all that coast betweene Cape de Monte, and cape de las Palmas, lieth Southeast & by East, Northwest & by West, being thre leagues off the shoze. And you shall haue in some places rocks two leagues off: and that, betweene the riuer of Sesto and cape de las Palmas.

Cape de Monte.

Cape de las Pal-
mas.

The land of
Cakado.

Shauo.

Croke.
S. Vincents har-
borow.

Betweene the riuer of Sesto and the riuer Dulce are five and twentie leagues: & the high land that is betweene them both, is called Cakado, being eight leagues from the riuer of Sesto. And to the Southeastwarde of it is a place called Shawgro, and an other called Shyawe or Shauo, where you may get fresh water. Off this Shyawe lieth a ledge of rockes: and to the Southeastward lieth a hedland called Croke. Betweene Cakado and Croke are nine or ten leagues. To the Southeastward off, is a harborow called S. Vincent: Right ouer against S. Vincent, is a rocke vnder the water, two leagues & a halfe off the shoze. To the Southeastward of that rocke you shall see an island about thre or foure leagues off: this island is not past a league off the shoze. To the Eastsoutheast of the island, is a rocke that lieth aboute the water, and by that rocke goeth in the riuer Dulce, which you shall know by the said riuer and rocke. The Northwest side of the haucn is flat sand, and the Southeast side therof is like an Island, and a bare plot without any trees, and so is it not in any other place.

The riuer
Dulce.

In the Rode you shall ride in thirteene or foureteene fadomes, good oaze and sand, being the markes of the Rode to bying the Island and the North east land together, and here we ankered the last of December.

The thid day of Januarie, we came from the riuer Dulce.

Cape de las
Palmas.

The coast of
Guinea.

Note that Cape de las Palmas is a faire high land, but some low places thereof by the water side looke like red cliffes with white strakes like hie wapes, a cable length a peece, and this is the East part of the cape. This cape is the Southermost land in all the coast of Guinea, and standeth in foure degrees and a terce.

The coast from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepoyntes, or de Tres Puntas, is faire & cleare without rocke or other danger.

The castle of
Arra.

Twentie and five leaues from Cape de las Palmas, the land is higher then in any place, vntill we come to Cape Trepoyntes: And about ten leagues befoze you come to Cape Trepoyntes, the land riseth still higher and higher, vntill you come to Cape Trepoyntes. Also befoze you come to the said Cape, after other 5 leagues to the Northwest part of it, there is certain broken ground, with two great rockes, and within them in the bight of a bay, is a castle called Arra, pertaining to the king of Portugall. You shall know it by the said rockes that lie off it: for there is none such from Cape de las Palmas to Cape Trepoyntes. This coast lieth East and by North, West and by South. From Cape de las Palmas to the said castle is fourteene and sixtene leagues. And the coast lieth from the said castle to the Westermost point of Trepoyntes, Southeast and by South, Northwest and by North. Also the Westermost point of Trepoyntes is a low lande, lying halfe a mile out in the sea: and vpon the innermost necke, to the land-ward, is a tuft of trees, and

and there we arrived the eleventh day of January.

The 12 day of January we came to a towne called Samma or Samua, being 8 leagues from Cape Trepoinces toward Eastnortheast. Betwene Cape Trepoinces and the towne of Samua is a great ledge of rockes a great way out in the sea. We continued foure dayes at that Towne, and the Captaine thereof would needs haue a pledge a shore. But when they receiued the pledge, they kept him still, and would traffike no more, but shot off their ordinaunce at vs. They haue two or thre pieces of ordinaunce and no more.

The towne of Samma.

The pledge was fir Iohn Yorke his p^{er}plew.

Cape Corea.

The castle of Mina perteyning to the King of Portugall.

The sixteenth day of the said month we made reckoning to come to a place called Cape Corea, where captaine Don Iohn dwelleth, whose men entertained vs friendly. This Cape Corea is foure leagues Eastward of the castle of Mina, otherwisc called La mina, or Castello de mina, where we arrived the 18 day of the moneth. Here we made sale of all our cloth, sauing two or thre packes.

Perecow, Perecow grande, Monte Rodondo.

The 26 day of the same moneth we weighed anchor, and departed from thence to the Trinitie, which was seuen leagues Eastward of vs, where she solde her wares. Then they of the Trinitie willed vs to go Eastward of that eight or nine leagues, to sell part of their wares, in a place called Perecow, and another place named Perecow Grande, being the Eastermost place of both these, which you shal know by a great round hill neere unto it, named Mote Rodondo, lying Westward from it, and by the water side are many high palme trees. From hence did we see forth homeward the thirteenth day of february, & plied vp along it till we came within seuen or eight leagues to Cape Trepoinces. About eight of the clocke the 15 day at afternoone, wee did cast about to seaward: and beware of the currants, for they will deceiue you sore. Whosoener shall come from the coast of Mina homeward, let him be sure to make his way good West, untill he reckon himselfe as farre as Cape de las Palmas, where the currant setteth alwayes to the Eastward. And within twentie leagues Eastward of Cape de las Palmas is a riuer called De los Poros, where you may haue fresh water and balast enough, and plenty of iuoy or Elephants teeth. This riuer standeth in foure degrees, and almost two tercies. And when you reckon your selfe as farre thot as Cape de las Palmas, being in a degree, or a degree and a halfe, you may go West, and West by North, vntill you come in thre degrees: and then you may go Westnortheast, and North west and by West, untill you come in five degrees, and then North west. And in six degrees, we met Northerly windes, and great ruffling of tides. And as we could iudge, the currants went to the Northnortheast. Furtherinze betwene Cape de Monte, and Cape verde, go great currants which deceiue many men.

The currants, From Mina homeward.

Rio de los Poros, Juorp, Cabo de las Palmas.

Currants.

The 22 day of Aprill, we were in 8 degrees and two tercies: and so we ran to the North west, hauing the winde at Northeast and Eastnortheast, and sometimes at East, untill we were at 18 degrees and a tercie, which was on Hay day. And so from 18 and two tercies, we had the winde at East and Eastnortheast, and sometimes at Eastsoutheast: and then we reckoned the Islands of Cape verde Eastsoutheast of vs, we iudging our selues to be 48 leagues off. And in 20 and 21 degrees, we had the winde more Easterly to the Southward then before. And so we ran to the North west and Northnortheast, and sometimes North and by West, untill we came into 31 degrees, where we reckoned our selues a hundred and fourescore leagues South west and by South of the Island de los Flores, and there wee met with the winde at Southsoutheast, and set our course Northeast.

The Ile de Flores.

In 23 degrees we had the winde at the South and Southwest, and then we set our course Northnortheast, and so we ran to 40 degrees, and then we set our course Northeast, the winde being at the Southwest, and hauing the Ile de Flores East of vs, and 17 leagues off.

In the 41 degrees we met with the winde at Northeast, and so we ran Northwestward, then we met with the winde Westnortheast, and at the West within 6 leagues, running toward the North west, and then we cast about, and lay Northeast, untill we came in 42 degrees, where we set our course Eastnortheast, iudging the Ile of Coruo South and by West of vs, and fixe and thirtie leagues distant from vs.

The Ile of Coruo.

A remembrance, that the 21 day of Hay we communed with Iohn Rafe, and he thought it best to goe Northeast, and iudged himselfe 25 leagues Eastward to the Ile de Flores, and in 39 degrees and a halfe.

Note, that on the fourth day of September, vnder nine degrees, we lost the sight of the North Starre.

Where they lost the sight of the North Starre. How the compass doeth varie.

Note also, that in 45 degrees, the compass is varied 8 degrees to the West.

Item, in 40 degrees the compass did varie 15 degrees in the whole.

Item, in 30 degrees and a halfe, the compass is varied 5 degrees to the West.

We it also in memozy that two or thre daies before we came to Cape de 3 puntas, the plummet

went alongst the shore, thinking to sell some of our wares, and so we came to anchor three or foure leagues West and by South of the Cape de 3 puntas, where we left the Trinitie.

The Pin-
role.

Then our pinnelle came aboard with all our men, the pinnelle also tooke in moze wares. They told me mozeouer that they would goe to a place where the Primrose was, and had receiued much gold at the first voyage to these parties, and tolde me furthermoze that it was a good place: but I feearing a brigantine that was then upon the coast, did wey and follow them, and left the Trinitie about foure leagues off from vs, and there we rode against that towne foure dayes: so that Martine by his owne desire, and assent of some of the Commissioners that were in the pinnelle, went a shoare to the towne, and there John Berin went to trafique from vs, being three miles off trafiquing at an other towne. The towne is called Samma or Samua, for Samma and Sammaterra, are the names of the two first townes, where we did trafique for gold, to the North-east of Cape de 3 puntas.

The towne of
Samma.
Golde.

Hitherto continueth the course of the voyage, as it was described by the sayde Pilot. Howe therefore I will speake somewhat of the countrey and people, and of such things as are brought from thence.

Gold foure
hundredth
weight.
Graines.
Elephants
teeth.

They brought from thence at the last voyage foure hundred pound weight and oode of gold, of two and twentie carrats and one graine in finnesse: also sixe and thirtie butts of graines, & about two hundred and fiftie Elephants teeth of all quantities. Of these I saw & measured some of nine spans in length, as they were crooked. Some of them were as bigge as a mans thigh about the knee, and weyed about foure score and ten pound weight a peece. They say that some one hath bin seene of an hundred and five & twentie pound weight. Other there were which they call the teeth of calves, of one or two or three yeeres, whereof some were a foot and a halfe, some two foot, and some 3 or moze, according to y age of the beast. These great teeth or tusks grow in the bypper iaw downward, and not in the nether iaw byward, wherein the Painters and Arras workers are de- ceived. At this last voyage was brought from Guinea the head of an Elephant, of such huge big- nesse, that onely the bones or cranium thereof, beside the nether iaw & great tusks, weighed about two hundred weight, and was as much as I could well lift from the ground: insomuch that con- sidering also here with the weight of two such great teeth, the nether iaw with the lesse teeth, the tongue, the great hanging eares, the bigge & long snout or tronke, with all the flesh, braines, and skinne, with all other parts belonging to the whole head, in my iudgement it could weigh little lesse then five hundred weight. This head diuers haue seene in the house of the worthy marchant Sir Andrew Iudde, where also I saw it, and beheld it, not only with my bodily eyes, but much moze with the eyes of my mind and spirit, considering by the worke, the cunning and wise dome of the workemaister: without which consideration, the sight of such strange and wonderfull things may rather seeme curiosities, then profitable contemplations.

The head of an
Elephant.

Sir Andrew
Iudde.
The contem-
plations of
Gods works.

The descripti-
on and proper-
ties of the Ele-
phant.

The Elephant (which some call an Oliphant) is the biggest of all foure footed beasts, his fore- legs are longer then his hinder, he hath ancles in the lower part of his hinder legges, and five toes on his feete vndiuided, his snout or tronke is so long, and in such forme, that it is to him in the stead of a hand: for he neither eateth nor drinketh but by bringing his tronke to his mouth, therewith he helpeth by his Passer or keeper, therewith he ouerthroweth trees. Beside his two great tusks, he hath on euery side of his mouth foure teeth, wherewith he eateth and grindeth his meate: either of these teeth are almost a span in length, as they grow along in the iaw, and are about two inches in height, and almost as much in thicknesse. The tuskes of the male are greater then of the fe- male: his tongue is very litle, and so farre in his mouth, that it cannot be seene: of all beastes they are most gentie and tractable, for by many sundry wayes they are taught, and doe vnderstand: in- somuch that they learne to doe due honoz to a king, and are of quicke sense and sharpenesse of wit. When the male hath once seasoned the female, he neuer after toucheth her. The male Elephant liueth two hundred yeeres, or at the least one hundred and twentie: the female almost as long, but the floure of their age is but thre score yeeres, as some write. They cannot suffer winter or cold: they loue riuers, and will often go into them by to the snout, where with they blow and snuffe, and play in the water: but swimme they cannot, for the weight of their bodies. Plinie and Soline write, that they vse none adulterie. If they happen to meete with a man in wildernesse being out of the way, gently they will go before him, & bring him into the plaine way. Joyned in battel, they haue no small respect vnto them that be wounded: for they bring them that are hurt or weary into the middle of the army to be defended: they are made tame by drinking the iuice of barley. They haue continual warre against Dragons, which desire their blood, because it is very cold: and there- fore the Dragon lying awaite as the Elephant passeth by, windeth his taile (being of exceeding length) about the hinder legs of the Elephant, & so staying him, thrusteth his head into his tronke, and exhausteth his breath, or else biteth him in the eare, wherunto he cannot reach with his tronke,

Debate be-
tweene the
Elephant &
the Dragon.

and

and when the Elephant wareth faint, he falleth downe on the serpent, being now full of blood, and with the poise of his body breaketh him: so that his owne blood with the blood of the Elephant runneth out of him mingled together, which being colde, is congealed into that substance which the Apotheccaries call Sanguis Draconis, (that is) Dragons blood, otherwise called Cinnabaris, although there be another kinde of Cinnabaris, commonly called Cinoper or Vermilion, which the Painters vse in certaine colours.

Sanguis Draconis. Cinnabaris.

Three kinde of Elephants.

They are also of three kinds, as of the Parthes, the plaines, and the mountaines, no lesse differing in conditions, Philostratus writeth, that as much as the Elephant of Libya in signes passeth the horse of Nylca, so much doe the Elephants of India exceed them of Libya: for the Elephants of India, some haue bene seene of the height of nine cubits: the other do so greatly feare these, that they dare not abide the sight of them. Of the Indian Elephants onely the males haue tuskes, but of them of Ethiopia and Libya both kinds are tusked: they are of diuers heights, as of twelue, thirtene, and foueteene dodrants, euery dodrant being a measure of nine inches. Some write that an Elephant is bigger then three wilde Dren or Bittes. They of India are black, or of y colour of a mouse, but they of Ethiopie or Guinea are browne: the hide or skime of them all is very hard, and without haire or byssles: their eares are two dodrants broad, and their eyes very litle. Some men saw one drincking at a riuer in Guinea, as they sailed into the land.

Of other properties & conditions of the Elephant, as of their marueilous docilitie, of their fight and vse in the warres, of their generation and chastitie, when they were first seene in the Theaters and triumphes of the Romanes, how they are taken & tamed, and when they cast their tusks, with the vse of the same in medicine, who so desireth to know, let him reade Plinie, in the eight booke of his naturall history. He also writeth in his twelue booke, that in olde time they made many goodly woorkes of iuoy or Elephants teeth: as tables, tressels, postes of houses, ralles, lat tesses for windowes, images of their gods, and diuers other things of iuoy, both coloured and vncoloured, and intermixt with sundry kindes of precious woods, as at this day are made certaine chaires, lutes, and virginals. They had such plenty thereof in olde time, that (as far as I remember) Iosephus writeth, that one of the gates of Hierusalem was called Porta Eburnea, (that is) the Iuoy gate. The wittnesse thereof was so much esteemed, that it was thought to represent the naturall fairenesse of mans skime: insomuch that such as went about to set forth (or rather corrupt) naturall beautie with colours and painting, were reprobued by this prouerbe, Ebur atramento candefacere, that is, To make iuoy white with inke. The Poets also describing the faire necks of beautifull virgins, call them Eburnea colla, that is, Iuoy necks. And to haue said thus much of Elephants and Iuoy, it may suffice.

Woorkes of Iuoy.

The people of Africa.

Libya interior.

Now therefore I will speake somewhat of the people and their maners, and maner of liuing, with another brieue description of Africa also. It is to be vnderstood, that the people which now inhabite the regions of the coast of Guinea, and the middle parts of Africa, as Libya the inner, and Nubia, with diuers other great & large regions about the same, were in old time called Ethiopes and Nigritæ, which we now call Moores, Moorens, or Negroes, a people of beaustly liuing, without a God, lawe, religion, or common wealth, and so scorched and bered with the heat of the sunne, that in many places they curse it when it riseth. Of the regions and people about the inner Libya (called Libya interior) Gemma Phrysius writeth thus.

Libya interior is very large and desolate, in the which are many horrible wildernesces & mountaines, replenished with diuers kinds of wilde and monstrous beastes and serpents. First from Mauritania or Barbary toward the South is Getulia, a rough and sauage region, whose inhabitants are wilde and wandering people. After these follow the people called Melanogeruli and Pharusij, which wander in the wildernesce, carrying with them great gourdes of water. The Ethiopians called Nigritæ occupy a great part of Africa, and are extended to the West Ocean. Southward also they reach to the riuer Nigritis, whose nature agreeth with the riuer of Nilus, forasmuch as it is increased and diminished at the same time, and bringeth forth the like beastes as the Crocodile. By reason whereof, I thinke this to be the same riuer which the Portugals call Senega: For this riuer is also of the same nature. It is furthermore marueilous and very strange that is said of this riuer: And this is, that on the one side thereof, the inhabitants are of high stature and black, and on the other side, of browne or tawnie colour, and low stature, which thing also our men confirme to be true.

Getulia.

Ethiopes. Nigrite. The riuer Nigritis or Senega.

A strange thing.

There are also other people of Libya called Garamantes, whose women are common: for they contract no matrimonte, neither haue respect to chastitie. After these are the nations of the people called Pyrei, Sathiodaphnitæ, Odrangi, Mimaces, Lynxamatæ, Dolopes, Aganging, Leuci Ethiopes, Xilice Ethiopes, Calcei Ethiopes, and Nubi. These haue the same situation in Ptolome that they now giue to the kingdome of Nubia. Here are certaine Christians vnder the dominion

Garamantes.

People of Libya.

Prefter Iobo. of the great Emperour of Aethiopia, called Prefter Iohn. From these toward the West is a great nation of people called Aphricerones, whose region (as farre as may be gathered by coniecture) is the same that is now called Regnum Orguene, confining vpon the East parts of Guinea, From hence Westward, and somewhat toward the North, are the kingdoms of Gambia and Budomel, not farre from the riuier of Senega. And from hence toward the inland regions, and along by the sea coast, are the regions of Ginoia or Guinea, which we commonly call Ginnee. On the Westside of these regions toward the Ocean, is the cape or point called Cabo verde, or Caput viride, (that is) the Greene Cape, to which the Portugals first direct their course when they saile to America, or the land of Brasile. Then departing from hence, they turne to the right hand toward the quarter of the wind called Garbino, which is betwene the West and the South. But to speake some what more of Aethiopia: although there are many nations of people so named, yet is Aethiopia chiefly diuided into two parts, whereof the one is called Aethiopia vnder Aegypt, a great & rich region. To this pertaineth the Island Meroe, inbaced round about with the streames of the riuier Nilus. In this Island women reigned in old time. Iosephus writeth, that it was sometime called Sabea: and that the Queene of Saba came from thence to Ierusalem, to heare the wisdom of Salomon. Fro hence toward the East reigneth the said Christian Emperour Prefter Iohn, whom some call Papa Iohannes, & other say that he is called Pean Iuan (that is) great Iohn, whose Empire reacheth far beyond Nilus, and is extended to the coasts of the Red sea & Indian sea. The middle of the region is almost in 66. degrees of longitude, and 12. degrees of latitude. About this region inhabite the people called Clodi, Risophagi, Babylonij, Axianitæ, Molili, and Molibæ. After these is the region called Troglodytica, whose inhabitants dwell in caues and denues: for these are their houses, & the flesh of serpents their meat, as writeth Plinie, and Diodorus Siculus. They haue no speech, but rather a grinning and chattering. There are also people without heads, called Blemines, hauing their eyes and mouth in their breast. Likewise Scrucophagi, and naked Ganthasantes: Satyrs also, which haue nothing of men but onely thaye. Pozeouer Oripei, great hunters, Memnones also, and the region of Smyrnophora, which bringeth forth myrthe. After these is the region of Azania, in the which many Elephants are found. A great part of the other regions of Africke that are beyond the Aequinoctiall line, are now ascribed to the kingdom of Melinde, whose inhabitants are accustomed to traffique with the nations of Arabia, and their king is ioynd in friendship with the king of Portugal, and payeth tribute to Prefter Iohn.

The other Ethiope, called Aethiopia interior (that is) the inner Ethiope, is not yet knowne for the greatnesse thereof, but onely by the sea coastes: yet is it described in this maner. First from the Aequinoctiall toward the South, is a great region of Aethiopians, which bringeth forth white Elephants, Tygers, and the beastes called Rhinocerotes. Also a region that bringeth forth plenty of cynamome, lying betwene the branches of Nilus. Also the kingdom of Habech or Habasha, a region of Christian men, lying both on this side and beyond Nilus. Here are also the Aethiopians, called Ichthiophagi (that is) such as liue onely by fish, and were sometimes subdued by the warres of great Alexander. Furthermore the Aethiopians called Rhapsij, & Anthropophagi, are accustomed to eat mans flesh, inhabite the regions neere vnto the mountains called Montes Lunæ (that is) the mountaines of the Moone. Gazaria is vnder the Tropike of Capricorne. After this followeth the front of Africke, the Cape of Buena Speranza, or Caput Bonæ Spei, that is, the Cape of good hope, by the which they passe that saile from Lisbon to Calicut. But by what names the Capes and gulfs are called, forasmuch as the same are in euery globe and card, it were here superfluous to rehearse them.

Some write that Africa was so named by the Grecians, because it is without colde. For the Greeke letter Alpha or A significeth priuation, vpon, or without: and Phrice significeth colde. For in deede although in the stead of Winter they haue a cloudy and tempestuous season, yet is it not colde, but rather smothering hote, with hote showres of raine also, and somewhere such scorching windes, that what by one meanes and other, they seeme at certaine times to liue as it were in fornaces, and in maner already halfe way in Purgatorie or hell. Gemma Phrisius writeth, that in certaine parts of Africa, as in Atlas the greater, the aire in the night season is seene shining, with many strange fires and flames rising in maner as high as the Moone: and that in the element are sometime heard as it were the sound of pipes, trumpets and drummes: which noises may perhaps be caused by the vehement and sundry motions of such fire exhalations in the aire, as we see the like in many experiences wrought by fire, aire and winde. The hollownesse also, and diuers reflexions and breaking of the cloudes may be great causes hereof, beside the vehement colde of the middle region of the aire, whereby the said fiery exhalations, ascending thither, are suddenly stricken backe with great force: for euen common and daply experience teacheth vs, by the whistling of a burning torch, what noise fire maketh in the aire, and much more where it strueth when it is inclosed

Regnum Or-
guene.
Gambia.

Guinea.
Cabo Verde.

The Portugals
Navigation
to Brasile.

Aethiopia.

The 7 Band of
Meroe.

The Queene
of Saba.

Prefter Iohn
Emperour of
Aethiopia.

People of the
Eastside of
Africa.

People with-
out heads.

Myrrh.
Azania.

Regnum Me-
linde.

Aethiopia inte-
rior.

White Ele-
phants.

H. basha.

Ichthiophagi.

Anthropophagi.

Montes Lunæ.
Gazaria.
Cap. bonæ Spei.

Africa without
colde.

The winter of
Africa.

Planes of fire
and noise in
the aire.

The middle
region of the
aire is cold.

closed with aire, as appeareth in gunnes, and as the like is seene in onely aire inclosed, as in Organ pipes, and such other instruments that go by winde. For winde (as say the Philosophers) is none other then aire vehemently moued, as we see in a paire of bellowses, and such other.

The nature of Elements. Winde.

Some of our men of good credit that were in this last voyage to Guinea, affirme earnestly that in the night season they felt a sensible heat to come from the beames of the moone. The which thing, although it be strange and insensible to vs that inhabite cold regions, yet doeth it stand with good reason that it may so be, forasmuch as the nature of starres and planets (as writeth Plinie) consisteth of fire, and containeth in it a spirit of life, which cannot be without heat.

The heat of the Moone.

The nature of the starres.

And, that the Moone giveth heat vpon the earth the Prophet David seemeth to confirme in his 121. Psalm, where speaking of such men as are defended from euils by Gods protection, hee saith thus: Per diem Sol non exuret te, nec Luna per noctem. That is to say, In the day the Sunne shall not burne thee, nor the Moone by night.

They say furthermore, that in certaine places of the sea they saw certaine streames of water, which they call Spouts, falling out of the aice into the sea, & that some of these are as bigge as the great pillars of Churches: insomuch that sometimes they fall into shippes, and put them in great danger of drowning. Some saie that these should be the Cataracts of heauen, which were all opened at Noes floud. But I thinke them rather to be such fluxions and eruptions as Aristotle in his booke de Mundo saith, to chance in the sea. For speaking of such strange things as are seene often times in the sea, he writeth thus, Oftentimes also euen in the sea are seene euaporations of fire, and such eruptions and breaking forth of Springs, that the mouths of riuers are opened.

Spouts of water falling out of the aice.

Cataracts of heauen.

Whirlpooles, and fluxions are caused of such other vehement motions, not only in the middle of the sea, but also in creeks & streights. At certaine times also, a great quantity of water is suddenly lifted vp and carried about with the Moone, &c. By which wordes of Aristotle it doth appere that such waters be lifted vp in one place at one time, and suddenly fall downe in an other place at another time. And herunto perhaps pertaineth it that Richard Chancellor told me that he heard Sebastian Cabot report, that (as farre as I remember) either about the coasts of Brasile or Rio de Plata, his shippe or ynnelle was suddenly lifted from the sea, and cast vpon land, I wot not howe farre.

Veherent motions in the Sea.

A strange thing.

The which thing, and such other like wonderfull and strange workes of nature while I consider, and call to remembrance the narrownesse of mans vnderstanding and knowledge, in comparison of her mightie power, I can but cease to maruell and confesse with Plinie, that nothing is to her impossible, the least part of whose power is not yet knowen to men. Many things moze our men saw and considered in this voyage, woorthy to be noted, wherof I haue thought good to put some in memory, that the reader may as well take pleasure in the variety of things, as knowledge of the historie. Among other things therefore, touching the maners and nature of the people, this may seeme strange, that their princes & noble men vse to pounce and rase their skinnes with pretie knots in diuers formes, as it were branched damaske, thinking that to be a decent ornament. And albeit they goe in maner all naked, yet are many of them, & especially their women, in maner laden with collars, bracelets, hoopess, and chaines, either of gold, copper, or iuoy. In my selfe haue one of their bracelets of Iuoy, weighing two pound and sixe ounces of Troy weight, which make eight and thirtie ounces: this one of their women did weare vpon her arme. It is made of one whole piece of the biggest part of the tooth, turned and some what carued, with a hole in the midst, wherin they put their hands to weare it on their arme. Some haue on euery arme one, and as many on their legges, wherewith some of them are so galled, that although they are in maner made lame thereby, yet will they by no meanes leaue them off. Some weare also on their legges great shackles of bright copper, which they thinke to bee no lesse comely. They weare also collars, bracelets, garlands, and girdles, of certain blew stones like beads. Likewise some of their women weare on their bare armes certaine bracelets made of the plates of beaten golde. On their fingers also they weare rings, made of golden wires, with a knot or wreath, like vnto that which children make in a ring of a rubb. Among other things of golde that our men bought of them for exchange of their wares, were certaine dogs-chaines and collers.

The power of nature.

They rase their skinnes.

Five iwbels.

A bracelet.

Shackles.

Rings.

Dogs chaines of golde.

They are very wary people in their bargaining, and will not lose one sparke of golde of any value. They vse weights and measures, and are very circumspect in occupying the same. They that shall haue to doe with them, must vse them gently: for they will not trafique or bring in any wares if they be euill vsed. At the first voyage that our men had into these parties, it so chanced, that at their departure from the first place where they did traffick, one of them either stole a muske Cat, or tooke her away by force, not mistrusting that that should haue hindered their bargaining in another place whither they intended to goe. But for all the haste they coulde make with full sailes, the fame of their misusage so prevented them, that the people of that place also, offended thereby, would bring in no wares: insomuch that they were enforced either to restore the Cat, or

A muske cat:

- pay for her at their price, before they could traffique there.
- Their houses.** Their houses are made of foure postes of trees, and covered with boughes.
- Their feeding.** Their common feeding is of roots, & such fishes as they take, whereof they haue great plenty.
- Flying fishes.** There are also such flying fishes as are seene in the sea of the West Indies. Our men salted of their fishes, hoping to prouide store thereof: but they would take no salt, and must therefore be eaten fresh with as some say. Howbeit other affirme, that if they be salted immediately after they be taken, they will last uncorrupted ten or twelue dayes. But this is more strange, that part of such flesh as they caried with them out of England, which putrified there, became sweete againe at their returne to the climate of temperate regions.
- A strange thing.** They vse also a strange making of bread, in this maner. They grinde betweene two stones with their haundes as much cozne as they thinke may suffice their family, and when they haue thus brought it to floure, they put thereto a certaine quantitie of water, and make thereof very thinne dough, which they sticke vpon some post of their houses, where it is baked by the heate of the Sunne: so that when the master of the house or any of his family will eate thereof, they take it downe and eate it.
- Their wheate.** They haue very faire wheate, the eare whereof is two handfuls in length, and as bigge as a great Bulrush, and almost foure inches about where it is biggest. The stemme or straw seemeth to be almost as bigge as the litle finger of a mans hand, or litle lesse. The graines of this wheate are as big as our peason, round also, and very white, and somewhat shining, like pearles that haue lost their colour. Almost all the substance of them turneth into floure, & maketh litle bran or none. I told in one eare two hundred & threescore graines. The eare is inclosed in three blades longer then it selfe, & of two inches broad a piece. And by this fruitfulness the Sunne seemeth partly to recompence such grieues and molestations as they otherwise receiue by the seruente heate thereof. It is doubtlesse a woorthy cōtemplation to consider the contrary effects of the sunne: or rather the contrary passions of such things as receiue the influence of his beames, either to their hurt or benefit.
- The Sunne.** Their drinke is either water, or the uisle that droppeth from the cut branches of the barren Date trees, called Palmitos. For either they hang great gourdes at the said branches euery evening, and let them so hang all night, or else they set them on the ground vnder the trees, that the droppes may fall therein. They say that this kinde of drinke is in taste much like unto whey, but somewhat sweeter, and more pleasant. They cut the branches euery evening, because they are seared by in the day by the heate of the Sunne. They haue also great beanes as bigge as chestnuts, and very hard, with a shell in the stead of a huske.
- Their drinke.** Many things more might be saide of the maners of the people, and of the wonders and monstrous things that are engendred in Africke. But it shall suffice to haue saide thus much of such things as our men partly sawe, and partly brought with them.
- Graines.** And whereas before speaking of the fruit of graines, I described the same to haue holes by the side (as in deede it hath, as it is brought hither) yet was I afterward enformed, that those holes were made to put stringes or twigges through the fruite, thereby to hang them by to dry at the Sunne. They grow not past a foote and a halfe, or two foote from the ground, and are as red as blood when they are gathered. The graines themselves are called of the Philisious Grana Paradisi.
- Shells that cleave to ships.** At their coming home the keeles of their shippes were maruellously ouergrowne with certaine shelles of two inches length and more, as thicke as they could stand, and of such bignesse that a man might put his thumbe in the mouches of them. They certainly affirme that in these there groweth a certaine slimie substance, which at the length slipping out of the shell and falling in the sea, becommeth those foules which we call Barnacles.
- Barnacles.** The like shelles haue bene serue in ships returning fro Ireland, but these shels were not past halfe an inch in length. Of the other that came from Guinea, I sawe the Primerose lying in the dorke, and in maner covered with the said shels, which in my iudgement should greatly hinder her sayling. Their ships were also in many places eaten with the wormes called Bromas or Bissas, whereof mention is made in the Decades. These creepe betweene the plankes, which they eate through in many places.
- Bromas.** Among other things that chanced to them in this voyage, this is woorthy to be noted, that whereas they sailed thither in seuen weekes, they could returne in no lesse space then twentie weekes.
- A secret.** The cause whereof they say to be this: That about the coast of Cabo Verde the winde is euer as the East, by reason whereof they were enforced to saile farre out of their course into the maine Ocean, to finde the winde at the West to bring them home. There died of our men at this last voyage about twentie and foure, whereof many died at their returne into the climate of the calde regions, as betweene the Islands of Azores and England. They brought with them certaine blacke slaves, whereof some were tall and strong men, and could wel agree with our meates and drinkes.
- The death of our men.** The
- Five blacke Moores brought into England.**

The colde and moyst aire doth somewhat offend them. Yet doubtlesse men that are bozne in hot Regions may better abide colde, then men that are bozne in colde Regions may abide heate, forasmuch as vehement heate resolueth the rabitall moysture of mens bodies, as colde constraineth and preferueth the same.

Colde may be better abided then heate.

This is also to be considered as a secret worke of nature, that throughout all Africke, vnder the Equinodial line, and neere about the same on both sides, the regions are extreme hote, and the people very blacke. Whereas contrarily such regions of the West Indies as are vnder the same line are very temperate, and the people neither blacke, nor with curloe and short wooll on their heads, as they of Africke haue, but of the colour of an Oliue, with long and blacke heare on their heads: the cause of which variety is declared in diuers places in the Decades.

It is also worthy to be noted that some of them that were at this voyage told me: That is, that they ouertooke the course of the Sonne, so that they had it North from them at noone, the 14. day of March. And to haue said thus much of these voyages, it may suffice.

The first voyage made by Master William Towrson Marchant of London, to the coast of Guinea, with two Ships, in the yeere 1555.



On Monday the thirtieth day of September wee departed from the Isle of Wight, out of the hauens of Neuporr with two good shippes, the one called the Harr, the other the Hinde, both of London, and the Masters of them were Iohn Ralph, and William Carter, for a voyage to bee made vnto the Riuer de Sestos in Guinea, and to other hauens therabout. September.

It fell out by the varietie of windes, that it was the foureteenth day of October befoze wee coude fetch Dartmouth: and being there arriued wee continued in that roade sixe dayes, and the 20. of October we warpt out of the haucn, and set saile, directing our course towards the Southweest, and the next morning we were runne by estimation threy leagues. October.

The first of Nouember we found our selues to be in 31. degrees of latitude by the reckoning of our Master. This day we ranne about 40. leagues also. Nouember.

The second day we ranne 36. leagues.

The third day we had sight of Porto Santo, which is a small Island lying in the sea, about threy leagues long, and a league & a halfe broad, & is possessed by Portugals. It riseth as we came from the Northnorthwest like two small hilles neere together. The East end of the same Island is a highland like a saddle with a valley, which makes it to heare that soyme. The West end of it is lower with certaine small round hillocks. This Island lyeth in thirty and threy degrees. The same day at 11. of the clocke we rayled the Isle of Madera, which lieth 12. leagues from Porto Santo, towards the Southweest: that Island is a faire Island and fruitfull, and is inhabited by Portugals, it riseth as farre off like a great whole land and high. By threy of the clocke this day at after noone we were thwart of Porto Santo, and we set our course Southweest, to leaue the Isle of Madera to the Eastward, as we did Porto Santo. These two Islands were the first land that we saw since we left the coast of England. About threy of the clocke after midnight wee were thwart of Madera, within threy leagues of the West ende of it, and by meanes of the high hilles there, we were becalmed: We suppose we ranne this day and night 30. leagues. Porto Santo.

The fourth day wee lay becalmed vnder the Isle of Madera, vntill one of the clocke at afternoone, and then the winde comming into the East, wee went our course, and ranne that day fiftene leagues. Madera.

The 5. day we ranne 15. leagues moze.

The 6. day in the morning we rayled the Isle of Tenerif, other wise called the Pike, because it is a very high Island, with a pike vpon the top like a loafe of suger. The same night we rayled the Isle of Palma, which is a high land also, and to the Westward of the Isle of Tenerif. Tenerif.

The 7. day we perceived the Isle of Gomera, which is an Island standing betwixt Tenerif and Palma, about 12. leagues Eastward from Palma, and 8. leagues Westward from Tenerif: and for feare of being becalmed with the Isle of Tenerif, we left both it, and Gomera to the Eastward of vs, and went betwixt Palma and Gomera. We ranne this day and night 30. leagues. Palma.

Note that these Islands be 60. leagues from Madera, and that there are 3. Islands moze to the Westward of Tenerif, named the Grand Canaria, Forte-ventura, & Lancerot, of which Islands we came not in sight: they be inhabited by Spaniards. Gomera.

This day also we had sight of the Isle of Ferro, which is to the Southwards 13. leagues from the other Islands, and is possessed by Spaniards. All this day and night by reason of the winde Ferro.

we could not double the point of the Isle of Ferro, except we would haue gone to the Westward of it, which had bene much out of our course: therefore we kept about, and ranne backe five houres Eastward; cast to the ende we might double it vpon the next boord, the winde continuing South-east, which hath not bene often seene vpon that coast by any traouillers: for the winde continueth here for the most part North-east, & East North-east: so vpon the other boord by the next morning we were in a manner with the Island, and had roome ynough to double the same.

The 8. day we kept our course as neere the winde as wee could, because that our due course to fetch the coast of Barbary was Southeast and by East, but by the scant winde wee could not goe our due course, but went as neere it as we could, and ranne this day and night 25. leagues.

The 9. day we ranne 30. leagues, the 10. 25. leagues, the 12. 24.

The 12. day we sawe a saile vnder our Lee, which was as we thought a fisherman, so that we went roome to haue spoken with him, but within one houre there fell such a fogge, that we could not see the shippe nor one of vs the other: we shot off diuers pieces to the Hinde, but they heard them not: at after noone she shot off a piece which wee heard, and made her answer with another: and within one halfe houre after the fogge brake vp, and we were within 4. leagues of the shoare vpon the coast of Barbary, and we sounded and had 14. fadom water. The Barke also came roome with vs and there ankered by reason of the contrary winde. When we fell with the land, we could not iudge iustly what part of the land it was, because the most part of that coast is lowe land, and no part to be iudged of it but the forepart of the shoare, which is white like châlke or sand, and very deepe into the hard shoare: there immediately we began to fish, and found great store of a kinde of fish which the Portugals commonly fish for vpon that coast, which they call Pergosses, the Frenchmen call them Saders, and our men salt-water beanes. Before the clearing vp of the fogge, the shippe which we followed shap'd vs such a course that we could see her no more, by reason of our shooting off to finde the Hinde againe. This part of the coast of Barbary, by our Pilots reckoning, is about 16. leagues to the Eastwards of the riuer del Oro.

Riuer del Oro,

The 13. day in the afternoone we spied a saile comming towards vs, which we iudged to be the saile that we sawe the day before, and as soone as we spied him, we caused the Hinde to way her ancre and to goe towards him, and manned out our Skiffe in like case to lay him aboard, or to discern what hee was, and we our selues within halfe an houre after wayed also: but after the saile had espied vs, hee kept about, and turned backe againe, and shortly after there fell such another fogge, that we could not see him: which fogges continued all that night, so that we were constrained to leaue the chase. This afternoone the winde came about, and we went our course Southwest and by West, to goe cleare off the coast, we ranne that night sixteene leagues.

The foureteenth day in the morning was very foggie: but about twelue a clocke we espied a Caruell of 60. tunne which was fishing, and we sent our Skiffe to him with five men, and all without any weapon sauing their Dares. The Caruell for haste let slippe her ancre, and set saile: and they seeing that, fearing that they should not fetch her, would tary for no weapons, and in the ende ouertooke the Caruell, and made her to strike saile, and brought her away, although they had foureteene or fiftene men aboard, & every man his weapon, but they had not the hearts to resist our men. After they were come to vs, they let fall their ancre, for we had cast ancre because the winde was not good: I caused then the Skiffe to come for mee, and I went aboard of them to see that no harme should bee done to them, nor to take any thing but that which they might spare vs for our money. So we tooke of them 3. Tappets of figges, two small pots of oyle, two pipes of water, foure hogheads of saltfish which they had taken vpon the coast, and certaine fresh fish which they did not esteeme, because there is such store vpon that coast, that in an houre and sometime lesse, a man may take as much fish as will serue twentie men a day. For these things, and for some wine which we dranke aboard of them, and thre or foure great Canies which they sent aboard of our shippes, I payed them twentie and seuen Pistols, which was twice as much as they willingly would haue taken: and so let them goe to their ancre and cable which they had let slippe, and got it againe by our helpe. After this we set saile, but the winde caused vs to ancre againe about twelue leagues off the riuer del Oro, as the Portugals tolde vs. There were five Caruels more in this place, but when they sawe vs, they made all away for feare of vs.

A Caruell taken.

Great store of fish vpon the coast of Barbary.

The 15. day we ridde still because of the winde.

The Tropike of Cancer in 23. and a halfe.

The 16. day we set saile and ranne our course 40. leagues. This day, by the reckoning of our Pilots, we were right vnder the Tropike of Cancer. The 17. day we ranne 25. leagues within sight for the most part of the coast of Barbary.

The 18. day we ranne thirtie leagues, and at twelue of the clocke by the reckoning of our pilots

Pilots we were thwart of Cape Blanke.

Cape Blanke.

The 12. day our Pilots reckoned vs to be thwart Cape Verde.

Cape Verde.

The coast of Guinea.

The 12. day of December we had sight of land of Guinea, which as soone as we saw we halled into the land North-east, and about 12. of the clocke at night we were neere the shoare within lesse then 2. leagues: and then we kept about and sounded, and found 18. fadom water. Afterwards we saw a light towards the shoare, which we thought to haue bene a ship, and thereby iudged it to be the riuer de Sektos, which sight as soone as we espied, we came to an anchor & armed our tops, and made all things ready to fight, because we doubted that it might be some Portugal or French man: this night we remained at an anchor, but in the morning we saw no man, only we espied 4. rockes about 2. English miles from vs, one great rocke, and the 3. other smal ones, which when we sawe, we supposed that the light came from the shoare, and so wayed and set saile East Southeast along the shoare, because the Master did not well know the place, but thought that we were not so farre to the East as the riuer de Sektos.

This land all along is a low land, and full of very high trees all along the shoare, so that it is not possible to know the place that a man doth fall withall, except it be by the latitude: In the se 24. houres I thinke we ran 16. leagues, for all the night we had a great gale as we were vnder saile, and had withall shoare of thunder and lightnings.

The 13. day for the most part we ran East Southeast all along the shoare, within two leagues alwayes of the same, and found the land all as at the first, full of woods and great rocks hard aboord the shoare, and the billow beating so foze, that the seas brake vpon the shoare as white as snow, and the water mounted so high that a man might easily discerne it 4. leagues off, in such wise that no boate could land there. Thus we ran until 12. of the clocke, and then they took the Sunne and after iudged themselves to be 24. leagues past the riuer de Sektos to the Eastwards, by reason whereof we halled into the shoare within two English miles, and there anchored and found fitteene fadom water, and all off from the shoare the sea so smooth, that we might well haue rid by an Hawser. All that after-noon we trimmed our boate and made her a saile, to the ende that she might go along by the shoore to seeke some place to water in: for we could not goe backe againe to the riuer de Sektos, because the winde blowes alwayes contrary, and the Current runneth alwayes to the Eastwards, which was also against vs.

The Current setting Eastward.

The 14. day we set saile & went back againe along the coast, and sent our boats hard aboord the shoare to seeke a watering place, which they found about 12. of the clock, and we being farre into the sea, met with diuers boats of the Countrey, small, long and narrow, & in euery boate one man and no more: we gaue them bread which they did eat, & were very glad of it. About 4 of the clocke our boats came to vs with fresh water: and this night we anchored against a Riuer.

The 15. day we wayed and set saile to goe neere the shoare, and with our leade wee sounded all the way, and found sometimes rockes, and sometimes faire ground, and at the shallowest found 7. fadoms alwayes at the least. So in fine we found 7. fadom and a halfe within an English mile of the shoare, and there we anchored in a maner before the mouth of the Riuer, and then wee sent our boats into the Riuer for water, which went about a mile within the Riuer, where they had very good water. This Riuer lieth by estimation 8. leagues beyond the Riuer de Sektos, and is called in the Carde Riuer S. Vincent, but it is so hard to finde, that a boat being within halfe a mile of it shall not be able to discerne that it is a Riuer: by reason that directly before the mouth of it there lieth a ledge of rockes, which is much broader then the Riuer, so that a boate must runne in along the shoare a good way betwixt the rockes and the shoare before it come to the mouth of the Riuer, and being within it, it is a great Riuer and diuers ocher Riuers fall into it: The going into it is somewhat ill, because that at the entering the seas do goe somewhat high, but being once within it, it is as calme as the Thames.

Riuer S. Vincent.

There are neere to the Sea vpon this Riuer diuers inhabitants, which are mighty bigge men and go al naked except some thing before their priuie parts, which is like a clout about a quarter of a yard long made of the barke of trees, and yet it is like a cloth: for the barke is of that nature, that it will spin small after the maner of linnen. Some of them also weare the like vpon their heades being painted with diuers colours, but the most part of them goe bare headed, and their heads are clipped and shorne of diuers sorts, and the most part of them haue their skin of their bodies faced with diuers woyses, in maner of a leather Jerkin. The men and women goe so alike, that one cannot know a man from a woman but by their beaues, which in the most part be very foule and long, hanging downe low like the voder of a goate.

Cloth made of the barke of trees.

The Negroes race their skinnes.

The same morning we went into the Riuer with our Skiffe, and caried certaine balons, manels, &c. And there we tooke that day one hog-head and 100. li. waight of Graines, and two Elephants teeth at a reasonable good reckoning. Wee solde them both balons, and Manellios, and

Graines of Guinea
Elephants teeth.

Margarits, but they desired most to haue basons: For the most part of our basons wee had by estimation about 30.li. for a peece, and for an Elephants tooth of 30.li. waight, we gaue them 6.

The 16. day in the morning we went into the riuer with our Skiffe, and tooke some of euery sort of our merchandize with vs, and shew'd it to the Negroes, but they esteemed it not, but made light of it, and also of the basons, Manellios and Margarits, which yesterday they did buy: he wbe it for the basons they would haue giuen vs some graines, but to no purpose, so that this day wee tooke not by estimation about one hundred pound waight of Graines, by means of their Captaine, who would suffer no man to sell anything but through his hands, and at his price: he was so subtil, that for a bason hee would not giue 15. pound waight of Graines, and sometimes would offer vs small dishes, whereas before wee had baskets full, and when he saw that wee would not take them in contentment, the Captaine departed, and caused all the rest of the boates to depart, thinking belike that wee would haue followed them, and haue giuen them their owne askings. But after that wee perceiued their fetch, wee wayed our Strapnel and went away, and then wee went on land into a small Towne to see the fashions of the Countrey, and there came a thze scoze of them about vs, and at the first they were afraid of vs, but in the ende perceiuing that wee did no hurt, they would come to vs and take vs by the hand and be familiar with vs, and then we went into their Townes, which were like to twentie small houels, all couered ouer with great leaues and baggage, and all the sides open, and a scaffolde under the house about a pard high, where they worke many pretie things of the barkes of trees, and there they lye also. In some of their houles they worke yron and make faire darts, and diuers other things to worke their boates, and other things withall, and the women worke as well as the men. But when wee were there diuers of the women to shew vs pleasure danced and sung after their maner, full ill to our eares. Their song was thus:

Sakere, sakere, ho, ho. Sakere, sakere, ho, ho.

And with these words they leape and dance and clap their hands. Besides we could see none that they had, but two goates, small dogges, and small hennes: other beastes we saw none. After that we had well marked all things we departed and went aboord our ships: which thing the Captaine of the other towne perceiuing, sent two of his seruants in a boat with a basket of Graines, and made vs signes that if when we had slept wee would come againe into their riuer, wee should haue scoze of Graines, and so shew'd vs his Graines and departed.

The 17. day in the morning because we thought that the Negroes would haue done something because the Captaine sent for vs, I required the Master to goe on shoare, and sent the rest of our Marchants with him, and caried aboord my selfe by reason that the last day he esteemed our things so litle: so when the Master and the rest came into the riuer, the captaine with diuers others came to them, and brought Graines with them, & after that he saw that I was not there, he made signes to know where I was, and they made signes to him againe that I was in the ships: and then hee made signes to know who was Captaine by the name of Diago, for so they call their Captaine, & they pointed to the master of the ship: then he began to shew his Graines, but he held them so unreasonable, that there was no profit to be made of them: which things the Master perceiuing, and seeing that they had no scoze of Graines, came away, and tooke not about 50. pound waight of Graines. Then he went a spoare to the litle Towne where we were the day before, & one of them plucked a Gourd, wherewith the Negroes were offended, & came many of them to our men with their darts and great targets, and made signes to them to depart: which our men did, hauing but one bow and two or thze swords, and went aboord the boate and came away from them: and as soone as they were come aboord we wayed and set saile, but the winde was off the Sea, so that we could not get out cleare of certaine rocks, and therefore we came to an ancre againe.

This riuer is called Riuer S. Vincent, standing in 4. degrees and a halfe, and it ebbeh and floweth there euery 12. houres, but not much water when it ebbeh the most: while wee were there, it ebbed one fadome and a halfe water.

This countrey as farre as we could perceiue is altogether woody, and al strange trees, whereof wee knewe none, and they were of many sortes, with great leaues like great dockes, which bee higher then any man is able to reach the top of them.

There are certaine peason by the Sea side, which grow vpon great and very long stalkes, one of the stalkes I measured and found it 27. paces long, and they grow vpon the sand like to trees, and that so nere the Sea, that sometimes the Sea floweth into the woods as we might perceiue by the water markes.

The trees and all things in this place grow continually greene: Diuers of the women haue such exceeding long beastes, that some of them wil lay the same vpon the ground and lie downe by them, but all the women haue not such beastes.

The description of their Townes and houles.

Diago the name of a Captaine.

The latitude of S. Vincenc Riuer is 4. degrees and a halfe. Leaues of exceeding length.

Long pease stalkes.

Long womens beastes.

At this place all the day the winde bloweth off the Sea, and all the night off the land, but wee found it to differ sometimes, which our Master marvelled at.

This night at 9. of the clocke the winde came by at the East, which ordinarily about that time was wont to come out of the North Northwest off the shoare: yet we wayed and halled off South with that winde all night into the Sea, but the next morning we halled in againe to the lande, andooke in 6. Tunnes of water for our ship, and I thinke the Hinde tooke in as much.

I could not perceine that here was any gold, or any other good thing: for the people be so wilde and idle, that they giue themselves to seeke out nothing: if they would take paines they might gather great store of graines, but in this place I could not perceine two Tunne.

There are many foules in the Countrey, but the people wil not take the paines to take them. I obserued some of their wordes of speech, which I thought good here to set downe,

Bezow, bezow,	}	Is their salutation.
Manegete afoye,		Graines ynough.
Crocow afoye,		Hennes ynough.
Zeramme afoye,		Haue you ynough?
Begge sacke,		Giue me a knife.
Begge come,		Giue me bread.
Borke,		Holde your peace.
Coutrecke,		Pe lye.
Veede,		Put forth, or emptie.
Brekeke,		Rotwe.
Diago,		Their Captaine, and some call him Dabo.

The language about the Riuer of S. Vincent.

other wordes they speake very thicke, and oftentimes recite one word thre times together, and at the last time longer then at the two first.

The 18. day towards night, as we were sailing along the coast, we met with certaine boats in the sea, & the men shewed vs that there was a riuer thwart of vs, where there were Graines to be sold, but we thought it not good to tary there, least the other ships should get before vs. This riuer hath lying before it thre great rockes, and 5. small rockes, one great tree, and a litle tree right by the riuer, which in height exceeded all the rest: we halled this night along the coast 10. leagues.

The 19. day as we coasted the shoare, about twelue of the clocke there came out to vs 3. boates to tell vs that they had graines, & brought some with them for a shew, but we could not tary there. We proceeded along the coast, & ankered by the shoare all the night, and ran this day 10. leagues.

The 20. day the Hinde hauing ankered by vs amongst rockes, and soule ground, lost a small anker. At noone, as we passed along the coast, there came forth a Negro to vs, making signes, that if we would goe a shoare, wee should haue Graines, and where wee ankered at night, there came another to vs, and brought Graines, and shewed vs them, and made signes that wee should tary, and made a fire vpon the land in the night, meaning thereby to tell vs where we should land, and so they did in diuers ether places vpon the coast, where they saw vs to anker.

In all the places where we haue ankered, since we came from our watering place, we haue found the tide alwayes running to the Westwards, and all along the coast in any rockes hard aboord the shoare, and many of them a league off the shoare or more, we ran this day 12. leagues.

The tides and nature of the shoare.

The 21. day, although we ranne all day with a good gale of winde, yet the tides came so foze out of the coast, that we were not able to runne aboue fixe leagues: and this day there came some Negroes to vs, as there had done other times.

The 22. wee ranne all day and night to double a point, called Das palmas, and ranne fixeene leagues.

The point of Palmas.

The 23. day about 3. of the clocke we were thwart of the point, & before we came to the Westermost part of it, we saw a great ledge of rocks, which lie West from the Cape about 3. leagues and a league or more fro the land. Shortly after we had sight of the Eastermost part of the Cape, which lieth 4. leagues from the Westermost part, and vpon the very corner thereof lie two greene places, as it were closes, and to the Westwards of the Cape the land parted from the Cape, as it were a Bay, whereby it may well be knowen. Foure leagues more beyonde that there lieth a head-land in the sea, and about two leagues beyond the head-land there goeth in a great Bay, as it were a riuer, before which place we ankered all that night, which wee did, least in the night wee should ouerrunne a riuer, where the * last yere they had all their Elephants reeth.

* That was the yere 1554.

This Cape Das palmas lieth vnder foure degrees and a halfe, and betwixt the said Cape, and the riuer de Sestos is the greatest store of Graines to be had, and being past the said Cape, there is no great store else where.

Where we ankered this night, we found that the tide, which before ran alwayes to the Westward,

The riuers run-
ning East-
ward.

ward, from this Cape runneth all to the Eastward: this day we ranne iome 16 leagues.

The 24. day running our course, about eight of the clock there came forth to vs certaine boates, which brought with them small egges, which were soft without shels, and they made vs signes, that there was within the land fresh water, and Goates: and the Master thinking that it was the riuer which we sought, cast ancker and sent the boate on shoare, with one that knew the riuer, and coming neere the shoare, hee perceiued that it was not the riuer, and so came backe againe, and went along the shoare, with their oares and saile, and wee weyed and ranne along the shoare also: and being thirteene leagues beyond the Cape, the Master perceiued a place which he iudged to be the riuer, when wee were in deede two miles hot past it: yet the boate came from the shoare, and they that were in her saide, that there was no riuer: notwithstanding wee came to an ancker, and the Master and I tooke five men with vs in the boat, and when hee came neere the shoare, hee perceiued that it was the same riuer which hee did seeke: so we rowed in, and found the entrance very ill, by reason that the sea goeth so high: and being entred, diuers boates came to vs, and shewed vs that they had Elephants teeth, and they brought vs one of about eight pound, & a litle one of a pound, which we bought: then they brought certaine teeth to the riuer side, making signes, that if the next day we would come againe, they would sell vs them: so we gaue vnto two Captaines, to either of them a manillio, and so we departed, and came aboard, and sent out the other boate to another place, where certaine boates that came into the sea, made vs signes that there was fresh water: and being come thither, they found a towne, but no riuer, yet the people brought them fresh water, and shewed them an Elephants tooth, making signes that the next day they would sell them teeth, and so they came aboard.

Two Towne.

This riuer lieth by the Carde thirteene leagues from the Cape Das palmas, and there lieth to the Westwards of the same a rocke about a league in the sea, and the riuer it selfe hath a point of lande coming out into the Sea, whereupon growe five trees, which may well be discerned two or three leagues off, coming from the Westward, but the riuer cannot be perceiued vntill such time as a man be hard by it, and then a man may perceiue a litle Towne on ech side the riuer, and to ech Towne there belongeth a Captaine. The riuer is but small, but the water is good and fresh.

Two miles beyond the riuer, where the other towne is, there lieth another point into the Sea, which is greene like a clofe, and not aboue sixe trees vpon it, which growe one of them from the other, whereby the coast may well be knowne: for along all the coast that we haue hitherto sailed by, I haue not seene so much bare land.

Many Palme
trees.

In this place, and three or foure leagues to the Westward of it, al along the shoare, there growe many Palme trees, wherof they make their wine de Palma. These trees may easily be knowen almost two leagues off, for they be very high and white bodied, and streight, and be biggest in the midst: they haue no boughes, but onely a round bush in the top of them: and at the top of the same trees they boare a hole, and there they hang a bottell, and the iuyce of the tree runneth out of the said hole into the bottle, and that is their wine.

Cape Tres
puntas.

From the Cape das Palmas, to the Cape Tres puntas, there are 100. leagues: and to the port where we purpose to make sales of our cloch beyond the Cape Tres puntas 40. leagues.

Note, that betwixt the riuer De Sektos, and the Cape Das palmas, is the place where all the granes be gathered.

The language of the people of this place, as far as I could perceiue, differeth not much from the language of those which dwell where we watred before: but the people of this place be more gentle in nature then the other, and goodlier men: their building & apparel is all one with the others.

Their desire in this place was most of all to haue Manillios and Margarices: as for the rest of our things, they did litle esteeme them.

Their maner
of swearing by
the water of
the Sea.

About nine of the clocke there came boates to vs forth, from both of the places aforesaid, and brought with them certaine teeth, and after they had caused me to swear by the water of the Sea that I would not hurt them, they came aboard our ship three or foure of them, and we gaue them to eate of all such things as we had, and they did eate and drinke of all things, as well as we our selues. Afterwards we bought all their teeth, which were in number 14. and of those 14. there were 10. small: afterwards they departed, making vs signes that the next day we should come to their Townes.

Two townes.

The 26. day because we would not tridle long at this place I required the Master to goe vnto one of the townes, and to take two of our marchants with him, & I my selfe went to the other, and tooke one with me, because these two townes stand three miles asunder. To these places we caried somewhat of euery kinde of marchandize that we had: and hee had at the one Towne, nine teeth, which were but small, and at the other towne where I was, I had eleuen, which were also

not bigge, and we left aboard with the Master certaine Manillos, where with he bought 12. teeth aboard the ship, in our absence: and having bought these of them, we perceived that they had no more teeth: so in that place where I was one brought to me a small goat, which I bought, and to the Master at the other place they brought five small hennes, which he bought also, and after that we saw there was nothing else to be had, we departed, and by one of the clocke we met aboard, and then wayed, and went East our course 18. leagues still within sight of land.

The 28. the wind varied, and we ranne into the sea, and the winde comming againe off the sea, we fell with the land againe, and the first of the land which we raised shewed as a great red cliffe round, but not very high, and to the Eastward of that another smaller red cliffe, and right above that into the land a round hummoke and greene, which we tooke to be trees. We ranne in these 24. houres, not above foure leagues.

The 29. day comming neere to the shoare, we perceived the red cliffe aforesaide to have right vpon the top of it a great heape of trees, and all to the Westwards of it full of red cliffes as farre as we could see, and all along the shoare, as well vpon the cliffes, as otherwise, full of wood: within a mile of the said great cliffe there is a riuer to the Eastwards, and no cliffes that we could see, except one small cliffe, which is hard by it. We ran this day and night 12. leagues.

The windes that we had in this place by the reports of the people and of those that haue bene there, haue not bene vsual, but in the night, at North off the lande, and in the day South off the sea, and most commonly North-west, and South-west.

The 31. day we went our course by the shoare Northwards: this land is all along a low shoare, and full of wood, as all the coast is for the most part, and no rockes. This morning came out many boates which went a fishing, which bee greater boates then those which we sawe before, so that in some of them there sate 5. men, but the fashion of the boates is all one. In the afternoone about three of the clocke we had sight of a Towne by the sea side, which our Pilots iudged to be 25. leagues to the Westwards of the Cape Tres puntas.

The third of January in the morning we fell with the Cape Tres puntas, and in the night passed, as our Pilots saide, by one of the Portugals castles, which is 8. leagues to the Westwards of the Cape: vpon the first sight of the Cape we discerned it a very high land, and all growen over with trees, and comming neere to it, we perceived two head lands, as it were two Bayes betwixt them, which opened right to the Westward, and the vtermost of them is the Easterne Cape, there we perceived the middle Cape, and the Eastermost Cape: the middle Cape standeth not aboute a league from the West Cape, although the Card sheweth them to be 3. leagues one from the other: and that middle Cape hath right before the point of it a small rocke so neere to it, that it cannot be discerned from the Cape, except a man be neere to the shoare, and vpon the same Cape standeth a great heape of trees, and when a man is thwart the same Cape to the Eastward, there lieth hard by it a round greene hummoke, which commeth out of the maine.

Cape Tres puntas.

The thirde Cape is about a league beyond the middle Cape, and is a high land like to the other Capes, and betwixt the middle, and the thirde commeth out a little head or point of a land out of the maine, and diuers rocks hard aboard the shoare.

Before we came to the Capes, being about 8. leagues off therein, we had the land South-east, and by East, and being past the Capes, the land runneth in againe East North-east.

About two leagues beyond the farthest Cape there is a lowe glade about two miles long, and then the land riseth high againe, and diuers head-lands rise one beyond another, and diuers rockes lie at the point of the first head-land. The middle of these Capes is the nearest to the Southwards, I meane, further into the sea then any of the other, so that being to the Eastward of it, it may be discerned farre off, and being so to the Eastward it riseth with two small rockes.

This day we ankered for feare of ouer shooting a towne called S. Johns. We ran this day not above 8. leagues. In the afternoone this day there came a boate of the countrey from the shoare, with five men in her, and went along by vs, as we thought, to discerne our flagges, but they would not come neere vs, and when they had well looked vpon vs, they departed.

The fourth day in the morning, sailing by the coast, we espied a ledge of rockes by the shoare, and to the Westwards of them two great greene hills ioyning together, so that betweene them it was hollow like a saddle: and within the said rockes the Master thought the aforesained Towne had stode, and therefore we manned our boates, and tooke with vs cloth, and other marchandize, and rowed ashore, but going along by the coast, we sawe that there was no towne, therefore we went aboard againe.

From these two hills aforesaid, about two leagues to the Eastward, lie out into the Sea almost two miles a ledge of rockes, and beyond that a great Bay, which runneth into the North North-westward, and the land in this place lieth North North-east along the shoare: but the vtermost

point of land in that place that we could see, lay North-east, and by East from vs.

After that we were with a small gale of winde runne past that uttermost head-land, we sawe a great red cliffe, which the Master againe iudged to be the towne of S. Johns, and then wee tooke out boate with marchandize, and went thither, and when we came thither, we perceiued that there was a towne vpon the topp of the hill, and so wee went toward it, and when we were hard by it, the people of the towne came together a great sort of them, and waued vs to come in, with a peece of cloth, and so we went into a very faire Bay, which lieth to the Eastward of the cliffe, where vpon the towne standeth, and being within the cliffe, wee let fall our grapnell, and after that we had taried there a good space, they sent a boate aboord of vs, to shewe vs that they had golde, and they shewed vs a peece about halfe a crowne weight, and required to know our measure, & our weight, that they might shewe their Captaine thereof: and wee gaue them a measure of two elles, and a waight of two Angels to shew vnto him, which they tooke, and went on shoare, and shewed it vnto their Captaine, and then they brought vs a measure of two elles, one quarter and a halfe, and one Crusado-weight of gold, making vs signes that so much they would giue for the like measure, and lesse they would not haue. After this, we taried there about an houre, and when we sawe that they would doe no other wise, and withall vnderstood, that all the best places were befoze vs, wee departed to our shippes and waped, and ranne along the shoare, and went befoze with our boate, and hauing sailed about a league, we came to a point where there lay soorth a ledge of rockes, like to the others befoze spoken of, and being past that people, the Master spied a place which hee saide plainly was the towne of Don Iohn: and the night was come vpon vs, so that we could not well discern it, but we ankered as neere vnto the place as we could.

The towne of
Don Iohn.

The first day in the morning we perceiued it to be the same towne in deede, and we manned our boates and went thither, and because that the last yere the Portugals at that place tooke away a man from them, and after shot at them with great bales, and did beate them from the place, we let fall our grapnell almost a hase shot off the shoare, and there we lay about two houres, and no boates came to vs. Then certaine of our men with the Hindes boate went into the Bay which lieth to the Eastward of the towne, and within that Bay they found a goodly fresh riuer, and afterwards they came and waued to vs also to come in, because they perceiued the Negroes to come downe to that place, which we did: and immediatly the Negroes came to vs, and made vs signes that they had golde, but none of them would come aboord our boates, neither could wee perceiue any boates that they had to come withall, so that we iudged that the Portugals had spoiled their boates, because we saw halfe of their towne destroyed.

Wee hauing stayed there a good space, and seeing that they would not come to vs, thrust our boates heads a shoare, being both well appointed, and then the Captaine of the Towne came downe, being a graue man: and he came with his dart in his hand, and sixe tall men after him, euery one with his dart & his target, and their darts were all of yron, faire and sharpe, and there came another after them which carried the Captaines stoole: wee salut'd him, and put off our caps, and bowed our selues, and hee like one that thought well of himselfe, did not moue his cap, nor scant bowed his body, and late him downe very solemnly vpon his stoole: but all his men put off their caps to vs, and botned downe themselves.

He was clothed from the loines downe with a cloth of that Countrey making, wrapped about him, and made fast about his topnes with a girde, and his cap of a certaine cloth of the Countrey also, and bare legged, and bare footed, and all bare about the loynes, except his head.

His seruants, some of them had cloth about their loines, and some nothing but a cloth betwixt their legges, and made fast befoze, and behinde to their girdles, and cappes of their owne making, some like a basket, and some like a great wide purse of beastes skines.

All their cloth, cordes, girdles, fishing lines, and all such like things which they haue, they make of the bark of certaine trees, and thereof they can worke things very prettily, and ypon worke they can make very fine, of all such things as they doe occupy, as darts, fishhookes, hooking yrons, yron heads, and great daggers, some of them as long as a woodknife, which be on both sides exceeding sharpe, and bended after the maner of Turkie blades, and the most part of them haue hanging at their left side one of those great daggers.

Their weapons.

Their targets be made of such pills as their cloth is made of, and very closely wrought, and they be in forme foure square, and very great, and somewhat longer then they be broad, so that kneeling downe they make their targets to couer their whole body. Their bowes be short, and of a pretie strength, as much as a man is able to draw with one of his fingers, and the string is of the bark of a tree, made flat, and about a quarter of an inch broad: as for their arrowes, I haue not as yet seene any of them, for they had wrapped them by close, and because I was busie I could not stand about it, to haue them open them. Their golde also they worke very well.

When

When the Captaine was set, I sent him two elles of cloth, and two balons, and gave them vnto him, and hee sent againe for a waight of the same measure, and I sent him a waight of two Angels, which he would not take, neither would hee suffer the towne to buy any thing, but the balons of bzasse: so that wee solde that day 74. balons vnto the men of the towne, for about halfe an Angel weight, one with another, and nine white balons, which we solde for a quarter of an Angell a peece, or thereabouts.

We shewed them all our other things which we had, but they did not esteeme them.

About two of the clocke, the Captaine who did depart in the morning from vs, came againe, and brought with him to present mee withall, a henne, and two great rootes, which I received, and after made mesignes that the countrey would come to his towne that night, and bring great stoze of gold, which in deed about 4. of the clocke they did: for there came about 100. men vnder 3. Captaines, well appointed with their darts and bowes, and when they came to vs, every man sticke downe his dart vpon the shoare, and the Captaines had stooles brought them, and they sat downe, and sent a young man aboord of vs, which brought a measure with him of an ell, and one fourth part, and one sixteenth part, and he would haue that foure times for a waight of one Angell and twelue graines: I offered him two elles, as I had done befoze for two Angels weight, which he esteemed nothing, but still stucke at his foure measures aforesaid: yet in the ende, when it grew very late, and I made him signes that I would depart, he came to foure elles for the waight aforesaid, and otherwise he would not deale, and so we departed. This day we tooke for balons sixe ounces and a halfe and one eight part.

The first day in the morning we manned our boates and the skiffe well, for feare of the Portugals which the last yeere had taken away a man from the other ships, and went on shoare, and landed, because they had no boates to come to vs, and so the young man which was with vs the night befoze was sent aboord, who seemed to haue dealt and bargained befoze with the Portugals for he could speake a litle Portuguese, and was perfect in weights and measures: at his coming he offered vs, as he had done befoze, one Angell, and twelue graines for foure elles, and more he would not giue, and made signes, that if we would not take that, we should depart, which we did: but befoze we did indeede depart, I offered him of some rotten cloth thre elle for his waight of an Angell and twelue graines, which he would not take, and then we departed making signes to him that we would go away, as indeede we would haue done, rather then haue giuen that measure, although the cloth was ill, seeing we were so neere to the places, which we iudged to be better for sale. Then we went aboord our ships, which lay about a league off, and came backe againe to the shoare for sand and balaste: and then the Captaine perceiving that the boats had brought no marchandise but came onely for water and sand, and seeing that we would depart, came vnto them, making signes againe to know whether we would not giue the foure elles, and they made signes againe, that we would giue them but thre, and when they sawe that the boats were ready to depart, they came vnto them and gaue them the weight of our Angell and twelue graines, which we required befoze and made signes, that if we would come againe, they would take thre elles. So when the boats came aboord, we layde wares in them both, and for the speedier dispatch I and Iohn Sauill went in one boat, and the Master Iohn Makeworth, and Richard Curligin, in the other, and went on shoare, and that night I tooke for my part fiftie and two ounces, and in the other boate they tooke eight ounces and a quarter, all by one weight and measure, and so being very late, we departed and went aboord, and tooke in all this day thre pound.

The seuenth day we went a shoare againe, and that day I tooke in our boate thre pound 19 ounces, so that we dispatched almost all the cloth that we caried with vs befoze noone, and then many of the people were departed & those that remained had litle golde, yet they made vs signes to fetch them some latten balons, which I would not because I purposed not to trifle out my time, but goe thence with speede to Don Iohns towne. But Iohn Sauill and Iohn Makeworth were desirous to goe againe: and I, loth to hinder them of any profite, consented, but went not my selfe: so they tooke eighteene ounces of gold and came away, seeing that the people at a certaine crie made, were departed.

While they were at the shoare, there came a young fellow which could speake a litle Portuguese, with thre more with him, and to him I solde 39 balons and two small white sawcers, for thre ounces, &c. which was the best reckoning that we did make of any balons: and in the forenoone when I was at the shoare, the Master solde five balons vnto the same fellow, for halfe an ounce of golde.

This fellow, as farre as we could perceiue, had bene taken into the Castle by the Portugales, and was gotten away from them, for he tolde vs that the Portugales were bad men, and that they

made them slaves if they could take them, and would put yrons upon their legges, and besides he told vs, that as many Frenchmen or Englishmen, as they could take (for he could name these two very well) they would hang them : he told vs further , that there were 60 men in the castle, and that every yeere there came thither two shippes , one great , and one small caruell , and further, that Don Iohn had warres with the Portugals, which gaue mee the better courage to goe to his towne, which lieth but foure leagues from the Castle, wherehense our men were beaten the last yeere.

60. Portugales in the castle of Mina.

The English in anno 1554 rooke away 5 Negroes.

This fellowe came aboard our shippe without feare, and asloone as he came, he demaunded, why we had not brought againe their men, which the last yeere we tooke away, and could tell vs that there were five taken away by Englishmen : we made him answere, that they were in England well vled, and were there kept till they could speake the language, and then they should be brought againe to be a helpe to Englishmen in this Countrey : and then he spake no more of that matter.

Our boates being come aboard, we wayed and set sayle and a litle after spied a great fire vpon the shoare, and by the light of the fire we might discerne a white thing, which they tooke to be the Castle, and for feare of ouerhosting the towne of Don Iohn we there ankered two leagues off the shoare, for it is hard to fetch vp a towne here, if a ship ouerhoot it, This day we tooke seuen pound, and five ounces of golde.

This towne lieth in a great Bay, which is very deepe.

The people in this place desired most to haue basons and cloth. They would buy some of them also many knives, as knives, hozsetailes, hoznes: and some of our men going a hoare, sold a cap, a dagger, a hat, &c.

They shewed vs a certain course cloth, which I thinke to be made in France, for it was course wooll, and a small threed, and as thicke as wotted, and striped with stripes of greene, white, yellow &c. Diuers of the people did weare about their neckes great beades of glasse of diuerse colours. Here also I learned some of their language, as followeth :

This language seemeth partly to be corrupt.

Mattea, mattea,	} Is their salutation,
Dassce, dassce,	
Sheke,	
Cowrte,	
Cracca,	
Bassina,	
Foco, foco,	
Molta,	

Sight of the castle of Mina.

The eight day in the morning we had sight of the Castle, but by reason of a miste that then fell we could not haue the perfect sight of it, till we were almost at the towne of Don Iohn, and then it cleared vp, and we saw it and a white house, as it were a Chappell, vpon the hill about it : then we halled into the shoare, within two English miles of Don Iohns towne, and there ankered in seuen sadome water. Here, as in many other places befoze, we perceiued that the currant went wick the winde.

The land here is in some places low and in some high, and full of wood altogether.

Don Iohns towne descried.

The towne of Don Iohn is but litle, of about twentie houses, and the most part of the towne is walled in with a wall of a mans height, made wick reede or sedge, or some such thing. Here we staid two or thre hours after we had ankered, to see if any man would come vnto vs : and seeing that none did come, we manned our boates and put in marchandize, and went and ankered wick our boates neere to the shoare : then they sent out a man to vs who made vs signes that that was the towne of Don Iohn, and that he himselfe was in the Countrey, and would be at home at the going downe of the Sunne, and when he had done, he required a reward, as the most part of them will doe which come first aboard, and I gaue him one ell of cloth and he departed, and that night we heard no more of him.

The ninth day in the morning we went againe with our boates to the shoare, and there came soorth a boate to vs, who made signes that Don Iohn was not come home, but would be at home this day : and to that place also came another boate from the other towne a mile from this, which is called Don Dewis, and brought wick him gold to shew vs, making signes that we should come thither. Then left in this place Iohn Sauill, and Iohn Makeworth, and tooke the Hinde, and went to the other towne and there ankered, and tooke cloth and went to shoze wick the boate, and by and by the boates came to vs and brought a measure of foure yards long & a halfe, and shewed vs a weight of an angell and twelue graines, which they would giue for so much, and not otherwise: so I staid and made no bargaine. And all this day the barke lay at Don Iohns towne, and

did nothing, hauing answered that he was not come home.

The tenth day we went againe to the shoare, and there came out a boate with good store of gold, and hauing giuen the matter off a long time, and hauing brought the measure to a naple lesse then three elles, and their weight to an angell and twentie graines, and could not bring them to more, I did conclude with them and so lve, and within one quarter of an houre I tooke one pound and a quarter of an ounce of golde: and then they made me signes to tary, till they had parted their cloth vpon the shoare as their manner is, and they would come againe, and so they went away, and layde the cloth all abroad vpon the sande peece by peece, and by and by one came running downe from the towne to them, and spake vnto them, and soorthwith euery man made as much haste as he could away, and went into the woods to hide his golde and his cloth: we mistrusted some knauery, and being waied by them to come a shoare, yet we would not, but went aboarde the Hinde, and perceiued vpon the hill 30 men which we iudged to be Portugals: and they went vpon the toppe of the hill and there mustered and shewed the miselues, hauing a flagge with them. Then I being desirous to knowe what the Hart did, tooke the Hindes boate and went towards her, and when I came neere to them they shot off two peeces of ordnance which I marueiled at: I made as much haste as I could to her, and met her boate and skiffe coming from the shoare in all haste, and we met aboard together. They shewed me that they had beene a shoare all that day, and had giuen to the two sonnes of Don Iohn, to either of them three yardes and a halfe of cloth, and three basons betwixt them, and had deliuered him 3 yardes of cloth more and the weight of an angell and 12 graines, and being on land did carie for his answer, and in the meane time the Portugals came running from the hill vpon them, wherof the Negroes a litle before had giuen them warning, and had them to go away but they perceiued it not. The sonne of Don Iohn conspired with the Portugales against them, so that they were almost vpon them, but yet they recouered their boate and set off from the shoare, and the Portugales shot their calicuers at them, but hurt no man, and then the ship perceiuing it, shot off the two peeces aforesayde among them. Whereupon we layde bales in both the boates, and in the Skiffe and manned them well, and went a shoare againe, but because of the winde we could not land, but lay off in the sea about ten scope and shot at them, but the hill succoured them, and they from the rockes and from the hilles shotte at vs with their halfe hakes, and the Negroes more for feare then for loue stood by them to helpe them, and when we saw that the Negroes were in such subiection vnto them that they durst not sell vs any thing for feare of them we went aboard, and that night the winde kept at the East, so that we could not with our ship fetch the Hinde, but I tooke the boate in the night and went aboard the bark to see what was there to be done, and in the morning we perceiued the towne to be in like case layde with Portugales, so we wayed and went along the coast. This towne of Iohn de Viso standeth vpon an hill like the towne of Don Iohn, but it hath bene burned, so that there are not passing fixe houses in it: the most part of the golde that comes thither comes out of the countrey, and no doubt if the people durst for feare of the Portugals bring forth their gold, there would be had good store: but they dare not sell any thing, their subiection is so great to the Portugales. The 11 day running by the shoare we had sight of a litle towne foure leagues from the last towne that we came from, and about halfe a league from that, of another towne vpon a hill, and halfe a league from that also of another great towne vpon the shoare: whither we went to see what could there be done: if we could doe nothing, then to returne to the other towne, because we thought that the Portugales would leaue the towne vpon our departure. Along from the castle vnto this place are very high hilles which may be seene about all other hilles, but they are full of wood, and great red cliffes by the sea side. The boates of these places are somewhat large and bigge, for one of them will carrie twelue men, but their forme is alike with the former boates of the coast. There are about these townes few riuers: their language differeth not from the language vsed at Don Iohns towne: but euery one can speake three or foure wordes of Portuguese, which they vsed altogether to vs.

We sawe this night about 5 of the clocke 22 boates running along the shoare to the Westward, whereupon we suspected some knauery intended against vs. The 12 day therefore we set sayle and went further along the coast, and descried more townes wherain were greater houses then in the other townes, and the people came out of the townes to looke vpon vs, but we could see no boates. Two mile beyond the Eastermost towne are blacke rockes, which blacke rockes continue to the vitermost cape of the land, which is about a league off, and then the land runnes in East northeast, and a sandy shoare againe: vpon these blacke rockes came downe certaine Negroes, which waied vs with a white flagge, but we perceiuing the principall place to be neere, would not stay, but bare still along the shoare: and as soone as we had opened the point of the land, we rayled another head-land about a league off the point, which had a rocke lying off it

into

The Portugales of the castle of Mina invaded our men.

The towne of Don Iohn de Viso.

into the sea, and that they thought to be the place which we sought. When we came thwart the place they knew it, and we put wares into our boate, and the ship being within halfe a mile of the place ankered in fine sadome water and faire ground. We went on shoare with our boate, and ankered about ten of the clocke in the forenoone: we saw many boates lying upon the shoare, and diuers came by vs, but none of them would come nere vs, being as we iudged afraid of vs: because that foure men were taken perforce the last yeere from this place, so that no man came to vs, where upon we went aboord againe, and thought here to haue made no sale: yet towardes night a great foze came downe to the water side, and waued vs on shoare with a white flagge, and afterwarde their Captaine came downe and many men with him, and late him downe by the shoze vnder a tree: which when I perceiued, Iooke things with me to giue him: at last he sent a boat to call to vs, which would not come nere vs, but made vs signes to come againe the next day: but in fine, I got them to come aboord in offering them things to giue to their captaine, which were two elles of cloth, one latten bason, one white bason, a bottle, a great piece of beefe, and sixe bisket cakes, which they receiued making vs signes to come againe the next day, saying, that their Captaine was Grand Capirane as appeared by those that attended vpon him with their darts and targets, and other weapons.

Foure men taken away by the English.

A great towne.

This towne is very great and stands vpon a hill among trees, so that it cannot well be seene except a man be nere it: to the Eastward of it vpon the hill hard by the towne stand 2. high trees, which is a good marke to knowe the towne, And vnder the towne lieth another hill lower then it, wherupon the sea beates: and that end next the sea is all great blacke rockes, and beyonde the towne in a bay lieth another small towne.

The like they doe in the countrey of Prete Ianni.

The 13 day in the morning we tooke our boate and went to shoare, and stayed till ten a clocke and no man came to vs: we went about therefore to returne aboord; and when the Negroes saw that, they came running downe with a flagge to waue vs againe, so we ankered againe, and then one shewed vs that the Captaine would come downe by and by: we saw a saile in the meane time passe by vs but it was small, and we regarded it not. Being on shoze wee made a tilt with our oares and sayle, and then there came a boate to vs with five men in her, who brought vs againe our bottle, and brought me a hen, making signes by the sunne, that within two houres the marchants of the countrey would come downe and buy all that we had: so I gaue them sixe Manilaos to carry to their Captaine, and they made signes to haue a pledge of vs, and they would leaue vs another man: and we willing to doe so, put one of our men in their boate, but they would not giue vs one of theirs, so we tooke our man againe, and there carried for the marchants: and shortly after one came downe arrayed like their Captaine with a great traine after him, who saluted vs friendly, and one of the chiefest of them went and late downe vnder a tree, where the last yeere the Captaine was wont to sit: and at last we perceiued a great many of them to stand at the ende of a hollow way, and behinde them the Portugales had planted a bafe, who suddenly shotte at vs but ouerhot vs, and yet we were in a manner hard by them, and they shot at vs againe before we could ship our oares to get away but did no hurt. Then the Negroes came to the rocks hard by vs, and discharged calieuers at vs, and againe the Portugales shot off their bafe twice moze, and then our ship hot at them; but the rockes and hilles defended them.

Mafter Robert Gainshes voyage to Guinea in Anno 1554.

The English were offered to build a towne in Guine.

Then we went aboord to goe from this place, seeing the Negroes bent against vs, because that the last yeere M. Gainsh did take away the Captaines sonne and thre other from this place with their golde, and all that they had about them: which was the cause that they became friends with the Portugales, whom before they hated, as did appeare the last yeere by the courteous intertainment which the Trinitie had there, when the Captaine came aboord the Shippe, and brought them to his towne, and offered them ground to build a Castle in, and there they had good sales.

The 14 day we wayed and plyed backe againe to seeke the Hinde, which in the morning we met, and so we turned both backe to the Eastwardes to see what we could doe at that place where the Trinitie did sell her eight frises the last yeere. The Hinde had taken eighteene ounces and a halfe moze of golde of other Negroes, the day after that we left them. This day about one of the clocke we espied certaine boates vpon the sand and men by them and went to them with marchandizes, and tooke thre ounces of gold for 18 fuffes of cloth, euery fuffe thre yards and a halfe after one angell and 12 graines the fuffe, and then they made me signes that the next day I should haue golde enough: so the Mafter tooke the Hinde with Iohn Sauill and Iohn Makeworth, and went to seeke the place aforesaid, & I with Richard Pakeman remained in this place to see what we could do the next day: and when the Negroes perceiued our ship to go away, they feared that the other would follow, & so sent forth 2 boats to vs with 4 men in them, requiring vs to tary & to giue them one man for a pledge, and 2 of them should tary with vs for him, so Edward M. Morleis seruant

seruant seeing these men so earnest therein offered himselfe to be pledge, and we let him goe for two of them, one whereof had his waights and scales, and a chaine of golde about his necke, and another about his arme. They did rate of such things as we had and were well contented. In the night the Negroes kept a light vpon the shoare thwart of vs, and about one of the clocke we heard and saw the light of a bafe which shot off twise at the said light, and by and by discharged two calicuers, which in the end we perceived to be the Portugals brigandine which followed vs from
20 Portugale
Brigandine.

The 15 day in the morning the Captaine came downe with 100 men with him, and brought his wife, and many others brought their wiuies also, because their towne was 8 miles by in the countrey, and they determined to lie by the sea side till they had bought what they would. When he was come he sent our man aboard, and required to haue two men pledges, and he himselfe would come aboard, and I sent him two, of whom he tooke but one, and so came aboard vs, he and his wife with diuers of his friends, and brought me a goate and two great rootes, and I gaue him againe a latten balon, a white balon, 6 manillios, and a bottell of Palmeste, and to his wife a small casket. After this we began to make our measure and weight: and he had a weight of his owne which held one angell and 14 graines, and required a measure of 4 elles and a halfe. In fine we concluded the 8 part for one angell and 20 graines, and before we had done, they tooke their owne weight and measure.

The 16 day I tooke 8 li. 1 ounce of gold: and since the departure of the Hinde I heard not of her, but when our pledge went into the countrey the first night, he said he saw her cast anker aboute fine leagues from this place. The 17 day I sold about 17 pieces of cloth, & tooke 4. li. 4 ounces and a halfe of gold. The 18 day the captaine desired to haue some of our wine, and offered halfe a ducket of gold for a hottell: but I gaue it him freely, and made him and his traine drinke besides. And this day also I tooke 5 li. 5 ounces of gold. The 19 day we sold about 18 clothes, and tooke 4 li. 4. ounces and one quarter of golde.

The 20 day we tooke 3 li. six ounces and a quarter of golde. The 21 we tooke 8. li. 7. ounces and a quarter. The 22, 3. li. 8. ounces and a quarter. And this night about 4 of the clocke the Captaine who had layen all this while vpon the shoare, went away with all the rest of the people with him.

The 23 day we were waued a shoare by other Negroes, and sold them cloth, caskets, knives, and a dosen of bels, and tooke 1. li. 10. ounces of gold. The 24 likewise we sold bels, sheetes, and chimbles, and tooke two li. one ounce and a quarter of gold. The 25 day we sold 7 dosen of smal bels and other things, and then perceiuing their gold to be done, we wayed and set saile & went to leeward to seeke the Hinde, and about 5 of the clocke at night we had sight of her, and bare with her, and vnderstood that they had made some sales. The 26 day we receiued out of the Hinde 48 li. 3 ounces and one eight part of golde, which they had taken in the time that we were from them. And this day vpon the request of a Negro that came vnto vs from a captaine, we went to shoare with our marchandize, and took 7 li. and one ounce of gold. At this place they required no gages of vs, but at night they sent a man aboard vs, which lay with vs all night, because we might knowe that they would also come to vs the next day. The 27 day in both our shippes we tooke 8. li. one ounce, three quarters and halfe a quarter of golde. The 28 we made sales for the companie, and tooke one pound and halfe an ounce of gold. The 29 day in the morning we heard two calicuers shot off vpon the shoare, which we iudged to be either by the Portugales or by the Negroes of the Portugales: we manned our boates and armed our selues and went to shoare, but could finde nothing: for they were gone. The 30 day we made moze sales for the companie and for the Masters.

The 31 we sent our boate to shoare to take in sand for ballast, and there our men met the Negroes, with whom they had made sale the day before a fishing which did helpe them to fill sand, and hauing no gold, sold fish to our men for their handkerchiefes and nightkerchiefes.

The 1 day of February we wayed and went to another place, and tooke 1. li. 9. ounces 3 quarters of gold. The 2 day we made moze sales: but hauing viewed our victuals, we determined to carie no long time vpon the coast, because the most part of our drinke was spent, & that which remained grew sowze. The 3 and 4 dayes we made some sales, though not great, and finding the wind this 4. day to come off the shoare, we set saile and ranne along the shoare to the Westwards: vpon this coast we found by experience that ordinarily about 2 of the clocke in the night the winde comes off the shoare at Northnortheast, and so continueth vntill eight of the clocke in the morning: and all the rest of the day and night it comes out of the Southwest: and as for the tide or currant vpon this shoare, it goeth continually with the winde. The 5 day we continued sayling and thought to haue met with some English ships, but found none.

February.

They returne
for England.

The first day we went our course South-west to fetch under the line, and ranne by estimation 24 leagues.

The 13 day wee thought our selues by our reckoning to be cleare off the Cape das Palmas, and ranne 12 leagues.

Cape de Monte.

The 22 day we were thwart of the Cape de Monte, which is to the Westward of the Riuer de Sestos, about 30 leagues.

March.

The first day of March in a Tornado we lost the Hinde, whereupon we set by a light and shot off a piere but could not heare of her, so that then we strooke our saile and taried for her, and in the morning had sight of her againe three leagues a sterne off vs.

Cape Verde in latitude 14 Degrees & a halfe

Upon the 22 day we found our selues to be in the height of Cape Verde, which stands in 14. degrees and a halfe.

From this day till the 29 day we continued our course, and then we found our selues to be in 22 degrees. This day one of our men called Wilham King, who had bene long sicke, died in his sleepe. his apparell was distributed to those that lackt it, and his money was kept for his friends to be deliuered them at his coming home.

The 30 day we found our selues to be vnder the Tropike.

The 31 day we went our course, and made way 18 leagues.

April.

From the first day of Apriill to the 20 we went our course, and then found our selues to be in the height of the Afores.

May.

The seuenth day of May we fell with the South part of Ireland, and going on shoare with our boate had fresh drinke, and two sheepe of the countrey people, which were wilde Kernes, and we gaue them golde for them, and bought further such other vittuals as we had neede of, and thought would serue vs till we arriued in England.

Their arriual at Bristol.

The 14 day with the afternoone tide we went into the Port of Bristol called Hungrode, and there ankered in safety and gaue thanks to God for our safe arriual.

The second voyage made by Maister *William Towrson* to the coast of *Guinea*, and the Castle of *Mina*, in the yeere 1556. with the *Tiger* of *London*, a ship of 120 tunnes, the *Hart* of *London* of 60 tunnes, and a Pinnesse of sixteene tunnes.



The fourteenth day of September, the yeere abouesayd, we departed from Harwich, and directed our course for the Isle of Sillie, to meeete there with the Hart and Pinnesse, which were rigged and victualled at Bristol, but arriuing there the eight and twentieth day we found them not, and therefore after long lying at hull to carrie for them, but not espying them, we turned backe to Plimmouth the 12 day of October, and being there, the Hart and the Pinnesse came to vs, so that the 15 of November we all departed together from Plimmouth at one of the clocke in the after noone, and the 28 day we had sight of the Isle of Porto Santo, and the next day in the morning of Madera.

November.

December.

The third day of December we fell with the Ile of Palma, and the 9 we were thwart of Cape Blancke, and found there certaine Carauels fishing for Pargoes.

Sierra Leona.

The 19 we found our selues in the height of Sierra Leona, and all this day we ranne thwart of certaine Curranes, which did set to the West South-west ward so fast as if it had bene the ouerfall of a sand, making a great noyle like vnto a streame or tide-gate when the water is shoaler: and to pzooue whither we could finde ground in this place, we sounded and had 150 fadome, and no ground, and so departed.

The 30 of December we fell with the coast of Guinea, and had first sight of it about 4 leagues off. The best marke that we could take of the place to knowe it was three hilles, which lay North-east and by East from vs: betwixt the Northmost two hilles there are two high and great trees standing in sight as it were a sailes breadth one from another, and a litle more to the North-westwards are certaine hommocks. Hauing sayled somewhat into the shoare wee cooke our selues to be thotte somewhat past the riuer de Sestos, so that we kept about to fetch it. And a litle after we had sight of three sayles of shippes and two pinnelles which were in the weather of vs, and hauing sight of them we made our selues readie to meeete them, and halled off our Shippes to fetch the winde as neere as we could: and hauing sayled about an houre or two, they also went about, and went as we went to make themselues readie, and when we had them in chase, they went away from vs: but when they had made themselues readie, they kept about againe, and came with vs verie finely appointed with their streamers, and pendants and ensignes, and noyle

noyse of trumpets very brauely: so when we met, they had the weather of vs, and we being determined to fight, if they had bene Portugals, waned them to come vnder our Lee, which they denied stoutly: then we demaunded of them whence they were, and they sayd of France, we told them againe that we were of London in England. They asked of vs what Portugals wee had seene, we answered, none but fishermen: then they told vs that there were certaine Portugall ships gone to the Mina to defend it, and that they met with another at the riuer de Sestos, which was a ship of two hundred which they had burned, and had saued none but the master and two or three Negroes, and certaine others which were soze burned which they left a shoze there. They then desired to come aboard of vs with their boates to talke with vs, and wee gaue them leaue. Then the captaine of the Admirall and diuers others came aboard very friendly, desiring vs to keepe their company because of the Portugals, and to goe to the Mina with them: wee told them that we had not watered, and that we were but now fallen with the coast, and they shewed vs that we were fiftie leagues past the riuer de Sestos: notwithstanding there was water enough to be had, and they would helpe vs to water with their owne boates because they would haue our company. And told vs further, that they had bene sixe weekes vpon the coast, and had gotten but three tunnes of graines amongst them all: and when wee had heard them, we made our reckoning that although the Mina were cleare, yet if they did goe before vs, they would marre our market: and if it were not cleare, then if the Portugals were there and did take them, they would vnderstand that we were behind, and so would waite for vs. And further we made account that if we went with them we should doe as well as they, if the coast were cleare: if it were not cleare, then by them we were assured to be the stronger. Therefoze hauing considered thus much of their gentle offers, wee told them that the next day wee would conferre moze largely of the matter. Whereupon they desired me to come the next day to dinner to them, and to bring the masters of our ships with me, and such marchants as I thought good, promising to giue vs water out of their owne ships if we would take it, or els to tarie with vs and helpe vs to water with their owne boates and pinnalles.

The riuer of Sestos,

Then admit certaine Frenchmen into their countie.

The 31 day in the morning the Admirall sent his boat aboard for me, and I took our masters and certaine of our marchants and went to him, who had prouided a notable banquet for vs, and intreated vs very friendly, desiring vs still to keepe his company, promising that what victuals were in his ships, or other things that might doe vs pleasure vntill the end, we should haue the one halfe of it, offering vs if we would to furle his flags, and to bee at our commaundement in all things.

In the ende we agreed to come to an anker, and to send our boat on shoze with the Admiralls boat, and one of his pinnalles, and an Almaine which they had brought out of France, to seeke water: as for our pinnalle she came to an anker to seaward of vs all, and would not come at vs. All this night the boates continued on shoze.

The first day of January our boates came to vs againe and had found no riuer. Whereupon we weighed and set saile, and ankred againe at another riuer.

The 2 day we went into the riuer and bargained, and tooke 5 small Elephants teeth.

The 3 day we tooke 5 more.

The fourth day the French Admirall and we tooke fifteene small teeth. This day wee tooke thirtie men with vs and went to seeke Elephants, our men being all well armed with harquebusses, pikes, long bowes, crossebowes, partizans, long swordes, and swordes and bucklers: wee found two Elephants which wee stroke diuers times with harquebusses and long bowes, but they went away from vs and hurt one of our men. The fift day we set saile and ranne along the coast.

An assault vpon elephants.

The 6 day we fell with the riuer de S. Andre, at which place the land is somewhat high to the Westward of the riuer, and a faire Baie also to the Westward of it: but to the Eastward of it it is lowe land.

Rio de S. Andre, Captaine Blundel the French Admirall.

The 7 day we went into the Riuer and found no billage, but certaine wild Negroes not accustomed to trade. It is a very great riuer and 7 fadome water in some places at the entring. Here we filled water, and after set saile.

The 8 day we sailed along the shoze and came to the Reueliffes, and went for ward in sailing the 9 day also.

The 10 day we came together to confer with captaine Blundel Admirall of the French ships, Ierom Bauder his vice admirall, and Iohn de Orleans master of a ship of 70 tunne, and with their marchants, and agreed that when God should send vs to any place where wee might make sale, that we should be of one accord and not one of vs hurt the market of the other, but certaine of our boates so make the price for all the rest, and then one boate to make sale for euery shippe. This

night our boats going to the shoze met with certaine Negroes, who said that they had gold, and therefore we here cast anchor.

Allow,

The 11 day all the day we tooke but one halfe angel weight of 4 graines, which we tooke by hand, for the people of this place had no weight: the Negroes called this place Allow.

The 12 day we ran along the coast and found but one towne, but no boates would come out to vs, and therefore we went our course.

The 13 day I tooke my boat and went along the shoze, and passed by diuers small townes, and was waued to come on shoze at 3 places, but the sea went so high byon the shoze, that it was not possible for vs to land, neither could they come to vs if they had had boates, as I could see none but at one place, where there was one that would haue come vnto vs, but the Land-wash went so foze that it ouerthrew his boat, and one of the men was drowned, which the people lamented, and cried so foze, that we might easily heare them, and they got his body out of the sea, and carried it amongst them to their towne.

Dondou a great towne.

The castle of Mina, Cape de Tres puntas.

The 14 day we came within Saker-shot of the castle, & straightway they set forth and Almado to delcry vs, and when they perceived that we were no Portugals, they ranne within the towne againe: for there is a great towne by the Castle which is called by the Negroes Dondou. With- out this there lie two great rockes like Islands, and the castle standeth byon a point which seemeth almost like an Island. Befoze we came at this castle, we found the land for five or six leagues to be high land, and about seuen leagues befoze we came to the castle, lowe land, vntill we came at the castle, and then wee found the land high againe: This castle standeth about five leagues to the East of Cape de Tres puntas. Here I tooke the boate with our Negroes and ranne alongst the shoze till I came to the Cape and found two small townes, but no boates at them, neither any traffique to be had. At these places our Negroes did vnderstand them well, and one of them went a shoze at all the places and was well receiued of them. This night we ankred at the Cape de Tres puntas.

The 15 day I tooke our boat and went along the shoze, & about 3 leagues beyond the Eastermost part of the Cape we found a faire Bay where we ran in, and found a small towne and certaine boates which belonged to the same towne, but the Negroes in a long time would not come to vs, but at the last by the perswasion of our owne Negroes, one boat came to vs, and with him we sent George our Negro a shoze, and after he had talked with them, they came aboord our boates without feare, and I gaue to their captaine a bason, and two strings of Pargarcts, and they shewed vs about 5 duckats weight of gold, but they required so much for it that wee would not take it, because the Frenchmen and we had agreed to make pryce of our goods all in one boat, and the pryce being made then euery man to sell in his owne boat, and no man to giue more the the pryce which should be set by vs al, This place is called Bulle, and here the Negroes were very glad of our Negroes, and shewed them all the friendship they could, when they had told them that they were the men that were taken away being now againe brought by vs.

Bulle.

The Negroes here shewed vs that a moneth since there were 3 ships that fought together, & the two shippes put the other to flight: and befoze that at the castle of Mina there were 4 ships of the Portugals which met with one Frenchman, which Frenchman caused them all to flee, which shippe we tooke to be the Roebarge: for the Frenchmen of our company iudged her to be there: about that time with her pinnasse also. And further, that after her went a shippe of twelue scoze named the Shaudet all alone, and after her a ship of foure scoze, and both for the Mina. And there were two others also which they left, one at Cape Verde called the Leuriere of Diepe, and another at the riuer De Sestos, besides these 3 which all this time be in our company, whose names be these:

The Esipoer of Hableness which is the Admirall, whose captaine is Denis Blundell,

The Leuriere of Roan Viceadmirall, whose master is Jerome Bauder.

The other is of Hunkleur whose master is called Iohn de Orleans.

Hantz.

The sixteenth day I went along the shoze with two pinnasses of the Frenchmen, and found a Baie and a fresh riuer, and after that went to a towne called Hantz, twelue leagues beyond the Cape. At this towne our Negroes were well knownen, and the men of the towne wept for ioy when they saw them, and demanded of them where Anthonie and Binne had bene: and they told them that they had bene at London in England, and should bee brought home the next voyage. So after this, our Negroes came aboord with other Negroes which brought a weight with them, which was so small that wee could not giue them the halfe of that which they demanded for it.

The Negroes here told vs that there were five Portugall shippes at the Castle and one pinnasse, and that the Portugals did much harme to their Country, and that they liued in feare of them,

them; and we told them againe, that we would defend them from the Portugals whereof they were very glad.

The 17 day we went a shoze and the Frenchmen with vs, but did no great good, the Negroes were so unreasonable, we sold 80 Panellios for one ounce of gold.

Shamma.

Then wee departed and went to Shamma, and went into the riuer with five boates well appointed with men and ordinance, and with our noises of trumpets and drummes, for we thought here to haue found some Portugals but there were none: so wee sent our Negroes on shoze, and after them went diuers of vs, and were very well receiued, and the people were very glad of our Negroes, specially one of their brothers wiues, and one of their aunts, which receiued them with much ioy, and so did all the rest of the people, as if they had bene their naturall brethren: we comforted the captaine and told him that he should not feare the Portugals, for wee would defend him from them: whereupon we caused our boats to shoote off their haies and haquebusses, and caused our men to come on shoze with their long bowes, and they shot befoze the captaine, which he, with all the rest of the people, wondred much at, specially to see them shoot so farre as they did, and assaied to draw their bowes but could not. When it grew to be late, we departed to our ships, for we looked euery houre for the Portugals. *And here the Negroes shewed vs that there was an English ship at the Miaa, which had brought one of the Negroes againe, which Robert Gaynsh tooke away.

The Negroes brought home by our men.

*Note. Robert Gaynsh.

The 18 day we went into the riuer with no lesse strength then befoze, and concluded with the Negroes to giue them for euery Fulle two yards and three nailles of Cloth, and to take for it one angel-duckat: so that we took in all 70 Duckats, whereof the Frenchmen had fortie, and wee thirtie.

The nineteenth day wee went a shoze euery man for himselfe, and tooke a good quantitie of gold, and I for my part tooke foure pound and two ounces and a halfe of gold, and our Partes boate tooke one and twentie ounces. At night the Negroes shewed vs that the next day the Portugals would be with vs by land or by Sea: and when wee were ready to depart, we heard diuers haquebusses shoote off in the woods by vs which wee knew to be Portugals, which durst come no neerer to vs, but shot off in the woods to see if they could feare vs and so make vs to leaue our traffique.

The 20 day we manned our five boates, and also a great boat of the Frenchmens with our men and the Admirals, 12 of them in their murrions and cozlets, and the rest all well appointed, with foure trumpets, a drumme and a fife, and the boate all hanged with streamers of Silke and pendants very faire, and went into the riuer and traffiqued, our man of warre lying off and on in the riuer to waite vs, but we heard no more of the Portugals. This day the Negroes told vs that there were certain ships come into Hanta, which towne is about 2 leagues to the Westward of this place.

Hanta.

This 21 day we manned our boats againe & went to a place a league from this to the Westwards, and there found many Negroes with another Captaine, and sold at the same rate that wee had done with the others.

The 22 day we went a shoze againe and traffiqued in like sort quietly, and I tooke 4 pound and six ounces of gold.

The 23 day about night the Negroes with their captaine came to vs and told vs that the king of Portugals ships were departed from the Castle, meaning the next day to plie to the windward to come to vs, giuing vs warning to take heed to our selues: we told them againe that wee were very glad of their coming, and would be ready at all times to meet them, and to assure them that we were glad of it, wee sounded our trumpets, and shot off certaine haies whereof the Negroes were very glad, and requested vs that if the Portugals sought to hinder our traffique, so they would all the extremitie that we could, promising vs that if they came by land, they would aduertise vs thereof.

The 24 we went a shoze with our trumpets and drummes, and traffiqued, and I bade the captaine of the towne to dinner.

The 25 day we being a shoze, our ships had descriced fine sailes of the king of Portugals, & our ships shot off ordinance to call vs away, and we thzeu euery man his calke a shoze for water, and went to our ships, and by that time we had weighed and giuen order one to another what to do, it was night, so y that might nothing was done. We set saile and lay close all night to get the wind if we could: we were neere some of them, and one shot off a piece which wee indged to be the Admirall of the Portugals, to cause the rest to come and speake with him: so all this night we made our selues ready for fight.

Five sailes of Portugals descriced.

The 26 we came in with the shoze and had sight of the Portugals where they rid at anker,

and we bare with them, and we gaue all our men white scarffes, to the ende that the Frenchmen might know one the other if we came to boording: but the night came vpon vs that we could not fetch them, but we ankered within demie-Caluering shot of them.

The 27 day we wrighted and so did the Portugals, and about eleuen of the clocke wee had the wind of them, and then we went roome with them, which when they perceiued, they kept about to the shoze againe, and wee after them; and when they were so neere the shoze that they could not well runne any further on that boord, they kept about againe, and lay to the Seaward; and then we kept about with them, and were a head of them; and tooke in our topsailes and caried for them: and the first that came by was a littall barke which sailed so well that she cared not for any of vs, and caried good ordnance: and as soone as she came by, she shot at vs, and ouer shot vs, and then she shot at the Admirall of the Frenchmen, and shot him through in two or three places, and went forth a head of vs, because we were in our fighting sailes: then came by another carauell vnder our Lee in like case which shot at vs and at the Frenchman, and hurt two of his men and shot him through the maine maiste. And after them came by the Admirall vnder our Lee also, but he was not able to doe vs so much harme as the small shippes, because he caried ordnance higher then they, neither were we able to make a good shot at any of them, because our shippe was so weake in the side, that she laid all her ordnance in the Sea: wherefore we thought to lay the great ship aboord, and as soone as the French Admirall went roome with him, he fell a sterne and could not fetch him, and after he fell a sterne of two carauells moze and could fetch none of them, but fell to Lee ward of them all: and when he was to Lee ward, he kept about to the shoze ward, and left vs, and then we put out our topsailes and gaue them chase; and both the other Frenchmen kept the wind, and would not come neere vs, and our owne ship was a sterne so that she could not come to vs: and after we had folowed them about two houres to the seaward, they kept about againe towards the shoze, thinking to pay vs as they went along by, and to haue the wind of the French Admirall which before ran in towards the shoze, and we kept about with them, and kept still the wind of them thinking that our Viceadmirall and the other would haue folowed vs as wee willed them to do: but after that the Portugall was past by them, and euery one had shot at vs and our Viceadmirall, both our Viceadmirall and the two Frenchmen, & our owne pinnasse left vs in the lapp, and ran to seaward, and we ran still along, and kept the wind of them to succour the French Admirall, who was vnder all of their Lees; and when they met with him, euery one went roome with him, and gaue him the broad side, and after they cast about againe, and durst not boord him, because they saue vs in the weather of them or els without doubt they had taken or sunke them, for thzee of them which were the smallest, went so fast that it was not possible for a ship to boord them, and caried such ordnance that if they had had the weather of vs, they would haue troubled 3 of the best ships that we had, and as for their Admirall and Viceadmirall they were both notable appointed.

When the Frenchman was cleare of them, hee laie as neere the winde as hee could, and wee folowed them still towards the shoze, and then the Admirall ranne to Sea after the rest, and left vs all alone: and when the Portugals perceiued that we were alone, and gaue them chase, they kept about with vs and we with them, to keepe the wind of them, and we ranne still within base shot of them, but they shot not at vs, because we had the weather of them, and saue that they could do vs no hurt: and thus we folowed one another vntil night, and in the night we lost them, but as for all the rest of our ships, they packed on all the sailes that they could and ranne to sea, and as they themselues confesse, they praied for vs, but as for helpe at their hands we could haue none.

The 28 day we met with our Viceadmirall, our pinnasse, and two of the Frenchmen, and the third was fled which was a ship of four score tunne, and belonged to Roan: and when I had the sight of the rest of our ships, I tooke our skiffe and went to them to know why they lost vs in such a case, and Iohn Kire made me answere that his ship would neither reare nor steere, and as for the pinnasse, Iohn Davis made me answere that she would doe nothing, and that he could cary her no further, for her rudder was broken, so that the Hart was glad to tow her. Then I went to the French Admirall, and found him selfe to be a man of good stomacke, but the one halfe of his men were sicke and dead: and then I talked with the smaller Frenchman, and he made mee answere that he could doe nothing, saying, that his ship would beare no saile, and had 16 of his men dead and sicke, so he made vs plaine answere that he was able to doe nothing. After this the Frenchmen durst not anker for feare of the Portugals.

The 29 day the master of the pinnasse came to vs and sayd that they were not able to keepe her any longer, and then wee viewed her and seeing there was no remedie, her rudder with all the iron worke being broken both aloft and belowe, wee agreed to breake her by and to put the men

The fight with
the Portugals.

The French
folake our
men.

men into the Barr. So we tooke out of her foure bales, one anker, and certaine fire wood, and set her on fire, and afterwarde ran along the coast.

The thirtie day we went in to the shoze, and spake with certaine Negroes, who told vs that some French shippes had bene there, but wee could not bargaine with them they were so vntreasonablc.

The 31 day I went to shoze but did not traffike.

The 1 day of februarye we weighed, seeing we could not bring the Negroes to any reason, and came to another place which standeth vpon an hill. Februarye

The third day I went to a towne foure leagues from vs, and shot off two pieces, and the Captaine came to vs, and I sent Thomas Rippen a land who knew the Captaine, and as soone as he came on shoze the Captaine knew him and diuers of the Negroes who then began to aske for mee, and hauing told the Captaine that I was in the boate, hee made no longer tarrying but by and by caused two boates to be put to the Sea, and came to me himselfe, and when he sawe me, he cryed to me before hee came to the boat and seemed to be the gladdest man allue, and so did all the company that knew mee, and I gaue him a reward as the maner of the Countrey is, and caused the Frenchmen to giue another, promising the next day to giue him wine: and that night because it was late, he would not talke of any price, but left me a pledge, and tooke another of me and so departed.

The 4 day going on shoze, I found that the ships of France which had bin there, had done much hurt to our markets, but yet I tooke fine ounces and a halfe of gold.

The fift day I tooke eight ounces and one eight part of gold: but I saw that the Negroes perceived the difference in Cloth betwixt ours and that which the Frenchmen had, which was better, and broader then ours: and then I told captaine Blundel that I would goe to the Leeward, because I perceived that being there where his Cloth was sold, I should do no good, whereof hee was soze.

The 6 day there came an Almace & Negroes aboord me, requesting me to come to their towne for they had much gold and many marchants: and so I went and found their old Captaine gone, and another in his place: but this night wee did no good, because the marchants were not come downe: so he required a pledge which I let him haue, and tooke another of him.

The 7 day George our Negro came to vs, who had followed vs at the least 30 leagues in a small boat, and when he came, the Negroes and we soone concluded of price, I tooke this day fine pound and one ounce, and 3 quarters of gold. This Negro we had left at Shamma at the time of the fight, who said that he saw the fight being on shoze, and that when we were gone from the Portugals, the Portugals came into their riuer, and told them that the Englishmen had slaine two Portugals with a piece, which was in deed out of our ship, and they required harbour there, but the captaine of Shamma would not suffer them. George our Negro. Two Portugals slaine by the English.

The 8 day we tooke nineteene pound thzee ounces and a halfe.

The 9 day we tooke two pound six ounces and a halfe.

The 10 day thzee pound.

The 11 day came to vs Jerome Bawdet the Viceadmirall of the Frenchmen and his pinnasse, and he shewed vs that where we left them there was no good to be done, and sayd he would goe to the Eastward, but wee told him hee should not: and thereupon commaunded him to goe to his company which he was appointed to bee with, which hee refused to doe untill wee had shot thzee or foure pieces at their pinnasse, and when the ship sawe that, she kept about, and ranne to Seaward, and durst come no neerer to vs, so the pinnasse went after her. We tooke this day one pound fine ounces. The Frenchmen tybled by the English.

The 12 day there came one of the Frenchmens pinnasses to vs ladē with cloth, and would haue made sale, but I would not suffer him, and therefoze tooke him and sent him aboord of our ship, and caused him to ride there all day. We tooke five pound six ounces and a halfe.

The 14 day we tooke of some Negroes 4 ounces of gold.

The 16 we came to another towne.

The 17 day I went a shoze and understood that 3 of the Portugall ships were at the Castle, and the other two at Shamma. The captaine of this towne was gone to the principall towne, to speake with their king, and would retorne shoze as they told me, and so hee did, and brought me a weight and measure, and I sent a man to see that principall towne, and their king. The Portugall ships rid so neere vs, that within 3 houres they might be with vs, yet were all contented to tary for sales.

The 18 day certaine of the kings seruants came to vs, and we tooke one pound two ounces, and one eight part of gold.

The 10 day we tooke five pound one ounce.

The 20 day one pound and foure ounces.

The 21 I tooke foure pound and one ounce, and the Negroes enquired for fine cloth, and I opened two pieces which were not fine enough, as they sayd, but seeing that we had no other, they bought of them. At night I provided a gift, or present, and sent one marchant and a mariner with it to the king, to certifie him of our want of victuals, by reason whereof we could not stay long: for in deed we searched our ship, and the most part of our beere was leaked out of all our barrels.

The 22 day we tooke three ounces and a halfe.

The 23 our men came from the king Abaan, and told vs, that he had receiued the very friendly, but he had little gold, but promised, if we would tary, to send into all his countrey for gold for vs, and he willed our men at their comming home to speake to our king to send men and provision into his countrey, to build a castle, and to bring Tailors with them, to make them apparell, and good wares, and they should be sure to sell them: but for that present the Frenchmen had filled them full of cloth.

This towne standeth about foure leagues by in the land, and is, by the estimation of our men, as big in circuit as London, but the building is like to the rest of the countrey. They haue about this towne great store of the wheate of the Countrey, and they iudge, that on one side of the towne there were one thousand rikes of Wheate, and another sort of Corne which is called Mill, which is much vsed in Spaine. About this towne they keepe good watch euery night, and haue to warne the watchmen certaine cordes made fast ouer their wayes, which lead into the towne, and certaine bells vpon them, so that if any man touch the cordes, the bells ring, and then the watchmen runne forth of their watch houses to see what they be: and if they be enemies, if they passe the cord, they haue provision with certaine nets hanged ouer the wayes, where they must passe, to let fall vpon them, and so take them, and otherwise then by the wayes it is not possible to enter the towne, by reason of the thickets and bushes which are about the same, and the towne is also walled round about with long cordes, and bound together with sedge and certaine barks of trees.

When our men came to the towne, it was about five of the clock in the morning, for there they trauell alwayes in the night by reason of the heate of the day: and about nine of the clocke, the king sent for them, for there may no man come to him before he be sent for, and then they would haue caried their present with them: but the Negroes told them, that they must bee three times brought before him, before they might offer their gift: and when they came to him, he talked with them, and receiued them very friendly, and kept them about halfe an houre, and then they departed, and after that sent for them againe three times, and last of all, they brought him their present, which he receiued thankfully, and then caused a pot of wine of Palme to be brought forth, and made them drinke: and before they drinke, both here and in all the Countrey, they vse certaine ceremonies.

First they bring forth their pot of drinke, and then they make a hole in the ground, & put some of the drinke into it, and they cast the earth vpon it, which they digged forth before, and then they set the pot vpon the same, then they take a little thing made of a goord, and with that they take out of the same drinke, and put it vpon the ground in three places, and in diuers places they haue certaine bunches of the pills of Palme trees set in the ground before them, and there they put in some drinke, doing great reuerence in all places to the same Palme trees.

All these ceremonies first done, the king tooke a cup of gold, and they put him in wine, and hee dranke of it, and when he dranke, the people cried all with one voice, Abaan, Abaan, with certaine other words, like as they cry commonly in Flanders, vpo the Twelue night, The kinning drinke: and when he had dranke, then they gaue drinke to euery one, and that done, the king licensed them to depart, and euery one that departeth from him boweth 3 times towards him, and waueth with both hands together, as they bow, and then do depart. The king hath commonly sitting by him 8 or 10 ancient men with gray beards.

This day we tooke one pound and 10 ounces of gold.

The 24 day we tooke 3 pound and 7 ounces.

The 25 we tooke 3 ounces and 3 quarters.

The 26 we tooke 2 pound and 10 ounces.

The 27 two pound and five ounces.

The 28 foure pound, and then seeing that there was no more gold to be had, we weighed and went forth.

The first day of March we came to a towne called Mowre, but we found no boats nor people there:

King Abaan.

The offer of the king to the English to build a Fort.

The towne in circuit as big as London.

The pretie device to descere the enemies.

The kings friendly entertainment of our men.

Their ceremonies in drinke.

there: but being ready to depart, there came two Almades to vs from another towne, of whom we tooke two ounces and a halfe of golde: and they tolde vs that the Negroes that dwelled at Mowre were gane to dwell at Lagoua.

Lagoua.

The second day we came thwart of the castle, and about two leagues off, and there saw all the five Portugall shipp at anker, and this day by night we fetched Shamma. They returne.

The third day we had sight of one tall ship, of about two hundred tunnes, in the weather of vs, and within lesse then two leagues of our shipp, and then we saw two moze a sterne of her, the one a ship of five hundred or moze, and the other a pinnelle: and these were a new fleet at that present arriued out of Portugall. Whereupon we wayed, and made thist to double out of the land, and then the winde comming to the South-southwest, the Hart going roome with them fell thre leagues to the lewards of vs. These Portugals gaue vs the chase from nine of the clocke in the morning, till five at night, but did no good against vs. At last, we perceiuing the Admirall to be farre a sterne of his company, because his maine top-mast was spent, determined to call about with them againe, because we were sure to weather them, and the winde being as it was, it was our best course: but the Hart was so farre to the leeward, that we could not doe it, except we would lose her company, so that we tooke in some of our sailes, and went roome with him: which when he perceiued, he looffed to, and was able to lie as neere as he did befoze. At night, when we came to him, he would not speake to vs: then we asked of his company why he went so roome; and they made excuse that they were able to beare no saile by, for feare of bearing their fore-top-mast-ouer boord: but this was a simple excuse.

Shipp of Portugall.

The fourth day, being put from our warring place we began to see the our meat in salt water, and to rebate our allowance of drinke, to make it indure the longer: and so concluded to set our course thence, for our owne countrey.

The 12 of March I found my selfe thwart of Cape das palmas.

The 16 day we fell with the land, which we iudged to be the Cape Mensurado, aboutt which place is very much high land. Cape Mensurado.

The 18 day we lost sight of the Hart, and I thinke the willfull Passer ran in with the Hoze of purpose to lose vs, being offended that I tolde him of his owne folly.

The 27 day we fell in sight of two small Islands, which lie by our reckoning five leagues off the headland of Sierra Leona: and befoze we came in sight of the same Islands, we made our reckoning to be forty or thirey leagues at the least off them. Therefore all they that saile this way are to regard the currents which set Northnorthwest, or els they may be much deceived. Two small Islands by Sierra Leona. Note.

The 14 of Apriill we met with two great shipp of Portugall, which although they were in the weather of vs, yet came not roome with vs, whereby we iudged that they were bound for Calicut.

The 18 day we were in the heighth of Cape verde.

The 24 we were directly vnder the tropike of Cancer.

The first day of May Henry Wilson our Steward died: and the next day died Iohn Vnderwood.

The fift day we were in the heighth of S. Michael.

The 23 we had sight of a shippe in the weather of vs, which was a French man of 90 tunne, who came with vs as stoutly and as desperately as might be, and comming neere vs perceiued that we had bene vpon a long voyage, and iudging vs to be weake, as in deed we were, came neerer vs, and thought to haue layed vs aboard, & there slept by some of his men in armour, and commanded vs to strike saile: whereupon we sent them some of our Russe, crosse barres, and chaine-shot, and arrowes, so thicke, that it made the vpper worke of their shippe lie about their eares, and we spoiled him with all his men, and toare his shippe miserably with our great ordnance, and then he began to fall a sterne of vs, and to packe on his sailes, and get away: and we seeing that, gaue him foure or five good pieces moze for his farewell; and thus we were rid of this French man, who did vs no harme at all. We had aboard vs a French man a Trumpetter, who being sicke, and lying in his bed, tooke his trumpet notwithstanding, and sounded till he could sound no moze, and so died.

A French brigado.

The 28 we conferred together, and agreed to go into Seuerne, and so to Bristol, but the same night we had sight of the Lizard, and by reason of the winde, we were not able to double the land end to go into Seuerne, but were forced to beare in with the Lizard.

The 29 day, about nine of the clocke in the morning, we arriued safely in Plimmouth, and praised God for our good arriual.

The third and last voyage of *M. William Towrson* to the coast of *Guinie*, and the *Castle de Mina*, in the yeere 1577.

The thirtieth day of January, the yeere abouesayd, we departed out of the sound of Plimmouth, with three ships, and a pinnelle, whereof the names are these: (

- 1 The Minion Admirall of the fleet,
- 2 The Christopher Viceadmirall,
- 3 The Tyger.
- 4 A pinnelle called the Vnicorne: being all bound for the Canaries, and from thence, by the grace of God, to the coast of Guinie.

The next day, being the last of this moneth, we met with two hulks of Dantzick, the one called the Rose, a ship of foure hundred tunnes, and the other called the Vnicorne, of an hundred and fifty tunnes, the Master of the Rose was called Nicholas Masse, and the Master of the Vnicorne Melchior White, both laden at Bourdeaux, and for the most part with wines. When we came to them, we caused them to hoile forth their boats, and to come and speake with vs, and we examined euery one of them apart, what French mens goods they had in their shippes, and they sayd they had none: but by the contrarieties of their tales, and by the suspicion which we gathered of their false charact-parties, we perceiued that they had French mens goods in them: we therefore caused one of them to fetch vp his bills of lading, and because he denied that he had any, we sent certaine with him, who caused him to goe to the place where he had hid them, and by the differences of his billes of lading, and his talke, we gathered, as before, that they had French mens goods. Whereupon we examined them straightly, and first the Purser of the Vnicorne, which was the smaller shippe, confessed that they had two and thirty tunnes and a hoghead of a French mans, Then we examined the Master in like case, and he acknowledged the same to be true. Then we examined also the Master of the great ship, and he confessed that he had an hundred and eight and twenty tunnes of the same French mans, and moze they would not confesse, but sayd that all the rest was laden by Peter Lewgues of Hamburg, to be deliuered to one Henry Summer of Camphire, notwithstanding all their letters were directed to Hamburg, and written in Dutch without, and within in French,

When they had confessed that they had thus much French mens goods within their shippes, we conferred together what was best to be done with them. William Cretton and Edward Selman were of the opinion, that it should be good either to carry them into Spaine, and there to make sale of the goods, or els into Ireland, or to returne backe againe into England with them, if the winde would permit it. But I, waying what charge we had of our Masters, first by mouth, and after wards by writing, that for no such matter we should in any case prolong the time, for feare of losing the voyage, and considering that the time of the yeere was very farre spent, and the money that we should make of the wines not very much, in respect of the commodity which we hoped for by the voyage, perswaded them that to goe into Ireland, the winde being Easterly as it was, might be an occasion that we should be locked in there with that winde, and so lose our voyage: and to carry them into Spaine, seeing they sailed so ill, that hauing all their sailes aboad, we kept them company onely with our foresailes, and without any toppe sailes aboad, so that in euery two dayes sailing they would haue hindered vs moze then one; and besides that (the winde being Easterly) we should not be able to leaze the coast with them: besides all this the losse of time when we came thither was to be considered, whereupon I thought it not good to carry them any further,

And as for carrying them into England, although the winde had bene good, as it was not, considering what charge we had of our Masters, to shift vs out of the way for feare of a stay by reason of the warres, I held it not in any wise conuenient.

But notwithstanding all this, certeine of our company not being herewith satisfied went to our Master to know his opinion therein, who made them a plaine answer, that to carry them into any place, it was not the best way nor the profit of their Masters. And he tolde them further, that if the time were prolonged one moneth longer before they passed the Cape, but a few men would go the voyage. All these things considered, we all paused, and determined at the last, that euery man should take out of the hulks so much as he could well bestow for necessaries, and the next morning to conclude what should be further done with them. So we tooke out of them for vs foure teene tunnes and a halfe of wine, and one tunne we put into the pinnelle.

Soze we tooke out one hoghead of Aquauitæ,

Sixe cakes of rozen.

A small halfer for ties: and certeine chesnuts,

It is to be understood, that at this time there was warre betwixt England and France.

The French mens goods seized in the time of the warre vpon the losse of Calais.

The Christopher tooke out,

Ten tunnes of wine, and one hoghead.

A quantity of Aquauix;

Shall-lines.

Chestnuts.

Site double bales wth their chambers. And their men broke by the hulks chests, and tooke out their compasses, and running glasse, the sounding leade and line, and candles: and cast some of their beefe over boord, and spoiled them so much, that of very pity we gaue them a compasse, a running glasse, a lead and a line, certaine bread and candles, and what apparell of theirs we could finde in their ship, we gaue them againe, and some money also of that which William Crompron tooke for the ransome of a pooze Frenchman; who being their Pilot downe the Riuer of Bordeaux, they were not able to set him a shoze againe, by reason of the foule weather.

The Tyger also tooke out of the smaller hulke fixe or seuen tunnes of wine, one hoghead of Aquauix; and certeine rozzen, and two bales he tooke out of the great hulke.

The first day of February in the morning we all came together againe sauing W. Crompron who sent vs word that he was contented to agree to that order which we should take.

Now Edward Selman was of this opinion, that it was not best to let the ships depart, but put men into them to cary them into England, which thing neither we nor our Master would agree vnto, because we thought it not good to vnman our ships going outward, considering how dangerous the time was: so that in fine we agreed to let them depart, and giue them the rest of the wine which they had in their ships of the Frenchmens for the freight of that which we had taken, and for their ordnance, rozzen, aquauix, chestnuts, and other things which the company had taken from them. So we receiued a bill of their handes, that they confessed how much Frenchmens goods they had, and then we let them depart.

The 10 day we reckoned our selues to be 25 leagues from the Grand Canarie, and this day about nine of the clocke our pinnesse brake her rudder, so that we were forced to tow her at the sterne of the Minion, which we were able to doe, and yet kept company with the rest of our ships. About eleven of the clocke this day we had sight of the Grand Canarie.

The 11 day when we came to the Island we perceiued that it was the Ile of Tenerif, & then indeed we had sight of the Grand Canarie, which lieth 12 leagues to the Eastwards of Tenerif: and because the road of Tenerif is foule ground, and nothing was there to be gotten for the helping of our pinnesse, hauing the winde large, we agreed to go with the Grand Canarie.

The 12 day we came into the roade of the towne of Canarie, which lieth one league from the same towne. And after we had shot off diuers pieces of ordnance to salute the towne and the castle, the gouernour and captaines of the Island sent to vs which were the captaines of the ships, requiring vs to come a shoze. And when we came to them they receiued vs very friendly, offering vs their owne Jennets to ride to the towne, and what other friendship they could shew vs: and we went to the towne with two English Marchants which lay there, and remained in their house that day. The second day following we came aboard to deliuer our marchandise, and to get our pinnesse mended.

Two English Marchants lay in the Grand Canary.

The 14 day came into the road the Spanish fleet which was bound to the Emperours Indies, which were in number nineteene saile, whereof fixe were ships of foure hundred and fixe hundred a piece, the rest were of two hundred, an hundred and fifty, and of an hundred. When they were come to an ancre they saluted vs with ordnance, and so we did them in like case. And afterwards the Admirall (who was a knight) sent his pinnesse to desire me to come to him; and when I came to him he receiued me friendly, and was desirous to heare somewhat of the state of England and Flanders. And after he had made me a banquet, I departed; and I being gone vnto the boat, hee caused one of his gentlemen to desire Francisco the Portugall, which was my interpreter, to require me to furl my flagge, declaring that hee was Generall of the Emperours fleet. Which thing (being come aboard) Francisco shewed me: and because I refused to furl it, and kept it foorth till, certaine of the souldiers in the ships shot diuers harquebush shot about the ship, and ouer the flagge: and at the same time there came certeine gentlemen aboard our ship to see her: to whom I sayd, that if they would not cause those their men to leaue shooting, I would shoot the best ordnance I had thorow their sides. And when they perceiued that I was offended, they departed, and caused their men of warre and souldiers to shoot no moze, and afterwards they came to me againe, and tolde me that they had punished their men. That done, I shewed them the ship, and made them such cheere as I could, which they receiued very thankfully: and the day following they sent for mee to dine with them, and sent me word that their Generall was very sozy that any man should require me to furl my flagge, and that it was without his consent: and therefore

The Spanish West Indian fleet of nineteene saile.

he requested me not to thinke any vngentlenesse to be in him, promising that no man of his should misbeicame himselfe.

The 17 day we set saile in the road of Grand Canarie, and proceeded on our voyage.

Rio del Oro,

The 20 in the morning we had sight of the coast of Barbarie, and running along the shoze we had sight of Rio del Oro, which lieth almost vnder the tropike of Cancer.

The 21 day we found our selues to be in 20 degrees and a halfe, which is the height of Cape

Francis Castle.

The 25 we had sight of the land in the bay to the Northward of Cape Verde.

Cape verde.

Foure Ilands.

The 26 I tooke Francisco and Francis Castelin with me, and went into the pinnelle, and so went to the Tyger which was neerer the shoze then the other ships, and went aboord her, and with her and the other ships we ranne West and by South, and West-southwest, untill about foure of the clocke, at which time we were hard aboord the Cape, and then we ran in South-west, and beyond the Cape about foure leagues we found a faire Iland, and besides that two or thre Ilands, which were of very high rocks, being full of diuers sortes of sea-foule, and of pigeons, with other sortes of land-foules; and so many, that the whole Iland was covered with the dung thereof, and seemed so white as if the whole Iland had bene of chalke; and within those Ilands was a very faire bay, and hard aboord the rocks eightene fadom water, and faire ground. And when we perceiued the bay, and vnderstanding that the Frenchmen had a great trade there, which we were desirous to know, we came to an ancre with the Tyger. And after that the Minion and the Christopher ancred in like case: then we caused the pinnelle to runne beyond another Cape of land, to see if there were any place to trade in there.

A great trade of the Frenchmen at Cape verde.

It being neere night I tooke our cocke and the Tygers skiffe, and went to the Iland, where we got certaine foules like vnto Gannards: and then I came aboord againe and cooke two of the Gannards which we had taken, and caried them to the captaine of the Christopher, and when I had talked with him, I found him not willing to tary there, neither was I desirous to spend any long time there, but onely to attempt what was to be done. The Master of the Christopher tolde me he would not tary, being not bound for that place.

A faire Iland where the French trade.

Elephants teeth, muske, and hides.

The 27 the Captaine of the Tyger and Edward Selman came to me; and Iohn Makeworth from the Christopher, and then we agreed to take the pinnelle, & to come along the shoze, because that where we rid no Negros came to vs; and the night befoze our pinnelle brought vs word that there was a very faire Iland. And when I came beyond the point I found it so, and withall a goodly bay, and we saw vpon the maine certaine Negros which waied vs on shoze, and then we came to an ancre with the pinnelle, and went a shoze with our cocke, and they shewed vs where their trade was, and that they had Elephants teeth, muske, & hides, and offered vs to fetch downe their Captaine, if we would send a man with them, and they would leaue a pledge for him: then we asked them when any ship had bene there; and some of them sayd not in eight moneths, or hers, in sixe moneths, and others in foure, and that they were Frenchmen.

Then we perceiuing the Christopher not willing to tary, departed from them, & set saile with the pinnelle and went aboord the Tyger.

Cabo de Monte.

The 10 day of March we fell with the coast of Guinea, siue leagues to the Eastward of Cape de Monte, beside a riuer called Rio das Palmas.

The 11 we went to the shoze, and found one man that could speake some Portugise, who tolde vs that there were thre French ships passed by; one of them two moneths past, and the other one moneth past. At this place I receiued nineteene Elephants teeth, and two ounces and halfe a quarter of golde.

The riuer de Sestos.

The 12 we set saile to go to the riuer de Sestos.

The 13 at night we fell with the same riuer.

The 14 day we sent in our boats to take water, and romaged our shippes, and deliuered such wares to the Christopher and Tyger, as they had need of.

The 15 we came together, and agreed to send the Tyger to another riuer to take in her water, and to see what she could do for graines. After that we tooke marchandise with vs, and went into the riuer, and there we found a Negro which was bozne in Lisbon, left there by a ship of Portugal which was burned the last yere at this riuer in fighting with thre Frenchmen; and he tolde vs further, that two moneths past there were thre Frenchmen at this place; and sixe weeks past there were two French ships at the riuer; and fiftene dayes past there was one. All which ships were gone towards the Mina. This day we tooke but few graines.

The 19 day considering that the Frenchmen were gone befoze vs, and that by reason of the vnwholesome aires of this place foureene of our men in the Minion were fallen sicke, wee determined to depart, and with all speed to go to the Mina.

The 2^r we came to the riuer de Potos, where some of our boats went in for water, and I Rio de Potos,
went in with our cocke, and tooke 12 small Elephants teeth,

The 3^d day, after we had taken as many teeth as we could get, about nine of the clocke we set saile to go towards the Mina.

The 3^r we came to Hanta, and made sale of certaine Manillios.

The first Aprill we had sight of five saile of Portugals, whereupon we set saile and went off to sea to get the winde of them, which we should haue had if the winde had kept his ordinary course, which is all the day at the Southwest, and West-southwest: but this day with a flaw it kept all the day at the East, and East-southeast, so that the Portugals had the winde of vs, and came roome with the Tyger and vs untill night, and brought themselves all saue one, which sailed not so well as the rest, within shot of vs: then it fell calme, and the winde came by to the Southwest, howbeit it was neere night, and the Christopher, by meanes of her boat, was about foure leagues to the lee wards of vs. We tacked and ranne into the weather of the Admirall, and three moze of his company, and when we were neere him we spake to him, but he would not answer. Then we cast about and lay in the weather of him; and casting about he shot at vs, and then wee shot at him, and shot him foure or five times thozow, They shot diuers times thozow our sailes, but hurt no man. The Tyger and the pinnelle, because it was night, kept out their sailes, & would not meddle with them. After we had thus fought together 2 houres or moze, and would not lay him aboord because it was night, we left shooting one at the other, and kept still the weather of them. Then the Tyger and the pinnelle kept about and came to vs, and after ward being neere the shoze, we three kept about and lay to the sea, and shot off a piece to giue warning to the Christopher.

They describ
five saile of the
Portugals.

The fight

This night about 12 of the clocke, being very litle winde, and the Mast of the Tyger asleepe, by the ill worke of his men the ship sel aboord of vs, and with her sheare-hooks cut our maine saile, and her boat being betwixt vs was broken and suncke, with certaine merchandise in her, and the ships wailes were broken with her outleger: yet in the end we cleared her without any moze hurt, but she was in hazzard to be broken downe to the water.

The second day we had sight of the Christopher, and were neere vnto her, so that I tooke our boat and went to her. And when I came thither, they shewed me, that after the Portugals had left vs, they went all roome with him, and about twelue a clocke at night met him, and shot at him, and hee at them, and they shot him thozow the sailes in diuers places, and did no other great hurt. And when we had vnderstood that they had bene with him as well as with vs, we agreed altogether to seeke them (if we might finde them) and keepe a weather our places of traffique.

The third day we ran all day to the Southwestwards to seeke the Portugals, but could haue no sight of them, and halled into the shoze.

The fourth day, when we had sight of land, we found that the current had set vs thirty leagues to the Eastwards of our reckoning, which we woondered at: for the first land we made was La-
Lagua. Then I caused our boat to be manned, and the Christophers also, and went to the shoze and tooke our Negro with vs. And on shoze we learned that there were foure French ships vpon the coast; one at Perinnen, which is six leagues to the Westward of Lagua: another at Weamba, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Lagua: a third at Perecow, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Weamba: and the fourth at Egrand, which is foure leagues to the Eastward of Perecow.

Lagua.

Perinnen;
Weamba;
Perecow;
Egrand.

When we had intelligence of these netues we agreed to go to the Eastwards with the French men to put them from their traffique, and shot off two or thzee pieces in our boats to cause the ships to way: and hauing bene about one houre vnder saile, we had sight of one of the French men vnder saile, halling off from Weamba to whome we gaue chase, and agreed in the night for feare of ouershooting them, that the Minion should first come to ancre, and after that about thzee houres, the Tyger and the Christopher to beare along all night.

The 5^d day we found thzee of the French ships at ancre: one called La foye de Honfleur, a ship of 220 tunnes, another called the Ventereuse or small Roebarge of Honfleur, of 100 tunnes, both appertaining to Shawdet of Honfleur, the third was called the Mulet de Baruille a ship of 120 tunnes, and this ship belonged to certaine Marchants of Roan.

When we came to them, we determined to lay the Admirall aboord, the Christopher the Vice-admirall, and the Tyger the smallest: but when we came nere them they wayed, and the Christopher being the headmost & the weathermost man, went roome with the Admirall: the Roebarge went to fall that wee could not fetch her. The first that we came to was the Mulet, and her wee layed aboord, and our men entred and tooke her, which ship was the richest except the Admirall.

The English
boord the
Frenchmen.

for

for the Admirall had taken about 80 pound of golde, and the Roeburge had taken but 22 pound; and all this we learned of the Frenchmen, who knew it very well: for they were all in consort together, and had bene upon the coast of Mina two moneths and odde dayes: howbeit the Roeburge had bene there before them with another ship of Diepe, and a caravel, which had beaten all the coast, and were departed one moneth before our arriving there, and they three had taken about 700 pound of golde.

Assoone as we had layed the ship aboard, and left certaine men in her to keepe her, we set saile and gaue chase to the other two ships, and chased them all day and night, and the next day buttill three a clocke in the afternoone, but we could not fetch them: and therfore seeing that we brought our selues very farre to leeward of our place, we left the chase, and kept about againe to go with the shore.

Fifty pound
of golde taken
in the French
prize.

The 7 day I sent for the captaine, marchants & masters of the other ships, and when they came we weighed the golde which we had from the Frenchmen, which weighed fifty pound and five ounces of golde: this done, we agreed to put men out of euery ship into the prize to keepe her.

The 12 day we came to the further place of the Mina called Egrand, and being come to an ancre, discharged all the marchants goods out of the prize, and would haue sold the ship with the victuals to the Frenchmen, but because she was leake they would not take her, but desired vs to saue their liues in taking them into our owne ships: then we agreed to take out the victuals and sinke the ship, and diuide the men among our ships.

The 15 at night we made an end of discharging the prize, and diuided all the Frenchmen except foure which were sicke and not able to helpe themselves; which foure both the Christopher and the Tyger refused to take, leauing them in their ship alone in the night, so that about midnight I was forced to fetch them into our ship.

Benin.

The 15 of April, mouing our company for the voyage to Benin, the most part of them all refused it.

The 16, seeing the unwillingnesse of the company to goe thither; we determined to spend as much time upon the coast as we could, to the end we might make our voyage, and agreed to leaue the Minion here at Egrand, the Tyger to go to Pericow which is foure leagues off, and the Christopher to goe to Weamba, which is ten leagues to the weacher ward of this place: and if any of them both should haue sight of moze sailes then they thought good to meddle withall; to come roome with their fellowes; to wit, first the Christopher to come with the Tyger, and then both they to come with vs.

Our men die
of sickness.

We remained in this place called Egrand, untill the last day of April, in which time many of our men fell sicke; and sixe of them died. And here we could haue no traffique with the Negroes but three or foure dayes in the weeke, and all the rest of the weeke they would not come at vs.

The 3 of May not hauing the pinnelle sent vs with cloth from the other ships, as they promised, we solde French cloth, and gaue but three yards thereof to euery suffice.

The 5 day the Negroes departed, and told vs they would come to vs againe within foure dayes, which we determined there to tary, although we had diuers of our men sicke.

Sickness.

The 8 day, all our cloth in the Minion being sold, I called the company together, to know whether they would tary the sale of the cloth taken in the prize at this place or no: they answered, that in respect of the death of some of their men, and the present sickness of twenty moze, they would not tary, but repaire to the other ships, of whom they had heard nothing since the 27 of April: and yet they had our pinnelle with them, onely to cary newes from one to another.

The 9 day we determined to depart hence to our fellowes, to see what they had done, and to attempt what was to be done at the towne of Don John.

The 10 day in the morning we set saile to seeke the Christopher and the Tyger.

The 11 day the captaine of the Christopher came to vs, and told vs that they could finde small doings at the places where they had bene.

The 12 William Crompton and I in our small pinnelle went to the Tyger and the Christopher at Perenine.

The 13 we sent away the Tyger to Egrand, because we found nothing to doe at Perenine, worth the tarying for.

The 14 our great pinnelle came to vs, and presently we put cloth into her, and sent her backe to Weamba, where she had bene before, and had taken there ten pound of golde.

The 15 the Minion came to vs, and the next day we went a shore with our boats, and tooke but one ounce of golde.

Mowte.

The 19 day hauing set saile we came to an ancre before Mowte, and there we carried two dayes, but tooke not an ounce of golde.

The

The 21 we came to an ancre befoze Don Johns towne.

The 22 we manned our boats and went to shoze, but the Negros would not come at vs: then the Captaine of the Christopher and I tooke a skiffe and eight men with vs, and went and talked with the Negros, and they sayd that they would send a man to the great towne, where Don John himselfe say, to aduertise him of our comming.

The great towne of Don John,

The 23 we went a shoze againe, and the Negros tolde vs that this day the marchants of Don John would come downe: so we tarried there untill night, and no man would come to vs: but diuers of the Negros made vs signes to depart.

The 24 the Captaine of the Christopher tooke his boat & went to Mowre, and when he came thither, certaine Negros came to him to know the price of his wares, but in the end there came an Amade, which he iudged came from the castle, and caused all the Negros to depart from him: and when he saw they would come no moze to him, he went a shoze and tooke certaine men with him, and then the Negros cast stones at them, & would not suffer them to come by to their towne. And when they saw that, they tooke certaine of the Amades, and put them to the sea, and after wares departed. The same morning I went a shoze at Don Johns towne, and tooke a white flag with me, but none of the Negros could come to me, which caused vs to iudge that the Portugals were in the towne. After this, our boat came to vs well manned, and I sent one man by to the towne with a white flag in his hand, but when he was come thither, all the Negros went away & would not speake with him. Then I sent one alone into the woods after them, but they in no case would come to vs. When we saw that, we tooke twelue goats and foure eene hennes, which we found in the towne, and went aboord without doing any further hurt to the towne: and when I came aboord, I found our pinnelle coule from Cormatin, which had taken there two pound & six ounces of golde. Then after much ado with the froward Haribers, we went thither wards with our Ship, and the Christopher went to Mowre.

Cormatin,

The 25 day the Hacker of the Christopher sent his boat to the shoze for balast, and the Negros would haue beaten the company from the shoze, wherupon the company resisted them, and slew and hurt diuers of them, and hauing put them to flight, burned their towne, and brake all their boats.

to fight with the Negros

The 26 day our pinnelle came to vs from Cormatin, and had taken two pound & eleven ounces of golde: and John Shirife tolde vs that the Negros of that place were very desirous to haue a Ship come backe againe to their towne.

The 27 we wayed and went to Cormatin.

The 28 the Christopher came to vs from Mowre, and traffiqued there two dayes.

The second day of June the Tyger came to vs from Egrand, and the pinnelle from Weamba, and they two had taken about fifty pound of golde since they departed from vs.

The 4 day we departed from Cormatin to plie by to Shamma, being not able to tary any longer vpon the coast for lacke of victuals, and specially of drinke.

The 7 day we had sight of suite of the king of Portugals ships, which came to an ancre besides the castle.

The 8 day George and Binny came to vs, and brought with them about two pound of golde.

The 10 day in the morning I tooke our small pinnelle, and the Captaine of the Christopher with me, and manned her well, and went to the castle to view the Portugals ships, and there we found one ship of about 300 tunne, and foure carattels: when we had well viewed them, we returned backe againe to our ships which we found seven leagues at sea.

The 11 day in the morning we found our selues well shot toward Shamma, & the Tyger with vs, but the Minion & the pinnelle had not wayed that night, so that we were out of sight of them: and hauing brought our selues in the weather of the Portugals ships, we came to an ancre to tary for the Minion, or els we might haue fetched Shamma. At night the Minion and the pinnelle came by to vs, but could not fetch so farre to the weatherward as we, and therefore they anchored about a league a weather The castle, and we waied in the Christopher, and went roome with her.

The 12 day the Tyger came roome with vs, and she and the Christopher finding themselves to stand in great need of victuals, would haue gone with the Portugals ships to haue fetched some of them forth: but our master and company would in no case consent to goe with them, for feare of hanging when we came home: and the other two ships being fully minded to haue gone, and fearing that their owne company would accuse them, durst not go to them.

After this, by reason of the want of victuals in the pinnelle, which could receiue no victuals from the other shippes, but from vs onely, we tooke out all our men, and put twelue Frenchmen into her, and gaue them victuals to bring them to Shamma.

The 19 day the Tyger and Minion arrived at Shamma, and the Christopher within two

Note. leagues off them, but could not fetch the winde by reason of the scantnesse of the winde; which hath bene so scant, that in fifteene dayes we haue plied to the winde wards but twelue leagues, which befoze we did in one day and a night.

The 20 day I tooke our pinnelle, and went to the towne of Shamma to speake with the captaine, and he tolde me that there was no golde there to be had, nor so much as a hen to be bought, and all by reason of the accoꝝd which he had made with the Portugals, and I seeing that departed peaceably from him.

The 21 I put such things as we had into our small pinnelle, and tooke one marchant of our ship, and another of the Tyger, and sent her to Hantia, to attempt, if she could doe any thing there, that night they could do nothing but were promised to haue golde the next day.

The next day (which was the 22) being come, we sent our pinnelle to Hantia againe, but there neither the captaine nor the Negros durst traffike with vs, but intised vs from place to place, and all to no purpose.

They put the Frenchmen with victuals into the pinnelle.

This day we put away our pinnelle, with five and twenty Frenchmen in her, and gaue them such victuals as we could spare, putting fifteene of them to the ransome of sixe crownes a man.

The 23 of June our pinnelle came to vs from Hantia, and tolde vs that the Negros had dealt very ill with them, and would not traffike with them to any purpose.

Shamma burnt by the English.

The 24 we tooke our boat and pinnelle, and manned them well, and went to the towne of Shamma, and because the Captaine thereof was become subject to the Portugals we burned the towne, and our men seeking the spoile of such trifles as were there found a Portugall chest, wherein was some of his apparell, and his weights, and one letter sent to him from the castle, whereby we gathered that the Portugall had bene there of a long time.

Their returne homeward.

The 25 day, about thre of the clocke at afternoone, we set saile, and put into the sea, for our returne to England.

The current.

The last day of this moneth we fell with the shoze againe, and made our reckoning to be eighteene leagues to the weatherward of the place where we set off. When we came to make the land, we found our selues to be eighteene leagues to the leeward of the place, where we set off, which came to passe, by reason of the extreame current that runneth to the Eastward: when we perceiued our selues so abused, we agreed to cast about againe, and to lie as neere the winde as we could, to fetch the line.

S. Thome Island

The seventh of July we had sight of the Ile of S. Thome, and thought to haue sought the road to haue anered there: but the next morning the winde came about, and we kept our course.

The ninth, the winde varying, we kept about againe, and fell with the Island of S. Thome, and seeking the road were becalmed neere the Island, and with the current were put nere the shoze, but could haue no ground to anere: so that we were forced to hoise out our pinnelle, and the other ships their skifs to towne from the Island, which did little good, but in the end the winde put vs thre leagues off the shoze.

The tenth day the Christopher and the Tyger cast about, whereby we iudged them to haue agreed together, to goe seeke some ships in the road, and to leaue vs: our men were not willing to goe after them, for feare of running in with the Island againe, and of putting our selues into the same danger that we were in the night befoze: but we shot off a piece, and put out two lights, and they answered vs with lights againe: whereupon we kept our course, and thought that they had followed vs, but in the morning we could not see them, so that they left vs willingly, and we determined to follow them no moze. But the eleuenth day we altered our opinion and course, and consented to cast about againe for the Island, to seeke our ships; and about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we met with them.

The 13 we fell againe with the Island of S. Thome; and the same night we found our selues directly under the line.

The description of the Ile of S. Thome.

This Island is a very high Island, and being vpon the West side of it, you shall see a very high pike, which is very small, and freight, as it were the steeple of a church, which pike lieth directly vnder the line, and at the same South end of the Island to the Westward thereof lieth a small Island, about a mile from the great Island.

The third of August we departed fro the Ile of S. Thome, and met the winde at the South-west.

The 12 day we were in the height of Cape verde.

The Island of Salt.

The 22 day we fell with one of the Isles of Cape verde, called The Ile of Salt, and being informed by a Scottish man that we tooke among the Frenchmen vpon the coast, that there were fresh victuals to be had, we came to an ancre there.

The 23 day in the morning we manned our skiffe, and went a shoze, and found no houses, but we saw fouze men, which kept themselves alwayes farre from vs, as for cattell we could finde none,

none, but great store of goats, and they were so wilde, that we could not take above three or foure of them: but there we had good store of fish, and byon a small Island which lay by the same we had great store of sea-birds.

At night the Christopher brake her cable, and lost an ancre, so that she could tary no longer, so we all wayed, and set saile. Upon the same Island we left the Scottish man, which was the occasion of our going aland at that place, but how he was left we could not tell: but, as we iudged, the people of the Island found him sleeping, and so carried him away: for at night I went my selfe to the Island to seeke him, but could heare nothing of him.

The 24 day the Master of the Tyger came aboard vs, & tolde vs that his men were so weake, and the shippe so leake, that he was not able to keepe her aboute the water, and therefore requested vs to go backe againe to the Island, that we might discharge her, and giue her vp: but we intreated him to take paine with her a while, and we put a French Carpenter into her, to see if he could finde the leake. This day we tooke a view of all our men, both those that were hole, and the sicke also, and we found that in all the three Ships, were not aboute thirty sound men.

The 25 we had sight of the Ile of S. Nicholas, and the day following, of the other Isles, S. Lucia, S. Vincent, and S. Anthony; which foure Isles lie the one from the other Northwest and by West, Southeast and by East.

The 26 we came againe with the Island of S. Anthony, and could not double the Cape. This day Philip Jones, the Master of the Christopher, came aboard vs, who had bene aboard the Tyger, and tolde vs that they were not able to keepe the Tyger, because she was leake, and the Master very weake, and sayd further, he had agreed with the Master and the company, that if the next day we could double the Island, we should runne to the leeward of it, and there discharge her: but if we could not double it, then to put in betwixt the Island of S. Vincent and S. Anthony, to see if we could discharge her.

The third day of September I went aboard the Tyger, with the Master and marchants with me, to view the shippe and men: and we found the shippe very leake, and onely six labouring men in her, whereof one was the Master gunner: so that we seeing that they were not able to keepe the ship, agreed to take in the men, and of the goods what we could saue, and then to put the ship away.

The fift day we went to discharge the Tyger.

The eight day, hauing taken out the artillery, goods, victuals, and gold of the Tyger, we gaue her vp 25 degrees by North the line.

The 27 we had sight of two of the Isles of the Azores, S. Mary, and S. Michael.

The fourth of October we found our selues to be 41 degrees and a halfe from the line.

The first day the Christopher came to vs, and willed vs to put with the Cape, for they also were so weake, that they were not able to keepe the sea, and we being weake also, agreed to goe for Vigo, being a place which many English men frequent.

The 10 day the Christopher went toome with the Cape, but we hauing a merry wind for England, and fearing the danger of the enemies, which ordinarily lie about the Cape: besides, not knowing the state of our countrey and Spaine, and although it were peace, yet there was little hope of friendship at their hands, considering the voyage that we had made, and we also being so weake, that by force and violence we could come by nothing, and doubting also that the King of Portugall knowing of our being there, might worke some way with the Councell of Spaine to trouble vs: and further, considering that if we did put in with any harbor, we should not be able to come out againe, till we sent for moze men into England, which would be a great charge, and losse of time, and meanes of many dangers. All these things pondered, we agreed to thoor off two pieces of ordnance, to warne the Christopher, and then we went our course for England: she hearing our pieces followed vs, and we carried a light for her, but the next day in the morning it was thicke, and we could not see her in the afternoone neither, so that we suspected that either she was gone with Spaine, or els that she should put forth moze sailes then we in the night, and was shot a head of vs, so that then we put forth our top-sailes, and went our course with England.

At the time when the Christopher left vs, we were within 120 leagues of England, and 45 leagues Northwest and by West from Cape Finister: and at the same time in our ships we had not aboute sixe Mariners and sixe Marchants in health, which was but a weake company for such a ship to seeke a frozen harbour.

The 16 day, about sixe of the clocke at night, we met with a great storme at the West-south-west, & West, and our men being weake, and not able to handle our sailes, we lost the same night our maine saile, fore saile, and spere saile, & were forced to lie a hulling, until the eighteenth day, and then we made ready another course of a fore saile, and put it to the yard, and therewith finding

The great inconvenience by late staying upon the coast of Guinie.

The Tyger given vp.

Extreme weakness of our men.

our felues far shot into the fleene, we bare with our owne coast; but that foze saille continued not aboute two houres, befoze it was blowen from the yard with a great, and then we were forced to lye a hull againe, vntill the nineteent day of October in the mozning, and then we put an olde bonnet to our foze yard, which, by the good blessing and prouidence of God, brought vs to the Ile of Wight, where we arrived the 20 of October in the afternoone.

The commodities and wares that are most desired in *Guinie*,
betwixt *Sierra Lioma* and the furthest place of the *Mine*.

M Anils of brasse, and some of leade.
 Basons of diuers sorts, but the most laccin.
 Pots of course tinne, of a quart and moze.
 Some wedges of yron.
 Margarites, and certaine other sleight beads.
 Some blew Corall.
 Some horse taitles.
 Linnen cloth principally.
 Basons of flanders.
 Some red cloth of low price, and some kersie.
 Kettles of Dutch-land with brassen handles.
 Some great brasse basons graued, such as in Flanders they set vpon their cupboozds.
 Some great basons of pewter, and ewers grauen.
 Some lauers, such as be for water.
 Great knives of a low price.
 Sleight Flanders-caskets.
 Chests of Roan of a lowe price, or any other chests.
 Great pinnes.
 Course French coverings.
 Packing sheets good store.
 Swords, daggers, frise mantles, and gownes, clokes, hats, red caps, Spanish blankets, are heads, hammers, short pieces of yron, sleight belles, gloues of a lowe price, leather bags, and what other trifles you will.

Certaine Articles deliuered to *M. Iohn Lok*, by *Sir William Gerard* Knight, *M. William Winter*, *M. Benjamin Gonson*, *M. Anthony Hickman*, and *M. Edward Castelin* the 8 of September 1561, touching a voyage to *Guinea*.

A remembrance for you *M. Lok* at your comming to the coast of *Guinie*.

First, when God shall send you thither, to procure, as you passe alongst the coast, to vnderstand what riuers, hauens, or harboroughs there be; and to make to your selfe a plat thereof, setting those places which you shall thinke materiall in your sayd plat, with their true eleuations.
 Also you shall learne what commodities doe belong to the places where you shall touch, and what may be good for them.

It is thought good, that hauing a fort vpon the coast of *Mina* in the king of *Habaans* country, it would serue to great purpose; wherfoze you are especially sent to consider where the fort might be best placed, and vpon what ground: whererein are to be noted these things following.

1 That the ground so serue, that it ioyn to the sea on the one part, so as shippes and boats may come to lade and vnlade.

2 That molde of earth the ground is of.

3 That timber or wood may be had, and how it will be caried.

4 That provision of victuals may be had in the countrey: and what kinde of our victuals will best serue to continue.

5 The place must be naturally strong, or such as may be made strong with a small charge, and after wards kept with a few men.

6 How water may be provided, if there be none to be had in the ground where the fort shall stand, or nere to it.

7 What helpe is to be had from the people of the countrey, either for the building of it, or for the defence thereof.

The English
 marchants intend
 to fortifie
 in *Guinea*, in
 the king of *Habaans*
 countrey.

To moue the king of Haban a farre off, for the making of a fort, and to note how he will like it; but vble your communication so, that although there might fall out good cause for the doing of it, yet he do not vnderstand your meaning.

The king of Haban.

Search the cuntry so farre as you may, both alongst the coast, and into the land.

To learne what became of the marchants that were left at Benin.

The matters which shall be of impoztance to be noted we nothing doubt that you will omit, wherfoze we referre the order of these affaires to your good discretion.

Also we pray you as occasion shall serue that you ayd and helpe our factours, both with your counsell and otherwise; and thus God send you safely to returne.

William Gerrard, William Winter, Benjamin Gonson,
Anthony Hickman, Edward Cattelín.

A letter of M. John Lok to the worshipfull company of Marchants aduenturers for *Guinie*, written 1561, shewing reasons for his not proceeding in a voyage then intended to the foresayd cuntry.

Worshipfull sirs; since the arriuall of M. Pet and Buttoll Monioy (as I vnderstand) for the voyage it is concluded that the Minion shall proceed on her voyage, if within 20 dayes she may be repaired of those hurts she hath receiued by the last storme: or in the moneth of January also, if the wind wil serue therfoze: Wherefoze for that your worshipps shall not be ignorant of my determined purpose in the same, with the reasons that haue perswaded me thereunto; I haue thought good to aduertise you thereof, trusting that your worshipps will weigh them, as I by rightly and plainly meane them. And not for any feare or discouragement that I haue of my selfe by the raging of the stormes of the sea, for that (I thanke the Lord) these haue not bene the first that I haue abiden, neither trust I they shalbe the last. First the state of the ship, in which, though I thinke not but M. Pet can do moze for her strengthening then I can conceiue, yet for all that, it will neither mend her conditions, noz yet make her so staunch that any cabin in her shalbe staunch for men to lie drie in: the which foze, what a weakening it will be to the poore men after their labour, that they neither can haue a shift of apparell drie, noz yet a drie place to rest in, I referre to your discretion. For though that at Harwich she was both bound and caulked as much as might be, both within and without, yet for all that she left not, afoze this slaw, in other weathers, being stressed, to open those seamcs, and be come in the state she was befoze; I meane, in wetting her men: notwithstanding her new worke. And my iudgement; with that little experience I haue had, leadech me to thinke that the ship whose water wopks and footings be spent and rotten cannot be but leake for men. Next, the vnreasonable time of the yere which is now present. And how onely by meanes of the vnreasonable times in the returne from the voyage home, many therchy haue decayed, to the great misery and calamity of the rest, and also to the great slander of the voyage (which I much respect) the last and other voyages haue declared. And what it is to make the voyage in vnreasonable time, that hath the second voyage also declared. Wherefoze weying and fozefering this (as I may wel terme it) calamity and vneuitable danger of men; and that by men she must be brought home againe (except that God will shew an extraordinary miracle) I purpose not noz dare I venture with a safe conscience to tempt God herein. Againe, forsomuch as she is alone, and hath so little helpe of boat or pinnelle in her trade, & also for her watering, where a long time of foze must be spent, my going, to the accomplishment of your expectations, will be to small effect for this time, because I shall want both vessel and men to accomplish it. And I would not gladly so spend my time and traueil, to my great charges and paine, and after, for not falling out accordingly, to lose both pot and water, as the proverbe is. As for the Primrose, if she be there, her trade will be ended or euer we come there, so that she of foze, by want of pouision, must returne: yea, though we should carry with vs a supply for her, yet is the meeting of her doubtful, and though we met her, yet will the men not carry, as no reason is they should: howbeit my opinion of her is that she is put into Ireland. The Flowerdeluce was in Milford. Thus for that your worshipps might vnderstand the whole cause why I doe not proceed, I haue troubled you at this time with this my long Letter. And, as God is my Iudge, not for feare of the Portugals, which there we shall meet (and yet alone without ayde) as here is a shippe which was in Lisbon, whose men say that there are in a readinesse (onely to meet vs) foure great shipps, of the which one is accounted 700 tunnes, & other pinnelles: yet not for feare of them, noz raging of the seas (whose rage God is aboue to rule) but onely for the premices: the sequell

whereof must by reason turne to a great misery to the men; the which I for my part (though it might turne me to as much gaine as the whole commeth to) yet would I not be so tormented, as the sight thereof would be a cosse to my heart, and the more; because foreseeing the same; I should be so lewd, as yielding, to haue runne into the danger thereof, and therefore I haue absolutely determined with my selfe not to goe this voyage. Howbeit if in a seasonable time of the yeere I had but one ship sufficient, though much lesse by the halfe, I would not refuse (as triall being made thereof should appeare) or if I had ability of my selfe to venture so much, it should well be scene. And this I speake to giue you to vnderstand that I refuse not this for feare: If you purpose to proceed heerein, send some one whom you please; to whom I will not onely deliuer the articles which I haue receiued, but also will giue some particular notes which I haue noted in the affaires which you haue committed vnto mee, with the best helpe and counsell I can. Thus the liuing God keepe your workships all. *Bristoll this 11 of December 1561.*

Your workships to comand to his power

John Lok.

The relation of one *William Rutter* to *M. Antony Hickman* his master touching a voyage set out to *Guinea* in the yeere 1562, by *Sir William Gerard*, *Sir William Chester*, *M. Thomas Lodge*, the sayd *Antony Hickman*, and *Edward Castelin*: which voyage is also written in verte by *Robert Baker*.

WOrshipfull sir, my duty remembered, this shalbe to declare vnto you the discourse of this our voyage, since our departure out of England from *Dartmouth*; at which time I gaue you to vnderstand of our departure, which was the 25 of February 1562. Then hauing a prosperous winde we departed from thence, and sailed on our voyage vntill we arrived at *Capo verde* the 20 of March, making no abode there, but sailed along the coast to our first appointed port *Rio de Sestos*, at which port we arrived the third of April in the morning, hauing the sight of a Frenchman, who as soone as he perceiued vs, set saile and made to the sea: in the meane time we came to an anker in the roade: and after that he had espied our flag, perceiuing vs to be Englishmen, he bare with the hore, & hailed our ships with his ordinaunce, at which time we the merchants of both the ships were in the riuier in traffike, and had vnderstanding of the Negroes that he had bene there three dayes before our comming: so we concluded together, that if he sent his pinnelle to traffike, we would not suffer him, vntill we had taken further order with their captaine & marchants. In the after noone the pinnelle came into the riuier, whose men we willed to make no traffike vntill we had talked further with their captaine, whom we willed that night to come aboard our admittall; which was done. At which sayd time *M. Burton* and *Iohn Munc* went aboard the *Minion* where the Frenchmen were, & there concluded that they should tary by vs eight dayes, and suffer vs quietly to traffike, where with they were not well pleased. Whereupon the next morning they departed from vs, sailing alongst the coast to the Eastward towards *Poris*, which he did to hinder our traffike that way: wherefore the marchants of the *Minion* & we concluded (forasmuch as at that present we vnderstege that there were no sailes past alongst) that we should go before, to the end we might not be hindered of our traffike by the Frenchmen; which thing we did: and at our comming thither we found the Frenchman in traffike to the West of *Poris*, by whom we passed, & arrived at *Rio de Poris* the 12 of April, where we remained in traffike vntill the 15 of the sayd moneth, and then departed from thence along the coast toward *Sanc Andre*, where we appointed by agreement to tary for the *Minion*: and the 17 at night we came to the riuier of *S. Andre*; in which very day the *Minion* came vnto vs, telling vs that they met at *cauo das Palmas* a great ship and a caruell of the king of Portugals bound to the *Mina*, who gaue chase vnto them, and shot freely at them, and the *Minion* in her defence returned her the like: but God be praised the *Minion* had no hurt for that time. In the end we concluded to hasten towards *cauo de tres puntas*, to haue put them from the castle, if by any meanes wee might; and when wee were come to the Cape, we lay a hull one night and two dayes, and doubting they had bene past, the *Minion* went nere the shore, and sent her merchants to a place called *Anca*, where before time we had traffike, and the next morning very early being the 21 of the sayd moneth, we againe had sight of the ship and the caruell a good way to sea-board of vs. Then we presently set saile, and bare with the foremost of them, hoping to haue got betweene the castle and them, but we came short of our purpose, which was no small grieke vnto vs all; and when they had gotten the castle to friend, they shot at vs freely, and we at them, and the castle at vs; but we profited little. In the after noone we set saile & came to the town of *Don Juan* called *Equi*, where the 22 in the morning we went a hore to traffike, but the Negroes would not vntill they had newes from *Don Luis*, for

Capo verde,
Rio de Sestos.

The Minion,

Rio de Poris,
Rio de S. Andre,

Cauro das Palmas.

Cauro de tres
puntas.

Anca.

Equi.

at that time Don Iuan was dead, and the 23 came Don Luis his sonne and Pacheco minding to traffike with vs, at which said day came two gales rowing along the shore from the castle, minding to keepe vs from our traffike. The 24 we set saile and chased the gales to the castle againe, The Negros being glad of that required vs to goe to Mowre, which is some 3 leagues behind, and thither would they come for that they stood in feare of the Portugals, and there we remained for the merchants that came out of the countrey which were come with their gold, but Anthonio don Luis his sonne, and Pacheco were abouzd the Hinion. And the 25 in the morning came the two gales from the castle againe vnto vs, the weather being very calme, they shot at vs and hit vs 3 times, and shortly after the wind came from the shore, at which instant we discried the ship, & the carauell coming towards vs, then we weighed and set saile, and bare as neere vnto them as we could: but it was night or euer wee met with them, and the night being very darke we lost them. The next day plying to the shore, at night we agreed to go with Cormantin, but the next morning being the 28 we were but a litle distant from the great ship and the 2 gales, hauing no wind at all, and the carauell hard abouzd the shore. Then being calme, came the 2 gales rowing to the sterne of the Hinion, and fought with her the most part of the forenoone: and in the fight a mischance hapned in the Hinions steward-roume by means of a barrell of powder that tooke fire, where with were hurt the master gunner, the steward, and most part of the gunners; which the gales perceiuing, began to be moze fierce vpon them, and with one shot cut halfe her foremast in twaine, that without present remedie shee was not able to beare saile, and presently vpon this the great ship sent her boat to the gales, who suddenly departed from vs. And after their departure we went abouzd the Hinion to counsell what were best to be done, at which time they were soze discomfited. Whereupon we deuised what was best to be done: and because wee knew that the Negros neither would nor durst traffike so long as the gales were on the coast; it was therefore agreed that we should prepare our selues to depart to Rio de Sestos, and so we departed that day. The 14 of May in the morning we fell with the land, and when wee came to it, we doubted what place it was, and sent our boates on land to know the truth, and we found it to be Rio de Barbos, which is to the Eastward of sant Andre, and there remained in getting of water untill the 21, where we lost the day before 5 of our men by meanes of ouerthrowing our blacke pinasse. The 22 we departed from thence to Rio de Sesto, where we arriued the 2 of June, and the 4 wee departed from Rio de Sesto, and arriued (God bee thanked) the 6 of August within sight of the Stert in the West part of England, our men being very sicke and weake. We haue not at this present aboue 20 sound men that are able to labour, and we haue of our men 21 dead, and many moze very soze hurt and sicke. Master Burton hath bene sicke this 6 weekes, and at this present (God strengthen him) is so weake that I feare he will hardly escape. Hercin inclosed your worship shall receiue a briefe of all the goods sold by vs, & also what commodities we haue receiued for the same. Thus I leaue to trouble your worship, reseruing all things els to our generall meeting, and to the bzinger hercof. From abouzd the Hinion the 6 of August 1563.

Two gales,
Mowre.

Cormantin.

Such hurt
done in the
Hinion with
firing a barrel of
gunpowder.

They returne.

Rio de Barbos.

The blacke
pinasse.
Rio de Sesto.

Your obedient seruante

William Rutter.

There are brought home this voyage An. 1563. Elephants teeth 166. weighing 1758 pounds. Graines 22 butts full.

A meeting at Sir William Gerards house the 11 of July 1564. for the setting foorth of a voyage to Guinea, with the *Minion* of the Queens, the *Iohn Baptist* of London, and the *Merline* of M. Gonson.



This meeting were these chicke aduenturers, Sir William Gerard, sir William Chetter, sir Thomas Lodge, Anthonie Hickman, and Edward Castelin. Where it was agreed that Francis Ashbie should be sent to Depford to M. Gonson for his letters to Peter Per to goe about the rigging of the *Hinion* vpon the Queens maiesties charges, and so the said Francis to repaire with the same letters to Gillingham with money to supplie our charge there.

Also that euery one of the five partners shall foorthwith call vpon their partners to supply towards this new rigging and victualling, 29 li. 10 s. 6 d. for euery 100 li. value.

Also that euery one of the five partners shall foorthwith bzing in 50 li. towards the furniture of the premises.

Likewise it is agreed that if M. Gonson giue his consent that the *Merline* shall be brought about from Bristol to Hampton, that a letter be drawn whereunto his hand shall be, before order be giuen for the same.

The successe of this Voiage in part appeareth by certaine briefe relations extracted out of the second voyage of Sir *John Hawkins* to the West Indies, made in the sayd yeere 1564. which I thought good to set downe for want of further instructions; which hitherto I could not by any meanes come by, albeit I haue vsed all possible iudicium for the obtaining of the same: Take them therefore in the meane season as foloweth.



After *John Hawkins*, with the *Iesus of Lubeck* a ship of 700. tunnes, and the *Salomon*, a ship of 700. the *Tiger* a barke of 50, and the *Swallow* of 30 tunnes, being all well furnished with men to the number of one hundred threescore and ten, as also with ordnance and victuall requisite for such a voyage, departed out of *Plimouth* the 18 day of *October* in the yeere of our Lord 1564. with a prosperous winde: at which departing, in cutting the foresaile, a marvellous misfortune happened to one of the officers in the ship, who by the pullic of the heate was slaine out of hand being a sorrowfull beginning to them all. And after their setting out 10 leagues to the Sea, hee met the same day with the *Hinion* a ship of the *Queens Majesties*, wherof was captaine *David Carlet*, & also her consort the *Iohn Baptist* of *London* bring bound to *Guinea* like wise, who hailed one the other after the custome of the sea, with certaine pieces of ordnance for joy of their meeting: which done, the *Hinion* departed from him to seeke her other consort the *Merline* of *London*, which was a sterne out of sight, leaving in *H. Hawkins* companie the *Iohn Baptist* her other consort.

The *Hinion*
of the *Queens*.

Thus sailing forwarde on their way with a prosperous wind until the 21 of the same moneth, at that time a great storme arose, the wind being at North east about 9 of the clocke at night, and continued to 23 houres together, in which storme *H. Hawkins* lost the company of the *Iohn Baptist* aforesaid, and of his pinasse called the *Swallow*, the other 3 ships being soze beateen with the storme. The 23 day the *Swallow*, to his no small reioicing, came to him againe in the night 10 leagues to the Northward of *Cape Finster*, having put roomer and not being able to double the *Cape*, in that there rose a contrary wind at South west. The 25 the wind continuing contrary, he put into a place in *Galicia* called *Ferol*, where he remained 5 daies and appointed all the masters of his ships another for the keeping of good company.

The 26 day the *Hinion* came in also where he was, for the reioicing wherof he gave them certaine pieces of ordnance after the custome of the Sea for their welcome, but the *Hinions* men had no mirth because of their consort the *Merline*, who at their departure from *H. Hawkins* by the coast of *England*, they went to seeke, and having met with her, kept company two dayes together, and at last by misfortune of fire (though the negligence of one of the gunners) the powder in the gunners roome was set on fire, which with the first blast stroke out her poope, and therewithall lost 3 men, besides many soze burned (which escaped by the *Brigandine* being at her sterne) and immediately to the great losse of the owners, and most horrible sight of the beholders, shee sunke before their eyes. The 30 day of the moneth *H. Hawkins* with his consorts and company of the *Hinion* having now both the *Brigandines* at her sterne, weighed anchor, and set saile on their voyage having a prosperous wind thereunto. The 4 of *November* they had sight of the *Island* of *Madera*, and the 6 day of *Teneriffa*, which they thought to have bene the *Canarie*, in that they supposed themselves to have bene to the Eastward of *Teneriffa* but were not: but the *Hinion* bying 3 or 4 leagues a head of vs kept on her course to *Teneriffa*, having better sight thereof then the other had, and by that means they parted company.

The firing and
sinking of the
spertine bound
for *Guinea*.

The aforesaid *Sir John Hawkins* passing on his voyage by *Caño Verde*, and *Sierra Leona*, and afterward crossing over the maine *Decan* comming to the towne of *Burboroa* upon the coast of *Terra firma* in the West Indies, had further information of the euill successe of this *Guinean* voyage, as in the same hereafter is verbatim mentioned.

The 29 of *April*, we being at anchor without the road, a French ship called the *green Dragon* of *Newhauen*, wherof was captaine one *Bon Temps* came in, who saluted vs after the maner of the sea, with certaine pieces of ordnance, and we returned him with the like againe: with whom having communication, he declared that hee had bene at the *Mina* in *Guinea*, and was beateen off by the *Portugals* gallies, and enforced to come thither to make sale of such wares as he had: and further that the like was hapned vnto the *Hinion*: also, that captaine *David Carlet*, & a merchant, with a dozen mariners were betrayed by the *Negros* at their first arrivall thither, remaining prisoners with the *Portugals*, besides other misadventures of the losse of their men hapned through the great lacke of fresh water, with great doubts of bying home the ships: which was most sorrowfull for vs to vnderstand.

The voyage of M. George Fenner to Guinie, and the Islands of Cape Verde, in the yeere 1566. with three ships, to wit, the Admirall called The Castle of Comfort, the *May Flower*, and the *George*, and a Pinnasse also:

Written by *Walter Wren*.

The 10 day of December, in the yeere abovesayd, we departed from Plimmouth, and the 12 day we were thwart of Ushant.

The 15 day in the morning being Sunday, we had sight of Cape Finister, and the same night we lost the company of our Admirall, wherefore we sayled along the coast of Portugall, hoping that our Admirall had bene before vs.

The 18 day we met with a French ship of whom we made inquirie for our Admirall, but he could not tell vs newes of him: so we followed our course to the Islands of the Canaries.

The 25 day in the morning we fell with a small Island called Porto Santo, & within 3 houres we had sight of another Island called Madera, which is 6 leagues from Porto Santo.

The said 25 day being the day of the Nativitie, we hoised out our boat, and set master Edward Fenner captaine of the *May* flower aboard vs, being in the *George*, with the master whose name was Robert Courise and others of the sayd shippe, and feasted them with such cheere as God had sent vs.

The 28 day we fell with an Island called Tenerif, which is 27 leagues from the said Island, and on the East side thereof we came to an anchor in 40 fadome water, within a bafe shot of the shoze, in a little Baie wherein were 3 or 4 small houses: which Baie and houses were distant from a little towne called Santa Cruz, a league or thereabout, and as we rode in the said Baie, we might see an Island called The grand Canarie which was 6 or 7 leagues from vs.

The 29 day the *May* flower for that she could not set into y^e road where we were at an anchor, by reason the wind was off the shoze, & because she bare more roomer frō the land then we did, in the morning came bearing in with the towne of Santa Cruz, thinking to come to an anchor in the road against the towne, and before she came within the reach of any of their ordinance, they shot at her foure pieces, which caused her to come toome with vs, and came at last to an anchor by vs. And about one of the clocke in the after noone, the forenamed captaine of the *May* flower wrote a letter a shoze, directing it to the head officer of the towne of Santa Cruz, to the intent to understand the pretense of the shooting off the said ordinance.

The letter being written, Robert Courise master of the *May* flower, and Walter Wren were appointed to deliuer the same a land at 3 or 4 houses to bee conuered to the foresayd towne, and so went with six men in the boate, and rowed to the shoze as nere as they might, for letting the boat on ground, for the sea went cruelly at the shoze.

The people stood in number 30 persons with such armour as they had: the foresayd Wren called to them in Spanish, declaring to the that they had a letter which they would very gladly haue conuered vnto the towne, the wing that they would traffique with them as marchants, desiring their helpe for the conuenance of the same letter. With that one of the Spaniards willed vs to come on land, and we should be welcome, but doubting the worst, the said Walter answered them that they would not come on land, vntil they had answer of their letter which they had brought.

Whereupon one of the Spaniards vntaied himselfe, and lept into the water, and swam to the boat, whom we receiued. And he saluted vs, and demaunded what our request was: we made him answer, that by misfortune we lost the companie of our Admirall, and being bound to this Island to traffique for wines and other things necessary for vs, do here mind to stay vntill he come.

Concerning our letter he made vs answer, that he would with all diligence carry it, and deliuer it according to the direction, and so the said Walter knit the letter in a bladder, and deliuered it vnto him, and also gaue him foure coials of Spanish money for his paines: and promising that we should haue answer of it, he took his leaue and swamme againe on shoze, where the people stood ready to receiue him. And after that they had talked with him, and understood our meaning, some of them threw by their hats, & the other put them off holding them in their hands, and made vs very courteous signes, alwaies desiring that the boat would come a land, but we resaluting them rowed backe againe aboard.

The 30 day the Governours Brother of Santa Cruz came aboard the *May* Flower with six or seven Spaniards with him, who concluded with the Captaine that we mighe come a shoze and traffique with them, but that day we did not, for we had no sufficient pledge of theirs for our assurance. Our Captaine entertained them well, and at their departure gaue them foure pieces of ordinance

distance for a fare well, and bestowed upon them two cheeses with other things.

The sayd Governours brother promised our Captaine that hee should haue sufficient pledges the morrow following, which was not done, whereupon wee grew suspicious, and went not that day a shoze.

The first day of January our captaine sent Nicholas Day and John Sumpter a shoze, who were very well entertained with as many of our company as went after them.

In the said Island is a marvellous high hill called the Pike, which is a far off more like a cloud in the aire, then any other thing: the hill is round and somewhat small at the top, it hath not bene knownen that euer any man could goe by to the top thereof. And although it stand in 28 degrees which is as hote in January, as it is in England at Midsummer, yet is the top of the said hill Winter and Sommer seloome without snow.

In this Island about two leagues from the said Santa Cruz is a citie called Anagona.

The thirde day wee departed about the Westerne point of the Island, about 12 or 14 leagues from Santa Cruz, into a Baie which is right agaynst the house of one Petro de Soules, in which Baie we came to an anker the 5 day, where we heard that our Admirall had bene there at an anker 7 dayes before vs, and was gone thence to an Island called Gomera, whereupon wee set saile presently to seeke him.

They meet
their Admirall
againe.

The 6 day we came to an anker against the towne of Gomera, where we found our Admirall, which was very ioyfull of our comming, and we also of his sight.

In the sayd road we found Edward Cooke in a tall ship, and a shippe of the Copperminits of London, which the Portugals had treacherously surprisid in the Baie of Santa Cruz, vpon the coast of Barbarie, which ship we left there all spoiled.

Our Generall & marchants bought in the said towne for our prouision, 14 butts of wine, which cost 15 ducrats a butt, which were offered vs at Santa Cruz in Tenerif for 8, 9, and 10 ducrats.

The 9 day we departed from this road to another Baie, about 3 leagues off, and there tooke in fresh water: & so the 10 day we set saile towards Cape Blancke, which is on the coast of Guinea.

A good caucat.

The 12 day we fell into a Baie to the Eastward of Cape Pargos, which is 35 leagues from Cape Blancke. But hauing no knowledge of that coast, we went with Cape Blancke, and at the fall of the land we sounded and had 16 fadome water two leagues from the shoze. The land is very lowe and white sand. Upon the fall of the sayd coast beware how you bozow in 12 or 10 fadome, for within 2 or 3 castes of the lead you may be on ground.

The 17 day we set saile from Cape Blancke, directing our course South and by East, & South among, and so fell into a Baie to the Eastward of Cape Verde, about 16 leagues, and about sixe leagues from the shoze. The sayd land seemed vnto vs as if it had bene a great number of shippes vnder saile, being in deed nothing els but the land which was full of Hammocks, some high some lowe, with high trees on them. We bare with the said land till we were within 3 leagues of the shoze, and then we sounded, and found 28 fadome water, blacke oafe. This day we saw much fish in stony sculls swimming with their noses with the bym of the water.

Cape Verde.

Passing along this coast we might see two small round hills, seeming to vs about a league one from the other, which is the Cape, and betweene them are great stoze of trees, and in all our dayes sailing we saw no land so high as the said two hills.

The 19 day we came to an anker at the Cape, in a roade fast by the Westermost side of two hills in 10 fadome of water, where you may ride in five or sixe fadome, for the ground is faire, and alwayes you shall haue the winde off the shoze. And as soone as we were all at an anker, our Generall came aboord vs, and with him the master of the Admirall, whose name was William Bats, and with them the captaine of the Viceadmirall, whose name was master Edward Fenner, and Robert Curisfe the master, and dined aboord of vs being in the George, wherein was Captaine John Heiwood, and John Smith of Hampton master, and there we concluded to goe a land, which was halfe a mile from vs: and by the counsell of William Bats both Captaine and marchants and diuers of the companie went without armour: for he sayd, that although the people were blacke and naked, yet they were ciuill: so that hee would needs giue the venter without the consent of the rest to go without weapon. Thus they rowed to shoze, where, we being in the shippe might see a great companie of Negroes naked, walking to and fro by the sea side where the landing place was, waiting for the comming of our men, who came too soone, and landed to their losse as it fell out afterwards.

The foolish
rashnes of Wil.
Bats per was
ding the com-
pany to land
vnarmed.

There went a shoze the Admirals skiffe, and the May Flowers boate, and in them the number of 20 persons or thereabouts, as M. George Fenner the Generall, his brother M. Edward Fenner, Thomas Valentine, John Worme and Francis Leigh marchants, John Haward, William Bats, Nicholas Day, John Tomson and others.

At their coming to the shoze there were 100 Negroes or upward, with their bowes and arrows: our Captaines and merchants talked with them, & according to the vse of the country, the one demanded pledges of the other, & they were content to deliuer 3 of their Negroes for 5 of our men. Our 5 mens names were these, John Haward, Wil. Bats, Nich. Day, Ioh. Tomson, & Iohn Currie: these were deliuered them, and we received 3 Negroes into our Admirals Skiffe.

Our men being a shoze among the Negroes, began to talke with them, declaring what wares and marchandize we had, as woollen cloth, linnen cloth, iron, cheese & other things. The Negroes answered againe, they had euert, milke, gold and graines, which pleased our captaines and merchants very well. Then the Negroes desired to haue a sight of some of our wares, to the which our marchants were content, and forthwith sent aboard one of the boates for part of their marchandise, and in the meane time while the boate went to the ship, our five men were walking on the shoze with the Negroes, and our Generall and marchants staid in the other boat by the sea side, hauing the 3 Negroes with them.

Our boate then came againe and brought iron and other marchandize, with bread, wine, and cheese which they gaue vnto them. Then two of the Negroes (which were the pledges) made themselves sicke, desiring to goe a shoze, promising to send other two for them. Captaine Haward perceiving that our men had let the Negroes come a shoze, asked what they meant, and doubting the worst began to draw toward the boate, and two or three of the Negroes followed him. And when hee came to the boate they began to stay him, and he made signes vnto them that hee would fetch them more drinke and bread: notwithstanding, when he was entering into the boate, one of them caught him by the breeches and would haue staid him, but hee sprang from him and leapt into the boate, and as soone as hee was in, one of the Negroes a shoze beganne to blow a pipe, and presently the other Negro that was in our boate sitting on the boates side, and master Wormes swoze by him, suddenly drew the sword out of the scabbard, and cast himselfe into the Sea and swamme a shoze, and presently the Negroes laid handes on our men that were on shoze, and tooke three of them with great violence, and toze all their apparell from their backes and left them nothing to couer them, and many of them shot so thicke at our men in our boates, that they could scarce set hand to any Dare to rowe from the shoze, yet (by the helpe of God) they got from them with their boates, although many of them were hurt with their poisoned arrowes: and the poison is incurable, if the arrow enter within the skin and draw blood, and except the poison bee presently sucked out, or the place where any man is hurt bee soozthwith cut away, hee dieth within foure dayes; and within three houres after they bee hurt or pricked, where soeuer it be, although but at the little toe, yet it striketh by to the heart, and taketh away the stomacke, and causeth the partie maruellously to vomite, being able to brooke neither meat nor drinke.

The Negroes hauing vled our men with such cruelty, whose names were Nicholas Day, William Bats, and Iohn Tomson, led them away to a towne which was within a mile of the water side, or thereabout.

The 20 day we sent to land a boate of skiffe wherein were eight persons, and one of them was the foresayd Iohn Tomson and our interpyeter which was a Frenchman, (for there was one of the Negroes which spake good French:) and they caried with them two harquebusses, two cargets and a mantell.

The cause of sending them was to learne what rancome they demanded for Bats and Day whom they detained. And when they came to the shoze and told the Negroes what they desired, they went and fetched them from among the trees, and brought them loose among fortie or fiftie of them. And being come within a stones cast of the sea side, William Bats brake from them, and ran as fast as he could into the sea towards the boat, and he was not so soon in the water but hee fell downe, either being out of breath or his soote falling him in the sand being soft: so that the Negroes came and fell on him and tooke him and haled him, that we thought they had tozned him in pieces: for they toze againe all the apparell from his backe, so that some of them caried our men a gaine to the towne, and the rest shot at vs with their poisoned arrowes, and hurt one of our men called Androwes in the smal of the leg, who being come aboard, (for al that our Surgeons could do) we thought he would haue died.

Our Generall (notwithstanding all this villanie) sent agayne to them, and offered them any thing that they desired for the rancome of our men, but they would not deliuer them: giuing vs this answer: That there was in the foresayd roade, three weekes before we came, an English shippe which had taken three of their people, and vntill wee did bring or send them againe, wee should not haue our men although wee would giue our three shippes with their furniture.

Euert, milke, gold & graine, the commodities here of Cape Verde.

The Negroes interpyter.

30 French his interpyter for Cape Verde.

The danger of poisoned arrowes.

The answer of the Negroes.

The 21 day a French shippe of the burden of 80 tunnes (or thereabouts,) came to the place where we were, being bound to traffique at the Cape: we told them of the detaining of our two men by the Negros: and seeing that these Frenchmen were very well welcome to the Negros, we wished them to see whether they could procure them againe of the Negros, and bring them along with them, and our Generall promised the Frenchmen 100 li. to obtaine them. So wee committed the matter to the Frenchmen and departed.

Of our men that were hurt by the Negros arrowes, foure died, and one to saue his life had his arme cut off. Androwes that was last of all hurt, lay lame not able to helpe himselfe: onely two recovered of their hurts. So we placed other men in the roomes of those that we lost, and set saile.

The 26 day betwene Cape Verde and Bona vista we sawe many flying fishes of the bignesse of herrings, whereof two flew into our boat, which we towed at our sterne.

Bona vista.

The 28 day we fell with an Island called Bona vista, which is from Cape Verde 86 leagues. The Northside of the sayde Island is full of white sandie hills and dales, and somewhat high land.

The sayd day wee came to an anker within the Westermost point, about a league within the point, and found in our sounding faire sand in ten fadome water, but you may goe neere till you be in five or six fadome, for the ground is faire.

As soone as we were at an anker, our Generall sent his pinnasse a land, and found five or six small houses, but the people were fled into the mountains: and the next day he sent a shoz againe, and met with two Portugals, who willingly went aboard with his men; and at their comming he welcomed them, although they were but poore & simple, and gaue each of them a paire of shoes, and so set them a shoz againe.

21 good admou-
nition.

The 30 day we weighed & sailed into a Bay within a small Island about a league from vs, and tooke plentie of diuers sortes of fishe. The foresayd Island lieth in threene degrees. And if you meane to anker in the said Bay, you may bozow in foure or five fadome of the Southermost point of the sayd Island, which you may see when you ride in the road. But beware of the middle of the Baie, for there lieth a ledge of rocks, which at a lowe water breaketh, yet there is thre fadome water ouer them.

2 Banished Por-
tugals.

The last day of Iannarie our Generall with certaine of his men went a shoz in the Baie to the houses, where he found 12 Portugals. In all the Island there were not aboue 30 persons, which were banished men for a time, some for moze pecces, some for lesse, and amongst them there was one simple man which was their captaine.

They liue vpon goats flesh, cocks, hennes, and fresh water: other victuals they haue none, sauing fish, which they esteeme not, neither haue they any boats to take them.

Great store of
goates.

They reported that this Island was giuen by the king of Portugall to one of his gentlemen, who hath let it forth to rent for one hundred duckats a yeere, which rent is reared onely in goats skinned. For by their speaches there hath bene sent forth of the sayd Island into Portugall 4000 skins in one yeere.

We were to these men maruailously welcome, and to their powers very wel entertained, and they gaue vs the flesh of as many hee-goates as wee would haue, and cooke much paines for vs in taking them, and bringing them from the mountains vpon their asses.

They haue there great store of the oyle of Tortoises, which Tortoise is a fish which swimmeth in the Sea, with a shell on his backe as broad as a target. It raineth not in this Island but in thre moneths of the yeere, from the midst of Iuly to the midst of October, and it is here alwayes very hote. Kine haue bene brought hither, but by reason of the heate and brought they haue died.

The Ile of
Maiyo.

The 3 of February wee departed from this Island, and the same day fell with another Island called the Island of Maiyo, which is 14 leagues from the other Island: there is in the midst of the way between these two Islands a danger which is alwayes to be seene.

S. Iago.

We ankered in the Northwest side of the sayd Ile in a faire Baie of eight fadomes water and faire sand, but here we staid not, but the fourth day weighed and sailed to another Island called S. Iago, which lieth off the said Island of Maiyo East and by South, and about five leagues one from the other. Being come within the Westermost point, we saw a faire road, and a small towne by the water side, and also a fort or platfome by it: there we purposed to come to anker, and our marchants to make some sale. But befoze we came within their shot, they let flie at vs two peeces, whereupon we went roomer and sailed along the shoz two or thre leagues from the road, where we found a small Baie and two or thre small houses, where we came to an anker in 14 fadome faire ground.

Within

Which an honre after we had ankered we might see diuers hozsemen and footmen on the land right against vs riding and running to and fro.

The next day being the first of Februarie, a great companie of their hozsemen and footmen appeared on the shoare side, vnto whom our Generall sent to vnderstande whether they would quietly trafike with them: And they sent him worde againe, desiring that they might speake with him, promising that if he came to trafike as a marchant he should be welcome, and also that he should haue any thing that he or the marchant would with reason demaund.

When this answer was brought vnto our Generall he was very glad thereof and the whole companie, and presently (with as much speede as he could) he caused his boates to be made ready: but doubting the villanie of the Portugales, he armed his boates putting a double bales in the head of his pinnelle, and two single bales in the head of the Skiffe, and so sent to the May-floure and the George, and willed them in like sort to man their two boates.

These boates being thus manned and well appointed, our Generall entered into his Skiffe, and with the rest rowed to the shoare where were thescorpe hozsemen or more, and two hundredth footmen ready to receiue them. Our Generall marvelled that they came in so great a number and all armed, and therefore with a flagge of truce sent to them to knowe their pleasure: and they answered him with many faire promises and othes, that their pretence was all true, and that they meant like Gentlemen and Marchantes to trafike with him, declaring also that their Captaine was comming to speake with him; and therefore desired our Generall to come and speake with him himselfe.

With this answer the boate returned, and then our Generall caused his pinnelle to rowe to them, and as he came neere the shoare they came in a great companie with much obespance, opening their hands and armes abroade, bowing themselues with their bonnets off, with as much humble salutations outwardly as they might: earnestly desiring our Generall and Marchants to come on lande to them, whereunto he would not agree without sufficient gages of Gentlemen and Marchants. At length they promised to sende two gages to our Generals contentment, promising fresh water, victuall, money, or Negroes for ware, if it were such as they liked: and therefore desired our Generall and Marchants to sende them a shoare in writing the quantitie of their wares, and the names of them: all which our Generall departed to performe, looking for their answer the morrowe following. And being gone a litle from the shoare, he caused his bales, carriers, and harquebusses to be shot off, and our ships in like case shot off sixe or seuen peeces of great ordnance, and so came aboard to prepare the note. The Portugales most of them departed, sauing those that were left to watch and to receiue the note, which about foure or five a clocke in the afternoone was sent, and it was receiued. But all the purposes of the Portugals were villainously to betray vs (as that appeare hereafter) although we meant in truth and honestie, friendly to trafike with them.

The treason of the Portugals in S. Iago to our men.

There was to the Westwards of vs and about two leagues from vs, a towne behinde a point fast by the sea side, where they had certaine Carauels or Shippes and also two Brigandines, whereof they (with all the speede that they might) made ready foure Carauels, and both the brigandines which were like two Gallies, and furnished them both with men and ordnance as much as they could carrie, and as soone as it was night, they came rowing and falling towards vs: so that the land being high and the weather somewhat cloudie or mystie, and they comming all the way close vnder the shoare we could not see them till they were right against one of our ships called the May-floure.

By this time it was about one or two of the clocke in the morning, and the May-floure roade neerer them then the other two by a bales shotte, so that they made a sure account either to haue taken her or burnt her. In the meane time our men that had the watch (like thinking of such villainous treacheries after so many faire wordes) were singing and playing one with the other, and made such a noyse, that (being but a small gale of winde, and riding neere the lande) they might heare vs from the shoare: so that we supposed that they made account that we had clyped them, which in deede we had not, neither had any one peece of ordnance primed, or any other thing in a readinesse.

They came so neere vs that they were within gunshot of vs, & then one of our men chanced to see a light, & then looking out spied the 4 shippes, and suddenly cried out, Gallies, gallies, at which cry we were all amazed, and forthwith they shot at vs all the great ordnance that they had, and their harquebusses, and carriers, and so lighted certaine tronkes or peeces of wilde fire, and all of them with one voice (as well they on the shoare as they in the shippes) gaue a great shoute, and so continued hallowing with great noyses, still appoaching neerer and neerer vnto the May-floure. We (with all the speede that we might) made ready one peece of ordnance and shotte

at them, which caused them somewhat to stay, so they charged their ordinance and shot at vs freshly againe, and while they shotte this second time at vs, we had made ready three pieces which we shot at them, but they approached still so nere, that at last we might haue shot a sharte arrowe to them. Whereupon we hauing a gale of winde off the shoare hoysed our fore sayle, and cut our cable at the hawse, and went towarde our Admirall, and they continued following and shooting at vs, and sometime at our Admirall, but our Admirall shotte one such piece at them, that it made them to retire, and at length to warpe away like traitorous villaines, and although they thus suddenly shot all their shot at vs, yet they hurt neither man nor boy of ours, but what we did to them we know not.

The Isle of Fuego.

But seeing the villanie of these men we thought it best to stay there no longer, but immediatly set sayle to wards an Island called Fuego, 12 leagues from the said Island of S. Iago. At which Island of Fuego we came to an anker the 11 day of this moneth, against a white chappell in the West end of the sayd Island, within halfe a league of a litle towne, and within a league or thereabout of the vttermoost point of the said Island.

In this Island is a maruelous high hill which doth burne continually, and the inhabitants reported that about three yeeres past the whole Island was like to be burned with the abundance of fire that came out of it.

Mill.

About a league from the said chappell to the Westward is a goodly spring of fresh water, where we had as much as we would. Wheate they haue none growing here, but a certaine seede that they call Mill, and certaine peason like Guinie peason, which Mill maketh good breade, but they haue here good stoze of rother beasts and goates. Their marchandize is cotton, which groweth there.

Cotton in Fuego.

The inhabitants are Portugals which haue comendement from the king to trafike neither with Englishmen nor Frenchmen for victuall or any other thing, except they be forced so to doe.

The Isle of Braua.

There lieth off this Island another called Iha Braua, which is not passing two leagues ouer, it hath good stoze of goates and many trees, but there are not passing thre or foure persons dwelling in it.

They returne March.

The 25 day of February we departed towarde the Islands of Azores: and on the 23 day of March we had sight of one of them called Flores, and then wee might see another Island to the Northward of it called Cueruo, lying two leagues or thereabouts off the other.

The 27 we came to an anker in Cueruo ouer against a village of about twelue simple houses: but in the night by a gale of winde, which caused vs to drawe our anker after vs, we hoysed sayle and went to the afore sayd Island of Flores, where we sawe strange streames of water running downe from the high cliffes by reason of the great abundance of raine that had suddenly fallen.

The 29 day we came againe to Cueruo and cast anker, but a storme arose and continued seuen or eight houres together, so that we let slip a cable and anker, and after the storme was alayed we came againe thinking to haue recouered the same, but the Portugals had either taken it, or spoiled it: the cable was new and neuer wet before, and both the cable and anker were better worth then 40 li. So that we accompt our selues much beholding to the honest Portugales.

April.

The 18 day of April we tooke in water at the Island of Flores, and hauing ankered, our cable was fretted in sunder with a rocke and so burst, where wee lost that cable and anker also, and so departed to our coast.

Then wee set sayle to an Islande named Faial, about the which lie thre other Islands, the one called Pico, the other Saint George, and the other Graciosa, which we had sight of on the eight and twentieth day.

Wood.

The 29 we came to an anker in the Southwest side of Faial in a faire bay, and 22 fadom water against a litle towne where we had both fresh water and fresh victuall. In this Island by the report of the inhabitants, there groweth certaine greene wood, which by their speeches is farre better then the wood of S. Michael or of Tercera.

May.

The 8 day of May we came to Tercera where we met with a Portugall ship, and being destitute of a cable and anker, our Generall caused vs to keepe her companie, to see if she could conveniently spare vs any. The next morning we might see bearing with vs a great shippe and two Carauels, which we iudged to be of the king of Portugals Armada, and so they were, whereupon we prepared our selues for our defence. The said ship was one of the kings Gallies, about the burden of foure hundred tunnes, with about thre hundred men in her, the shippe being well appointed with brasse pieces both great and small, and some of them so bigge that their shot was as great as a mans head, the other two Carauels were also very warlike and well appointed both with men and munition.

A Portugall Gallie of 400 tunnes.

As soone as they were within shoote of vs, they waied vs amaine with their swords, we keeping our course, the greatest flippe shot at vs freely and the carauell also, and we prepared our selues, and made all things cleare for our safegard as neere as we could. Then the great shippe shot at vs all her broad side, and her foure greatest pieces that lay in her sterne, and there with hurt some of our men, and we did the best we could with our shot to requite it. At last two other Carauels came off the shoare, and two other pinnelles full of men, and deliuered them aboord the great shippe, and so went backe againe with two men in a peece of them. The ship and the Carauell gaue vs the first day thzee fights, and when the night was come they left off shooting, yet not withstanding kept hard by vs all the night. In the meane time we had as much as we could doe all the night to mende our ropes, and to strengthen our bulwarkes, putting our trust in God, and resoluing our selues rather to die in our defence then to bee taken by such wretches.

A fight betwene one English ship and 7 Portugals

The next day being the 10 of May in the morning, there were come to aide the said Portugals foure great Armadas of Carauels moze which made seuen, of which 4 thzee of them were at the least 100 tunnes a peece, the other not so bigge, but all well appointed and full of men. All these together came bearing with vs being in our Admirall, and one of the great Carauels came to lay vs aboord (as we iudged) for they had prepared their false nettings, and all things for that purpose, so that the Gallias came by in our starboord side, and the Carauell in our larboord side.

Our Captaine and Matter perceiuing their pretence, caused our gunners to make all our ordinance readie with crossebarres, chaineshoote and hailehot: so the ship and Carauell came by, and as soone as they were right in our sides, they shotte at vs as much ordinance as they could, thinking to haue layde vs presently aboord: whereupon we gaue them such a heate with both our sides, that they were both glad to fall asterne of vs, & so paused the space of two or thzee houres being a very small gale of winde.

Then came by the other five and shot all at vs, and so fell all asterne of vs, & then went to edwellsell together.

Then our small barke named the George came to vs, and wee conferred together a great space. And as the Portugall shippes and Carauels were comming to vs againe, our barke minding to fall asterne of vs and so to come up againe, fell quickly vpon the lee, and by reason of the litle winde, it was so long before she could fill her sailes againe, that both the shippe and Carauels were come by to vs, and she falling in among them made reasonable shift with them, but they got a head of her, so that she could not fetch vs: then 5 of the Carauels followed her, but we saw she defended her selfe against them all.

Then came the great shippe and the Carauell to vs, and fought with vs all that day with their ordinance.

The May-floure our other consort being very good by the winde, tooke the benefite thereof and halde all that day close by the winde; but could not come neere vs. So when night againe was come, they gaue ouer their fight and followed vs all the night.

In these many fights it esuld not other wise be but needes some of our men must be slaine, (as they were indeede) and diuers hurt, and our tackle much spoyled: yet for all this we did our best indoutour to repaire all things, and to stand to it to the death with our assured trust in the mercie and helpe of God.

This night the May-floure came vs to vs, and our Captaine tolde them his harmes and spoyles, and wished them if they could spare halfe a dosen fresh men to hoyle out their boate and sende them to him, but they could not spare any, and so bare away againe. Which when our enemies sawe in the next morning that we were one from another, they came by to vs againe and gaue vs a great fight with much hallowing and hooping, making accompt either to boorde vs or els to sinke vs: but although our companie was but small, yet least they should see vs any whit dismayed, when they hallowed we hallowed also as fast as they, and waned to them to come and boorde vs if they durst, but that they would not, seeing vs still so couragious: and hauing giuen vs that day foure fights, at night they forsooke vs with shame, as they came to vs at the first with pride.

The 7 Portugals depart with shame from one English ship.

They had made in our ship some leakes with their shot which we againe stopped with al speed, and that being done, we tooke some rest after our long labour and trouble.

The next day in the morning the May-floure came to vs, and brought vs sixe men in her boate which did vs much pleasure, and we sent to them some of our hurt men.

Then we directed our course for our owne countrey, and by the second day of June we were neere to our owne coast and sounded being thwart the Lizard. June.

The third day we had sight of a shippe which was a Portugall, who bare with vs, and at his comming

comming to vs (the weather being calme) our Captaine caused him to hoyle forth his boate to come aboard to speake with him, and at their comming our Captaine and Marchants demanded of them what ware they had, and whither they were bound, and they made answer that their lading was sugar and cotton. Then our Captaine and Marchants shewed them five Negroes that we had, and asked them whether they would buy them, which they were very desirous to doe, and agreed to giue for them 40 chests of sugar, which chests were small hauing not aboue 26 loaves in a piece: so they with their boate did fetch five of the chests and deliuered them and went for more, and when they had laden their boate and were come againe, we might see bearing with vs a great ship and a small, which our Captaine supposed to be men of warre or Rowers, and then willed the Portugales to carie their sugar to their ship againe, purposing to make our selues ready for our defence. But the Portugales earnestly intreated our Captaine not so to forsake them, and promised him (if he would safegard them) to giue him aboue the bargaine ten chests of sugar: whereupon our Captaine was content, and the Portugall not being good of sayle, we spared our topsayles for her; so at last the foresaid ship bare with vs, and (seeing that we did not feare them) gaue vs ouer. And the next morning came two others bearing with vs, and seeing vs not about to flie a foot from them forsooke vs also.

30 Portugall ship (withstanding all their vilaines) defended by our men from Rowers.

The 5 day of June we had sight of the Stert, and about noone we were thwart of the bay of Lime, and so sounded and had 35 fadom water.

The first day we came in at the Needles and so came to an anker under the Isle of Wight at a place called Meadhole, and from thence sayled to Southhampton where we made an ende of this voyage.

The Ambassage of M. Edmund Hogan, one of the sworne Esquires of her Maiesties person, from her Highnesse to Mully Abdelmelech Emperour of Marocco, and king of Fes and Sus: in the yeere 1577, written by himselfe,



31 Hogan his arrival at Azafi in Barbarie. Day.

Edmund Hogan being appointed Ambassadour from the Queenes Maiestie to the aboue named Emperour and King Mully Abdelmelech, departed with my company and seruants from London the two and twentieth day of Aprill 1577, being imbarked in the good ship called the Gallion of London, and arrived in Azafi a port of Barbarie the one and twentieth day of May next following. Immediately I sent Leonell Edgerton a Hoare with my letters directed to Iohn Williams and Iohn Bampton, who dispatched a Trotter to Marocco to knowe the kings pleasure for my repaire to the Court, which letters came to their hands on the Thursday night.

They with all speede gaue the king vnderstanding of it, who being glad thereof speeded the next day certaine Captaines with souldiers and tents, with other prouision to Azafi: so that vpon Whituesday at night the said Captaines with Iohn Bampton, Robert Washborne, and Robert Lion, and the kings officers came late to Azafi.

In the meane time I remained a boord, and caused some of the goods to be discharged for lighting of the shippe, and I wrote in my letter that I would not lande, till I knewe the Kings pleasure.

The 22 day being Saturday, the Make-speede arrived in the roade about two of the clocke in the afternoone.

The 27 day, being Whituesday, came aboard the Gallion Iohn Bampton, and others, giuing me to vnderstande how much the King reioyced of my safe arriuall, comming from the Queenes Maiestie, and how that for my safe conduct to the Court he had sent foure Captaines and an hundred souldiers well appointed, with a hoyle furnished which he vsed himselfe to ride on with all other furniture accordingly: they wished mee also to come on lande in the best order I could, as well for my selfe as my men, which I did, hauing to the number of tenne men, whercof thre were trumpeters.

The ships being foure appointed themselves in the best order they could for the best shew, and shot off all their ordinance to the value of twentieth Markes in powder.

At my comming a Hoare, I found all the souldiers well appointed on horsebacke, the Captaines and the Governour of the towne standing as neere the water side as they could, with a Zennet of the kings, and receiued mee from the boate declaring how glad his Maiestie was of my safe arriuall, comming from the Queenes Maiestie my Distresse, and that hee had sent them to attend vpon me, it being his pleasure that I should tarie there on Hoare five or six dayes for my refreshing.

So being mounted vpon the Jemmet, they conducted mee through the Towne into a faire felde vpon the Sea-side where was a tent prouided for mee, and all the ground spread with Turkie carpets, and the Castle discharged a peale of ordnance, and all things necessaric were brought into my tent, where I both took e my table and lodging, and had other conuenient tents for my seruants.

The souldiers encircled the tents, and watched about vs day and night as long as I lay there, although I sought my speedier dispatch.

On the Wednesday towards night, I tooke my horse and trauelled ten miles to the first place of water that we could finde, and there pitched our tents till the next morning, and so trauelled till ten of the clocke, and then pitched our tents till foure, and so trauelled as long as day light would last about 26 miles that day.

The next day being Friday I trauelled in like order but eight and twentie miles at the most, and by a Riuer being about six miles within sight of the Citie of Marocco we pitched our tents.

Immediately after came all our English marchants, and the French on horsebacke to meete me, and before night there came an Alcayde from the king with sixtie men, & diuers mules laden with viciuall and banker, for my supper, declaring vnto me how glad the king shewed himselfe to heare of the Queenes Haiesie, and that his pleasure was I should be receiued into his countrey as neuer any Christian the like: and desired to knowe what time the next day I would come into his citie, because he would that all the Christians as also his nobilitie should meete me, and willed Iohn Bampton to be with him early in the morning, which he did.

About seuen of the clocke being accompanied with the French and English marchants, and a great number of souldiers, I passed towards the citie, and by that time I had traueiled 2 miles, there met me all the Christians of the Spaniards and Portugals to receiue me, which I knowe was more by the kings commandement then of any good wils of themselves: for some of them although they speake me faire hing downe their heads like dogs, and especially the Portugales, and I countenanced them accordingly.

So I passed on till I came within two English miles of the Citie, and then Iohn Bampton returned, shewing me that the king was so glad of my comming, that hee could not deuise to doe too much, to shewe the good will that hee did owe to the Queenes Haiesie, and her Realme.

His counsellors met me without the gates, and at the entrie of the gates, his footmen & guard were placed on both sides of my horse, and so brought me to the kings palace.

The king sat in his chaire with his Counsell about him, as well the Moores as the Elchies, and according to his order giuen vnto me before, I there declared my message in Spanish, and made deliuerie of the Queenes Haiesies letters, and all that I spake at that present in Spanish, hee caused one of his Elchies to declare the same to the Moores present, in the Larbe tongue.

Which done, he answered me againe in Spanish, yeelding to the Queenes Haiesie great thanks, and offering himselfe and his countrey to bee at her Graces commandement, and then commaunded certaine of his Counsellors to conduct mee to my lodging, not being farre from the Court.

The house was faire after the fashion of that countrey, being daily well furnished with all kind of virtuall at the kings charge.

The same night he sent for mee to the Court, and I had conference with him about the space of two houres, where I thoroughly declared the charge committed vnto mee from her Haiesie, finding him conformable, willing to pleasure and not to vize her Haiesie with any demaundes, more then conveniently shee might willingly consent vnto, hee knowing that out of his countrey the Realme of England might be better serued with larkes, then hee in comparison from vs.

Further he gaue me to vnderstand, that the king of Spaine had sent vnto him for a licence, that an Ambassadour of his might come into his countrey, and had made great meanes that if the Queenes maiesty of England sent any vnto him, that he would not giue him any credit or intertainment, albeit (said he) I know what the king of Spaine is, and what the Queene of England and her Realme is: for I neither like of him nor of his religion, being so gouerned by the Inquisition that he can doe nothing of himselfe.

Wherefore when he commeth vpon the licence which I haue granted, he shall well see how little account I will make of him and Spaine, and how greatly I will extoll you for the Queenes Haiesie of England.

In Barbary they haue no fimes but they lodge in open fieldes where they can find water.

The singular humane of the king to our Ambassadour.

The Spaniards and Portugales were eomanded by the king in paine of death, to meete the English Ambassadour.

The king of Spaine sought to disgrace the Queene & her Ambassadour.

He shall not come to my presence as you haue done, and shall dayly: for I munde to accept of you as my companion and one of my house, whereas he shall attend twentieth dayes after he hath done his message.

After the end of this speech I deliuered Sir Thomas Greshams letters, when as he tooke me by the hand, and led me downe a long court to a palace where there ranne a faire fountaine of water, and there sitting himselfe in a chaire, he commanded me to sit downe in another, and there called for such simple Musicians as he had.

The king of
Barbarie sent
into England for
Musicians.

Then I presented him with a great base Lute, which he most thankfully accepted, and then he was desirous to heare of the Musicians, and I tolde him that there was great care had to provide them, and that I did not doubt but vpon my returne they should come with the first ship. He is willing to giue them good intertainment with provision of victuall, and to let them liue according to their law and conscience wherein he vygeth none to the contrary.

I finde him to be one that liueth greatly in the feare of God, being well exercised in the Scriptures, as well in the olde Testament as also in the New, and he beareth a greater affection to our Nation then to others because of our religion, which forbiddeth worship of Idols, and the Moores called him the Christian king.

A rich gift be-
stowed vpon
our Ambassa-
dour.

The same night being the first of Iune, I continued with him till twelue of the clocke, and he seemed to haue fo good liking of me, that he rooke from his girdle a hozt dagger bring set with 200 stones, rubies and turkies, and did bestow it vpon me, and so I being conducted returned to my lodging for that time.

The next day because he knew it to be Sunday & our Sabboth day he did let me rest. But on the munday in the afternoone he sent for me, and I had conference with him againe, and musicke.

Likewise on the tuesday by thye of the clocke he sent for me into his garden, finding him layd vpon a silke bed complayning of a soze leg: yet after long conference he walked into another Orchard, whereas hauing a faire banketing-house and a great water, and a new gallie in it, he went aboard the gallie and cooke me with him, and passed the space of two or thye houres, shewing the great experience he had in Gallies, wherein (as he said) he had exercised himselfe eigheteene yeres in his youth.

After supper he shewed me his hozles and other commodities that he had about his house, and since that night I haue not seene him, for that he hath kept in with his soze legge, but he hath sent to me daily.

Jan.

The 13 of Iune at five of the clocke at night I had againe audience of the king, and I continued with him till midnight, hauing debated as well for the Queenes commission as for the well dealing with her marchants for their traffike here in these parts, saying, he would do much more for the Queenes maiesty and the Realme, offering that all English ships with her subiects may with good securitie enter into his ports and dominions as well in trade of marchandize, as for victuall & water, as also in time of warre with any her enemies to bring in prizes and to make sales as occasion should serue, or else to depart againe with them at their pleasure.

The offers of
the king to our
English mer-
chants.

Like wise for all English ships that shall passe along his coast of Barbarie, & thozow the straites into the Leuant seas, that he would graunt safe conduct that the said ships and marchants with their goods might passe into the Leuant seas, and so to the Turks dominions, and the king of Argiers, as his owne, and that he would wryte to the Turke and to the king of Argier his letters for the well vsing of our ships and goods.

A good pro-
uiso.

All that hereafter no Englishmen that by any meanes may be taken captiues, shall be solde within any of his dominions: whereupon I declared that the Queenes maiesty accepting of these his offers was pleased to confirme the intercourse & trade of our marchants within this his countrey, as also to pleasure him with such commodities as he should haue need of, to furnish the necessities and wants of his countrey in trade of marchandize, so as he required nothing contrarie to her honour and law, and the breach of league with the Christian princes her neighbours.

The same night I presented the king with the case of combes, and desired his maiesty to haue special regard that the ships might be laden backe againe, for that I found little stoze of salt-peter in readinesse in Iohn Bamprons hands. He answered me that I should haue all the assistance therein that he could, but that in Sus he thought to haue some stoze in his house there, as also that the Mountayners had made much in a rcabinelle: I requested that he would send downe, which he promised to doe.

The eigheteene day I was with him againe and so continued there till night, and he shewed me his house with pastime in ducking with water-Spaniels, and baiting buls with his English dogges.

At this time I moued him againe for the sending downe to Sus, which he granted to doe, and
the

the 24. day there departed Alcaide Mammie, with Lionell Edgerton, and Rowland Guy to Sus, and caried with them for our accompts and his company the kings letters to his brother Muly Hammot, and Alcaide Shauan, and the Viceroy.

The 23. day the king sent me out of Marocco to his garden called Shersbonare, with his gard, and Alcaide Mamoure, and the 24. at night I came to the court to see a Hojris dance, and a play of his Elchies. He promised me audience the next day being Tuesday, but he put it off till Thursday: and the Thursday at night I was sent for to the king after supper, and then he sent Alcaide Rodwan, and Alcaide Gowry to confere with me, but after a little talke I desired to be brought to the King for my dispatch. And being brought to him, I preferred two bills of Iohn Bamprons which he had made for provision of Salt-peter: also two bills for the quiet traffique of our English Merchants, and bills for iugars to be made by the Lewes, as well for the debtes past, as hereafter, and for good order in the Ingenios. Also I mooued him againe for the Salt-peter, and other dispatches, which he referred to be agreed vpon by the two Alcaides. But the Friday being the 20. the Alcaides could not intend it, and vpon Saturday Alcaide Rodwan fell sicke, so on Sunday we made meanes to the King, and that afternoone I was sent for to confere vpon the bargaine with the Alcaides and others, but did not agree.

Vpon Tuesday I wrote a letter to the King for my dispatch, and the same afternoone I was called againe to the Court, and referred all things to the King, accepting his offer of Salt-peter.

That night againe the King had me into his Gallie, and the Spaniels did hunt the ducke.

The Thursday I was appointed to way the 300. kintals grosse of Salt-peter, and that afternoone the Tabybe came vnto me to my lodging, shewing mee that the king was offended with Iohn Bampton for diuers causes.

The Sunday night late being the 7. of July, I got the King to forgive all to Iohn Bampton, and the King promised me to speake againe with me vpon Monday.

Vpon Tuesday I wrote to him againe for my dispatch, and then hee sent Fray Lewes to mee, and said that he had order to write.

Vpon Wednesday I wrote againe, and he sent me word that vpon Thursday I should come and be dispatched, so that I should depart vpon Friday without faile, being the twelfth of July.

So the Friday after according to the kings order & appointment I went to the court, & where as motion and petition was made for the confirmation of the demaunds which I had preferred, they were all granted, and likewise the priuileges which were on the behalfe of our English merchants requested, were with great fauour and readinesse yeelded vnto. And whereas the Lewes there resident were to our men in certaine round summes indebted, the Emperors pleasure and commandement was, that they should without further excuse or delay, pay and discharge the same. And thus at length I was dismissed with great honour and speciall countenance, such as hath not ordinarily bene shewed to other Ambassadors of the Christians.

The Emperors
of Maroco his
priuileges to
the English.

And touching the priuate affaires intreated vpon betwixt her Maiestie and the Emperour, I had letters from him to satisfie her highnesse therein. So to conclude, hauing receiued the like honourable conduct from his Court, as I had for my part at my first landing, I embarked my selfe with my foresaid company, and arriuing not long after in England, I repaired to her Maiesties court, & ended my Ambassage to her highnesse good liking, with relation of my seruice performed.

The voyage of Thomas Stukeley, wrongfully called Marques of Ireland, into Barbary 1578. Written by Iohannes Thomas Freizius in *Historia de cede Sebastiani Regis Lusitaniae.*



Venerant autem ad regem etiam sexcenti Itali, quos Papa subministrat, Comiti Irlandiæ: qui cum Vltisponem tribus instructis nauibus appulisset Regi operam suam condixit, eumque in bellum sequi promisit. Cap. 7.

Totum exercitum diuisit in quatuor acies quadratas: In dextro latere primum agmen erat Velitum & militum Tingitanorum, eosque ducebat Aluarus Peresius de Tauara: sinistram aciem seu mediam tenebant Germani & Itali, quibus imperabat Marchio Irlandiæ, &c. Cap. 11.

Inter nobiles qui in hoc prelio ceciderunt, fuerunt, præter regem Sebastianum, dux de Auero, Episcopi Conimbricensis & Portuensis, Commissarius generalis à Papa missus Marchio Irlandiæ, Christophorus de Tauora, & plures alij. Cap. 13.

The same in English.

There came also to Don Sebastian the King of Portugal 600. Italians, whom the Pope sent under the conduct of the Marques of Irland: who being artiued at Lisbon with three tall ships,

Thomas Stukeley
was wrong-
fully indued
with this title.

ships proffered his service to the king, and promised to attend upon him in the warres, &c.

He divided the whole Armie into 4. Squadrons: upon the right wing stood the first Squadron, consisting of men lightly armed of skirmishers and of the souldiers of Tangier, Generall of whom was Don Alvaro Perez de Tauara: the left or middle Squadron consisted of Germanes and Italians, under the command of the Marques of Irland, &c. cap. 7.

Of Noblemen were slaine in this battell (besides Don Sebastian the king) the duke de Auro, the two bishops of Coimbra & of Porto, the Marques of Irland sent by the Pope as his Com-missary generall, Christopher de Tauara, and many others, cap. 13.

It is further also to be remembred, that diuers other English gentlemen were in this battell, whereof the most part were slaine; and among others M. Christopher Lyster was taken captiue, and was there long detained in miserable seruitude. Which gentleman although at length he happily escaped the cruel hands of the Moores; yet returning home into England, and for his manifold good parts being in the yeere 1586, employed by the honourable the Earle of Cumberland, in a voyage intended by the Streights of Magellan for the South sea, as Viceadmirall, (wherein he shewed singular resolution and courage) and appointed after ward in diuers places of speciall command and credite, was last of all miserably drowned in a great and rich Spanish prize upon the coast of Cornwall.

Certaine reports of the prouince of *China* learned through the *Portugals* there imprisoned, and chiefly by the relation of *Galeotto Perera*, a Gentleman of good credit, that lay prisoner in that Countrey many yeeres. Done out of *Italian* into English by *Richard Willes*.

Fuquien.

Cinco.

Cantan.

Chequeam.

Xutiamfu.

Chelim.

Quianci. or,
Quinzi.

Pachin.

This land of China is parted into 13. Shires, the which sometimes were ech one a kingdome by it selfe, but these many yeeres they haue bene all subiect vnto one King. Fuquien is made by the Portugals the first Shire, because there their troubles began, & they had occasion thereby to know the rest. In this shire be 8. cities, but one principally more famous then others called Fuquieo, the other seuen are reasonably great, the best known whereof vnto the Portugals is Cincoo, in respect of a certaine haueu toping thereunto, whither in time past they were wout for merchandise to resort.

Cantan is the second shire, not so great in quantitie, as well accompted of, both by the king thereof, and also by the Portugals, for that it lieth neerer vnto Malacca then any other part of China, and was first discried by the Portugals befoze any other shire in that prouince: this shire hath in it seuen Cities.

Chequeam is the third shire, the chiefest Citie therein is Donchion, therein also standeth Liampo, with other 13. or 14. boroughes: countrey townes therein are too too many to be spoken of.

The fourth shire is called Xutiamfu, the principall Citie thereof is great Pachin, where the King is alwayes resident. In it are fifteene other very great Cities: of other townes therein, and boroughes well walled and trenched about, I wil say nothing.

The fift shire hath name Chelim: the great Citie Nanquin chiefe of other fifteene cities was herein of ancient time the rovall seat of the Chinish kings. From this shire, & from the aforesaid Chequeam forward bare rule the other kings, vntil the whole region became one kingdome.

The 6. shire beareth the name Quianci, as also the principal City thereof, wherein the fine clay to make vessels is wrought. The Portugals being ignorant of this Countrey, and finding great abundance of that fine clay to be selde at Liampo, and that very good cheape, thought at the first that it had bene made there, howbeit in fine they perceived that the standing of Quinzi more neere vnto Liampo then to Cincoo or Cantan was the cause of so much fine clay at Liampo: within the compass of Quinzi shire be other 12. cities.

The 7. shire is Quicin, the 8. Quanh, the 9. Confu, the 10. Vman, the 11. Sichiua. In the first hereof there be 16. Cities, in the next 15: how many Townes the other 3. haue, wee are ignorant as yet, as also of the proper names of the 12. and 13. shires, and the townes therein.

This finally may be generally said hereof, that the greater shires in China prouince may be compared with mightie kingdomes.

In ech one of these shires bee set Ponchiassini and Anchiassini, befoze whom are handled the matters of other Cities. There is also placed in ech one a Turan, as you would say, a gouernour, and a Chian, that is a iustice, as it were: whose office is to goe in circuit, and to see iustice exactly done. By these meanes so uprightly things are ordered there, that it may be worthily accompted one of the best governed prouinces in all the world.

The king maketh alwayes his abode in the great city Pachin, as much to say in our language,

as by the name thereof I am aduertised, the towne of the kingdome. This kingdome is so large, that vnder five monethes you are not able to traualle from the Townes by the Sea side to the Court, and backe againe, no not vnder three monethes in poste at your vrgent businesse. The post-horses in this Countrey are kille of body, but swift of foote. Many doe crauelle the greater part of this iourney by water in certaine light barkes, for the multitude of Riuers commodious for passage from one Citie to another.

The King, notwithstanding the hugeness of his kingdome, hath such a care thereof, that every Boone (for by the Boones they reckon their monethes) he is aduertised fully of what soeuer thing Their monethes. happeneth therein, by these meanes following.

The whole prouince being diuided into shires, and ech shire hauing in it one chiefe and principall Citie, wherunto the matters of all the other Cities, Townes and boroughes, are brought, there are drawn in euery chiefe Citie aforesaid intelligences of such things as doe monethly fall out, and be sent in writing to the Court. If happely in one moneth euery post be not able to goe so long a way, yet doeth there notwithstanding once euery moneth arrue one post out of the shire. Who so cometh befoze the new moone stayeth for the deliury of his letters until the moone be changed. Then likewise are dispatched other posts backe into all the 13. shires againe.

Before that we doe come to Cinceo wee haue to passe through many places, and some of great importance. For this Countrey is so well inhabited neere the Sea side, that you cannot goe one mile but you shall see some Towne, borough or holly, the which are so aboundatly prouided of all things, that in the Cities and townes they liue ciuily. Neuertheless such as dwell abrode are very poore, for the multitude of them euery where is so great, that out of a tree you shall see many times swarme a number of children, wher a man would not haue thought to haue found any one at all.

From these places in number infinite, you shall come vnto two Cities very populous, and, being compared with Cinceo, not possibly to be discerned which is the greater of them. These cities are as well walled as any Cities in all the world. As you come in to either of them, there standeth so great and mighty a bridge, that the like thereof I haue neuer scene in Portugal nor else where. I heard one of my fellows say, that hee tolde in one bridge 40. arches. The occasion wherefore these bridges are made so great is, for that the Countrey is toward the sea very plaine and low, and ouerflowed euer as the sea water entreaseth. The breadth of the bridges, although it be well proportioned vnto the length thereof, yet are they equally built, no higher in the middle then at either ende, in such wise that you may see directly from the one ende to the other: the sides are wonderfully well engraued after the maner of Rome-workes. But that we did most maruile at was therewithall the hugeness of the stones, the like wherof, as we came in to the Citie, we did see many set vp in places dis-habited by the way, to no small charges of theirs, howbeit to little purpose, whereas no body seeth them but such as doe come by. The arches are not made after our fashion, vaulted with stony stones set together: but paved, as it were, whole stones reaching from one pillar to another, in such wise that they lye both for the arches heads, and galantly serue also for the high way. I haue bene allowed to beholde the hugeness of the aforesaid stones: some of them are xii. pases long and vppward, the least 11. good pases long, and an halfe.

The wayes echwhere are galantly paved with fouresquare stone, except it be where for want of stone they vse to lay byck: in this voyage wee traualled ouer certaine hills, where the wayes were pitched, and in many places no worse paved then in the plaine ground. This causeth vs to thinke, that in all the world there bee no better workemen for buildings, then the inhabitants of China. The Countrey is so well inhabited, that no one foote of ground is left vntilled: small fozze of cattell haue we seen this day, we saw onely certaine oxen wherewithall the countrey men ds plow their ground. One ore draweth the plough alone, not onely in this shire, but in other places also, wherein is greater fozze of cattell. These countrey men by arte do that in tillage, which we are constrained to doe by force. Here be solde the boydings of close stooles, although there wanteth not the dung of beastes: and the excrements of man are good marchandise throughout all China. The dungfarmers seek in euery street by exchange to buy this durtie ware for herbs and wood. The custome is very good for keeping the Citie cleane. There is great abundance of hennes, geese, duckes, swine, and goates, wethers haue they none: the hennes are solde by weight, and so are all other things. Two pound of hennes flesh, geese, or ducke, is worth two fo of their money, that is, d. ob. sterling. Swines flesh is sold at a penie the pound. Beefe beareth the same price, for the scarcitie thereof, howbeit norward from Fuquico and farther off from the sea-coast, there is beefe more plentie and solde better cheape; We haue had in all the Cities we passed through, great abundance of all these victuals, beefe onely excepted. And if this Countrey were like vnto India, the inhabitants wherof eat neither henn, beefe, nor porke, but keepe that onely for

for the Portugals and Moores, they would be sold here for nothing. But it so falling out, that the Chineans are the greatest eaters in all the world, they do feed upon all things, specially on porke, which, the fatter it is, is unto them the lesse lothsome. The highest price of these things aforesaid I haue set downe, better cheape than you sometimes buy them for the great plenty thereof in this countrey. Frogs are sold at the same price that is made of hennes, and are good nicate amongst them, as also dogs, cats, rats, snakes, and all other vnclane meetes.

The Cities be very gallant, specially neere vnto the gates, the which are marueilously great, and covered with iron. The gatchhouses are built on high with towers, & the lower part thereof is made of bricke & stone, proportionally with the walls, from the walls byward the building is of timber, and many stories in it one above the other. The strength of their townes is in the mightie walles and ditches, artillerye haue they none.

The streetes in Cinceo, and in all the rest of the Cities we haue scene are very faire, so large and so straight; that it is wonderfull to behold. Their houses are built with timber, the foundations onely excepted, the which are layd with stone: in each side of the streetes are pentises or continuall porches for the marchants to walke vnder: the breadth of the streets is neuer the lesse such, that in them 15. men may ride commodiously side by side. As they ride they must needs passe vnder many high arches of triumph that crosse ouer the streetes made of timber, and carued diuersly, covered with tiles of fine clay: vnder these arches the Mercers do utter their smaller wares, & such as list to stand there are defended from raine and the heate of the Sunne. The greater gentlemen haue these arches at their doozes: although some of them be not so mightily built as the rest.

Lourea.

I shall haue occasion to speake of a certaine order of gentlemen that are called Loureas. I wil first therefore expound what this word signifieth. Lourea is as much to say in our language as Sir, and when any of them calleth his name, he answereth Sir: and as we do say, that the king hath made some gentleman, so say they, that there is made a Lourea. And for that amongst them the degrees are diuers both in name and office, I wil tell you onely of some principals, being not able to aduertise you of all.

The maner how gentlemen are created Loureas, and do come to that honour and title, is by the giuing of a broad girdle, not like to the rest, and a cap, at the commandment of the king. The name Lourea is moze generall & common vnto mo, then the equalitie of honour thereby signified agreeth withall. Such Loureas as doe serue their pvince in weightie matters for iustice, are created after trial made of their learning: but the other which serue in smaller affaires, as Captaines, constables, sergeants by land and sea, receiuers and such like, whereof there be in euery citie, as also in this, very many, are made for fauour: the chiefe Loureas are serued kneeling.

The whole prouince of China is diuided, as I haue said, into 13. shires, in euery shire at the least is one gouernour called there Turan, in some shires there be two.

Chian, or, Chien.

Chiefe in office next vnto them be certaine other named Chians, that is, high Commissioners as you would say, or visiters, with full authoritie in such wise, that they doe call vnto an accompt the Turans themselues, but their authoritie lasteth not in any shire longer then one yere. After the lesse in euery shire being at the least 7. citie, yea, in some of them 15. or 16. beside other boroughes and to wnes not well to be numbred, these visiters where they come are so honoured and feared, as though they were some great pvinces. At the yeres end, their circuit done, they come vnto that Citie which is chiefe of others in the shire, to do iustice there: finally busying themselues in the searching out of such as are to receiue the order of Loureas, whereof moze shall be said in another place.

Ponchiaffi.

Duer and besides these officers, in the chiefe City of each one of these aforesaid 13. prouinces, is resident one Ponchiaffi, Capitaine thereof, and treasurer of all the kings reuenues. This Magistrate maketh his abode in one of the foure greatest houses that be in all these head Cities. And although the principall part of his function be to be Capitaine, to be treasurer of the reuenues in that prouince, & to send these reuenues at appointed times to the Court: yet hath he notwithstanding by his office also to meddle with matters appertaining vnto iustice.

Anchiaffi, or, Hexaffi.

In the second great house dwelleth an other Magistrate called Anchiaffi, a great officer also, for he hath dealings in all matters of iustice. Who although he be somewhat inferior in dignitie vnto the Ponchiaffi, yet for his great dealings and generall charge of iustice, whosoever seeth the affaires of the one house and the other might iudge this Anchiaffi to be the greater.

Tuzi.

Tuzi, an other officer so called, lieth in the thirde house, a magistrate of importance, specially in things belonging vnto warfare, for thereof hath he charge.

Taisu.

There is resident in the 4. house a fourth officer, bearing name Taisu. In this house is the principall prison of all the Citie. Each one of these Magistrates aforesaide may both lay euill doers in prison, & deliuer them out againe, except fact be heinous & of importance: in such a case they can do nothing, except they do meet all together. And if the deed deserueth death, all they together cannot

deter:

determine thereof, without recourse made vnto the Chian wheresoever hee be, or to the Tutan: and estoones it falleth out, that the case is referred vnto higher power. In all Cities, not onely chiefe in ech Shire, but in the rest also, are meanes found to make Loureas. Many of them do study at the prince his charges, wherefoze at the yeeres ende they resort vnto the head Cities, whither the Chians doe come, as it hath bene earst saide, as well to giue these degrees, as to sit in iudgement ouer the prisoners.

The Chians go in circuit euery yere, but such as are to be chosen to the greatest offices meete not but from three yeeres to three yeeres, and that in certaine large halles appointed for them to be examined in. Many things are asked them, whcreunto if they doe answer accordingly, and be found sufficient to take their degree, the Chian by and by granteth it them: but the Cap and girdle, whereby they are knowne to be Loureas, they weare not befoze that they be confirmed by the king. Their examination done, and triall made of them, such as haue taken their degree wont to be giuen them with all ceremonies, vnto banquet and feast many dayes together (as the Chineans fashion is to ende all their pleasures with eating and drinking) and so remaine chosen to do the king seruice in matters of learning. The other examinares founde insufficient to proceed are sent backe to their studie againe. Whose ignorance is perceiued to come of negligence and default, such a one is whipped, and sometimes sent to pylon, where lping that yere when this kinde of acte was, we found many thus punished, and demanding the cause thereof, they saide it was for that they knew not how to answer vnto certaine things asked them. It is a way to see how these Loureas are serued and feared, in such wise, that in publike assemblies at one shrike they giue, all the seruitors belonging vnto iustice tremble thereat. At their being in these places, when they list to mooue, be it but euen to the gate, the se seruitors doe take them vp, and carry them in seates of beaten gold. After this sort are they borne when they goe in the City, either for their owne businesse abroad, or to see ech other at home. For the dignitie they haue, and office they doe beare, they be all accompanied: the very meanest of them all that goeth in these seates is vthered by two men at the least, that cry vnto the people to giue place, howbeit they neede it not, for that reuerence the common people haue vnto them. They haue also in their company certaine Sergeants with their Faces either siluered or altogether silver, some two, some foure, or ther five, or ther eight, conueniently for ech one his degree. The moze principall and chiefe Loureas haue going orderly befoze these Sergeants, many other with staves, and a great many catchpoules with rods of Indish canes dragged on the ground, so that the streets being paured, you may heare afaire off as well the noyse of the rods, as the voyce of the criers. These fellows serue also to appzehend others, and the better to be knowne they weare liuery red girdles, and in their caps peacocks feathers. Behinde these Loureas come such as doe beare certaine tables hangd at staves endes, wherein is written in silver letters, the name, degree, and office of that Lourea, whom they follow. In like manner they haue borne after them hattes agreeable vnto their titles: if the Lourea be meane, then hath he brought after him but one hat, and that may not be yealow: but if he be of the better sort, then may he haue two, three, or foure: the principall and chiefe Loureas may haue all their hats yealow, the which among them is accounted great honour. The Lourea for warres, although he be but meane, may not withstanding haue yealow hats. The Tutans and Chians, when they goe abroad, haue besides all this befoze them ledde three or foure horses with their guard in armour.

Licentiars.

Doctors.

Furthermoze the Loureas, yea and all the people of China, are wont to eat their meate sitting on stools at high tables as we doe, and that very cleanelly, although they vse neither table-clothes nor napkins. Whatsoeuer is set downe vpon the boord is first carued befoze that it be brought in: they feede with two sticks, refraining from touching their meate with their hands, euen as we do with forks: for the which respect they lesse do neede any table clothes. It is the nation onely ciuill at meate, but also in conuersation, and in courtesie they seeme to exceede all other. Like wise in their dealings after their maner they are so ready, that they farre passe all other Gentiles and Moores: the greater states are so vaine, that they line their clothes with the best silke that may be found. The Loureas are an idle generation, without all maner of exercises and pastimes, except it be eating and drinking. Sometimes they walke abroad in the fields to make the souldiers shoot at picke with their bowes, but their eating passeth: they will stand eating euen when the other do draw to shoot. The picke is a great blanket spread on certaine long poles, he that striketh it, hath of the best man there standing a piece of crimson Taffata, the which is knit about his head: in this sort the winners be honoured, and the Loureas with their bellies full returne home againe. The inhabitants of China be very great Idolaters, all generally doe worship the heauens: and, as wee are wont to say, God knoweth it: so say they at euery word, *Tien Tante*, that is to say, The heauens doe know it. Some doe worship the Sonne, and some the Moone, as they thinke good, for

It is, that is the Italians and Spaniards.

After the
Dutch fashion.

Pythagorean
like.

none are bound more to one then to another. In their temples, the which they do call Meani, they haue a great altar in the same place as we haue, true it is that one may goe round about it. There for they by the image of a certaine Loutea of that countrey, whom they haue in great reuerence for certaine notable things he did. At the right hand standeth the diuel much more vgly paired then we doe vse to set him out, whereunto great homage is done by such as come into the temple to aske counsell, or to draw lottes: this opinion they haue of him, that he is malicious and able to do euil. If you aske them what they do thinke of the soules departed, they will answer that they be immortall, and that as soone as any one departeth out of this life, he be commeth a diuel if hee haue liued well in this world, if otherwise, that the same diuel changeth him into a busse, ore, or dogge. Wherefore to this diuel they doe much honour, to him doe they sacrifice, praying him that he will make them like vnto himselfe, and not like other beastes. They haue moreouer another sort of temples, wherein both vpon the altars and also on the walls do stand many idols well proportioned, but bare headed: these beare name Omichofon, accounted of them spirits, but such as in heauen do neither good nor euil, thought to be such men and women as haue chafly liued in this world in abstinence from fish and flesh, fed onely with rise and salates. Of that diuel they make some account: for these spirits they care little or nothing at all. Againe they holde opinion that if a man do well in this life, the heauens will giue him many temporal blessings, but if he doe euil, then shall he haue infirmities, diseases, troubles, and penurie, and all this without any knowledge of God. Finally, this people knoweth no other thing then to liue and die, yet because they be reasonable creatures, all seemed good vnto them we speake in our language, though it were not very sufficient: our maner of praying especially pleased them, and truly they are well ynough disposed to receiue the knowledge of the truth. Our Lord grant for his mercy all things so to be disposed, that it may sometime be brought to passe, that so great a nation as this is perish not for want of helpe.

Our maner of praying so well liked them, that in prison importunately they besought vs to write for them somewhat as concerning heauen, the which we did to their contentation wth such reasons as we knew, howbeit not very cunningly. As they do their idolatry they laugh at themselves. If at any time this countrey might be ioyned in league with the kingdome of Portugale, in such wise that free accesse were had to deale with the people there, they might all be soone conuerted. The greatest fault we do finde in them is Sodomie, a vice very common in the meaner sort, and nothing strange amongst the best. This sinne were it left of them, in all other things so well disposed they be, that a good interpreter in a short space might do there great good: If, as I said, the countrey were ioyned in league with vs.

Furthermore the Louteas, with all the people of China, are wont to solemnize the dayes of the new and full Moones in visiting one another, and making great banquets: for to that end, as I earst said, do tend all their pastimes, and spending their dayes in pleasure. They are wont also to solemnize ech one his birth day, whereunto their kindred and friends do resort of custome, with presents of iewels or money, receiuing againe for their reward good cheare. They keepe in like maner a generall feast with great banquets that day their king was borne. But their most principall and greatest feast of all, and best cheare, is the first day of their new yeere, namely the first day of the new Moone of February, so that their first moneth is March, and they reckon the times accordingly, respect being had vnto the reigne of their princes: as when any deed is written, they date it thus, Hade such a day of such a moone, and such a yeere of the reigne of such a king. And their ancient writings beare date of the yeeres of this or that king.

Now will I speake of the maner which the Chineans doe obserue in doing of iustice, that it may be known how farre these Gentiles do herein exceed many Christians, that be more bounden then they to deale iustly and in trueth. Because the Chiniish king maketh his abode continually in the City Pachin, his kingdome so great, & the shires so many, as tofore it hath bene said: in it therefore the gouernours and rulers, much like vnto our Sherriffes, be appointed so suddenly and speedily discharged againe, that they haue no time to grow naught. Furthermore to keepe the state in more securitie, the Louteas that gouerne one shire are chosen out of some other shire distant farre off, where they must leaue their wiues, children and goods, carrying nothing with them but themselves. True it is, that at their comming thither they doe finde in a readinesse all things necessary, their house, furniture, seruants, and all other things in such perfection and plenty, that they want nothing. Thus the king is well serued without all feare of treason.

In the principall Cities of the shires be foure chiefe Louteas, before whom are brought all matters of the inferiour Townes, throughout the whole Realme. Diuers other Louteas haue the managing of iustice, and receiuing of rents, bound to peelde an accompt thereof vnto the greater officers. Other do see that there be no euil rule kept in the Citie: ech one as it becometh him.

Generally

Generally all these doe imprison malefactours, cause them to be whipped and racked, hopping them up and downe by the armes with a cord, a thing very vsuall there, and accounted no shame. These Louteas do vse great diligence in the apprehending of theeues, so that it is a wonder to see a theefe escape away in any City, towne or village. Upon the sea neere vnto the shoare many are taken, and looke euen as they are taken, so be they first whipped, and after wards layde in prison, where shortly after they all die for hunger and cold. At that time when we were in prison, there died of them about threescore and ten. If happily any one, hauing the meanes to get food, do escape, he is set with the condemned persons, and prouided for as they be by the King, in such wise as hereafter it shall be said.

The Italians
call it the
Utrapedo.

Their whips be certaine pieces of canes, cleft in the middle, in such sort that they seeme rather plaine then sharpe. He that is to be whipped lieth grouel long on the ground: vpon his thighes the hangman layeth on blowes mightily with these canes, that the standers by tremble at their crueltye. Ten stripes draw a great deale of blood, 20. or 30. spoile the flesh altogether, 50. or 60. will require long time to be healed, and if they come to the number of one hundred, then are they incurable.

The Louteas obserue mozeouer this: when any man is brought before them to be examined, they aske him openly in the hearing of as many as be present, be the offence neuer so great. Thus did they also behaue themselves with vs: For this cause amongst them can there be no false witness, as dayly amongst vs it falleth out. This good commeth thereof, that many being alwayes about the Iudge to heare the euidence, and beare witness, the processe cannot be falsified, as it happeneth sometimes with vs. The Moores, Gentiles, and Iewes haue all their sturdie othes, the Moores do sweare by their Mossafos, the Brachmans by their Fili, the rest likewise by the things they do worship. The Chineans though they be wont to sweare by heauen, by the Moone, by the Sunne, and by all their Idoles, in iudgement neuertheless they sweare not at all. If for some offence an othe be used of any one, by and by with the least euidence he is tormented, so be the witnesses he bringeth, if they tell not the trueth, or do in any point disagree, except they be men of worship and credit, who are helieued without any further matter: the rest are made to confesse the trueth by force of tormentes and whips. Besides this order obserued of them in examinations, they do feare so much their King, and he where he maketh his abode keepeth them so lowe, that that they dare not once stirre. Againe, these Louteas as great as they be, notwithstanding the multitude of Notaries they haue, not trusting any others, do write all great processe and matters of importance themselves. Mozeouer one vertue they haue worchy of great praise, and that is, being men so wel regarded and accounted as though they were princes, yet they be patient aboue measure in giuing audience. The poore strangers brought before them might say what we would, as all to be lyes and fallaces that they did write, ne did we stand before them with the vsuall ceremonies of that Countrey, yet did they beare with vs so patiently, that they caused vs to wonder, knowing specially how little any aduocate or Iudge is wont in our Countrey to beare with vs. For wheresoener in any towne of Christendome should be accused unknownen men as we were, I know not what end the very innocents cause would haue: but we in a heathen Countrey, hauing our great enemies two of the chiefest men in a whole towne, wanting an interpreter, ignozant of that Countrey language, did in the end see our great aduersaries cast into prison for our sake, and depriued of their Offices and honour for not doing iustice, yea not to escape death: for, as the rumour goeth, they shall be beheaded. Somewhat is now to be said of the lawes that I haue bene able to know in this Countrey, and first, no theft or murder is at any time pardoned: adulterers are put in prison, and the fact once proued, are condemned to die, the womans husband must accuse them: this order is kept with men & women found in that fault, but theeues and murderers are imprisoned as I haue said, where they shortly die for hunger and cold. If any one happily escape by bribing the Gailler to giue him meate, his processe goeth further, and cometh to the Court where he is condemned to die. Sentence being giuen, the prisoner is brought in publique with a terrible band of men that lay him in Irons hand and foot, with a boord at his necke one handfull broad, in length reaching downe to his knees, cleft in two parts, and with a hole one handfull downeward in the table fit for his necke, the which they inclose by therein, nailing the boord fast together; one handfull of the boord standeth by behinde in the necke: The sentence and cause wherefore the fellow was condemned to die, is written in that part of the table that standeth before.

the pillory
boord.

This ceremony ended, he is laid in a great prison in the company of some other condemned persons, the which are found by the king as long as they do liue. The boord aforesaid so made tormenteth the prisoners very much, keeping them both from rest, & eke letting them to eat comodiouly, their hands being manacled in irons vnder that boord, so that in fine there is no remedy but death.

In the chiefe Cities of euery shire, as we haue erst said, there be foure principall houses, in ech of them a prison: but in one of them, where the Taissu maketh his abode, there is a greater and a more principall prison then in any of the rest: and although in euery City there be many, neuertheless in three of them remaine onely such as be condemned to die. Their death is much prolonged, for that ordinarily there is no execution done but once a yeere, though many die for hunger and cold, as we haue seene in this prison. Execution is done in this maner. The Chian, to wit, the high Commissioner or Lord chiefe Justice, at the yeres end goeth to the head City, where he heareth againe the causes of such as be condemned. Many times he deliuereth some of them, declaring y^e boord to haue bene wronfully put about their necks: the visitation ended, he chooseth out seuen or eight, not many more or lesse of the greatest malefactorz, the which, to feare and keep in awe the people, are brought into a great market place, where all the great Loureas meete together, and after many ceremonies and superstitions, as the vse of the Countrey is, are beheaded. This is done once a yeere: who so escapeth that day, may be sure that he shall not be put to death all that yeere following, and so remaineth at the kings charges in the greater prison. In that prison where we lay were alwayes one hundred and mo of these condemned persons, besides them that lay in other prisons.

These prisons wherein the condemned captives do remaine are so strong, that it hath not bene heard, that any prisoner in all China hath escaped out of prison, for in deed it is a thing impossible. The prisons are thus builded. First all the place is mightily walled about, the walles be very strong and high, the gate of no lesse force: within it three other gates, before you come where the prisoners do lye, there many great lodgings are to be seene of the Loureas, Notaries, Parthions, that is, such as do there keepe watch and ward day and night, the court large and paved, on the one side whereof standeth a prison, with two mightey gates, wherein are kept such prisoners as haue committed enormous offences. This prison is so great, that in it are streets and Market places wherein all things necessary are sold. Ye a some prisoners liue by that kinde of trade, buying and selling, and letting out beds to hire: some are dayly sent to prison, some dayly deliuered, wherefore this place is neuer void of 7. or eight hundred men that go at libertie.

Into one other prison of condemned persons shall you go at three prison gates, the court paved and vaulted round about, and open aboue as it were a cloister. In this cloister be eight roomes with prison doozes, and in ech of them a large gallerie, wherein euery night the prisoners do lie at length, their feet in the stocks, their bodies hampered in huge wooden grates that keep them from sitting, so that they lye as it were in a cage, sleepe if they can: in the morning they are loosed againe, that they may go into the court. Notwithstanding the strength of this prison, it is kept with a garrison of men, part whereof watch within the house, part of them in the court, some keepe about the prison with lanterns and watch-bells answering one another five times euery night, and giuing warning so lowd, that the Lourea resting in a chamber not nere thereunto, may heare them. In these prisons of condemned persons remaine some 15, other 20. peres imprisoned, not executed, for the loue of their honorable friends that seeke to prolong their liues. Many of these prisoners be shoemakers, and haue from the king a certaine allowance of rife: some of them worke for the keeper, who suffereth them to go at libertie without fetters and boords, the better to worke. Howbeit when the Lourea calleth his checke roll, & with the keeper vieweth them, they all weare their liueries, that is, boords at their necks, proned hand and foot. When any of these prisoners dieth, he is to be seene of the Lourea and Notaries, brought out of a gate so narrow, that there can but one be drawn out there at once. The prisoner being brought forth, one of the aforesaid Parthions stricketh him thvise on the head with an iron sledge, that done he is deliuered unto his friends, if he haue any, otherwife the king hireth men to carry him to his buriall in the fields.

Thus adulterers and thecues are vled. Such as be imprisoned for debt once knowen, lie there until it be paid. The Taissu or Lourea calleth them many times before him by the vertue of his office, who vnderstanding the cause wherefore they do not pay their debts, appointeth them a certaine tyme to do it, within the compasse whereof if they discharge not their debts being debtors in deed, then they be whipped and condemned to perpetuall imprisonment: if the creditors be many, and one is to be paid before another, they do, contrary to our maner, pay him first of whom they last borrowed, and so ordinarily the rest, in such sort that the first lender be the last receiver. The same order is kept in paying legacies: the last named receiueth his portion first. They accompt it nothing to shew fauour to such a one as can do the like againe: but to do good to them that haue little or nothing, that is worth thanks, therefore pay they the last before the first, for that their intent seemeth rather to be vertuous then gainefull.

When I said, that such as be committed to prison for theft and murther were iudged by the Court, I ment not them that were apprehended in the deed doing, for they need no triall, but are

Of like the first
lenders be the
more weal-
thie.

are brought immediately befoze the Tutan, who out of hand giueth sentence. Other not taken so openly, which do need trial, are the malefactorz put to execution once a yeere in the chiefe cities, to keepe in awe the people: or condemned, do remaine in prison, looking for their day. The cues being taken are caried to prison from one place to another in a chest vpon mens shoulders, hited therfoze by the king, the chest is 6. handfuls high, the prisoner sitteth therein vpon a bench, the corner of the chest is two boozes, amid them both a pillery-like hole, for the prisoners necke, there sitteth he with his head without the chest, and the rest of his body within, not able to mooue or turne his head this way or that way, nor to plucke it in: the necessaries of nature he voydeth at a hole in the bottom of the chest, the meate he eateth is put into his mouth by others. There abideth he day and night during his whoie iourney: if happily his porters stumble, or the chest do iogge or be set downe carelesly, it turneth to his great paines that sitteth therein, al such motions being vnto him hanging as it were. Thus were our companions caried fro Cincoo, 7. daies iourney, neuer taking any rest as afterward they told vs, & their greatest grieue was to stay by the way: as soone as they came, being taken out of the chests, they were not able to stand on their feet, and two of them died shortly after. When we lay in prison at Fuquico, we came many times abroad, & were brought

Fuquico.

Here of tosofo's

to the pallaces of noble men, to be seene of them & their wiues, for that they had neuer seene any Portugale befoze. Many things they asked vs of our Country, and our fashions, & did write euery thing, for they be curious in nouelties about measure. The gentlemen shew great courtesie vnto strangers, and so did we finde at their hands, and because that many times we were brought abroad into the City, somewhat will I say of such things as I did see therein, being a gallant City, and chiefe in one of the 13. shires aforesaid. The City Fuquico is very great, & mightily walled with square stone both within and without, and, as it may seeme by the breadth thereof, filled vp in the middle with earth, layd ouer with brick & couered with tyle, after the maner of porches or galleries, that one might dwell therein. The stairest they vse are so easily made, that one may go them vp and downe a hoxl-backe, as eftsloones they do: the streets are paued, as already it hath bin said: there be a great number of Marchants, euery one hath written in a great table at his dooze such things as he hath to sel. In like maner euery artificane painteth out his craft: the market places be large, great abundance of al things there be to be sold. The city standeth vpo water, many streames run through it, the banks pitched, & so broad that they serue for streets to the cities vse.ouer the streams are sundry bridges both of timber & stone, which being made leuel with the streets, hinder not the passage of the barges too and fro, the chanelis are so deepe. Where the streams come in and go out of the city, be certaine arches in the wal, there go in and out their Parai, that is a kind of

Parai.

barges they haue, & that in the day time only: at night these arches are closed vp with gates, so do they shut vp al the gates of the City. These streams and barges do ennoblith very much the City, and make it as it were to seeme another Venice. The buildings are euen, well made, high, not lofted, except it be some wherein marchandize is sold. It is a world to see how great these cities are, and the cause is, for that the houles are built euen, as I haue said, & do take a great deale of roome. One thing we saw in this city that made vs al to wonder, and is worthy to be noted: namely, ouer a porch at the coming in to one of the aforesaid 4. houses, which the king hath in euery shire for his gouernors, as I haue erst said, standeth a tower built vpon 40. pillars, ech one whereof is but one stone, ech one 40. handfuls or spans long: in bredth or compasse 12, as many of vs did measure them. Besides this, their greatnesse is such in one picce, that it might seeme impossible to worke them: they be mozeouer cornered, and in colour, length and bredth so like, that the one nothing differeth from the other. This thing made vs all to wonder very much.

We are wont to call this country China, and the people Chineans, but as long as we were prisoners, not hearing amongst them at any time that name, I determined to learne how they were called: and asked sometimes by them thereof, for that they vnderstood vs not when we called them Chineans, I answered them, that al the inhabitants of India named them Chineans, wherefoze I praised them that they would tel me, for what occasiō they are so called, whether peraduenture any city of theirs bare that name. Hereunto they alwayes answered me, y they haue no such name, nor euer had. Then did I aske them what name the whole Country beareth, & what they would answer being asked of other nations what countrymen they were? It was told me that of ancient time in this country had bin many kings, & though presently it were al vnder one, ech kingdom nere helles enioyed that name it first had, these kingdomes are the prouinces I spake of befoze. In conclusion they said, that the whole country is called Tamen, & the inhabitants Tamegines, so that this name China or Chineans, is not heard of in y country. I thinke that the nearnesse of another prouince therabout called Cochinchina, & the inhabitants thereof Cochinesles, first discovered befoze China was lying not far from Malacca, did giue occasion to ech of the nations, of that name Chineans, as also the whole country to be named China. But their proper name is that aforesaid.

Tamen the proper name of China.

I haue heard mozeouer that in the City of Nanquin remaineth a table of gold, and in it written a kings name, as a memoery of that residence the kings were wont to keepe there. This table standeth in a great pallace, couered alwayes, except it be on some of their festiuall dayes, at what time they are wont to let it be seene, covered neuerthelesse as it is, all the nobilitie of the City gaing of duerie to doe it euery day reuerence. The like is done in the head Cities of all the other Cities in the pallaces of the Ponchiassini, wherein these aforesaid tables doe stand with the kings name written in them, although no reuerence be done thereunto but in solemne feastes.

I haue likewise vnderstood that the City Pachin, where the king maketh his abode, is so great, that to go from one side to the other, besides the Suburbs, the which are greater then the City it selfe, it requireth one whole day a horseback, going hackney pale. In the suburbs be many wealthy marchants of all sorts. They told me furthermore that it was moted about, and in the motes great stoe of fish, whereof the king maketh great games.

It was also told me that the king of China had no king to wage battel withall, besides the Tartars, with whom he had concluded a peace moze then 80. yeres ago. Neuerthelesse their friendship was not so great, that the one nation might marry with the other. And demanding with whom they married, they said, that in olde time the Chinish kings when they would marry their daughters, accustomed to make a solemne feast, whereunto came all sorts of men. The daughter that was to be married, stood in a place where she might see them all, and looke whom she liked best, him did she chuse to husband, and if happely he were of a base condition, hee became by and by a gentleman: but this custome hath bene left long since. Now a dayes the king marieth his daughters at his owne pleasure, with great men of the kingdome: the like order he obserueth in the marriage of his sonnes.

They haue mozeouer one thing very good, and that which made vs all to marueile at them being Gentiles: namely, that there be hospitals in all their Cities, alwayes full of people, we neuer saw any pooze body begge. We therefore asked the cause of this: and we red it was, that in euery City there is a great circuit, wherein be many houses for pooze people, for blinde, lame, old folke, not able to trauaile for age, nor hauing any ocher meanes to liue. These folke haue in the aforesaid houses euery plentie of rice during their liues, but nothing else. Such as be receiued into these houses, come in after this maner. When one is sicke, blinde or lame, he maketh a supplication to the Ponchiassini, and prouing that to be true he writeth, he remaineth in the aforesaid great lodging as long as he liueth: besides this they keepe in these places swine and hennes, whereby the pooze be relieved without going a begging.

I said befoze that China was full of riuers, but now I minde to confirme the same anew: for the farther we went into the Countrey, the greater we found the riuers. Sometimes we were so farre off from the sea, that where we came no sea fish had bene seene, and salt was there very deare, of fresh water fish yet was there great abundance, and that fish very good: they keepe it good after this maner. Where the riuers doe meete, and so passe into the sea, there lieth great stoe of boats, specially where no salt-water commeth, and that in March and April. These boates are so many that it seemeth wonderfull, ne serue they for other then to take small fish. By the riuers sides they make leynes of fine and strong nettes, that lye thre handfuls vnder water, and one about to keepe and nourish their fish in, vntill such time as other fishers do come with boates, bringing for that purpose certaine great chests lined with paper, able to holde water, wherein they cary their fish up and downe the riuier, euery day renewing the chest with fresh water, and selling their fish in euery City, towne and village where they passe, vnto the people as they neede it: most of them haue net leynes to keepe fish in alwayes for their prouision. Where the greater boates cannot passe any further for ward, they take lesser, and because the whole Countrey is very well watered, there is so great pleny of diuers sorts of fish, that it is wonderfull to see: assuredly we were amazed to behold the maner of their prouision. Their fish is chiefly nourished with the dung of Hilles and oren, that greatly fatteth it. Although I said their fishing to be in March and April at what time we saw them do it, neuerthelesse they told vs that they fished at all times, for that vsually they do feed on fish, wherefoze it behoueth them to make their prouision continually.

When we had passed Fuquien, we went into Quicin shire, where the fine clay bestell is made, as I said befoze: and we came to a City, the one side whereof is built vpon the foote of a hill, whereby passeth a riuier nauigable: there we tooke boat, and went by water toward the Sea: on each side of the riuier we found many Cities, Townes and villages, wherein we saw great stoe of marchandize, but specially of fine clay: there did we land by the way to buy victuals and other necessaries. Going downe this riuier Southward, we were glad that wee dyetw nere vnto a warmer Countrey, from whence we had bene farre distant: this Countrey we passed throug in eight dayes, for our iourney lay downe the streame. Befoze that I doe say any thing of that shire we came

Pochan, or,
Pachin.

Their ene-
mies.

Marriage of
the kings
children.

He speaketh
not here of all
China, but of
the Cities, for
in other places
there be beg-
gers, as you
haue seene als
ready, swar-
ming out of
trees.

Speares to
fat fish.

He speaketh of
Fuquien shire.

came into, I will first speake of the great City of Quicim, wherein alwayes remaineth a Turan; that is a gouernour, as you haue seene, though some Turans do gouerne two or thre shires.

That Turan that was condemned for our cause, of whom I spake before, was borne in this Countrey, but he gouerned Foquien shire: nothing it auailed him to be so great an officer. This Countrey is so great, that in many places where we went, there had bene as yet no talke of his death, although he were executed a whole yere before. At the Citie Quanche whither we came, the riuer was so great that it seemed a Sea, though it were so litle where we tooke water, that we needed small boats. One day about 9. of the clocke, beginning to row neere the walls with the streame, we came at noone to a brydge made of many barges, ouerlinked al together with two mightie cheines. There stayed we vntill it was late, but we saw not one go either by thereon or downe, except two Loureas that about the going downe of the Sunne, came and set them downe there, the one on one side, the other on the other side. Then was the brydge opened in many places, and barges both great and small to the number of sixe hundred began to passe: those that went by the streame at one place, such as came downe at an other. When all had thus shot the brydge, then was it shut vp againe. We heare say that euery day they take this order in all principall places of marchandize, for paying of the Custome vnto the king, especially for salt, whereof the greatest reuenues are made that the king hath in this Countrey. The passages of the brydge where it is opened, be so narrowe, that nothing can passe without touching the same. To stay the barges at their pleasure, that they goe no further forward, are vsed certaine iron instruments. The brydge consisteth of 112. barges, there stayed we vntill the euening that they were opened, lothsomely oppressed by the multitude of people that came to see vs, so many in number, that we were enforced to go aside from the banke vntill such time as the brydge was opened: howbeit we were neuertheless thronged about with many boates full of people. And though in other Cities and places where we went, the people came so importunate vpon vs, that it was needfull to withdraw our selues: yet were we here much moze molested for the number of people: & this brydge is the principall way out of the Citie vnto another place so well inhabited, that were it walled about, it might be compared to the Citie. When we had shot the brydge, we kept along the Citie vntill it was night, and then met we with an other riuer that ioyned with this, we rowed by that by the walls vntill we came to another brydge gallantly made of barges, but lesse a great deale then that other brydge ouer the greater streame: here stayed we that night, and other two dayes with moze quiet, being out of the pteasse of the people. These riuers do meet without at one cogner point of the Citie. In either of them were so many barges great and small, that we all thought them at the least to be about three thousand: the greater number therof was in the lesse riuer, where we were. Amongst the rest here lay certaine greater vessels, called in their language Parai, that serue for the Turan, when he taketh his voyage by other riuers that ioyne with this, towards Pachin, where the king maketh his abode. For, as many times I haue erst said, all this Countrey is full of riuers. Desirous to see those Parai we got into some of them, where we found some chambers set forth with gilded beds very richly, other furnished with tables and seats, and all other things so neat and in perfection, that it was wonderfull.

Alas Cocchi.

The Kings reuenues.

Parai.

Fish pondered with pepper.

Quicim shire, as farre as I can perceiue, lieth vpon the South. On that side we kept at our first entry therinto, traauyling not farre from the high mountaines we saw there. Asking what people dwelleth beyond those mountaines, it was told me that they be theues & men of a strange language. And because that vnto sundy places neere this riuer the mountaines doe appoche, whence the people issuing downe do many times great harme, this order is taken at the entry into Quicim shire. To guard this riuer whereon continually go to & fro Parai great & small fraught with salt, fish poudered with pepper, and other necessaries for that countrey, they do lay in diuers places certaine Parai, and great barges armed, wherein watch and ward is kept day and night on both sides of the riuer, for the safety of the passage, & securitie of such Parai as do remaine there, though the traauailers neuer go but many in company. In euery rode there be at the least thirtie, in some two hundred men, as the passage requireth. This guard is kept vsually vntill you come to the Citie Onchio, where continually the Tucan of this shire, and eke of Cantan, maketh his abode. From that Citie byward, where the riuer wareth moze narrow, and the passage moze dangerous, there be alwayes armed one hundred and fittie Parai, to accompany other vessels fraught with marchandize, and all this at the Kings charges. This seemed to me one of the strangest things I did see in this Countrey.

When we lay at Fuquien, we did see certaine Moores, who knew so litle of their secte, that they could say nothing else but that Mahomet was a Moore, my father was a Moore, and I am a Moore, with some other wordes of their Alcoran, wherewithall, in abstinence from swines flesh, they liue vntill the diuel take them all. This when I saw, & being sure that in many Chinich

Cities the reliques of Mahomet are kept, as soone as we came to the City where these fellows be, I enformed my selfe of them, and learned the truth.

These Moores, as they tolde me, in times past came in great ships fraught with merchandise from Pachim ward, to a port granted vnto them by the king, as hee is wont to all them that traffique into this Countrey, where they being arrived at a little Towne standing in the hauens mouth, in time conuerted vnto they sect the greatest Lourea there. When that Lourea with all his family was become Moorish, the rest began likewise to doe the same. In this part of China the people be at libertie, euery one to worship and folow what him liketh best. Wherefore no body tooke heed thereto, vntill such time as the Moores perceluing that many followed them in superstition, and that the Lourea fauoured them, they began to forbid wholly the eating of Swines flesh. But all these countrey men and women chosing rather to forsake father and mother, then to leaue off eating of pork, by no meanes would yeeld to that proclamation. For besides the great desire they all haue to eate that kinde of meate, many of them do liue thereby: and therefore the people complained vnto the Magistrates, accusing the Moores of a conspiracie pretended betwixt them and the Lourea against their king. In this countrey, as no suspicion, no not one traiterous word is long borne withall, so was the king speedily aduertised thereof, who gaue commandement out of hand that the aforesaid Lourea should be put to death, and with him the Moores of most importance: the other to be layde first in pynion, and after ward to be sent abroad into certaine Cities, where they remained perpetual slaves vnto the king. To this City came by happe men and women threescore and odd, who at this day are brought to fife men and foure women, for it is now twenty yeeres since this happened. Their offspring passeth the number of two hundred, and they in this City, as the rest in other Cities whither they were sent, haue their Moscheas, whereunto they all resort euery Friday to keepe their holy day. But, as I thinke, that will no longer endure, then whiles they doe liue that came from thence, for their posteritie is so confused, that they haue nothing of a Moore in them but abstinence from Swines flesh, and yet many of them doe eate thereof pynily. They tell mee that their natiue Countrey hath name Camarian, a firme land, wherein be many kings, and the Indish countrey well known vnto them. It may so be: for as soone as they did see our seruants (our seruants were Preuzaretes) they iudged them to be Indians: many of their wordes sounded vpon the Persian tongue, but none of vs coulde vnderstand them. I asked them whether they conuerted any of the Chinish nation vnto their secte: they answered mee, that with much a doe they conuerted the women with whom they doe marry, peelding me no other cause thereof, but the difficultie they finde in them to be brought from eating Swines flesh and drinke of wine. I am perswaded therefore, that if this Countrey were in league with vs, forbidding them neither of both, it would be an easie matter to draw them to our Religion, from their superstition, whereat they themselves do laugh when they do their idolatry.

I haue learned moreouer that the Sea, whereby these Moores that came to China were wont to traualle, is a very great gulfe, that falleth into this Countrey out from Tartaria and Persia, leauing on the other side all the Countrey of China, and land of the Mogores, drawing alwayes toward the South: and of all likelihood it is euen so, because that these Moores, the which we haue seene, be rather browne then white, whereby they shewe themselves to come from some warmer Countrey then China is neere to Pachim, where the riuers are frozen in the Winter for colde, and many of them so vehemently, that carts may passe ouer them.

We did see in this Citie many Tartars, Mogores, Brames, and Laoynes, both men and women. The Tartars are men very white, good horsemen and archers, confining with China on that side where Pachim standeth, separated from thence by great mountaines that are betwixt these kingdomes.ouer them be certaine wayes to passe, and for both sides, Castles continually kept with Souldiers: in time past the Tartars were wont alwayes to haue warres with the Chineans, but these fourescore yeeres past they were quiet, vntill the second yeere of our impijment. The Mogores be in like maner white, and heathen, we are aduertised that of one side they border vpon these Tartars, and confine with the Persian Tartars on the other side, whereof wee saue in them some tokens, as their maner of clothes, and that kinde of hat the Saracens doe weare. The Moores affirmed, that where the king lyeth, there be many Tartars and Mogores, that brought into China certaine bekwes of great value: all we thought it to be Vanil of Cambaia wont to be sold at Ormus. So that this is the true situation of that Countrey, not in the North parts, as many times I haue heard say, confining with Germanie.

As for the Brames we haue seene in this city Chenchi certaine men & women, amongst whom there was one that came not long since, hauing as yet her haire tied by after the Pegues fashion: this woman, and other mo with whom a black Moore damsel in our company had conference, and did vnderstand them wel p'nough, had dwelt in Pegu. This new come woman, imagining that we

Great ships
coming
from the
North.

* That is their
temples.

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It should
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voyage to be
Cardanian in
Ortelius.

Ali. Auoins
Tartars.

Mount Vfont.

Mogores.

Wkes of
great value
in China.

Brames.

ment to make our abode in that citie, bid vs to be of good comfort, for that her countrey was not distant from thence aboute five dayes iourney, and that out of her countrey there lay a high way for vs home into our owne. Being asked the way, she answered that the first thre daies the way lieth ouer certaine great mountaines & wildernesse, after ward people are met withall againe. Thence two dayes iourney moze to the Brames countrey. Wherefore I doe conclude, that Chenchi is one of the confines of this kingdome, separated by certaine huge mountaines, as it hath bene already said, that lie out to wards the South. In the residue of these mountaines standeth the prouince of Sian, the Laoyns countrey, Cambodia, Campaa, and Cochinchina.

Southward
from Chenchi
to the sea.

Aucins.

Chenchi.

This citie, chiefe of other streene, is situated in a pleasant plaine abounding in all things necessarie, sea-fish onely excepted, for it standeth farre from the sea: of fresh fish so much moze, that the market places are neuer emptye. The walles of this citie are very strong and high: one day did I see the Loutea thereof go vpon the walles to take the view thereof, bozne in their feates which I spake of before, accompanied with a troupe of horsemen that went two and two: It was tolde me they might haue gone thre & thre. We haue seene moreover, that within this aforesayde Citie the king hath moze then a thousande of his kinne lodged in great pallaces, in diuerse partes of the Citie: their gates be redde, and the entrie into their houses, that they may be knowen, for that is the kings colour. These Gentlemen, according to their neerenesse in blood vnto the king, as soone as they be married receiue their place in honour: this place neither increaseth nor diminisheth in any respect as long as the king liueth, the king appointeth them their wiues and familie, allowing them by the moneth all things necessarie abundantly, as he doth to his gouernours of shires and Cities, howbeit, not one of these hath as long as he liueth any charge or gouernement at all: They giue themselves to eating and drinking, and be for the most part butly men of bodie, insomuch that espying any one of them whom we had not seene before, we might knowe him to be the King his colin. They be neuertheless very pleasant, courteous, and faire conditioned: neither did we find, all the time wee were in that citie, so much honour and good intertainment any where as at their hands. They bid vs to their houses to eate and drinke, and when they found vs not, or we were not willing to go with them, they bid our seruants and slaues, causing them to sit downe with the first. Not withstanding the good lodging these Gentlemen haue, so commodious that they want nothing, yet are they in this bondage, that during life they neuer goe abroad. The cause, as I did vnderstand, wherefore the king so bleth his colins is, that none of them at any time may rebell against him: and thus he shutteth them vp in thre or foure other cities. None of them can play on the Lute, and to make that kinde of pastime peculiar vnto them onely, all other in the cities where they doe liue be forbidden that instrument, the Curtisians and blinde folke onely excepted, who be musicians and can play.

This king furthermoze, for the greater securitie of his Realme and the auoyding of tumults, leeteth not one in all his countrey to be called Lord, except he be of his blood. Many great estates and gouernours there be, that during their office are lodged Lordlike, and doe beare the port of mightie Princes: but they be so many times displaced and other placed a new, that they haue not the time to become corrupt. True it is that during their office they be well provided for, as afterward also lodged at the kings charges, and in pension as long as they liue, payed them monethly in the cities where they dwell by certaine officers appointed for that purpose. The king then is a Lord onely, not one besides him as you haue seene, except it be such as be of his blood. A Nephew likewise of the king, the kings sisters sonne, lyeth continually within the walles of the citie in a strong pallace built Castlewise, euen as his other colins do, remainyng alwayes within dodges, secured by Eunuches, neuer dealing with any matters. On their festiuall dayes, new mooncs, & full mooncs the magistrates make great banquets, and so do such as be of the king his blood. The kings Nephew hath to name Vanfuli, his pallace is walled aboute, the wall is not high but foure-square, and in circuit nothing inferiour to the wals of Goa, the outside is painted red, in euery square a gate, and ouer each gate a tower made of timber excellently well wrought: before the principall gate of the foure that openeth into the high streete no Loutea, be he neuer so great, may passe on horsebacke, or carried in his seat. Amidst this quadzangle standeth the pallace where that Nobleman lyeth, doubtlesse worth the sight, although we came not in to see it. By the roofes of the towers and house are glazed greene, & the greater part of the quadzangle set with sauage trees, as Okes, Chestnuts, Cypresses, Pine-apples, Cedars, and other such like that we do want, after the manner of a wood, wherein are kept Stags, Oxen, and other beasts, for that Lord his recreation neuer going abroad as I haue sayd. One preheminnce this citie hath aboute the rest where we haue bene, & that of right, as we do thinke, that besides the multitude of market places wherein all things are to be sold through every

Goa is a city of
the Portugals in
the East Indies.

euery streete continually are cryed all things necessary, as flesh of all sortes, fresh fish, hearbes, oyle, vinegar, meale, rife: in summa, all things so plentifully, that many houses neede no seruants, euery thing being brought to their doozes. Most part of the marchants remaine in the suburbs, for that the cities are shut vp euery night, as I haue sayd. The marchants therefore, the better to attend their businesse, do chuse rather to make their abode without in the suburbs then within the cite. I haue seene in this riuer a pretie kinde of fishing, nor to be omitted in my opinion, and therefore I will set it downe. The king hath in many riuers good stoe of barges full of sea-crowes that breede, are fedde, and doe die therein, in certaine cages, allowed monethly a certaine prouision of rife. These barges the king bestoweth vpon his greatest magistrates, giuing to some two, to some thre of them as he thinketh good, to fish therewithall after this manner. At the houre appointed to fish, all the barges are brought together in a circle, where the riuer is shallow, and the crowes tyed together vnder the wings are let leape downe into the water, some vnder, some aboue, woorth the looking vpon: each one, as he hath filled his bagge, goeth to his owne barge and emptieth it, which done, he returneth to fish againe. Thus hauing taken good stoe of fish, they set the crowes at libertie, and do suffer them to fish for their owne pleasure. There were in that cite where I was, twentie barges at the least of these aforesayd crowes. I went almost euery day to see them, yet could I neuer be thoroughly satisfied to see so strange a kind of fishing.

Odericus luyt.
teach of the like.

Of the Iland *Iapan*, and other litle Iles in the East Ocean.

By R. Willes.



The extreame part of the known world vnto vs is the noble Iland Giapan, written other wise Iapon and Iapan. This Iland standeth in the East Ocean, beyond all Asia, betwixt Cathayo and the West Indies sixe and thirtie degrees Northward from the Equinoctial line, in the same clime with the South part of Spaine and Portugall, distant from thence by sea sixe thousand leagues: the trauaile thither, both for ciuill discord, great pyracie, and often shipwracks is very dangerous. This countrey is hillie and pestered with snow, wherefoze it is neither so warme as Portugall, nor yet so wealthy, as far as we can learne, wanting oyle, butter, cheese, milke, egges, sugar, honny, vinegar, saffron, cynamom and pepper. Barley-vyanne the Ilanders doe vse in stead of ale: medicinable things holtsome for the bodie haue they none at all. Neuerthelesse in that Iland sundry frutes doe growe, noc much unlike the frutes of Spaine: and great stoe of Siluer mynes are therein to be seene. The people are tractable, ciuill, wittie, courteous, without deceit, in vertue and honest conuersation exceeding all other nations lately discovered, but so much standing vpon their reputation, that their chiefe Tosle may be thought honour. The conceipt thereof causeth among them much discord and debate, manslaughter and murther: euen for their reputation they doe honour their parents, keepe their promises, abstaine from adulterie and robberies, punishing by death the least robbery done, holding for a principle, that whosoener stealeth a rife, will, if he see occasion, steale a greater thing. It may be thet is so seuerely punished of them, for that the nation is oppressed with scarcitie of all things necessary, and so poore, that euen for miserie they strangle their owne children, preferring death before want. These fellows doe neither eate nor kill any foule. They liue chiefly by fish, hearbes, and frutes, so healthfully, that they die very old. Of Rice and Wheat there is no great stoe. No man is ashamed there of his portertie, neither be their gentlemen therefore lesse honoured of the meaner people, neither will the poozest gentleman there match his child with the baser soze for any gaine, so much they do make moze account of gentry then of wealth. The greatest delight they haue is in armour, each boy at fourteene yeeres of age, be he borne gentle or other wise, hath his sword and dagger: very good archers they be, contemning all other nations in comparison of their manhood and promise, putting not vp one iniurie be it neuer so small in word or deed, among themselues. They feede moderately, but they drinke largely. The vse of vines they knowe not, their drinke they make of Rice, vicerly they doe abhorre dice, and all games, accounting nothing moze vile in a man, then to giue himselfe vnto those things that make vs greedy and desirous to get other mens goods. If at any time they do sweare, for that seldome they are wont to doe, they sweare by the Sunne: many of them are taught good letters, wherefoze they may so much the sooner be brought vnto Christianitie. Each one is contented with one wife: they be all desirous to learne, & naturally inclined vnto honesty & courtesie: godly talke they liuen vnto willingly, especially whē they vnderstand it thoroughly. Their gouernment consisteth of 3 estates, The first place is due vnto the high Priest, by whose lawes & decrees all publike and priuate

Great stoe of
luer mynes.

private matters appertaining to religion are decided. The fees of their clergie men, whom they doe call Bonzi, be of no estimation or authoritie except the high Priest by letters patent doe confirme the same: he confirmeth and alloweth of their Tundi, who be as it were Bishops, although in many places they are nominated by sundry Princes. These Tundi are greatly honoured of all sorts: they doe giue benefices vnto inferiour ministers, and do grant licences for many things as to eate flesh vpon those dayes they goe in pilgrimage to their Idoles with such like priuileges. Finally, this high Priest wont to be chosen in China for his wisdom and learning, made in Japan for his gentry and birth, hath so large a Dominion and reuenues so great, that erstwhile he beareth the perle Kings and Princes there.

Their second principal Magistrate, in their language Vo, is the chiefe Verehaught, made by succession and birth, honoured as a God. This Gentleman neuer toucheth the ground with his foote without forsaicing of his office, he neuer goeth abroad out of his house, nor is at all times to be seene. At home he is either carried about in a litter, or els he goeth in wooden Choppines a foote high from the ground: commonly he sitteth in his chaire with a sword in one side, and a bow and arrowes in the other, next his bodie he weareth blacke, his outward garments be red, all shadowed ouer with Cypresse, at his cappe hang certaine Lambeaur much like vnto a Bishops Mitre, his forehead is painted white and red, he eateth his meat in earthen dishes. This Verehaught determineth in all Japan the diuerse titles of honour, wherof in that Land is great plentie, each one particularly known by his badge, commonly seene in sealing by their letters, and dayly altered according to their degrees. About this Vo every Noble man hath his Soliciter, for the nation is so desirous of praise and honour, that they strive among themselves who may be the best. By these meanes the Verehaught groweth so rich, that although hee haue neither land nor any reuenues otherwise; yet may he be accounted the wealthiest man in all Japan. For three causes this great Magistrate may loose his office: first, if he touch the ground with his foote, as it hath bene already said: next, if he kill any body: thirdly, if he be found an enemy vnto peace and quietnesse, howbeit neither of these aforesaid causes is sufficient to put him to death.

Their third chiefe officer is a Judge, his office is to take vp and to end matters in controuersie, to determine of warres and peace, that which he thinketh right, to punish rebels, wherein he may command the noble men to assist him vpon paine of forfeiting their goods: neuertheless at all times he is not obeyed, for that many matters are ended rather by might and armes, then determined by law. Other controuersies are decided either in the Temporal Court, as it seemeth good vnto the Princes, or in the Spirituall consistorie before the Tundi.

Rebels are executed in this manner, especially if they be noble men or officers. The king looke what day he giueth sentence against any one, the same day the partie, wheresoeuer he be, is advertised thereof, and the day told him of his execution. The condemned person asketh of the messenger whether it may be lawfull for him to kill himselfe: the which thing when the king doeth graunt, the partie taking it for an honour, putteth on his best apparell and launcing his body a crosse from the breast downe all the belly, murthereth himselfe. This kind of death they take to be without infamie, neither doe their children for their fathers crime so punished, loose their goods. But if the king referre them to be executed by the hangman, then flocketh he together his children, his seruants, and friends home to his house, to prelerue his life by force. The king committeth the fetching of him out vnto his chiefe Judge, who first setteth vpon him with bow and arrowes, and afterward with pikes and swords, vntill the rebell and all his family be slaine to their perpetuall ignominie and shame.

The Indie-writers make mention of sundry great cities in this Island, as Cangoxima a hauen towne in the South part thereof, and Meaco distant from thence three hundred leagues northward, the royall seat of the king and most wealthy of all other townes in that Island. The people thereabout are very noble, and their language the best Iaponish. In Meaco are sayd to be vinctie thousande houses inhabited and byward, a famous Vniuersitie, and in it five principall Colleges, besides closes & cloysters of Bonzi, Leguixil, and Hamacata, that is, Priests, Monks and Nunnes. Other five notable Vniuersities there be in Japan, namely, Coia, Negru, Homi, Frenoi, and Bandu. The first foure haue in them at the least three thousand & five hundred scholars: in the fifth are many mo. For Bandu prouince is very great and possessed with sixe princes, five whereof are vassals vnto the sixt, yet he himselfe subiect vnto the Iaponish king, usually called the great king of Meaco: lesser scholes there be many in diuers places of this Islande. And thus much specially concerning this glorious Island, among so many barbarous nations and rude regions, haue I gathered together in one summe, out of sundry letters written from thence into Europe, by no lesse faithfull reporters than famous traouellers, for confirmation wherof, as also

Petrus Mafficus
de rebus Iapo-
nicis.

for the knowledge of other things not conceyned in the premises, the curious readers may peruse these 4 volumes of Indian matters written long ago in Italian, and of late compendiously made latine, by Petrus Mafficus my olde acquainted friend, entituling the same, De rebus Iaponicis. One whole letter out of the fift booke thereof, specially intreating of that countrey, I have done into English word for word in such wise as followeth.

*Aloisius Froes to his companions in Iesus Christ that remaine
in China and India.*

The last yeere, deare brethren, I wrote unto you from Firando, how Cosmus Turrianus had appointed me to trauaile to Meaco to helpe Gaspar Vilela, for that thre the haruest was great, the labourers few, and that I should haue for my companion in that iourney Aloisius Almeida. It seemeth now my part, hauing by the helpe of God ended so long a voyage, to signifie vnto you by letter such things specially as I might thinke you would most delight to know. And because at the beginning Almeida and I so parted the whole labour of writing letters betwixt vs, that he should speake of our voyage, and such things as happened therein, I should make relation of the Meachians estate, & write what I could well learne of the Iapans manners and conditions: setting aside all discourses of our voyage, that which standeth me vpon I will discharge in this Epistle, that you considering how artificially, how cunningly, vnder the pretext of religion, that craftie aduersary of mankind leadeth and draweth vnto perdition the Iapanish mindes, blinded with many superstitions and ceremonies, may the more pittie this Nation.

The inhabitants of Iapan, as men that neuer had greatly to doe with other Nations, in their Geography diuided the whole world into thre parts, Iapan, Sian, and China. And albeit the Iapans receiued out of Sian and China their superstitions and ceremonies, yet do they neuer thelesse contemne all other nations in comparison of themselves, and standing in their owne conceite doe far preferre themselves befoze all other sorts of people in wisdome and policie.

Touching the situation of the countrey and nature of the soyle, vnto the things elssoones erst written, this one thing I will adde: in these Ilands, the sommer to be most hot, the winter extreme cold. In the kingdome of Canga, as we call it, falleth so much snow, that the houses being buried in it, the inhabitants keepe within doores certaine moneths of the yeere, hauing no way to come forth except they breake by the tiles. Whirlewindes most vehement, earthquakes so common, that the Iapans dread such kind of feares little or nothing at all. The countrey is ful of siluer mines other wise barren, not so much by fault of nature, as through the scurfulness of the inhabitants: howbeit Dren they keepe and that for tillage sake onely. The ayre is hole some, the waters good, the people very faire and well bodied: bare headed commonly they goe, procuring baldnesse with sorrow and reares, elssoones rooting by with pins all the haire of their heads as it groweth, except it be a little behind, the which they knot and keepe with all diligence. Euen from their childhood they weare daggers and swords, the which they vse to lay vnder their pillowes when they goe to bed: in shew courteous and affable, in deed haughty and proud. They delight most in warlike affaires, and their greatest studie is armes. Mens apparell diuersely coloured is woze downe halfe the legges and to the elbowes: womens attyre made handsomely like vnto a haile, is somewhat longer: all manner of dicing and theft they doe eschue. The marchant, although he be wealthy, is not accounted of. Gentlemen, be they neuer so poore, retaine their place: most precisely they stande vpon their honour and woorthinesse, ceremoniously struing among themselves in courtlies and faire speeches. Wherein if any one happily be lesse carefull than he should be, euen for a trifle many times he getteth euill will. Want, though it trouble most of them, so much they doe detest, that poore men cruelly taking pittie of their infants newly bozne, especially girles, do many times with their owne fecete strangle them. Noble men, and other like wise of meaner calling generally haue but one wife a peece, by whom although they haue issue, yet for a trifle they diuozle themselves from their wiues, and the wiues also sometimes from their husbands, to marry with others. After the second degree consins may there lawfully marry. Adoption of other mens children is much bled among them. In great towne most men and women can write and read.

This Nation serueth sparingly, their vsuall meat is rice and salets, and nere the sea side fish. They feast one another many times, wherein they vse great diligence, especially in drinking one to another, insomuch that the better sort, leaue they might rudely commit some fault therein, doe vse to reade certaine bookes written of duties and ceremonies apperteyning vnto banquets. To be delicate and fine, they put their meate into their mouthes with little forks, accounting it great rudenesse to touch it with their fingers: winter & sommer they drinke water as
hot

hot as they may possibly abide it. Their houses are in danger of fire, but finely made and cleane, layde all ouer with strawe-pallets, whereupon they doe both sit in stead of Fooles, and lie in their clothes with billets vnder their heads. For feare of defiling these pallets, they goe either barefoote within doores, or weare strawe pantofles on their buskins when they come abroad, the which they lay aside at their returne home againe. Gentlemen for the most part do passe the night in banketting, misticke, & vaine discourses, they sleepe the day time. In Meaco and Sacato there is good stoepe of beds, but they be very litle, and may be compared vnto our pues.

In hynging vpon their childezen they vse words only to rebuke them, admonishing as diligently and aduersely boyes of sixe or seuen yeeres of age, as though they were olde men. They are giuen very much to intertaine strangers, of whom most curiously they loue to aske euen in crises what for aine nations doe, and their fashions. Such arguments and reasons as be manifest, and are made plaine with examples, doe greatly perswade them. They detest all kinde of theft, who-soeuer is taken in that fault may be flaine freely of any bodie. No publitke prisons, no common gables, no ordinary Iusticers: priuately each householder hath the hearing of matters at home in his owne house, and the punishing of greater crimes that deserue death without delay. Thus v- finally the people is kept in awe and feare.

About foure hundred yeeres past (as in their olde recordes we finde) all Iapan was subiect vnto one Emperour whose royall seat was Meaco, in the Iaponish language called Cubucama. But the nobilitie rebelling against him, by litle and litle haue taken away the greatest part of his dominion, howbeit his title continually remayneth and the residue in some respect doe make great account of him still, acknowledging him for their superiour. Thus the Emperour of Iapan, in times past but one alone, is now diuided into sixtie sixe kingdomes, the onely cause of ciuill warres continually in that Iland, to no small hinderance of the Gospell, whilst the kings that dwell neare together inuade one another, each one coueting to make his kingdome greater. Furthermore in the citie Meaco is the pallace of the high Priest, whom that nation honoureth as a God, he hath in his house 366 Idoles, one whercof by course is euery night set by his side for a watchman. He is thought of the common people to holy, that it may not be lawfull for him to goe vpon the earth: if happily he doe set one foote to the ground, he loseth his office. He is not serued very sumptuously he is maintained by almes. The heads and beards of his ministers are shauen, they haue name Cangues, and their authoritie is great throughout all Iapan. The Cubucama vseth them for Embassadors to decide controuersies betwixt princes and to end their warres, whereof they were wont to make very great gaine. It is now two yeeres since or there about, that one of them came to Bungo, to intreat of peace betwixt the king thereof and the king of Amanguzzo. This Agent fauouring the king of Bungo his cause moze then the other, brought to passe that the foresayd king of Bungo should keepe two kingdomes, the which he had taken in warres from the king of Amanguzzo. Wherefore he had for his reward of the king of Bungo about 30000 ducats. And thus fare hereof.

But his
almes are be-
ly good.

I come now to other superstitions and ceremonies, that you may see, deare brethren, that which I said in the beginning, how subtilly the deuill hath deceiued the Iaponish nation, and how diligent and readie they be to obey & worship him. And first, al remembrance and knowldege not onely of Christ our Redeemer, but also of that one God the maker of all things is cleane ertingished and vterly abolished out of the Iapans hearts. Moreover their superstitious sects are many, whereas it is lawfull for each one to follow that which liketh him best: but the principall sects are two, namely the Amidans and Xacaians. Wherefore in this countrey shall you see many monasteries, not onely of Bonzii men, but also of Bonzia women diuersly attired, for some doe weare white vnder, and blake vpper garments; other goe apparelled in ash colour, and their Idole hath to name Denichi: from these the Amidanes differ very much. Againe the men Bonzii for the most part dwell in sumptuous houses, and haue great reuenues. These fellows are chaste by commaundement, marry they may not vpon paine of death. In the midst of their Temple is erected an altar, whereon standeth a wooden Idole of Amida, naked from the girdle vpward, with holes in his eares after the manner of Italian gentlewomen, sitting on a wooden rose goodly to behold. They haue great libraries, and halles for them all to dine and sup rogether, and bels wherewith they are at certaine houres called to prayers. In the euening the Superintendent giueth each one a theme for meditation. After midnight before the altar in their Temple they do say Pattens as it were out of Xaca his last booke, one quier one verse, the other quier an other. Early in the morning each one giueth himselfe to meditation one houre: they shaueth their heads and beards. Their cloysters be very large, and within the precinct thereof, Chappels of the Fotoquiens, for by that name some of the Iaponish Saints are called: their holypates peerelesly be very many. Most of these Bonzii be gentlemen, for that the Iaponish nobilitie charged

charged with many children, vsf to make most of them Bonzii, not being able to leaue for each one a patrimony good enough. The Bonzii most couetously bene, know all the wayes how to come by money. They sell vnto the people many scrolles of paper, by the helpe whereof the common people thinketh it selfe warranted from all power of the deuils. They buy likewise money to be repayed with great vsury in an other worlde, giuing by obligation vnto the lender an assurance thereof, the which departing out of this life he may carry with him to hell.

Inamburu.

There is another great company of such as are called Inamburu, with curled and staving haire. They make profession to finde out againe things either lost or stolen, after this sort. They set before them a child whom the deuill inuadeth, called by thither by charmes: of that child then doe they aske that which they are desirous to know.

These mens prayers both good and bad are thought greatly to preuaile, insomuch that both their blessings and their curses they sell vnto the people. The nouices of this order, before they be admitted, goe together two or thre thousand in a company, by a certaine high mountaine to doe penance there, thre score dayes voluntarily punishing themselves. In this time the deuill sheweth himselfe vnto them in sundry shapcs: and they like young graduates, admitted as it were fellows into some certaine companie, are set forth with white rascles hanging about their neckes, and blacke Bonnets that scarcely couer any more then the crowne of their heads. Thus attyzed they range abroade in all Iapan, to set out themselves and their cunning to sale, each one beating his balon which he carieth alwayes about with him, to giue notice of their coming in all towncs where they passe.

Genguis.

There is also an other sort called Genguis, that make profession to shewe by soothsaying where stolen things are, and who were the theeues. These dwell in the toppes of an high mountaine, blacke in the face: for the continuall heate of the sunne, for the cold windes, and raine they doe continually endure. They marry but in their owne riue and line: the report goeth that they be hoyned beasts. They climbe by most high rocks and hilles, and go ouer very great riuers by the onely arte of the deuill, who by vying thole wretches the more into error, biddeth them to goe by a certaine high mountaine, where they stande miserably gazing and earnestly looking for him as long as the deuill appointeth them. At the length at nonetide or in the euening commeth that deuill, whom they call Amida among them to shew himselfe vnto them: this shew breedeth in the vaines and hearts of men such a kinde of superstition, that it can by no meanes be rooted out of them afterward.

The deuill was wont also in another mountaine to shew himselfe vnto the Iapanish Nation. Who so was more desirous than other to go to heauen and to enioy Paradise, thither went he to see that sight, and hauing seene the deuill followe dhim (so by the deuill perswaded) into a denne vntill he came to a decepit. Into this pit the deuill was wont to leape, and to take with him his worshipper whom he there murdered. This deceit was thus perceiued. An old man blinded with this superstition, was by his sonne dissuaded from thence, but all in vaine. Wherefore his sonne followed him privately into that denne with his bow & arrows, where the deuill gallantly appeared vnto him in the shape of a man. Whilist the old man falleth downe to worshippe the deuill, his sonne speedily shooting an arrow at the spirit so appearing, strooke a Fore in stead of a man, so suddenly was that shape altered. This olde man his sonne tracking the Fore so running away, came to that pit whereof I spake, and in the bottome thereof he found many bones of dead men, deceiued by the deuill after that sort in time past. Thus deliuered he his father from present death, and all other from so pestilent an opinion.

There is furthermore a place bearing name Coia, very famous for y multitude of Abbyes which the Bonzii haue therein. The beginner and founder whereof is thought to be one Combendaxis a subtle craftie fellowe, that got the name of holinesse by cunning speech, although the lawes and ordinances he made were altogether deuillish: he is said to haue found out the Iapanish letters vsed at this day. In his latter yeeres this Sim subtle buried himselfe in a fouresquare graue, foure cubites deepe, seuerely forbidding it to be opened, for that then he died not, but rested his bodie wearied with continuall businesse, vntill many thousand thousands of yeeres were passed, after the which time a great learned man named Mirozu should come into Iapan, and then would he rise by out of his graue againe. About his tombe many lampes are lighted, sent thither out of diuerse prouinces, for that the people are perswaded that whosoever is liberall and beneficiall towardes the beautifying of that monument, shall not onely increase in wealth in this world, but in the life to come be safe through Combendaxis helpe. Such as giue themselves to worship him, lue in those Monasteries or Abbyes with shaven heads, as though they had forsaken all secular matters, whereas in deede they wallow in all sortes of wickednesse and lust. In these houses, the which are many (as I sayd) in number, doe remaine 6000 Bonzii, or thereabout besides

besides the multitude of lay men, women be restrained from thence vpon paine of death. Another company of Bonzii dwelleth at Fatonochai. They teach a great multitude of children all tricks & sleights of guile & theft: whom they do find to be of great cowardnes, those do they instruct in all the perigrues of princes, and fashions of the nobilitie, in chivalrie and eloquence, and so send them abroad into other prouinces, attired like pong princes, to this ende, that fauoring themselves to be nobly bozne, they may with great summes of money borrowed vnder the colour and pretence of nobilitie returne againe. Therefore this place is so infamous in all Iapan, that if any scholer of that order be happily taken abroad, he incontinenly dieth for it. Neuertheless these counsers leaue not daily to vse their woonted wickednesse and knaueerie.

North from Iapan, three hundred leagues out of Meaco, lieth a great countrey of savage men clothed in beasts skines, rough bodied, with huge beards and monstrous muchaches, the which they hold vp with little forks as they drinke. These people are great drinkers of wine, fierce in waeres, and much feared of the Iapans: being hurt in fight, they wash their wounds with salt water, other Surgerie haue they none. In their breasts they are sayd to carry looking glasses: their swordes they tie to their heads, in such wise, that the handle doe rest vpon their shoulders. Seruice and ceremonies haue they none at all, onely they are woont to worship heauen. To Aquita a great towne in that Iaponish kingdom, which we call Geuano, they much resort for marchandise, and the Aquitanes like wise doe trauell into their countrey, howbeit not often, for that there many of them are slaine by the inhabitants,

A warlike people 300 leagues to the South of Meaco,

Much more concerning this matter I had to write: but to auoyd tediousnesse I will come to speake of the Iapans madnesse againe, who most desirous of vaine glory doe thinke then specially to gett immortall fame, when they procure themselves to be most sumptuously and solemnly buried: their burials and obsequies in the citie Meaco are done after this maner. About one houre before the dead body be brought forth, a great multitude of his friends apparellled in their best aray goe before vnto the fire, with them goe their kinswomen and such as bee of their acquaintance, clothed in white (for that is the mourning colour there) with a changeable coloured vaille on their heads. Each woman hath with her also, according to her abilitie, all her familie trimmed vp in white mockado: the better sort and wealthier women goe in litters of Cedar artificially wrought and richly dresled. In the second place marcheth a great company of footemen sumptuously apparellled. Then afarre off cometh one of these Bonzii master of the ceremonies for that superstition, brauely clad in silkes and gold, in a large and high litter excellently well wrought, accompanied with 30 other Bonzii or thereabout, wearing hats, linnen albes, and fine blacke vpper garments. Then attired in ashe colour (for this colour also is mourning) with a long torch of pineapple, he sheweth the dead body the way vnto the fire, lest it either stumble or ignorantly goe out of the way. Well neere 200 Bonzii follow him singing the name of that deuill the which the partie deceased chiefly did worship in his life tyme, and there withall a very great halon is beaten euen to the place of fire in stead of a bell. Then follow two great paper baskets hanged open at stauers ends full of paper roses diuersly coloured, such as beare them doe march but slowly, shaking euer now and then their stauers, that the aforesayd flowers may fall downe by litle and litle as it were drops of raine: and be whirled about with wind. This shouer say they is an argument that the soule of the dead man is gone to paradise. After all this, eight bearded Bonzii orderly two and two drag after them on the ground long speares, the points backward, with flags of one cubite a piece, wherein the name also of that idole is written. Then there be carried 10 lanterns trimmed with the former inscription, ouercast with a fine baile, and candles burning in them. Besides this, two poong men clothed in ashe colour beare pineapple torches, not lighted, of three foote length, the which torches serue to kindle the fire wherein the dead corps is to be burnt. In the same colour follow many other that weare on the crownes of their heads faire, litle, threesquare, blacke latten caps tied fast vnder their chinnes (for that is honorable amongst them) with papers on their heads, wherein the name of the deuill I spake of, is written. And to make it the more solcmne, after cometh a man with a table one cubite long, one foot broad, covered with a very fine white baile, in both sides whereof is written in golden letters the aforesayd name. At the length by foure men is brought forth the corps sitting in a gorgeous litter clothed in white, hanging downe his head and holding his hands together like one that prayed: to the rest of his apparell may you adde an vpper gowne of paper, written full of that booke the which his God is sayd to haue made, when he liued in the world, by whose helpe, and merites commonly they doe thinke to be saued. The dead man his children come next after him most gallantly set forth, the pongest whereof carich likewise a pineapple torch to kindle the fire. Last of all followeth a great number of people in such caps as I erst spake of.

The Iapanish funeral.

They burne their dead.

When they are all come to the place appointed for the obsequie, at the Bonzii to the whole multi-

tube for the space of one houre, beating pannes and balons with great clamours, call vpon the name of that deuill, the which being ended, the Obsequie is done in this maner. In the midst of a great quadrangle raised about, hanged with course linnen, and agreeably vnto the foure partes of the world made with foure gates to goe in and out at, is digged a hole: in the hole is laied good stoe of wood, whereon is raised gallantly a waued roofoe: before that stand two tables furnished with diuers kinde of meates, especially drie Figs, Pomegranates and Cartes good stoe, but neither of ish nor of flesh: vpon one of them standeth also a chafer with coales, and in it sweete wood to make perfumes. When all this is readie, the corpe wherewith the litter was caried, is throwen by a long rope into the fire: as many as are present strue to take the rope in their handes, vsing their aforesayd clamours, which done, they goe in procession as it were round about the quadrangle thise. Then setting the litter on the wood built by ready for the fire that Bonzii who then is master of the ceremonies, saierh a verle that no bodie there vnderstandeth, whirling thise about ouer his head a torch lighted, to signifie thereby that the soule of the dead man had neither any beginning, ne shall haue at any time an ende, and thoweth away the torch. Two of the dead man his childzen, or of his neere kinne, take it vp againe, and standing one at the East side of the litter, the other at the West, doe for honour and reuerence reach it to each other thise ouer the dead corps, and so cast it into the pile of wood: by and by they throw in oyle, sweete wood, and other perfumes, accordingly as they haue plentie, and so with a great flame bring the corpes to ashes: his childzen in the meane while putting sweete wood into the chafer at the table with odours, doe solemnly and religiously worship their father as a Saint: which being done, the Bonzii are paid each one in his degree. The master of the ceremonies hath for his part five ducknats, sometimes tenne, sometimes twentie, the rest haue tenne Julies a piece, or els a certaine number of other presents called Caxæ. The meate that was ordained, as soone as the dead corps friends and all the Bonzii are gone, is left for such as serued at the obsequie, for the poore and impotent lazars.

The next day returne to the place of obsequie the dead man his childzen, his kintred and friends, who gathering vp his ashes, bones, and teeth, doe put them in a gilded pot, and so carie them home, to bee set vp in the same pot couered with cloth, in the midst of their houses. Many Bonzii returne likewise to these priuate funerals, and so doe they againe the seuenth day: then carry they out the ashes to bee buried in a place appointed, laying thereupon a fouresquare stone, wherein is written in great letters drawn all the length of the stone, the name of that deuill the which the dead man worshipped in his life time. Euery day afterward his childzen reioyce vnto the graue with roses and warme water that the dead corps thirst not. For the seuenth day onely, but the seuenth moneth and yeere, within their owne houses they renue this obsequie, to no small commodities and gaine of the Bonzii: great rich men doe spend in these their funerals 3000 ducknats or thereabout, the meaner sort two or thre hundred. Such as for pouertie be not able to go to that charges, are in the night time darkel long without all pompe and ceremonies buried in a dunghill.

They haue another kinde of buriall, especially neere the Sea side, for them that bee not yet dead. These fellowes are such, as hauing religiously with much deuotion worshipped Amida, now desirous to see him, doe slay themselves. And first they goe certaine dayes begging almes, the which they thrust into their sleeves, then preach they in publique a sermon vnto the people, declaring what they mind to doe, with the great good liking of all such as doe heare them: for euery body wondreth at such a kinde of holinesse. Then take they hookes to cut downe byars and thornes that might hinder them in their way to heauen, and so imbarke themselves in a new vessell, tying great stones about their neckes, armes, loines, thighes, and feete: thus they launching out into the maine Sea be either drowned there, their shippe bouged for that purpose, or els doe cast themselves ouer-board headlong into the Sea. The emptie barke is out of hand set a fire for honours sake by their friends that follow them in another boat of their owne, thinking it blasphemie that any mortall creature should afterward once touch the barke that had bene so religiously halowed.

Truly when we went to Meaco, eight dayes before we came to the Ile of Hiu at Fore towne, five men and two women so died. To all such as die so the people erecteth a Chappell, and to each of them a pillar and a pole made of Pineapple for a perpetuall monument, hanging by many shees of paper in sticke all the roofoe ouer, with many verses set downe in the walles in commendation of that blessed company. Wherefore vnto this place both day and night many come very superstitiously in pilgrimage. It happened euen then as Aloisius Almeida and I went to christen a child we traueiled that way at what time foure or five olde women came forth out of the aforesayd chappell with beades in their handes (for in this point also the deuill counterfeithly

reverteth Christianitie) who partly scorned at vs for follic, partly frowned and cauned at our small deuotion, for passing by that holy monument without any reuerence or worship done there unto at all.

It remaineth now we speake two or three wordes of those Sermons the Bonzii are woont to make, not so many as ours in number, but assuredly very well provided for. The Pulpit is erected in a great temple with a silke Canopie ouer it, therein standeth a costly seate, befoze the seate a table with a bell and a booke. At the houre of Sermon each sect of the Iapans resorteth to their owne doctors in diuers Temples. Up goeth the doctor into the Pulpit, and being set downe, after that hee hath lozdlie looked him about, signifyeth silence with his bell, and so readeth a fewe wordes of that booke we spake of, the which he expoundeth afterward moze at large. These preachers be for the most part eloquent, and apt to drawe with their speech the mindes of their hearers. Wherefoze to this ende chieffie (such is their greedinesse) teacheth all their talke, that the people bee brought vnder the colour of godlinesse to enrich their monasteries, promising to each one so much the moze happinesse in the life to come, how much the greater costes and charges they bee at in Church matters and obsequies: notwithstanding this multitude of superstitious Sects and companies, and the diuersities thereof amongst themselues: yet in this principally all their Superintendents doe trauell so to perswade their Nouices in their owne tales and lies, that they thinke nothing els trueth, nothing els sure to come by euerlasting saluation, nothing els woorth the hearing. Whereunto they adde other subtilities, as in going grauitie, in countenance, apparell, and in all outward shew, comelinesse. Where by the Iapans mindes are so nouelled in wicked opinions, & doe conceiue thereby such trust and hope of euerlasting saluation, that not onely at home, but also abroad in euery corner of the towne continually almost they run ouer their beades, humbly asking of Amida and Xaca, wealth, honour, good health, and cuerlasting iopes. Thus then, deare brethren, may you thinke how greatly they need the helpe of God, that either doe bring the Gospell into this countrey, or receiuing it brought vnto them, doe forsake idolatrie and ioine themselues with Christ, being assaulted by so many snares of the deuil, troubled with the daily dissuasions of their Bonzii, and finally, so iniuriously, so hardly, so sharply vexed of their kindred and friends, that except the grace of God obtained by the sacrifices and prayers of the Catholique church doe helpe vs, it cannot be chosen but that the faith and constancie of many, if not of all, in these first beginnings of our churches, will greatly be put in iopardie. So much the moze it standeth you vpon that so earnestly long for the health of soules, to commend specially these Iapanish flocks vnto our Lord.

We came to Saciao the eight and twentie day of January: Aloisius Almeida first for businesse, but afterward let by sicknesse, staid there some while, but I parting the next day from thence came thirteene leagues off to Meaco the last of Januarie. Of my comming all the Christians tooke great comfort, but specially Gaspar Vilela who in 6 yeres had seen none of our company at Meaco: his yeres are not yet fortye, but his gray haire sheweth him to be seuentie, so vehemently is his litle body afflicted and woone with extreme cold. Hee speaketh Iapanish so skillfully after the phrase of Meaco (the which for the renowne of this people and royal seat of the king is best accounted of) that hee doeth both confesse and preach in that language. Certaine godly bookes also he hath done into that speech, not omitting to translate other as laisure suffreth him. To make an ende, our Lord for his goodnesse vouchsafe to preserve vs all continually, and to giue vs ayde both rightly to interpret his will, and well to doe the same. From Meaco the 19 of February 1565.

Other such like matter is handled both in other his letters, and also in the Epistles written by his companions to be seene at large in the aforesaid volume. Amongst the rest this seemed in my iudgement one of the principall, and therefore the rather I tooke vpon me to do it into English.

Of the Iles beyond Iapan in the way from China to the Moluccas.

Amongst other Iles in the Asian sea betwixt Canean a Chinish hauein in Cathaio & the Moluccas, much spoken of in the Indian histories and painted out in Maps, Ainan and Santia- Ainan num are very famous, Ainan standeth 19 degrees on this side of the Equinoctiall line nere China, from whence the Chinish nation haue their prouision for shipping and other necessaries requisite for their Danie. There staid Balthasar Gagus a great traueiler 5 moneths, who describeth that place after this maner. Ainan is a goodly countrey full of Indian fruits & all kind of virtuales, De reb. Iap. p. 6 besides great store of iewels and pearle, well inhabited, the towne built of stone, the people rude in conditions, apparelled in diuers coloured rags, with two ore hoznes, as it were, made of fine ryppes hanging downe about their eares, and a paire of sharpe cyzers at their foreheads.

The cause wherefore they go in such attire I could not understand, except it be for that they do counterfeit the devil in the forme of a brute beast, offering themselves up to him.

Sancianum.

Sancianum is an Ile neere vnto the haueu Cantan in the confines likewise of China, famous for the death of that woorthy traeller and godly professor and painfull doctor of the Indian nation in matters concerning religion, Francis Xauier, who after great labours, many iniuries, and calamities infinite suffered with much patience, singular ioy and gladnesse of mind, departed in a cabben made of bowes and rushes vpon a desert mountaine, no lesse voyd of all wooldy commodities, then endued with all spirituall blessings, out of this life, the 2 day of December, the yeere of our Lord 1552. after that many thousand of these Easterlings were brought by him to the knowledge of Christ. Of this holy man, his particular vertues, and specially trauell, and wonderful works in that region, of other many little Isles (yet not so little, but they may right well be written of at laiture) all the latter histories of the Indian regions are full.

An excellent treatise of the kingdome of *China*, and of the estate and government thereof: Printed in Latine at *Macao* a citie of the *Portugals* in *China*, *An. Dom. 1590.* and written Dialogue-wise. The speakers are *Linus, Leo, and Michael.*

Linus.



Concerning the kingdome of *China* (*Michael*) which is our next neighbour, we haue heard and daily do heare so many reports, that we are to request at your hands rather a true then a large discourse and narration thereof. And if there be ought in your knowledge besides that which by continual rumours is waken stale among vs, we will right gladly giue diligent eare vnto it.

Michael. Because the report of this most famous kingdome is growen so common among vs, reducing diuers and manifold particulars into order, I

will especially aime at the truth of things receiued from the fathers of the societie, which euen now at this present are conuersant in *China*. First of all therefore it is not vnknown, that of all parts of the maine continent this kingdome of *China* is situate most Easterly: albeit certaine Islands, as our natiue *Iapon*, & the Ile of *Manila* stand moze Easterly then *China* it selfe. As touching the limites & bounds of this kingdome, we may appoint the first towards the West to be a certaine Ile commonly called *Hainan*, which standeth in 19 degrees of Northerly latitude. For the continent next adioining vnto this Ile trendeth towards the East, and that especially, where the promontorie of the citie called *Nimpo* or *Liampo* doeth extend it selfe. Howbeit, from that place declining Northward, it stretcheth forth an huge length, insomuch that the farthest *Chinian* inhabitants that way doe behold the North pole eleuated, at least 50 degrees, and perhaps moze also: whereupon a man may easilie coniecture (that I may speake like an *Astronomer*) how large the latitude of this kingdome is, when as it containeth about moze then 540 leagues in direct extension towards the North. But as concerning the longitude which is accounted from East to West, it is not so exactly found out, that it may be distinguished into degrees. Howbeit certaine it is, that according to the Map wherein the people of *China* describe the forme of their kingdome, the latitude thereof doeth not much exceed the longitude. This kingdome therefore is, without all peradventure, of all earthly kingdoms the most large and spacious: for albeit diuers other kings vnder their iurisdiction containing in dimensions moze length & breadth then all *China*, do possesse very many kingdoms & far distant alunder: yet none of the all enioieth any one kingdome so large and so ample, as the most puissant king of *China* doeth. Now, if we shall make enquire into his reuenues and tributes, true it is, that this king, of all others, is endued with the greatest and the richest, both in regard of the fertilitie & greatness of his dominions, & also by reason of the seuer collection and exaction of his duties: yea, tributes are imposed vpon his subiects, not onely for lands, houses, and impost of marchandise, but also for euery person in each family. It is likewise to be vnderstood, that almost no lord or potentate in *China* hath authoritie to leaue vnto himselfe any peculiar reuenues, or to collect any rents within the precincts of his feignories, at such power belonging onely vnto the king: whereas in Europe the contrary is most commonly seen, as we haue before signified. In this most large kingdome are contained 15 prouinces, euery one of which were in it selfe sufficient to be made one great kingdome. Six of these prouinces do border vpon the sea, namely (if I may vse the names of the *Chinians* themselves) *Coantum*, *Foquien*, *Chequiam*, *Nanquin*, *Xantum*, *Paquin*: the other 9 be in-land prouinces, namely, *Quianh*, *Huquam*, *Honan*, *Xienh*, *Xanh*, *Suchuon*, *Queicheu*, *Iunan*, *Coanh*. Amongst all the foresayd prouinces, two are allotted for the kings court and seat roial, that is to say, *Paquin* for his court in the North,

The situation and limites of *China*.

Chinian Cosmographers.

The rich reuenues of the king of *China*.

Fifteene great prouinces in *China*.

The seats roiall of the king of *China*.

and Nanquin for his court in the South. For the kings of China were wont to be resident altogether at the South court: but after ward, by reason of the manifold and cruell warres moued by the Tartars, they were constrained to desire their princely seate and habitation in that extreme prouince of the North. Whereupon it cometh to passe, that those Northern confines of the kingdom doe abound with many moe fortresses, martiall engines, and garrisons of souldiers.

Leo. I haue heard, amongst those munitions, a certaine strange and admirable wall reported of, wherewith the people of China doe repress and driue backe the Tartars attempting to invade their territories.

The warlike munitions of China, & a marvellous wall.

Michael. Certes that wall which you haue heard tell of is most woorthie of admiration; for it runneth alongst the borders of three Northern prouinces, Xienfi, Xanfi, and Paquin, and is sayd to containe almost three hundred leagues in length, and in such sort to bee built, that it hindereth not the courses and streames of any riuers, their chanel being ouerthwarted and fortified with wonderfull bridges and other defences, Yet is it not vnlikely, that the sayd wall is built in such sort, that onely lowe and easie passages bee therewith stopped and enuidoned; but the mountaines running betweene those lowe passages are, by their owne naturall strength, and inaccessible heighth, a sufficient fortification agaynst the enemy.

Linu. Tell vs (Michael) whether the kingdom of China be so frequented with inhabitants, as wee haue often bene informed, or no? *Michael.* It is (Linus) in verry deed a most populous kingdom,

Abundance of inhabitants in China.

as I haue bene certified from the fathers of the societie: who hauing seene sundry prouinces of Europe renoumed for the multitude of their inhabitants, doe notwithstanding greatly admire the infinite swarmes of people in China.

Howbeit these multitudes are not pel-mel and confusedly disperfed ouer the land, but most conueniently and orderly distributed in their townes and famous cities: of which assemblies there are diuers kindes among the Chiniens.

Cities and townes.

For they haue certaine principall cities called by the name of Fu: other inferiour cities called Cheu: and of a third kind also named Hien, which be indeed walled townes, but are not priuiledged with the dignities and prerogatiues of cities. To these may be added two other kindes of lesser townes, which are partly villages, and partly garrisons of souldiers.

Of the first and principall kind is that most noble citie standing neere vnto the port of Macao, called by the Chiniens Coancheu, but by the Portugals commonly termed Cantam, which is rather the common name of the prouince, the a word of their proper imposition.

Unto the third kind appertaineth a towne, which is yet higher vnto the port of Macao, called by the Portugals Ansam, but by the Chiniens Hianfanhien.

All the foresayd prouinces therefore haue their greater cities named Fu, & their lesser cities called Cheu, vnto both of which the other townes may be added.

Howeouer, in euery prouince there is a certain principall city which is called the Metropolitane thereof, wherein the chief magistrates haue their place of residence, as the principall citie by me last mentioned, which is the head of the whole prouince called Coantum.

The number of the greater cities throughout the whole kingdom is more then 150, and there is the same or rather a greater multitude of inferiour cities.

Of walled townes not endued with the priuiledges of cities there are mo then 120: the villages & garrisons can scarce be numbred: ouer & besides the which conuents it is incredible what a number of countrie farmes or granges there be: for it is not easie to find any place desert or void of inhabitants in all that land.

Now in the sea, in riuers, & in barks there are such abundance of people, and of whole families inhabiting, that euen the Europeans themselves doe greatly wonder therat: insonmuch that some (albeit beyond measure) haue bene perswaded that there are as many people dwelling vpon the water as vpon the land.

The Chiniens riuers greatly inhabited.

Neither were they induced so to thinke altogether without probability: for whereas the kingdom of China is in all parts thereof interfused with commodious riuers, & in many places consisteth of waters, barges & boats being euery-where very common, it might easily bee supposed, that the number of water-men was equal vnto the land-inhabitants.

Howbeit, that is to be vnderstood by amplification, whereas the cities do swarme so full with citizens & the countrie with peasants.

Leo. The abundance of people which you tell vs of seemeth very strange: whereupon I coniecture the soile to be fertile, the aire to be wholesome, and the whole kingdom to be at peace.

Wholesome aire, plenty & peace in China.

Michael. You haue (friend Leo) full iudicially coniectured those three: for they do all so excel, & which of the three in this kingdom be more excellent, it is not easie to discern.

And hence it is that this common opinion hath bene rise among the Portugals, namely, that the kingdom of China was neuer visited with those three most heauy & sharpe leouges of mankind, warre, famine, & pestilence.

But that opinion is more common then true: sithens there haue bene most terrible intestine and ciuile warres, as in many and most autenticall histories it is recorded: sithens also that some prouinces of the sayd kingdom, euen in these our dayes, haue bene afflicted with pestilence and contagious diseases, and with famine.

Howbeit, that the foresayd three benefits do mightily flourish and abound in China, it cannot be denied. For (that I may first speake of the salubritie of the aire) the fathers of the societie themselves are witnesses,

Chinian clothes,

that scarcely in any other realme there are so many found that live vnto decrepite and extreme old age: so great a multitude is there of ancient and graue personages: neither doe they vse so many confections and medicines, nor so manifold and sundry waies of curing diseases, as wee saw accustomed in Europe. For amongst them they haue no Phlebotomie or letting of blood: but all their cures, as ours also in Iapon, are achieved by fasting, decoctions of herbes, & light or gentle potions. But in this behalfe let every nation please themselves with their owne customes. Now, in fruitfulness of soile this kingdom certes doth excel, far surpassing all other kingdoms of the East: yet is it nothing comparable vnto the plenty and abundance of Europe, as I haue declared at large in the former treatises. But the kingdom of China is, in this regard, so highly extolled, because there is not any region in the East partes that aboundeth so with merchandise, and from whence so much traffique is sent abroad. For whereas this kingdome is most large & full of nauigable riuers, so that commodities may easilie be conueyed out of one prouince into another: the Portugals doe find such abundance of wares within one and the same Citie, (which perhaps is the greatest Part throughout the whole kingdome) that they are verily persuaded, that the same region, of all others, most aboundeth with merchandise: which notwithstanding is to be understood of the Orientall regions: albeit there are some kindes of merchandise, wherewith the land of China is better storred then any other kingdom. This region affordeth especially sundry kinds of mettals, of which the chiefe, both in excellencie & in abundance, is gold, whereof so many Pezoes are brought from China to India, and to our countrey of Iapon, that I heard say, that in one and the same ship, this present yeere, 2000 such pieces consisting of massive gold, as the Portugals commonly call golden loaves, were brought vnto vs for merchandise: and one of these loaves is worth almost 100 duckats. Hence it is that in the kingdom of China so many things are adorned with gold, as for example, beds, tables, pictures, images, litters wherein nice and daintie dames are caried vpon their seruants backs. Neither are these golden loaves onely bought by the Portugals, but also great plenty of gold-twine and leaues of gold: for the Chinians can very cunningly beate and extenuate gold into plates and leaues. There is also great store of siluer, whereof (that I may omit other arguments) it is no small demonstration, that euery yeere there are brought into the citie commonly called Cantam by the Portugal merchants to vnie wares, at the least 400 Sesterium thereof, and yet nothing in a maner is conuicied out of the Chinian kingdom: because the people of China abounding with all necessaries, are not greatly inquisitiue or desirous of any merchandise from other kingdomes. I doe here omit the Siluer mines wherof there are great numbers in China, albeit there is much circumspection vsed in digging the siluer thereout: for the king standeth much in feare least it may bee an occasion to stirre by the couctous and greedie humour of many. Nowe their siluer which they put to vses is for the most part palling fine, and purified from all dross, and therefore in trying it they vse great diligence. What should I speake of their iron, copper, lead, tinne, and other mettals, and also of their quick-siluer: Of all which in the realme of China there is great abundance, and from thence they are transported into diuers countreys. Hereunto may bee added the wonderfull store of pearles, which, at the Ile of Hainan, are found in shell-fishes taken very cunningly by certaine Diuers, and doe much enlarge the kings reuenues. But now let vs proceed vnto the Silke or Bombycine fleece, whereof there is great plenty in China: so that euen as the husbandmen labour in manuring the earth, and in sowing of Rice; so likewise the women doe employ a great part of their time in preserving of silke-wormes, and in keeming and weaving of Silke. Hence it is that euery yeere the King and Queene with great solemnitic come forth into a publique place, the one of them touching a plough, and the other a Mulberrie tree, with the leanes wherof Silke-wormes are nourished: and both of them by this ceremonie encouraging both men and women vnto their vocation and labour: whereas otherwise, all the whole yeere throughout, no man besides the principall magistrates, may once attaine to the sight of the king. Of this Silke or Bombycine fleece there is such abundance, that three shippes for the most part comming out of India to the port of Macao, & at the least one euery yeere comming vnto vs, are laden especially with this freight, and it is vsed not onely in India, but caried euen vnto Portugal. Neither is the Fleet it selfe onely transported thence, but also diuers & sundry stufes wouen thereof, for the Chinians do greatly excel in the Art of weaving, and do very much resemble our weauers of Europe. Moreover the kingdom of China aboundeth with most costlie spices & odours, and especially with cynamom (albeit not comparable to the cynamom of Zeilan) with camphire also & muske, which is very principal & good. But he deriueth his name fro a beast of the same name (which beast resembleth a Beaver) fro the parts wherof byused & purified proceedeth a most delicate & fragrant smel which the Portugals highly esteem, commonly calling those parts of the foresaid beasts (because they are like vnto the gorges of foules) Papos, & conuey great plenty

The city of
Coancheliu, alias
Cantam,

Great abundance of gold
in China.

Great store of
Silver.

Pearles.

Great store of
Silke in China.

Silke brought
into Iapon.

Spices, Cam-
phire, & muske.

plenty of them into India, & to vs of Iapon. But who would beleue, that there were so much gossypine or cotton-wool in China; whereof such variety of clothes are made like unto linnen; which we our selues do so often vse, & which also is conueied by sea into so many regions: Let vs now intreat of that earthen or pliable matter commonly called porcellan; which is pure white, & is to be esteemed the best stuffe of that kind in the whole world; whereof vessels of all kinds are very curiously framed. I say, it is the best earthen matter in all the world; for thre qualities; namely, the cleanness, the beauty, & the strength thereof. There is indeed other matter to be found more glorious, and more costly, but none so free from uncleannes, and so durable: this I adde, in regard of glasse, which indeed is immaculate and cleane, but may easily be broken in pieces. This matter is digged, not thowout the whole region of China, but onely in one of the fifteent prouinces called Quianh, wherein continually very many artificers are employed about the same matter: neither doe they onely frame thereof smaller vessels, as dishes, platters, salt-sellers, cwers, and such like, but also certaine huge tummes, and vessels of great quantity, being very finely and cunningly wrought, which, by reason of the danger and difficulty of carriage, are not transported out of the realme, but are vled onely within it, and especially in the kings court. The beauty of this matter is much augmented by variety of picture, which is layed in certaine colours vpon it, while it is yet new, golde also being added thereunto, which maketh the foze sayd vessels to appeare most beautifull. It is wonderfull how highly the Portugals do esteeme thereof, seeing they do, with great difficulty, transport the same, not onely to vs of Iapon and into India, but also into sundry prouinces of Europe. Unto the marchandize aboue-mentioned may be added diuers and sundry plants, the rootes whereof be right hole some for mens bodies, and very medicinable, which are brought vnto our Isles of Iapon, and vnto many other Islands, amongst the which that wood may be reckoned, which (by a synecdoche) is called The wood of China, being of notable force to expell out of mens bodies those humours, which would breed contagious diseases. To these you may adde sugar-canes (for in the realme of China there is great store of excellent sugar) which is conueyed by the Portugals very plentifully, both into our countrey, and also into India. By speeches vetered immediatly before concerned marchandize onely, in regard whereof this kingdome is beneficiall not to it selfe alone, but most profitable to many other nations also. As for those fruits which pertaine to perely sustenance and common food, they can scarce be numbred: albeit, of those thre commodities which they of Europe so greatly account of; namely of coynes, vines, and oliues the land of China is not very capable: for the Chinians know not so much as the name of an Oliue tree (out of the fruit whereof oile is expressed) neither yet the name of a vine. The prouince of Paquin is not altogether destitute of wine, but whether it be brought from other places, or there made, I am not able to say: although it aboundeth with many other, and those not vnpleasant liquours, which may serue in the stead of wine it selfe. Now, as touching cozne, there is indeed wheat sown in all the prouinces; howbeit rise is in farr more vse and request then it: and so in regard of these two commodities profitable for mans life; namely, wine and cozne; the kingdome of China and our countrey of Iapon may be compared together.

Leo. You haue discoursed (Michael) of the fruitfulness of China, whereof I haue often heard, that it is no lesse pleasant then fruitful, and I haue bene especially indured to so thinke, at the sight of the Chinian maps. *Michael.* The thing it selfe agrees right well with the picture: for they that haue seene the mediteran or inner parts of the kingdome of China, do report it to be a most amiable countrey, adorned with plenty of woods, with abundance of fruits and grasse, and with woonderfull variety of riuers, where with the Chinian kingdome is watered like a garden; diuers of which riuers doe naturally flowe, and others by arte and industry are deriued into sundry places. But now I will intreat of the tranquillity and peace of China, after I haue spoken a word or two concerning the maners of the inhabitantes. This nation is indued with excellent wit and dexterity for the attaining of all artes, and, being very constant in their owne customes, they lightly regard the customes or fashions of other people. They vse one and the same kinde of vesture, yet so, that there is some distinction betwene the apparell of the magistrate & of the common subiect. They all of them do weare long haire vpon their heads, and, after the maner of women, do curiously keame their dainey locks hanging downe to the ground, and, having twined and bound them vp, they couer them with calles, wearing sundry caps therevpon, according to their age and condition. It seemeth that in old time one language was common to all the prouinces: notwithstanding, by reason of variety of pronounciation, it is very much altered, and is diuided into sundry idiomes or proprieties of speech, according to the diuers prouinces: howbeit, among the magistrates, and in publike assemblies of iudgement, there is one and the very same kinde of language vled thowout the whole realme, from the which (as I haue sayd) the speech of ech prouince differeth not a little. Moreover this people is most loyall and obedient vnto the king

Cotton-wool
whereof Callicur-
cloth is made.

Three qualities
of porcellan.

Plants:

Sugar.

China in a manner destitute of
corne, wine, &
oile.

Chinian
maps.

The disposition
& maners
of the Chinians.

Their language.

Their loyalty
vnto their superiors.

king

Their labori-
ous industry.

Painting.

Gunnes.
Painting.

Nauigation.

The Tartars
vanquished ouer
China.

Military disci-
pline.

The literature
of China.

Three degrees
in learning.

king and his magistrates, which is the principall cause of their tranquillity & peace. For whereas the common sort doe apply themselves vnto the discretion and becke of inferiour magistrates, and the inferiour magistrates of the superiour, and the superiour magistrates of the king himselfe, framing and composing all their actions and affaires vnto that leuell: a world it is to see, in what equability and indifferency of iustice all of them do leade their liues, and how orderly the publike lawes are administered. Which thing notwithstanding shall be handled more at large, when we come to intreat of the government. *Linus.* Tell vs now (Michael) of the industry of that people, whereof we haue heard great reports. *Michael.* Their industry is especially to be discerned in manuary artes and occupations, and therein the Chinians do surpasse most of these Easterly nations. For there are such a number of artificers ingeniously and cunningly framing sundry deuices out of golde, silver, and other mettals, as likewise of stone, wood, and other matters conuenient for mans vse, that the streets of cities being replenished with their shoppes and fine workmanship, are very woonderfull to beholde. Besides whom also there are very many Painters, vsing either the pensill or the needle (of which the last sort are called Embrotherers) and others also that curiously worke golde-twine vpon cloth either of linnen or of cotton: whose operations of all kinds are diligently conueyed by the Portugals into India. Their industry doth no lesse appeare in founding of gunnes and in making of gun-powder, whereof are made many rare and artificiall fire-works. To these may be added the arte of Printing, albeit their letters be in maner infinite and most difficult, the portraictures whereof they cut in wood or in brasse, and with maruellous facilitie they daily publish huge multitudes of books. Vnto these mechanicall & libberall crafts you may adde two more; that is to say, nauigation and discipline of warre; both of which haue bene in ancient times most diligently practised by the inhabitants of China: for (as we haue before signified in the third dialogue) the Chinians sailing euen as farre as India, subdued some part thereof vnto their owne dominion: howbeit after ward, least they should diminish the forces of their realme by dispersing them into many prouinces, altering their counsell, they determined to containe themselves within their owne limits: within which limits (as I haue sayd) there were in olde time vehement and cruell warres, both betweene the people of China themselves, and also against the Tartarian king, who inuaded their kingdome, and by himselfe and his successors, for a long season, vsurped the government thereof. Howbeit the kings of the Tartarian race being woyn out, and their stocke and family being vtterly abolished, the Chinians began to lift by their heads, and to aduance themselves, inioyng for these 200 yeeres last past exceeding peace and tranquillity, and at this day the posterity of the same king that expelled the Tartars, with great dignity weareth the crowne, and wieldeth the royall scepter. Albeit therefore the people of China (especially they that inhabit Southerly from the prouince of Paquin) are, for the most part, by reason of continuall ease and quiet, growen effeminate, and their courage is abated, notwithstanding they would prouoe notable and braue souldiers, if they ioynd vse and exercise vnto their naturall fortitude. As a man may easily obserue in them, that maintaine continuall warres against the most barbarous and cruel Tartars. Howbeit in this kingdome of China there is so great regard of military discipline, that no city nor towne there is destitute of a garison, the captaines and gouernours keeping each man his order; which all of them, in euery prouince, are subiect vnto the kings lieutenant generall for the warres, whom they call Chumpin, and yet he himselfe is subiect vnto the Turan or viceroy. Let vs now come vnto that arte, which the Chinians do most of all professe, and which we may, not vntruly, call literature or learning. For although it be commonly reported, that many liberrall sciences, and especially naturall and mozall philosophy are studied in China, and that they haue Vniuersities there, where in such ingenious artes are deliuered and taught, yet, for the most part, this opinion is to be esteemed more popular then true: but I will declare, vpon what occasion this conceit first grew. The people of China doe, aboue all things, professe the arte of literature; and learning it most diligently, they imploy themselves a long time and the better part of their age therein. For this cause, in all cities and towne, yea, and in petty villages also, there are certaine schole-masters hired for stipends to instruct children: and their literature being (as ours in Iapon is also) in maner infinite, their children are put to schole euen from their infancy and tender yeeres, from whence notwithstanding such are taken away, as are iudged to be vnfit for the same purpose, and are trained by to marchandise or to manuary sciences: but the residue do so dedicate themselves to the study of learning, that (a strange thing it is to consider) being conuerant in the principall books, they will easily tel you, if they be asked the question, how many letters be contained in euery page, and where each letter is placed. Now, for the greater progresse and increase of learning, they (as the maner is in Europe) do appoint three degrees to the attaining of noble sciences; that is to say, the lowest, the middle degree, and the highest. Graduates of the first degree are called Siufai, of the second

Quigin,

Quiugim, and of the the third Chinzu. And in each city or walled towne there is a publique house called the Schoole, and unto that all they doe resort from all private and petty-schools that are minded to obtaine the first degree; where they do amplify a sentence or theame propounded unto them by some magistrate: and they, whose stile is more elegant and refined, are, in each city, graced with the first degree. Of such as aspire unto the second degree triall is made onely in the metropolitan or principall city of the province, whereunto, they of the first degree, every third yere, have recourse, and, in one publique house or place of assembly, doe, the second time, make an oration of another sentence obscurer then the former, and doe undergoe a more severe examination. Now, there is commonly such an huge multitude of people, that this last yere, in the foresayd famous city of Canteam, by reason of the incredible assembly of persons flocking to that publique act of commencement, at the first entrance of the doores, there were many troden under foot, and quelled to death, as we have bene most certainly informed. Moreover they that sue for the highest degree are subiect unto a most severe and exact censure, whereby they are to be examined at the Kings Court onely, and that also every third yere next ensuing the sayd yere wherein graduates of the second degree are elected in each province, and, a certaine number being prescribed unto every particular province, they do ascend unto that highest pitch of dignity, which is in so great regard with the king himselfe, that the three principall graduates do, for honours sake, drinke off a cup filled even with the Kings owne hand, and are graced with other solemnities. Out of this order the chiefe magistrates are chosen: for after that they have attained unto this third degree, being a while trained up in the lawes of the realme, and in the precepts of humanity, they are admitted unto divers functions. Neither are we to thinke that the Chinians be altogether destitute of other artes. For, as touching moztall philosophy, all those books are fraught with the precepts thereof, which, for their instructions sake, are alwayes conuerfant in the hands of the foresayd students, wherein such grave and pithy sentences are set downe, that, in men void of the light of the Gospel, more can not be desired. They have books also that intreat of things and causes naturall, but herein it is to be supposed, that as well their books as ours do abound with errors. There be other books among them, that discourse of herbs and medicines, and others of chivalry and martiall affaires. Neither can I here omit, that certaine men of China (albeit they be but few, and rare to be found) are excellent in the knowledge of astronomy, by which knowledge of theirs the dayes of the new moone incident to every moneth are truly disposed and digested, and are committed to writing and published: besides, they doe most infallibly foretell the eclipses of the Sun and Moone: and whatsoever knowledge in this arte we of Iapon haue, it is deriued from them. *Leo.* We doe freely confesse that (Michael) Lichens our books intreating of the same arte are, a great part of them, written in the characters or letters of China. But now, instructed you vs as touching their maner of government, wherein the Chinians are sayd greatly to excell. *Michael.* That, that, in very deed, is their chiefe arte, and unto that all their learning and exercise of letters is directed. Whereas therefore, in the kingdome of China, one onely king beares rule ouer so many provinces, it is strange what a number of Magistrates are by him created to administer publique affaires. For (to omit them which in each Towne and City haue iurisdiction ouer the townesmen and citizens) there are three principall Magistrates in every province. The first is he that hath to deale in cases criminall, and is called Gancharu: the second is the Kings fosterer, and is called Puchinsu: the third is the Lieutenant general for the warres, named, as we sayd before, Chumpin. These three therefore haue their place of residence in the chiefe City of the province: and the two former haue certaine associates of their owne order, but of inferior authority, appointed in diuers Cities and Townes, unto whom, according to the variety of causes, the Governours of Townes, and the Maiors of Cities doe appeal. Howbeit the three foresayd Magistrates are in subiection unto the Turan, that is, the Vice-roy, ordained in each province. And all these Magistrates beare office for the space of three yeeres together: yet so, that for the governing of each province, not any of the same province, but strangers, that is, men of another province, are selected: whereof it commeth to passe, that the Judges may giue sentence with a farre more entire and incorrupt minde, then if they were among their owne kinsfolke and allies. Duer and besides all these, there is an annuall or yearly Magistrate, which is called Chaien, whose duety it is to make inquisition of all crimes, and especially the crimes of Magistrates, and also to punish common offences: but concerning the faults of the great magistrates to admonish the king himselfe. Of this order, every yere, are sent out of the Kings Court, for each province, one; and going ouer all the Cities and Townes thereof, they do most diligently ransacke and serch out all crimes, and vpon them which are imprisoned they inflict due punishment, or, being found not guilty, they dismisse them unpunished. Hence it is, that all Magistrates greatly fearing to be called in question by the Chaien are well kept

The first degree.

The second degree.

The third and highest degree.

Note the extraordinary honours bestowed by the great King of China vpon his learned graduates.

Spall philosophy.

Naturall philosophy.

Excellent astronomers in China.

The politike government of China.

Three principall magistrates in each province.

Two Senates
of Counsellors
ordinally hold
in China.

The causes of
peace in China.

Learning the
only key to
honour in China.

The stately &
formidable
procession of
the Chintian
magistrates.

The houses of
the Chintian
magistrates.

The magis-
trates bar-
ges.

The manner of
electing ma-
gistrates in
China.

Degrees unto
honour.

within the limits of their callings. Besides all these Magistrates there is at either Court, namely in the North, and in the South, a Senate or honourable assembly of graue counsellors, unto the which, out of all provinces, according to the nearness and distance of the place, affaires of greater weight and moment are referred, and by their authority diuers Magistrates are created: howbeit the managing and expedition of principall affaires is committed vnto the Senate of Paquin. Howeuer there are euery yeere certaine Magistrates appointed in eche province, to goe vnto the king: and euery third yeere all the Governours of Cities and of Townes do visit him at once, what time triall is made of them that aspire vnto the third degree: vpon which occasion there is at the same time an incredible number of people at the Kings Court. By reason of this excellent order and harmony of Magistrates placed one vnder another, it can scarce be imagined, what sweet peace and tranquillity flourisheth throughout the whole realme, especially sithens, after speedy inquisition, persons that are guilty be put (as the manner is there) to the punishment of the bastinado: neither yet are suits or actions any long time delayed. Also it is not to be omitted, that for the obtaining of any dignity or magistracy, the way is open, without all respect of gentry or blood, vnto all men, if they be learned, and especially if they haue attained vnto the third and highest degree aforesayd. Neither can it be expressed how obedient and dutifull the common sort are vnto their Magistrates, and with what magnificence and pompe the sayd Magistrates come abroad: for the most part of them haue stie or threescore Sergeants attending vpon them, and going before them, two and two in a ranke: some of them carrying Halberds, Baces, and Battle-axes: some trailing yron chaines vpon the ground: others holding great rodde or staves of a certaine kinde of reede, wherewith malefactours are punished, in their hands: and two there are that carry, inclosed in a case, the Kings scale peculiar for eche office: and many others also, that shew sundry spectacles vnto the people: wherunto may be added the horrible out-cries and shoutes, which betweene whiles they utter, to strike a terrour into the hearts of all men: and at length come the Magistrates themselves, being carried in a chaine vpon the backs of foure men, six men, or eight men, according to the dignity of their office. Now, as concerning their houses, they are very large and stately, being built and furnished with all necessary stiffe, at the Kings owne cost, in the which, so long as their magistracy lasteth, they leade a braue and an honourable life. The sayd houses are without variety of stories one aboue another, which in the kingdome of China and in our Isles of Iapon also are not ordinarily vsed for habitation, but either to keepe watch and ward, or els for solace and recreations sake (for the which purposes, eight most lofty towers of nine stories high are built) or els for the defence of Cities. Howbeit in other regardes these buildings doe shew forth no small magnificence: for they haue their cisternes for the receipt of raine-water, which are adozned with beautifull trees, set in order, round about them: and they haue also their places designed for the administration of iustice, and diuers other conuenient roomes to bestow their wiues and families in. Within the doores of the aforesayd habitations a certaine number of Sergeants and officers, hauing cabbins or little houses allotted them on both sides, doe alwayes giue their attendance; and so long as matters of iudgement are in deciding, they be alwayes ready at hand, that, at the direction of the Magistrates they may either beat malefactours, or by torments constrain them to tell the truth. The sayd Magistrates also haue their peculiar barges wherein to take the water: being in breadth and length not much vnlike to the galleys of Europe, but for swiftnesse and multitude of oares, farre inferiour vnto them. The rowers, sitting vpon galleries without the hatches or compasse of the barge, doe mooue it on fo'ward with their oares: wherewith it cometh to passe, that the middle part of the barge affordeth sufficient roome for the Magistrates themselves to abide in, containing chambers therein almost as conuenient and handsome, as in any of their foresayd publique houses, together with butteries and kitchins, and such other places necessary for the provision and stowage of victuals. *Leo.* All these things agree right well with the reports, which we haue heard of the stately and renowned kingdome of China: It would now right gladly know somewhat concerning the order which is obserued in the obtaining of magistracies.

Michael. You haue enquired of a matter most woorthy to be knowen, which I had almost omitted to enreat of. The Chintians therefore doe vse a kinde of gradation in auancing men vnto sundry places of authority, which for the most part is performed by the Senatours of Paquin. For first they are made Iudges of Townes: then of Cities: afterward they are elected to be of that order, which decreeth punishments in cases criminall without further appeale, or of their order, that are the kings sollicitors. And in both of these Orders, which are very honourable, there are many places and degrees, so that from the inferiour place they must ascend vnto the superiour, vntill they haue attained vnto the highest dignity of all: and immediately
after

after that they come to be Vice-royes. Howbeit this gradation is not alwayes accomplished in one and the same prouince, but in changing their offices they change places and prouinces also. Howeouer, next after the office of Vice-roy they are capable to be chosen Senaours of Nanquin, and last of all to be elected into the Senate of Paquin. Now, there is such an order and methode obserued in the ascending vnto these dignities, that all men may easily coniecture, what office any one is to vndertake. And there is so great diligence and celerity vled for the substitution of one into the roome of another, that, for the same purpose, messengers are dispatched by land, vpon swift post-horses, vnto diuers prouinces, almost twenty dayes iourney from the Kings Court. And, to be short, there is such strict severity in degrading those that vniustly or negligently demean themselves, from an honourable vnto an inferiour and base office, or altogether in depriving them of the kings authorizy; that all Magistrates doe stand in feare of nothing in the world moze then of that. The same order, almost, is obserued among the Captaines and Lieu-tenants generall for the warres: except onely in them, that their birth and offspring is respected: for many there be, who descending by parentage from such men as haue in times past atchieued braue exploits in warfare, so soone as they come to sufficient yeeres, are created Centurions, Colonels, and Gouvernours, vntill at last they attaine to be Lieu-tenants generall and Protectours of some whole prouince: who notwithstanding (as I haue sayd) are in all things subiect vnto the Vice-roy. All the foresayd Magistrates both of warre and of peace haue a set number of attendants allotted vnto them, enioying a stipend, and carrying certaine ensignes and peculiar badges of their office: and (besides the ordinary watch, which souldiers appointed for the same purpose doe in the night season, after the City gates be shut, keepe in their forts) where soeuer any Magistrate is, either at his house or in his barge, the sayd attendants striking vpon a cymball of bzaile, at certaine appointed times, do keepe most circumference and continuall watch and ward about his person. *Linus.* You haue (Michael) sufficiently discouered of the Magistrates: in forme vs now of the king himselfe, whose name is fore-notomed and spread abroad. *Michael.* Concerning this matter I will say so much onely as by certaine rumours hath come to my knowledge: for of matters appertaining vnto the kings Court we haue no eye-witnesses, sithens the fathers of the society haue not as yet proceeded vnto Paquin, who so soone as (by Gods assistance) they shall there be arriued, will by their letters moze fully aduertise vs. The king of China therefore is honoured with wonderfull reuerence and submission thozowout his whole Realme: and when soeuer any of his chiefe Magistrates speaketh vnto him, he calleth him VAN-SVI, signifying thereby that he wiseth tenne thousand of yeeres vnto him. The succession of the kingdome dependeth vpon the bloud royall: for the eldest sonne bozne of the kings first and lawfull wife obtaineth the kingdome after his fathers deceale: neither doe they deprive themselves of the kingly authorizy in their life time (as the maner is in our Islands of Iapon) but the custome of Europe is there obserued. Now, that the safety and life of the king may stand in moze security, his yoonger bzyethren, and the rest bozne of concubines are not permitted to liue in the kings Court: but places of habitation are by the king himselfe assigned vnto them in diuers prouinces farre distant asunder, where they dwell most commodiously, being comparable vnto kings for their buildings and reuennes: howbeit they exercise no authorizy ouer the people, but all the government of those Cities wherein they dwell, concerneth the Magistrates, who notwithstanding haue the sayde Princes in high regard and honour; and doe visit them twice in a moneth, and salute them kneeling vpon their knees, and bowing their faces downe to the earth: and yet they communicate nothing vnto them as touching the administration of the Common-wealth. These are they which may properly be called the Princes or Princes of the Realme of China: for they deriue their houses and reuennes vnto their posterity, and so are these royall families continually preferred. But to returne vnto the king himselfe, hee is most chary in obseruing the Chinian lawes and customes, and diligently exerciseth himselfe in learning so much as concernes his estate, sheweth himselfe daply vnto his chiefe Magistrates, and communeth of matters appertaining to the publique commodity of the Realme. His palace is of wonderfull largenesse and capacity, out of the which he very seloome takes his progresse; and when soeuer he doeth so, there are twelue chariots bzyought forth, all of them most like one to another both in workmanship and in value, that no man may discern in which the king himselfe is placed. He followeth in religion especially the opinions of the Magistrates, attributing diuine power vnto heauen and earth as vnto the parents of all, and with great solemnity sacrificing vnto them. He hath diuers most sumptuous Temples dedicated vnto his ancestours, whereunto likewise he ascribeth diuine honour, and yet ceaseth hee not to fauour Pricks of other sects, yea hee erecteth Temples vnto their Patrons, endowing them with most rich reuennes; and so often as any bzgent necessity requireth,

Kidling post.

Partiall dignities.

The king of China.

Van-Sui. The succession of the crowne.

The kings yoonger bzyethren.

Twelue chariots.

The idolatrous religions of the kings.

requireth, he enioynes continuall fastings and prayers vnto them: and after this sort he doe th in a maner patronize all the idolatrous sects of his Realme, and shewing himselfe ready to embrace any false religion whatsoeuer, he liueth in sundry and manifolde kindes of superstition. Out of all the former particulars by me alledged, you may easily coniecture that the administration of the kingdome of China doeth, for the most part, agree with the instinct of nature, authority being committed, not vnto rude and vnskillfull persons, but vnto such as haue bene conuersant in the vse and exercise of learning, yea, and in promoting learned men vnto magistracies, great consideration is had of their wisdom, iustice, and of other vertues esteemed by the Chiniens: wherefore the way being open for all men, without any respect of degree or parentage, to obtaine any of the foresayd dignities, it can not be but that this most mighty and famous kingdome must needes enioy exceeding peace and tranquillity. *Leo.* I would notwe (Michael) right gladly vnderstand, what kinde of vrbanity or ciuill demeanour both the common people and the Magistrates doe vse one towarde another: for it is not likely that where such due administration of iustice is, common ciuility, which so well becometh all men, should be wanting. *Michael.* You haue hit euen the very naille on the head: for among the fine vertues, which the Chiniens principally regard, vrbanity or courtely is one; the rest are piety, a thankfull remembrance of benefices, true dealing in contracts or bargaines, and wisdom in atchieuing of matters: with the praises and commendations of which vertues the Chiniens bookes are full fraught. Now as touching their vrbanity, it is much vnlike vnto ours in Iapan, and vnto that of Europe: howbeit vnder two principall kindes the rule of their vrbanity or courtely may be comprehended: whereof one is obserued betweene equals, and the other betweene superiours and inferiours. For when men of equall dignity meet together, they stand bending their backes, and bowing their heads downe to the ground, and this they doe either once or twice, or sometimes thise. Now, when the inferiour meets with his superiour, the sayd inferiour, for the most part kneeling lowly on his knees, enclineth his countenance downe to the earth. But how often and when this obsequance is to be performed it is woonderfull what a number of rules and prescriptions are set downe, which to recount would require a long time. Somewhat also I will say as touching their piety, and especially of the piety which they vse towarde their parents, which verily is so exceeding great, that for the space of thre whole yeres together, the sonnes being cladde in mourning vestures doe bewaile the death of their parents, which duety is performed not onely by the common sort, but euen by all the Magistrates themselves, and that most curiously and diligently. And, that all men may wholly giue their attendance vnto this businesse, it is provided by a most inuiovable law among the Chiniens; that Magistrates, vpon the death of their parents, must forthwith renounce their authority, and thre whole yeres, for the performance of their fathers exequies, must betake themselves vnto a private kinde of liuing: which also is most duely put in practise by the Senatours of the Kings owne Councell. For albeit a man be right gracious in the eyes of his Prince, yea, and such an one, as vpon whom the administration of the Realme doeth principally depend; yet hauing heard of the death of his parents, that is, of his father or his mother; he hies himselfe immediately home to solemnize their funerals: insomuch that if the king would retaine him still in his office, he should be esteemed by the people, as a transgressour of the lawes and customes of China: which accident (as it is recorded in ancient times sel out euen so. For why was a certain king most familiarly vsed a certaine Senatour of his about the managing and expedition of publique affaires, and vnderstanding well how necessary the helpe of his foresayd Senatour was, would gladly, after the death of his father; haue retained him still in his office: yet a certaine other man, being a wellwiller vnto the Chiniens lawes, could in no case abide it, but checking his Prince with sharpe rebukes, objected the transgression of the law against him. The king warning wroth menaced present death vnto the man: but when the party being no whit daunted with the terrour of death, persisted still in his sayings, the king changing his determination dismissed the Senatour to mourne for his father, but as for his reprehender he advanced him vnto an higher dignity. *Linus.* I perceiue (Michael) that drawing to an end of these dialogues, and being weary of your long rate, you begin to affect breuity: yet let it not seeme troublesome vnto you to speake somewhat of the religion of China, which onely thing seemes to be wanting in this present dialogue. *Michael.* I confesse indeed that I endeavour to be briefe, not so much in regard of wearisomnesse, as for feare lest I haue bene ouer tedious vnto you: howbeit I will not faile but accomplish that which I haue vnderaken, and (according to your request) adde somewhat moze concerning religion. Whereas therefore the kingdome of China hath hitherto bene destitute of true religion, and now the first beginnings thereof are included in most narrow bounds, that nation being otherwise a people most ingenious, and of an extraordinary and

The ciuill gouernment of China most agreeable to the instinct of nature.

The fine vertues principally esteemed among the Chiniens.

Vrbanity.

The Chiniens great piety towarde their parents.

A memorable story.

The religion of China.

high capacity, hath alwayes liued in great errors and ignozance of the truety, being distracted into sundry opinions, and following manifold sects. And among these sects there are three moze famous then the rest: the first is of them that professe the doctrine of one Confucius a notable philosopher. This man (as it is reported in the history of his life) was one of most veyright and incorrupt maners, whereof he wrote sundry treatises very pithily and largely, which aboue all other books, are seriously read and perused by the Chinians. The same doctrine do all Magistrates embrace, and others also that giue their mindes to the study of letters, a great part whereof Confucius is sayd to haue inuented: and he is had in so great honour, that all his followers and clients, vpon the dayes of the new and full Moone, doe assemble themselves at the common Schoole, which I haue aboue mentioned, and before his image, which is worshipped with burning of incense and with tapers, they doe thysle bend their knees, and bow their heads downe to the ground; which not onely the common scholars, but the chiefe Magistrates do performe. The summe of the foresayd doctrine is, that men should follow the light of nature as their guide, and that they should diligently endeauour to attaine vnto the vertues by me before mentioned: and lastly, that they should employ their labour about the orderly gouernment of their families and of the Common-wealth. All these things are in very deed praise-woozthy, if Confucius had made any mention of almighty God and of the life to come, and had not ascribed so much vnto the heauens, and vnto fatal necessity, nor yet had so curiously intreated of worshipping the images of their forefathers. In which regard he can very hardlye or not at all be excused from the crime of idolatry: notwithstanding it is to be granted, that none other doctrine among the Chinians appoacheth so neere vnto the trueth as this doeth. The second sect is of them which follow the instructions of Xaquam, or as the Chinians call him Xequiam, whose opinions, because they are well known amongst vs, it were bootlesse for me to reprat; especially sithens, in the Catechisme composed by our grate vistor, they are notably refuted. This doctrine doe all they embrace, which are in China called Cen, but with vs at Iapon are named Bonzi. For this I doe briefly and by the way giue you to vnderstand, that all wordes of the Chinians language are of one sillable onely, so that if there be any word that consisteth of moze sillables then one, it consisteth also of moze wordes then one. These sectaries called Cen doe shauē their beards and their heads, and doe for the most part, together with diuers of their associates, inhabit the Temples of Xaquam, or of others which in regard of the same profession haue in their Kalenders bene canonized for Saints, and doe rehearse certayne prayers after their maner, either vpon books or beads, vsing other ceremonies after the maner of our Bonzi. These men haue some iudgement of the life to come, and of the rewardes of good men, and the punishments of the wicked: howbeit all their assertions are fraught with errors. The third sect is of them which are called Tauzu: and those doe imitate a certayne other man, to be adored, as they thinke, for his holinesse. These also are Priests after their kinde, howbeit they let their haire grow, and doe in other obseruations differ from the former. Nowe, because the sect of Confucius is the most famous of all the thzee, and the two other sects called Cen and Tauzu are not much addicted vnto learning, their religion preuailing onely among the common sort, the Priests of both the sayd sects doe leade a most base and seruite life amongst the Chinians, in so much that they kneele downe before the Magistrates, and are not permitted to sit beside them, and sometimes, if the Magistrate please, are abased vnto the punishment of the bastinado: whereas in our Isles of Iapon it is farre otherwise, Priests, euen of false religion, being had in so great honour among vs. *Leo.* I heard also (Michael) that the Saracens superstition takes place in China: now, whether it doth or no, you can resolue vs. *Michael.* That foren superstition was brought into China what time the Tartars inuaded the kingdome, and vsurped the gouernment thereof. All the Saracens therefore in China are originally descended of the Tartars, who, because they were an infinite number, could not utterly be expelled and rooted out of the kingdome; but remaining still there, haue propagated their posterity, though not their religion. These therefore are soldiers for the greater part of them, and sometimes doe obtaine martiall dignities: and except a few ceremonies of their superstition which is nowe become stale and almost worne out, they doe liue altogether after the Chinians fashion, their predecessors being brought into the same kingdome about foure hundred yeeres agoe. *Linus.* Now (Michael) let vs heare you say somewhat of the Christian religion, which as we hope hath set most happy footing in that kingdome. *Michael.* I could say much concerning those most wisd and acceptable beginnings, were they not already published in Iapon by the letters of the fathers: howbeit I will make a brieve rehearse of all things, that I may not seeme altogether to haue abandoned this labour. You know that from the time wherein the fathers of the society arrived in our Islands, to the end they might augment Christian religion, they were in like sort

Three principal sects among the Chinians.

Confucius author of the first sect.

The summe of Confucius his doctrine.

Xequiam author of the second sect, whose followers are called Cen or Bonzi.

Note.

The third sect.

The superstition of the Saracens.

Christian religion planted in China.

most carefull how they might insinuate themselves into the innermost parts of the kingdome of China. In the midst of this endeour and trauell Francis Xavier, a most deuout man of the foresayd society, departed out of this present life at the Ile of Sancian (which some call Sangiam) leauing an example vnto the rest of his associates, how they should likewise doe their best to plant the religion of Christ in that nation. This man was serconded by others, who vsed all meanes, and left no practise vnattempted, that they might bring these good beginnings vnto a prosperous issue: howbeit they were greatly hindered by reason of an ancient custome in China, in regard whereof they doe not without great difficulty and circumspection admit any strangers into their dominions, except those which hauing a long time executed the office of ambassadors doe ordinarily euery third yeere present themselves befoze the king: in the admission of whom likewise there is maruellous care vsed, that they may not easily espie and become acquainted with the affaires of the Realme. Heere vnto may be added, that the Chinians are great conteiners of other nations, and most constant obseruers of their owne lawes and customes: in all which respects it came to passe, that there was woonderfull labour and diligence employed aboue thirtie yeeres together, onely to get an entrance, vntill in the yeere one thousand five hundred fourescore and thre, two fathers of the foresayd society, that had pretty skill in the letters and language of China, vterly despairing of mans helpe, and depending vpon the prouidence of almighty God, obtained licence of the Turan or Vice-roy to build them an house and a Church in the City of Xauquin, which by reason of the commodiounesse thereof is the seat of the Vice-roy himselfe. This worke being begunne, the sayd fathers of the society, for the nouelty thereof, were a few yeeres right well entreated by the Magistrates: insomuch that two others out of India had free and easie access vnto them, one couple remaining still in their foresayd house at Xauquin, and the other two taking their iourney for the inner prouinces, to conuert more people vnto the faith: who notwithstanding afterward, other Magistrates not approving of their attempts, were constrained to retire. Nowe all the time wherein the foresayd fathers abode at Xauquin (being more then five yeeres) certaine of the common people were restrained from false superstition to Christian religion, and seuentie persons were baptized. But the enemy of mankind, who omitteth none opportunity for the hindrance of Christian religion, suggested into the mindes of the Chinians (being, as I sayd, of their owne nature, a people estranged from the traffique and acquaintance of other nations, and alwayes being too too suspicious of strangers) that they should exhibite letters of supplication vnto the Caien and the Turan their principall Magistrates, to haue the fathers expelled out of Xauquin: which Magistrates repairing vnto their foresayd house and Church entered consultation how they might bannish them out of the sayd City of Xauquin: in which thing verily they vsed great moderation, not any way offending or exasperating the mindes of the fathers, but onely signifying that they had regard vnto the estate of their Common-wealth. For the Turan or Vice-roy calling the fathers vnto him, and (to let passe other accidents) vsing courteous and familiar conference with them, declared by many arguments, that their habitation in the City of Xauquin was not conuenient, especially sithens so many Magistrates resorted vnto that City, who would take great offence at the presence of strangers. For the which cause he perswaded them to accept some part of the money which they had bestowed in the building of their house, and so to returne either home into their owne countrey, or vnto the port of Macao. Howbeit, such was the instant supplication of the fathers, and so woorthy of compassion, that the Turan or Vice-roy, in the extreame and mediterrane borders of the prouince of Coantum, assigned vnto them a new habitation at the city called Xauecho, commending them also to a certaine Magistrate, who was come from the same place to salute him. Whither therefore the sayd fathers, not without great sorrow and griefe of the Christians, hied themselves, and as we are informed by their last letters, they haue euen now layed the foundation of their first building, and haue also written that they are like to liue much more peaceably and conueniently for the propogating of Christian religion. These be the first beginnings of Christianity in China, where, euen as in other places of the Christian Common-wealth, the seed is to be sown with great labour and teares, that acceptable frutes may be reaped with gladnesse. *Leo.* It is euen as you haue sayd (Michael) and nowe for this your pleasant and eloquent discourse we do acknowledge our selues much bounden vnto you.

An ancient custome worthy of obseruation.

The Chinians contemne other nations.

A Letter written from Goa, the principall City of all the *East Indies*,
by one *Thomas Steuens* an English man, and sent to his father, *M. Thomas Steuens*: Anno 1579.



After most humble commendations: These shall be to craue your dayly blessing, with like commendations vnto my mother; and withall, to certifie you of my being: according to your will and my duty. I wrote vnto you taking my Iourney from Italy to Portugall, which letters I thinke are come to your hands, so that presuming thereupon, I thinke I haue the lesse need at this time to tell you the cause of my departing, which neuertheless in one word I may conclude, if I do but name obedience. I came to Lisbon toward the end of March, eight dayes befoze the departure of the shippes, so late that if they had not bene stayed about some weighty matters, they had bene long gone befoze our coming: insomuch that there were others ordained to goe in our places, that the kings promise on and ours also might not be in vaine. Neuertheless our sudden coming tooke place, and the fourth of Aprill five shippes departed for Goa, wherein besides shipmen and souldiers, there were a great number of children which in the seas beate out better then men, and no maruell, when that many women also passe very well. The setting forth from the poze I need not to tell how solemne it is with trumpets, and shooting of ordinance, you may easily imagine it, considering that they go in the maner of warre. The tenth of the foresayd moneth we came to the sight of Porto Santo neere vnto Madera, where an English shippe set vpon ours (which was then also alone) with a few shots, which did no harme, but after that our ship had layed out her greatest ordinance, they straight departed as they came. The English shippe was very faire and great, which I was soyy to see so ill occupied, for she went roring about, so that we saw her againe at the Canarian Isles, vnto the which we came the thirteenth of the sayd moneth, and good leisure we had to wonder at the high mountaine of the Island Tenerif, for we wandred betweene that and great Canaria foure dayes by reason of contrary windes: and briefly, such euill weather we had vntill the foureteenth of May, that they despaired to compasse the Cape of Good hope that yeere. Neuertheless, taking our voyage betweene Guinea and the Islands of Capo Verde, without seeing of any land at all, we arriued at length vnto the coast of Guinie, which the Portugals so call, chiefly that part of the burning Zone, which is from the sixt degree vnto the Equinoctiall, in which partes they suffered so many inconueniences of heats, and lacke of windes, that they thinke themselves happy when they haue passed it: for sometimes the ship standeth there almost by the space of many dayes, sometime she goeth, but in such order that it were almost as good to stand still. And the greatest part of this coast not cleare, but thicke and cloudy, full of thunder and lightening, and raine so vnholosome, that if the water stand a litle while, all is full of wormes, and falling on the meat which is hanged by, it maketh it straight full of wormes. Along all that coast we oftentimes saw a thing swimming vpon the water like a cocks combe (which they call a ship of Guinea) but the colour much fairer; which combe standeth vpon a thing almost like the swimmer of a fish in colour and bignesse, and beareth underneath in the water, strings, which saue it from turning ouer. This thing is so poisonous, that a man cannot touch it without great perill. In this coast, that is to say, from the sixt degree vnto the Equinoctiall, we spent no lesse then thirty dayes, partly with contrary windes, partly with calme. The thirtieth of May we passed the Equinoctiall with contentation, directing our course as well as we could to passe the promontory, but in all that gulfe, & in all the way beside, we found so often calmes, that the expertest mariners wondered at it. And in places where are alwayes wont to be most horrible tempests, we found most quiet calmes which was very troublesome to those shippes which be the greatest of all other, and cannot go without good windes. Insomuch, that when it is tempest almost intollerable for other shippes, and maketh them maine all their sailes, these hoise by, and saile excellent well, unless the waters be too too furious, which selde happened in our navigation. You shall vnderstand, that being passed the line, they cannot straightway go the next way to the promontory: but according to the winde, they draw alwayes as neere South as they can to put themselves in the latitude of the point, which is 35 degrees and an halfe, and then they take their course towards the East, and so compasse the point. But the winde serued vs so, that at 33 degrees we did direct our course toward the point or promontory of Good hope.

You know that it is hard to saile from East to West, or contrary, because there is no fixed point in all the skie, whereby they may direct their course, wherefoze I shall tell you what helps God provided for these men. There is not a fowle that appereth, or signe in the aire, or in the sea, which they haue not written, which haue made the voyages heretofore. Wherefoze, partly by their owne experience, and pondering withall what space the ship was able to make with such a winde, and

such direction, and partly by the experience of others, whose books and navigations they haue, they gesse whereabouts they be, touching degrees of longitude, for of latitude they be alwayes sure: but the greatest and best industry of all is to marke the variation of the needle or compasse, which in the Meridian of the Island of S. Michael, which is one of the Azores in the latitude of Lisbon, is still North, and thence swarueth towards the East so much, that betwixt the Meridian aforesayd, and the point of Africa it carrieth three or foure quarters of 32. And againe in the point of Afrike, a little beyond the point that is called Cape das Agulias (in English the needles) it returneth againe vnto the North, and that place passed, it swarueth againe toward the West, as it did befoze proportionally. As touching our first signes, the nexte we came to the people of Afrike, the moze strange kindes of fowles appeared, inso much that when we came within no lesse then thirty leagues (almost an hundred miles) and sixe hundred miles as we thought from any Island, as good as three thousand fowles of sundry kindes followed our ship: some of them so great that their wings being opened from one point to the other, contained seven spannes; as the Mariners sayd. A maruellous thing to see how God prouided, so that in so wide a sea these fowles are all fat, and nothing wanteth them. The Portugals haue named them all according to some propriety which they haue: some they call Rushcates, because their tailes be not proportionable to their bodies, but long and small like a rush, some forked tailes because they be very broad and forked, some Velvet fowles, because they haue wings of the colour of velvet, and bowe them as a man boweth his elbow. This bird is alwayes welcome, for he appeareth neere the Cape; I should neuer make an end if I should tell all particulars: but it shall suffice briefly to touch a few, which yet shall be sufficient, if you marke them, to giue occasion to glorifie almighty God in his wonderfull works, and such variety in his creature. And to speake some what of fishes in all places of calme, especially in the burning Zone; neere the line (for without we neuer saw any) there waited on our ship fishes as long as a man, which they call Tuberones, they come to eat such things as from the shippe fall into the sea, not refusing nien themselves if they light vpon them. And if they finde any meat tied in the sea, they take it for theirs. These haue waiting on them sixe or seuen small fishes (which neuer depart) with gardes blew and Greene round about their bodies; like comely serving men: and they go two or three befoze him, and some on euery side. Moreover, they haue other fishes which cleaue alwayes vnto their body, and seeme to take such superfluities as grow about them; and they are sayd to enter into their bodies also to purge them if they need. The Mariners in time past haue eaten of them, but since they haue seene them eate more their stomacks abhorre them. Neerthelesse, they draw them vp with great hooks, & kill of them as many as they can, thinking that they haue made a great reuenge. There is another kind of fish as bigge almost as a herring, which hath wings and flieth, and they are together in great number. These haue two enemies, the one in the sea, the other in the aire. In the sea the fish which is called Albocore, as big as a Salmon, followeth them with great swiftnesse to take them. This poore fish not being able swim fast, for he hath no finnes, but swimmeth with mouing of his taile, fluting his wings, lifteth himselfe above the water, and flieth not very high: the Albocore seeing that, although he haue no wings, yet he giueth a great leape out of the water, and sometimes catcheth him, or els he keepeth himselfe vnder the water going that way on as fast as he flieth. And when the fish being weary of the aire, or thinking himselfe out of danger, returneth into the water, the Albocore meeteth with him: but sometimes his other enemy the sea-crow, catcheth him befoze he falleth. With these and like sights, but alwayes making our supplications to God for good weather and saluation of the ship, we came at length vnto the point, so famous & feared of all men: but we found there no tempest, only great waues, where our Pilot was a little ouerleene: for where as commonly al other neuer come within sight of land, but seeing signes ordinary, and finding bot-tome, go their way sure and safe, he thinking himselfe to haue winde at will, yet so nigh the land that the winde turning into the South, and the waues being exceeding great, rolled vs so nere the land, that the ship stood in lesse then 14 fadoms of water, no moze then sixe miles from the Cape, which is called Das Agulias, and there we stood as vterly cast away: for vnder vs were rocks of maine stone so sharpe, and cutting, that no ancre could hold the ship, the shore so cruell, that nothing could take land, and the land itselfe so full of Tigers, and people that are sauage, and killers of all strangers, that we had no hope of life nor comfort, but onely in God and a good conscience. Notwithstanding, after we had lost ancre, hoisting by the sailes for to get the ship a coast in some safer place, or when it should please God, it pleased his mercy suddenly, where no man looked for helpe, to fill our sailes with wind from the land, & so we escaped, thanks be to God. And the day following, being in the place where they are alwayes wont to catch fish, we also fell a fishing, and so many theyooke, that they serued all the ship for that day, and part of the next. And one of them pulled vp a corall of great bignesse and price. For there they say (as we saw by experience) that the

The variat-
ion of the com-
passe.

Signes about
the Cape of
Bona Speranza.

Fishes on the
sea coast of
Africa.

Note.

Corall

coralls

corals doe grow in the maner of stalks vpon the rocks in the bottome, and were haer and red. The day of perill was the nine and twentieth of July. And you shall vnderstand that the Cape passed, there be two wayes to India: one without the Ile of S. Laurence, which they take willingly, because they respect themselves at Molambique a fortnight or a moneth, not without great need, and thence in a moneth more land in Goa. The other is without the Ile of S. Laurence, which they take when they set forth so late, and come so late to the point, that they haue no time to take the foresayd Molambique, and then they goe heauily, because in this way they take no port. And by reason of the long nauigation, and want of food and water, they fall into sundry diseases, their gummies were great, and swell, and they are faine to cut them away, their legges swell, and all the body becommeth soze, and so benumbed, that they can not stirre hand nor foot, and so they die for weakenesse, others fall into flures and agues, and die thereby. And this way it was our chance to make: yet though we had more then one hundred and fifty sicke, there died not past seuen and twenty; which losse they esteemed not much in respect of other times. Though some of ours were diseased in this sort, yet, thanks be to God, I had my health all the way, contrary to the expectation of many: God send me my health so well in the land, if it may be to his honour and seruice. This way is full of piuy roekes and quicke-lands, so that sometimes we durst not saile by night, but by the prouidence of God we saw nothing, nor neuer found bottome untill we came to the coast of India. When we had passed againe the line, and were come to the third degree or some what more, we saw crabs swimming on the water that were red as though they had bene sodden: but this was no signe of land. After, about the eleuenth degree, the space of many dayes, more then ten thousand fishes by estimation followed round about our ship, whereof we caught so many, that for fifteene dayes we did care nothing els, and they serued our turne very well: for at this time we had neither meat nor almost any thing els to eate, our nauigation growing so long that it drew neere to seuen moneths, where as commonly they goe it in siue, I meane when they saile the inner way. But these fishes were not signe of land, but rather of deepe sea. At length we tooke a couple of birds, which were a kinde of Hawks, whereof they tope much, thinking that they had bene of India, but indeed they were of Arabia, as we found afterward. And we that thought we had bene neere India, were in the same latitude neere Zocotora, an Ile in the mouth of the Red sea. But there God sent vs great winds from the North east or North west, whereupon unwillingly they bare vp toward the East, and thus we went tenne dayes without seeing signe of land, whereby they perceived their error: for they had directed their course befoze alwayes North east, coueting to multiply degrees of latitude, but partly the difference of the Needle, and most of all the running seas, which at that time ran North west, had drawn vs to this other danger, had not God sent vs this winde, which at length wared larger, and restored vs to our right course. These running seas be so perillous that they deceiue the most part of the governours, and some be so little curious, contenting themselves with ordinary experience, that they care not to seeke out any meanes to know when they swarue, neither by the compasse, nor by any other triall. The first signe of land were certaine fowles which they knew to be of India: the second, boughes of palmes and scoges: the third, snakes swimming on the water, and a substance which they call by the name of a coine of money, as broad and as round as a great, woonderfully printed and stamped of nature, like vnto some coine. And these two last signes be so certaine, that the next day after, if the winde serue, they see land, which we did to our great joy, when all our water (for you know they make no beere in those parts) and victuals began to faile vs: And to Goa we came the foure and twentieth day of October, there being receiued with passing great charity. The people be tawny, but not disfigured in their lips & noses, as the Moories and Cafres of Ethiopia. They that be not of reputation, or at least the most part, goe naked, sauing an apron of a span long, and as much in breadth befoze them, and a lace two fingers broad befoze them, girtted about with a string and no more: and thus they thinke them as well as we with all our cunnning. Of the fruits and trees that be here I cannot now speake, for I should make another letter as long as this. For hitherto I haue not seene a tree here, whose like I haue seene in Europe, the vine excepted, which neuertheless here is to no purpose, so that all the wines are brought out of Portugall. The drinke of this countrey is good water, or wine of the Palme tree, or of a fruit called Cocos. And this shall suffice for this time. If God send me my health, I shall haue opportunity to write to you once againe. Now the length of my letter compelleth me to take my leaue: and thus I wish your most prosperous health, From Goa the tenth of November, 1579.

Two wayes beyond the Cape of Good hope.

They commonly saile from Lisbon to Goan 5 moneths.

Running seas very dangerous.

Certaine signes of land.

They arrive at Goa the 24 of October.

Your louing soune Thomas Steuens.

A briefe relation of the great magnificence and rich traffike of the kingdome of *Pegu* beyond the *East India*, written by *Frey Peter of Lisbon*, to his coulin *Frey Diego of Lisbon*, from *Cochin*.

The coast of India greatly troubled with *Hoozes*.



Abundance of golde, silver, pearles, & precious stones in *Pegu*.

The great gaine of the *Portugals* in *Pegu*.

Pegu the best & richest countrey in all the *East India*.

A prophesie of an *Indian* against *Spaine*.

Received your letters in the harbour of *Damaon* by a carauell of aduise that came from *Malacca*, which brought shot, powder, and other prouision for the furnishing of foure gallies and a great gallion, which are now in building, to keepe our coast for feare of great floze of men of warre, being *Hoozes*, which trouble vs very soze. At that instant when I receiued your letters I was newly come from the kingdome of *Pegu*, where I had remained one yeere and an halfe, and from thence I departed to the city of *Cochin* in October 1587. The newes which I can certifie you of concerning these countreys are: That this king of *Pegu* is the mightiest king of men, & the richest that is in these parts of the world: for he bringeth into the field at any time, when he hath warres with other princes, aboute a million of fighting men: howbeit they be very leane and small people, and are brought vnto the field without good order. He is lord of the *Elephants*, and of all the golde and silver mines, and of all the pearles and precious stones: so that he hath the greatest floze of treasure that euer was heard of in these parts. The countrey people call him *The God of truely and of iustice*. I had great conference with this king, and with the head captaine of the *Portugals*, which is one of the countrey. They demanded of me many questions as touching the law and faith of *Iesus Christ*, and as touching the *Ten Commandements*. And the king gaue his consent that our Order should build a Church in his countrey, which was halfe builded; but our peruerse and malicious *Portugals* plucked it downe againe: for whereas it is a countrey wherein our nation gaine very much by their commodities, they fearing that by the building of this Church there would be greater resort thither, and so their trade should be impaired, if their great gaires should be known vnto others then those which found this countrey out first, therefore they were so vntwilling that the building of this Church should goe forward. Our *Portugals* which are here in this realme are woorse people then the *Gentiles*. I preached diuers times among those heathen people; but being obstinate they say, that as their fathers beleued so they will beleue: for if their forefathers went to the diuell so they will. Whereupon I returned backe againe to our monastery to certifie our father prouinciall of the estate of this new found countrey. It is the best and richest countrey in all this *East India*; and it is thought to be richer then *China*.

I am agrayd that the warres which his *Majesty* hath with *England* will be the vtter vndoing and spoile of *Spaine*: for these countreys likewise are almost spoiled with ciuill warres, which the *Hoozes* haue against the *Gentiles*: for the kings here are vp in armes all the countrey ouer. Here is an *Indian* which is counted a *Prophet*, which hath prophesied that there will a *Dragon* arise in a strange countrey, which will do great hurt to *Spaine*. How it will fall out, onely *God* doth know. And thus I rest: from this monastery of *Cochin* the 28 of December, 1589.

Your good coulin and assured friend
frier Peter of Lisbon.

A voyage with three tall ships, the *Penelope* Admirall, the *Marchant* royall Viceadmirall, and the *Edward Bonauenture* Rereadmirall, to the *East Indies*, by the Cape of *Buona Speransa*, to *Quitangone* neere *Mosambique*, to the *Iles of Comoro* and *Zanzibar* on the backside of *Africa*, and beyond *Cape Comori* in *India*, to the *Iles of Nicubar* and of *Gomes Polo* within two leagues of *Sumatra*, to the *Ilands of Pulo Pinaom*, and thence to the maine land of *Malacca*, begunne by *M. George Raymond*, in the yeere 1591, and performed by *M. Iames Lancaster*, and written from the mouth of *Edmund Barker* of *Ipswich*, his lieutenant in the sayd voyage, by *M. Richard Hakluyt*.



Ur fleet of the three tall ships abouenamed departed from *Plimouth* the 10 of *April* 1591, and arrived at the *Canarie* islands the 25 of the same, from whence we departed the 29 of *April*. The second of *May* we were in the height of *Cape Blanco*. The fift we passed the tropique of *Cancer*. The eight we were in the height of *Cape Verde*. All this time we went with a faire winde at Northeast, alwayes befoze the winde vntill the 13 of the same moneth, when we came within 8 degrees of the *Equinoctiall* line, where we met with a contrary winde. Here we lay off and on in the sea vntill the sixt of *June*, on which day we passed the sayd line. While we lay thus off

off and on, we tooke a Portugal Caravel laden by marchants of Lisbon for Brasile, in which Caravel we had some 60 tunnes of wine, 1200 iarrs of oyle, about 100 iarrs of olives, certaine barrels of capers, thre fars of peason, with diuers other necessaries fit for our voyage: which wine, oyle, olives and capers were better to vs then gold. We had two men died before we passed the line, and diuers sicke, which tooke their sicknesse in those hote climates: for they be wonderful vnholtsome from 8 degrees of Northly latitude vnto the line, at that time of the yeere: for we had nothing but Ternados, with such thunder, lightning, and raine, that we could not keep our men drie 3 houres together, which was an occasion of the infection among them, and their eating of salt victuals, with lacke of clothes to shift them. After we passed the line, we had the wind still at Eastsoutheast, which caried vs along the coast of Brasil 100 leagues from the maine, til we came in 26 degrees to the Southward of the line, where the wind came vp to the North, at which time we did account, that the Cape of Buona esperansa did beare off vs East and by South, be- twixt 900 and 1000 leagues. Passing this gulfe from the coast of Brasil vnto the Cape we had the wind often variable as it is vpon our coast, but for the most part so, that we might lie our course. The 28 of July we had sight of the foresayd Cape of Buona esperansa: vntill the 31 wee lay off and on with the wind contrary to double the Cape, hoping to double it, & so to haue gone seuentie leagues further to a place called Agoada de S. Bras, before we would haue sought to haue put in- to any harbour. But our men being weake and sicke in all our shippes, we thought good to seeke some place to refresh them. With which consent we bare vp to the land to the Northward of the Cape, and going along the shore, we espied a goodly Baie with an Island lying to Seawards of it, into which we did beare, and found it very commodious for our ships to ride in. This Baie is called Agoada de Saldanha, lying 15 leagues Northward on the hither side of the Cape. The first of August being Sunday we came to an anker in the Baie, sending our men on land, and there came vnto them certaine blacke Salvages very brutish which would not stay, but retired from them. For the space of 15 or 20 dayes we could find no reliefe but onely foules which wee killed with our pieces, which were cranes and geese: there was no fish but mullets and other shel- fish, which we gathered on the rockes. After 15 or 20 dayes being here, our Admirall went with his pinnasse vnto the Island which lieth off this Baie, where hee found great store of Penguins & Seales, whereof he brought good plenty with him. And e wise after that we sent certain of our men, which at both times brought their boats lading vnto our ships. After we had bene here some time, we got here a Negro, whom we compelled to march into the country with vs, making signs to bring vs some cattell; but at this time we could come to the sight of none, so we let the Negro goe with some trifles. Within 8 dayes after, he with 30 or 40 other Negros, brought vs downe some 40 bullocks and oren, with as many sheepe: at which time we bought but few of the. But within 8 dayes after they came downe with as many more; & then we bought some 24 oren with as many sheepe. We bought an oren for two knives, a stirke for a knife, and a sheepe for a knife, and some we bought for lesse value then a knife. The oren be very large and well fleshed, but not fat. The sheepe are very big and very good meat, they haue no woll on their backs but haire, and haue great tailes like the sheepe in Syria. There be diuers sorts of wild beasts, as the Antelope, (whereof M. Lancaster killed one of the bigues of a yong colt) the red & fallow Deere, with other great beasts vnknewen vnto vs. Here are also great store of ouer-grown monkeys. As touching our proceeding vpon our voyage, it was thought good rather to proceed with two ships wel man- ned, then with thre euill manned: for here wee had of sound and whole men but 198, of which there went in the Penelope with the Admirall 101, and in the Edward with the worshipfull M. captaine Lancaster 97. We left behind 50 men with the Roiall marchant, whereof there were many pretily well recouered, of which ship was master and gouernour Abraham Kendal, which for many reasons we thought good to send home. The discafe that hath consumed our men hath bene the fieurie. Our souldiers which haue not bene vled to the Sea, haue best held out, but our mariners dyot away, which (in my iudgement) proceeded of their euill diet at home.

Three occassions of sicknes were the line.

Agoada de Saldanha.

Great store of Penguins and Seales.

Bullocks, oren, and sheepe, tog-chaape.

Cape de Buona Speransa Doubled, Cape dos Corrientes. Here they are seuered from the Penelope.

Four men dyed with a clap of thunder

Sire dayes after our sending backe for England of the Marchant Roiall from Agoada de Saldanha, our Admirall M. captaine Raimond in the Penelope, and M. James Lancaster in the Edward Bonauenture, set for ward to double the Cape of Buona esperansa, which they did very speedily. But being passed as far as Cape dos Corrientes, the 14 of September we were encountred with a mighty storme and extreme gulfs of wind, wherein we lost our Generals companie, and could neuer heare of him nor his ship any more, though we did our best endeuour to seeke him vp and downe a long while, and staid for him certaine dayes at the Island of Comoro, where we appointed to stay one for another. Foure dayes after this vncomfortable seperation in the moor- ning toward ten of the clocke we had a terrible clap of thunder, which slew foure of our men out- right, their necks being wryung in sonder without speaking any word, and of 94 men there was

not one untouched, whereof some were stricken blind, others were bruised in their legs & armes, and others in their byests, so that they voided blood two dayes after, others were drawn out at length as though they had bene racked. But (God be thanked) they all recovered saving onely the foure which were slaine out right. Also with the same thunder our maine masse was tozned very grievously from the head to the becke, and some of the spikes that were ten inches into the timber, were melted with the extreme heate thereof. From thence wee shaped our course to the North-east, and not long after we fell upon the North-west end of the mighty Island of S. Lawrence: which one of our men espied by Gods good blessing late in the evening by Moone light, who seeing afarre off the breaking of the Sea, and calling to certaine of his fellowes, asked them what it was: which eftsloones told him that it was the breaking of the Sea upon the Shoulders. Whereupon in very good time we cast about to avoyd the danger which we were like to have incurred. Thus passing on forward, it was our lucke to our-shoote Mozambique, and to fall with a place called Quirangone two leagues to the Northward of it, and we tooke three or foure Barkes of Moores, which Barkes in their language they call Pangaias, laden with Milio, hennes, and ducks, with one Portugall boy, going for the provision of Mozambique. With in few dayes following we came to an Island an hundred leagues to the North-east of Mozambique called Comoro, which we found exceeding full of people, which are Moores of tawnie colour and good stature, but they be very trecherous and diligently to be taken heed of. Here we desired to stoze our selues with water, whereof we stood in great need, and sent sixteene of our men well armed on thoe in our boate: whom the people suffered quietly to land and water, and divers of them with their king came aboard our ship in a gowne of crimosine Sattin pinked after the Moorish fashion downe to the knee, whom we entertained in the best maner, and had some conference with him of the state of the place and marchandises, using our Portugall boy which we had taken befoze for our interpreter, and in the end licensed the king and his company to depart, and sent our men againe for moze water, who then also dispatched their businesse, & returned quietly: the third time likewise we sent them for moze, which also returned without any harme. And though we thought our selues furnished, yet our master William Mace of Radcliffe pretending that it might be long befoze we should finde any good watering place, would needes goe himselfe on thoe with thirtie men, much against the will of our captaine, and hee and 16 of his company, together with one boat which was all that we had, and 16 others that were a washing over-against our ship, were betrayed of the perfidious Moores, and in our sight for the most part slaine, we being not able for want of a boat to peeld them any succour. From hence with heavie hearts we shaped our course for Zanzibar the 7 of November, where shortly after we arrived and made vs a new boat of such boards as we had within board, and rid in the road vntill the 15 of February, where, during our aboad, we sawe divers Pangaias or boates, which are pinned with wooden pinnes, and sowed together with Palmite cordes, and calked with the huskes of Cocos shels beaten, whereof they make Decaim. At length a Portugall Pangaiia comming out of the harborow of Zanzibar, where they haue a small Factorie, sent a Canoia with a Moore which had bene christened, who brought vs a letter wherein they desired to know what wee were, and what we sought. We sent them word we were Englishmen come from Don Antonio upon businesse to his friends in the Indies: with which answer they returned, and would not any moze come at vs. Whereupon not long after wee manned out our boat and tooke a Pangaiia of the Moores, which had a priest of theirs in it, which in their language they call a Sherife: whom we used very courteously: which the king tooke in very good part, having his priests in great estimation, and for his deliuerance furnished vs with two moneths victuals, during all which time we detained him with vs. These Moores informed vs of the false and spitefull dealing of the Portugals towards vs, which made them belceue that we were cruell people and men-eaters, and willed them if they loued their safetrie in no case to come nere vs. Which they did onely to cut vs off from all knowledge of the state and traffique of the countrey. While we rood from the end of November vntill the middle of February in this harborow, which is sufficient for a ship of 500 tuns to ride in, we set vpon a Portugall Pangaiia with our boat, but because it was very litle, & our men not able to sturre in it, we were not able to take the sayd Pangaiia, which was armed with 10 good shot like our long forling pieces. This place for the goodnesse of the harborow and watering, and plentifull refreshing with fish, whereof we tooke great stoze with our nets, and for sundry sorts of fruits of the countrey, as Cocos and others, which were brought vs by the Moores, as also for oren and hennes, is carefully to be sought for by such of our ships, as shall hereafter passe that way. But our men had neede to take good heed of the Portugals: for while we lay here the Portugall Admiral of the coast from Melinde to Mozambique, came to view and to betray our boat if he could haue taken at any time aduantage, in a gallie Frigate of ten tunnes with 8 or 9

The Shoulders
of S. Lawrence.

Quirangone
nere Mozan-
bique.

The Ile of Co-
moro.

22 of our men
betrayed at the
Ile of Comoro.

Zanzibar Island.

A Portugall
Factorie in
Zanzibar.

The treason of
the Portugals
towards the
English.

An excellent
place for refres-
hing.

20 gallie Fris-
gate.

oares on a side. Of the strength of which Frigate and their trecherous meaning we were aduertised by an Arabian Hoore which came from the king of Zanzibar diuers times vnto vs about the deliuerie of the priest aforesayd, and afterward by another which we caried thence along with vs: for wherefoeuer we came, our care was to get into our hands some one or two of the countreys to learne the languages and states of those partes where we touched. Hooreouer, here againe we had another clap of thunder which did shake our fozenmast very much, which wee fisht and repaired with timber from the Hoore, whereof there is good store thereabout of a kind of trees somefortie foote high, which is a red and tough wood, and as I suppose, a kind of Cedar. Here our Surgeon Arnold negligently catching a great heate in his head being on land with the master to seeke open, fell sicke and shortly died, which might haue bene cured by letting of blood before it had bin settled. Before our departure we had in this place some thousand weight of pitch, or rather a kind of gray and white gumme like vnto frankincense, as clamme as turpentine, which in melting groweth as blacke as pitch, and is very brittle of it selfe, but we mingled it with oyle, whereof wee had 300 iarrs in the prize which we tooke to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, not farre from Guinie, bound for Brasil. Sixe dayes before wee departed hence, the Cape marchant of the Factorie wrote a letter vnto our capitaine in the way of friendship, as he pretended, requesting a iarre of wine, and a iarre of oyle, and two or thre pounds of gunpowder, which letter hee sent by a Negro his man, and Moore in a Canoa: we sent him his demaunds by the Moore, but tooke the Negro along with vs because we vnderstood he had bene in the East Indies and knew somewhat of the countrey. By this Negro we were aduertised of a small Barke of some thirtie tunnes (which the Moores call a Tunco) which was come from Goa thither laden with Pepper for the Factorie and seruire of that kingdome. Thus hauing trimmed our shippe as we lay in this road, in the end we set forward for the coast of the East India, the 15 of February aforesayd, intending if we could to haue reached to Cape Comori, which is the headland of Promontorie of the maine of Malauar, and there to haue lien off and on for such ships as should haue passed from Zeilan, Sant Tome, Bengala, Pegu, Malacca, the Moluccos, the coast of China, and the Ile of Japan, which ships are of exceeding wealth and riches. But in our course we were very much deceiued by the currents that set into the gulfe of the Red sea along the coast of Melinde. And the windes shortening vpon vs to the Northeast and Easterly, kept vs that we could not get off, and so with the putting in of the currents from the Westward, set vs in further vnto the Northward within fourescore leagues of the Ile of Zocotora, farre from our determined course and expectation. But here we neuer wanted abundance of Dolphins, Bonitos and flying fishes. Now while we found our selues thus farre to the Northward, and the time being so farre spent, we determined to goe for the Red sea, or for the Island of Zocotora, both to refresh our selues, and also for some purchase. But while wee were in this consultation, the winde very luckily came about to the Northwest and caried vs directly toward Cape Comori. Before we should haue doubled this Cape, we were determined to touch at the Islands of Mamale, of which we had aduertisement, that one had victuals, standing in the Northerly latitude of twelue degrees. Howbeit it was not our good lucke to finde it, which fell out partly by the obstinacie of our master: for the day before we fell with part of the Islands the wind came about to the Southwest, and then shifting our course we missed it. So the wind increasing Southerly, we feared we should not haue bene able to haue doubled the Cape, which would haue greatly hazarded our casting away vpon the coast of India, the Winter season and Westerne Monsons already being come in, which Monsons continue on that coast vntil August. Neuertheles it pleased God to bring the wind more Westerly, & so in the month of May 1592, we happily doubled Cape Comori without sight of the coast of India. From hence thus hauing doubled this Cape, we directed our course for the Islands of Nicubar, which lie North and South with the Westerne part of Sumatra, and in the latitude of 7 degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall. From which Cape of Comori vnto the aforesayd Islands we ranne in sixe dayes with a very large wind though the weather were soule with extreme raine and gusts of windes. These Islands were missed through our masters default for want of due obseruation of the South Starre. And we fell to the Southward of them within the sight of the Islands of Gomes Polo, which lie hard vpon the great Island of Sumatra the first of Iune, and at the Northeast side of them we lay two or thre dayes becalmed, hoping to haue had a Pilote from Sumatra, within two leagues whereof wee lay off and on. Now the Winter comming vpon vs with much contagious weather, we directed our course from hence with the Islands of Pulo Pinaou, (where by the way is to be noted that Pulo in the Malaian tongue signifieth an Island) at which Islands wee arrived about the beginning of Iune, where we came to an anchor in a very good harborough betwene thre Islands: at which time our men were very sicke and many fallen. Here we determined to stay vntill the

Another thunder-clay.

Great in the head deadly. Letting of blood very necessary.

A Junco laden with pepper and dyags.

The currents set to the Northward.

Zocotora.

The Isles of Mamale.

Cape Comori doubled 1592.

The Isles of Nicubar.

The Isles of Gomes Polo.

Sumatra.

The Isles of Pulo Pinaou.

Winter

Winter were overpast. This place is in 6 degrees and a halfe to the Northward, and some five leagues from the maine betweene Malacca and Pegu. Here we continued vntill the end of August. Our refreshing in this place was very smal, onely of oysters growing on rocks, great wilks, and some few fish which we tooke with our hookes. Here we landed our sicke men on these vnihabited Islands for their health, neuertheless 26 of them died in his place, whereof John Hall our master was one, and *H.* Rainold Golding another, a marchant of great honestie and much discretion. In these Islands are abundance of trees of white wood, so right and tall, that a man may make mastes of them being an hundred foote long. The winter passed and hauing watered our ship and fitted her to goe to Sea, wee had left vs but 33 men and one boy, of which not past 22 were found for labour and helpe, and of them not past a third part sailers: thence we made saile to seeke some place of refreshing, and went ouer to the maine of Malacca. The next day we came to an anker in a Baie in six fadomes water some two leagues from the shoze. Then master James Lancaster our captaine, and *H.* Edmund Barker his lieutenant, and other of the companie manning the boat, went on shoze to see what inhabitants might be found. And coming on land we found the tracking of some barefooted people which were departed thence not long before: for we sawe their fire still burning, but people we sawe none, nor any other living creature, saue a certaine kind of foule called ore birds, which are a gray kind of Sea-foule, like a Snite in colour, but not in beake. Of these we killed some eight dozen with baile-shot being very tame, and spending the day in search, returned toward night aboard. The next day about two of the clocke in the afternoone we espied a Canoa which came neere vnto vs, but would not come aboard vs, hauing in it some sixteen naked Indians, with whom neuertheless going after ward on land, we had friendly conference and promise of victuals. The next day in the morning we espied thye ships, being all of burthen 60 or 70 tunnes, one of which wee made to strike with our very boate: and vnderstanding that they were of the towne of Marrabam, which is the chiefe hauien towne for the great citie of Pegu, and the goods belonging to certaine Portugal Jesuites and a Biscuit baker a Portugal, we tooke that ship & did not force the other two, because they were laden for marchants of Pegu, but hauing this one at our command, we came together to an anker. The night following all the men except twelue, which we tooke into our ship, being most of them borne in Pegu, fled away in their boate, leauing their ship and goods with vs. The next day we weighed our anker and went to the Leeward of an Island hard by, and tooke in her lading being pepper, which thee and the other two had laden at Pera, which is a place on the maine 30 leagues to the South. Besides the aforesaid thye ships, we tooke another ship of Pegu laden with pepper, and perceiuing her to bee laden with marchants goods of Pegu onely, wee dismissed her without touching any thing.

Thus hauing staid here 10 daies and discharged her goods into the Edward, which was about the beginning of September, our sicke men being somewhat refreshed and lustie, with such reliefe as we had found in this ship, we weighed anker, determining to runne into the streights of Malacca to the Islands called Pulo Sambilam, which are some five and forty leagues Northward of the citie of Malacca, to which Islands the Portugals must needs come from Goa or S. Thome, for the Malucos, China, and Japan. And when wee were there arriued, we lay too and agayne for such shipping as should come that way. Thus hauing spent some five dayes, vpon a Sunday we espied a saile which was a Portugall ship that came from Negapatan a towne on the maine of India ouer-against the Northeast part of the Ile of Zeilan; and that night we tooke her being of 250 tunnes: she was laden with Rice for Malacca. Captaine Lancaster commanded their captaine and master aboard our shippe, and sent Edmund Barker his lieutenant and seuen more to keepe this prize, who being aboard the same, came to an anker in thirtie fadomes water: for in that chancell thye or foure leagues from the shoze you shall finde good ankorage. Being thus at an anker and keeping out a light for the Edward, another Portugall ship of Sant Thome of foure hundred tunnes, came and ankered hard by vs. The Edward being put to Leeward for lacke of helpe of men to handle her sailes, was not able the next morning to fetch her vp, vntil we which were in the prize with our boate, went to helpe to man our shippe. Then coming aboard we went toward the shippe of Sant Thome, but our ship was so foule that shee escaped vs. After we had taken out of our Portugall prize what we thought good, we turned her and all her men away except a Pilot and foure Moores. We continued here vntill the sixe of October, at which time we met with the ship of the captaine of Malacca of seuen hundred tunnes which came from Goa: we shot at her many shot, and at last shooting her maine-yard through, she came to an anker and yeilded. We commaunded her Captaine, Master, Pilot and Purser to come aboard vs. But the Captaine accompanied with one souldier onely came, and after certaine conference with him, he made excuse to fetch the Master and Purser, which he sayd would not come unless he

Trees fit for mastes.

Malacca.

Three ships of Pegu laden with pepper, Marrabam.

Pera.

Pulo Sambilam.

22 ship of Negapatan taken.

30 ship of S. Thome.

The galeon of Malacca of 700 taken.

he went for them : but being gotten from vs in the edge of the evening, he with all the people which were to the number of about three hundred men, women and children, got a Hoze with two great boates and quite abandoned the ship. At our comming aboard we found in her sixteene pieces of bzaſſe, and three hundred butts of Canarie wine, and Japar wine, which is made of the palme trees, and raisin wine which is also very strong : as also all kind of Haberdasher wares, as hats, red caps knit of Spanish wool, woisted stockings knit, shoes, beluets, cassakes, chamlers, and silkes, abundance of luckets, rice, Venice glasses, certaine papers full of false and counterfeit stones which an Italian brought from Venice to deceive the rude Indians withall, abundance of playing cards, two or three packs of french paper. Whatsoever became of the treasure which usually is brought in roials of plate in this gallion, we could not find it. After that the mariners had disordredly pilld this rich shippe, the Captaine because they would not follow his commandement to unlade those excellent wines into the Edward, abandoned her & let her driuē at Sea, taking out of her the choicest things that she had. And doubting the forces of Malacca, we departed thence to a Baie in the kingdom of Insalaom, which is betweene Malacca and Pegu eight degrees to the Northward, to seeke for pitch to trimme our ship. Here we sent our souldier, which the captaine of the aforesaid gallion had left behind him with vs, because he had the Malasian language, to deale with the people for pitch, which hee did faithfully, and procured vs some two or three quintals with promise of moze, and certaine of the people came unto vs. We sent commodities to their king to barter for Amber-griese, and for the hoznes of Abach, whereof the king onely hath the traffique in his hands. Now this Abach is a beast which hath one hozne onely in her forehead, and is thought to be the female Unicoine, and is highly esteemed of all the Moores in those parts as a most soueraigne remedie against popson. We had onely two or three of these hoznes which are of the colour of a browne gray, and some reasonable quantitie of Amber-griese. At last the king went about to betray our Portugall with our marchandise : but he to get aboard vs, told him that we had gilt armour, whirtes of maile and halberds, which things they greatly desire : for hope whereof he let him returne aboard, and so he escaped the danger. Thus we left this coast and went backe againe in sight of Sumatra, and thence to the Islands of Nicubar, where we arrived and found them inhabited with Moores, and after wee came to an anker, the people daily came aboard vs in their Canoas, with hennes, Cocos, plantans and other fruits: and within two dayes they brought unto vs roials of plate, giuing vs them for Calicut cloth : which roials they finde by diving for them in the Sea, which were lost not long before in two Portugall ships which were bound for China and were cast away there. They call in their language the Coco Calambe, the Plantare Pison, a Pen lam, a fish Iecan, a Hog Babe. From thence we returned the 21 of November to goe for the Island of Zeilan, and arrived there about the third of December 1592. and ankered upon the Southside in five fadomes water, where we lost our anker, the place being rockie and soule ground. Then we ranne along the South-west part of the sayd Island, to a place called Punta del Galle, where we ankered, determining here to haue remained untill the comming of the Bengala Fleet of seven or eight ships, and the flecte of Pegu of two or three sailes, and the Portugall shippes of Tanaseri being a great Baie to the Southward of Martaban in the kingdom of Siam : which ships, by diuers intelligences which we had, were to come that way within foureteene dayes to bring commodities to serue the Caraks, which commonly depart from Cochin for Portugall by the middelt of Januarie. The commodities of the shippes which come from Bengala bee fine paulions for beds, wrought quilts, fine Calicut cloth, Pintados and other fine woakes, and Rice, and they make this voiage twise in the yeere. Those of Pegu bring the chiefest stones, as Rubies and Diamants, but their chiefest traight is Rice and certaine cloch. Those of Tanaseri are chiefly freighted with Rice and Japar wine, which is very strong, and in colour like unto rocke water somewhat whitish, and very hote in taste like unto Aqua vitæ. Being shot by to the place aforesayd, called Punta del Galle, wee came to an anker in soule ground and lost the same, and lay all that night a drift, because we had nowe but two ankers left vs, which were unstocked and in hold. Whereupon our men tooke occasion to come home, our Captaine at that time lying very sicke moze like to die then to live. In the morning wee set our foresaile determining to lie by to the Northward and there to keepe our selues to and againe out of the current, which other wise would haue let vs off to the Southward from all known land. Thus having set our foresaile, and in hand to set all our other sayles to accomplish our aforesayd determination, our men made answer that they would take their direct course for England and would stay there no longer. Nowe seeing they could not bee perswaded by any meanes possible, the captaine was constrained to giue his consene to returne, leauing all hope of so great possibilities. Thus the eight of December 1592. wee set saile for the Cape of Buona Speransa, passing by the Islands of Maldiu, and leauing the

Wares fit to carry into the East India.

The kingdom of Insalaom.

Amber-griese. The hoznes of Abach. The female Unicoine.

Some small quanttie here, or may be carried to pleasure those things. They arrive at the Isles of Nicubar, which are inhabited by Moores.

They returne homeward. They arrive at Zeilan.

Tanaseri in the kingdom of Siam.

Commodities of Bengala.

Commodities of Pegu. Commodities of Tanaseri.

A great current to the Southward.

mightie

A notable reliefe of fishes taken.

Baia de Agoa.

They double the Cape of Buona Speranza.

S. Helena.

John Segar an Englishman left 18 moneths alone in the Ile of Santa Helena.

A miraculous effect of extreme feare of extreme joy.

The description of the commodities of the Ile of Santa Helena.

The gulfe of Paria, or Bocca del Dragone passed. A good note.

The Ile of Mona.

The Ile of Saona environed with flats.

mightie Island of S. Laurence on the Narreboord of Northward in the latitude of 26 degrees to the South. In our passage ouer from S. Laurence to the maine we had exceeding great store of Bonitos and Albocores, which are a greater kind of fish: of which our captain, being now recovered of his sicknesse, tooke with an hooke as many in two or thre bowers as would serue fortie persons a whole day. And this skole of fish continued with our ship for the space of five or six weekes, all which while we tooke to the quantitie aforesayd, which was no small refreshing to vs. In February 1593. we fell with the Eastermost land of Africa at a place called Baia de Agoa some 100 leagues to the North-east of the Cape of Good Hope: and finding the winds contrary, we spent a moneth or five weekes before we could double the Cape. After wee had doubled it in March following, we directed our course for the Island of Santa Helena, and arrived there the third day of Aprill, where wee staid to our great comfort nineteene dayes: in which meane space some one man of vs tooke thirtie goodly Congers in one day, and other rockie fishe and some Bonitos. After our arrivall at Santa Helena, J. Edmund Barker went on shore with fouce or five Peguins or men of Pegu which we had taken, and our Surgion, where in an house by the Chappell I found an Englishman one John Segar of Burie in Suffolke, who was left there eighteene moneths before by Abraham Kendall, who put in there with the Roiall marchant, and left him there to refresh him on the Island, being otherwise like to haue perished on shipboord: and at our comming wee found him as fresh in colour and in as good plight of body to our seeming as might be, but crazed in minde and halfe out of his wits, as after ward wee perceiued: for whether he were put in fright of vs, not knowing at first what we were, whether friends or foes, or of sudden ioy when he vnderstood we were his olde consozts and countrey men, hee became idle-headed, and for eight dayes space neither night nor day tooke any naturall rest, and so at length died for lacke of sleepe. Here two of our men, whereof the one was diseased with the skurvie, and the other had bene nine moneths sicke of the fluxe, in short time while they were on the Island, recovered their perfect health. We found in this place great store of very holseme and excellent good greene figs, oranges, and lemons very faire, abundante of goates and hogs, and great plentie of partridges, Guinecocks, and other wilde foules. Our mariners somewhat discontented being now watered and hauing some pzoouision of fish, contrary to the will of the capitaine, would straight home. The capitaine because he was desirous to goe for Pherambuc in Brasil, granted their request. And about the 12 of Aprill 1593. we departed from S. Helena, and directed our course for the place aforesayd. The next day our capitaine calling vpon the sailers to finish a fozeleile which they had in hand, some of them answered that vnesse they might goe directly home, they would lay their hands to nothing; whereupon he was constrained to follow their humour. And from thence-foorth we directed our course for our countrey, which we kept vntill we came 8 degrees to the Northward of the Equinoctiall, betwene which 8 degrees and the line, we spent some six weekes, with many calme and contrary winds at North, and sometimes to the Eastward, & sometimes to the Westward: which losse of time and expense of our victuals, whereof we had very smal store, made vs doubt to keepe our course: and some of our men growing into a mutinie threathed to breake by other mens chests, to the ouerthrow of our victuals and all our selues, for euery man had his share of his victuals before in his owne custody, that they might be sure what to trust to, and husband it more thersely. Our capitaine seeking to pzeuent this mischiefe, being aduertised by one of our companie which had bene at the Ile of Trinidad in D. Chidleis voyage, that there we should be sure to haue refreshing, hereupon directed his course to that Island, and not knowing the currents, we were put past it in the night into the gulfe of Paria in the beginning of June, wherein we were 8 dayes, finding the current continually setting in, and oftentimes we were in 3 fadomes water, and could find no going out vntill the current had put vs ouer to the Westerside vnder the maine land, where we found no current at all, and more deep water; and so keeping by the shore, the wind off the shore every night did helpe vs out to the Northward. Being cleare, within foure or five dayes after we fell with the Ile of Mona where we ankred and rode some eighteene dayes. In which time the Indians of Mona gaue vs some refreshing. And in the meane space there arrived a french ship of Cane in which was capitaine one Monsieur de Barbarerre, of whom wee bought some two butts of wine and bzead, and other victuals. Then wee watered and fitted our shippe, and stopped a great leake which broke on vs as we were beating out of the gulfe of Paria. And hauing thus made ready our ship to goe to Sea, we determined to goe directly for New-found-land. But before we departed, there arose a storme the winde being Northerly, which put vs from an anker and forced vs to the Southward of Santo Domingo. This night we were in danger of shipwacke vpon an Island called Saona, which is environed with flats lying 4 or 5 miles off: yet it pleased God to cleare vs of them, & so we directed our course Westward along the Island of Santo Domingo, and doubled

Cape Tiberon, and passed through the old chanel betwene S. Domingo and Cuba for the cape of Florida: And here we met againe with the French ship of Caen, whose Captaine could spare vs no more victuals, as he said, but only hides which he had taken by traffike upon those Islands, where with we were content and gaue him for them to his good satisfaction. After this, passing the Cape of Florida, and cleere of the chanel of Bahama, we directed our course for the banke of Newfoundland. Thus running to the height of 36 degrees, and as farre to the East as the Isle of Bermuda the 17 of September finding the winds there very variable, contrarie to our expectation and all mens wycings, we lay there a day or two the winde being northerly, and increasing continually more and more, it grew to be a storme and a great freece of wind: which continued with vs some 24 houres, with such extremitie, as it caried not onely our sayles away being furl'd, but also made much water in our shippe, so that wee had sixe foote water in holde, and hauing freed our ship thereof with baling, the winde shifted to the North-west and became duller: but presently upon it the extremitie of the storme was such that with the labouring of our ship we lost our foremasse, and our ship grew as full of water as before. The storme once ceased, and the winde contrary to goe our course, we fell to consultation which might be our best way to saue our liues. Our victuals now being vtterly spent, & hauing eaten hides 6 or 7 daies, we thought it best to beare back againe for Dominica, & the Islands adioyning, knowing that there we might haue some reliefe, whereupon we turned backe for the said Islands. But before we could get thither the winde scant'd upon vs, which did greatly endanger vs for lacke of fresh water and victuals: so that we were constrained to beare vp to the Westward to certaine other Isles called the Nueblas or cloudie Islands, towards the Ile of S. Iuan de porto Rico, where at our arriuall we found land-crabs and fresh water, and toxtoples, which come most on lande about the full of the moone. Here hauing refreshed our selues some 17 or 18 dayes, and hauing gotten some small store of victuals into our ship, we resolved to returne againe for Mona: vpon which our determination sine of our men left vs, remaining still on the Isles of Nueblas for all perswasions that we could vse to the contrary, which after ward came home in an English shippe. From these Isles we departed and arriued at Mona about the twentieth of Nouember 1593, and there comming to an anker toward two or thre of the clocke in the morning, the Captaine, and Edmund Barker his Lieutenant with some few others went on land to the houses of the olde Indian and his thre sonnes, thinking to haue gotten some foode, our victuals being all spent, and we not able to proceede any further vntill we had obteyned some new supply. We spent two or thre daies in seeking pprovision to cary aboord to relieue the whole companie. And comming downe to go aboord, the winde then being northerly and the sea somewhat growne, they could not come on shoare with the boate, which was a thing of small succour and not able to rowe in any rough sea, whereupon we stayed vntill the next morning, thinking to haue had lesse winde and safer passage. But in the night about twelue of the clocke our ship did vniue away with siue men and a boy onely in it, our carpenter secretly cut their owne cable, leauing nineteene of vs on land without boate or any thing, to our great discomfort. In the middelt of these miseries reposing our trust in the goodness of God, which many times before had succoured vs in our greatest extremities, we contented our selues with our pooze estate, and sought meanes to preferue our liues. And because one place was not able to sustaine vs, we tooke our leaues one of another, diuiding our selues into seuerall companies. The greatest reliefe that we sixe which were with the Captaine could finde for the space of nine and twentie dayes was the stalkes of purselaine hoyle in water, and nowe and then a pompion, which we found in the garden of the olde Indian, who vpon this our second arriuall with his thre sonnes stole from vs, and kept himselfe continually aloft in the mountaines. After the end of nine and twentie dayes we espied a French shippe, which afterwarde we vnderstood to be of Diepe, called the Luifa, whose Captaine was one Mounseur Felix, vnto whom wee made a fire, at sight whereof he tooke in his topsayles, bare in with the land, and shewed vs his flagge, whereby we iudged him French: so comming along to the Westerne ende of the Island there he ankered, we making downe with all speede vnto him. At this time the Indian and his thre sonnes came done to our Captaine Master James Lancaster, and went along with him to the shippe. This night he went aboord the French man, who gaue him good entertainment, and the next day fetched eleuen more of vs aboord entreating vs all very courteously. This day came another French shippe of the same towne of Diepe which remayned there vntill night expecting our other seuen mens comming downe: who, albeit we caused certaine pieces of ordnance to be shot off to call them, yet came not downe. Whereupon we departed thence, being deuided sixe into one ship, and sixe into another, and leauing this Island, departed for the Northside of Saint Domingo, where we remained vntill Aprill following 1494, and spent some two monethes in traffike with the inhabitants by permission for hides

Cape de Tiberon.

The old chanel passed.

They returne backe to the West Indies.

Five English men left on the Nueblas.

The ship lost by burning at way.

Great fauine,

Two ships of Diepe,

The French
traffike in S.
Domingo.



and other marchandises of the Countrey. In this meane while there came a shippe of New-hauen to the place where we were, whereby we had intelligence of our seuen men which wee left behinde vs at the Isle of Mona: which was, that two of them bzake their neckes with ventring to take foules vpon the cliffes, other thzee were slaine by the Spaniards, which came from Saint Domingo, vpon knowledgē giuen by our men which went away in the Edward, the other two this man of New-hauen had with him in his shippe, which escaped the Spaniards bloody hands. From this place Captaine Lancaster and his Lieutenant Master Edmund Barker, shipped themselves in another shippe of Diepe, the Captaine whereof was one Iohn La Noc, which was readie first to come away, and leauing the rest of their companie in other ships, where they were well intreated, to come after him, on Sunday the seuenth of April 1594 they set homeward, and disbocking through the Caijcos from thence arriued safely in Diepe within two and fortie dayes after, on the 19 of May, where after we had staped two dayes to refresh our selues, and giuen humble thanks vnto God, and vnto our friendly neighbours, we tooke passage for Rie and landed there on Friday the 24 of May 1594, hauing spent in this voyage thzee yeeres, sixe weekes and two dayes, which the Portugales performe in halfe the tūne, chiefly because wee lost our fit time and season to set forth in the beginning of our voyage.

Mr. Lancaster
turneth to
Diepe, and so
to England.

We vnderstood in the East Indies by certaine Portugales which we tooke, that they haue lately discovered the coast of China to the latitude of nine and fiftie degrees, finding the sea still open to the Northward: giuing great hope of the Northeast or Northwest passage. Witnesse Master James Lancaster.

Certaine remembrances of an intended voyage to *Brasill*, and the Riuer of *Plate*, by the *Edward Cotton*, a ship of 260 Tunnes of Master *Edward Cotton* of *Southhampton*, which perished through extreme negligence neare *Rio grande* in *Guinie*, the 17 of Iuly 1583.

Articles of Couenants agreed vpon betweene *Edward Cotton* Esquier, owner of the good ship called the *Edward Cotton* of *Southhampton*, and of all the marchandizes in her laden, of the one part, and *William Huddie* gentleman, Captaine of the said ship, *Iohn Hooper* his Lieutenant, *Iohn Foster* Master, *Hugh Smith* Pilot for the whole voyage, and *William Cheelman* marchant, on the other part.

- 1  obserue and keepe the dayly order of Common prayer aboord the ship, and the companie to be called thereunto, at the least once in the day, to be pronounced openly.
- 2  Item, that they be ready with the first faire winde, to set saile and sailes in the voyage, and not to put into any port or harbour, but being forcibly constrained by weather, or other apparant and bygent cause.
- 3 Item, that they take in, at or about the Isles of Cape Verde, to the quantitie of 25 or 30 tuns of salt, to be employed among other the owners marchandize, at Santos, and S. Vincent, to his onely behoofe, and the rest of the salt, so much as shall be needed for victuall, and for sauing of the hides to be kept aboord, & the same salt to be provided either at the fishermens hands neere the said Isles for trucke of commodities, or els to be taken in at the aforesaid Isles, at the discretion of the abouenamed.
- 4 Item, vpon the due performance of this voyage, the owner bindeth himselfe by this deede, to yeeld vnto any such of the companie, as shall refuse their shares befoze they depart from the coast of England, 20 markes a single share, for the dutie of the whole voyage, making not aboue 75. shares single in the whole.
- 5 Item, the company according as they be appointed by the officers of the said ship aboue named, shall at all times be most ready to doe their painfull indeuor, not onely aboord, but in all labours at the land, according to the direction giuen by the aboue named officers, vpon paine of forfeiture of their shares and wages, the same to be diuided amongst the company.
- 6 Item, that the shares be taken at their returne out of all the traine oile, and hides of the seales, and of all other commodities gotten by their handie labour, and of the salt that shall be vendēd and other commodities, at, or neere the coast of *Brasill*, to allow after 9 li. the tunne freight, whereof one third to goe to the companie.
- 7 Item, that if any man shall practise by any deuise or deuises whatsoeuer, to alter the voyage from the true purpose and intent of the owner, viz. to make their first port at Santos, and Saint Vincent, and there to reniectuall and traffike, and from thence to the riuer of *Plate* to make their voyage

voyage by the traine, and hide of the seales, with such other commodities as are there to be had, according as the owner, with others that haue government in the said ship, are bound to her highnesse by their deedes obligatorie in great summes, that all such practisers, vpon due prooue made, shall loose their whole intertainment due by shares or otherwise for this sayde voyage to be adiudged by the Captaine, his Lieutenant, the Master, Pilot, and marchant, or thre of them at the least, whereof the Captaine to be one.

8 Item, that the pinnesse be ready at all times to serue the marchants turne vpon his demand, to take in wares and commodities, and to cary and recary to and from the hope, when, and as oft as neede shall be, and to giue due attendance at the marchant and marchants direction, during the whole voyage.

9 Item, that no head or chiefe officer being set downe for such an officer vnder the hand of the owner, at the going to sea of the said shippe, shall or may be displaced from his said place or office, without great cause, and his misdoe and to be adiudged by the Captaine, and his Lieutenant, the Master, the Pilot, and the marchant, or by the consent of thre of them at the least.

10 Item, that vpon the returne of the shippe to the coast of England, the Master and Pilot put not into any port or harbour, to the Westward of Southhampton, but forced by weather, or such like vrgent cause.

William Huddie. John Foster.
John Hooper. William Cheefman,
Hugh Smith.

A direction as well for the Captaine, and other my friends of the ship, as especially for *William Cheefman* Marchant, for the voyage to the riuer of Plate.

A your comming to the Isle of Saint Sebastian, vpon the coast of Brasill, you shall according to your discretions, make sale of such commodities, as you may thinke will be thereabout well vented, and likewise to buy commodities without making longer stay there then your victuals be providing, but rather to bespeake commodities against your returne from the riuer of Plate, especially of Amber, Sugar, Greene ginger, Cotton wooll, and some quantitie of the peppers of the countrey there. Also for Parats and Hunkies, and the beast called Serrabola. Also you shall barrell vp of the beefe called Perune, two or three barrels, and to lose no good oportunitie, to gather of the Indian figges, and the graines of them to preserve drie, in such quantitie as conveniently may be done: and touching the making of the traine, and preserving of the hides, I leave it wholly to the order and the discretion of the chiefe of the companie. Also that in any road where the ship shall ride vpon the coast of America, triall be made with the draggess, for the pearle Disters, and the same being taken, to be opened and searched for pearle in the presence of the Captaine, his Lieutenant, the Master, the Pilot, and marchant, or thre of them, whereof the Captaine or his Lieutenant to be one, and to remaine in the custodie of the Captaine and marchant, vnder two lockes, either of them to haue a key to his owne locke, and that a true inuentoie be deliuered also to the Master and Pilot of the said pearle or other iewels of price gotten in the said voyage, to the intent that no partie be defrauded of his due, and that no concealment be made of any such thing vpon forfeiture, the partie to lose his share and dutie for the voyage that shall so conceale and not reueale it vnto the officers aboue named. Also to doe your best indouour to try for the best Ore of golde, siluer, or other rich metals what soeuer. Forget not also to bring the kernels and seeds of strange plants with you, the Palmito with his fruit inclosed in him. Serue God, keepe good watch, and stand alwayes vpon your garde,

The Isle of S. Sebastian.

Edward Cotton.

These things being thus ordered, and the ship of the burden of 260 tunnes, with 83 men of all sortes furnished, and fully appointed for the voyage, began to set saile from Hurst Castle vpon Friday the 20 of May, Anno 1583, and the 17 day of July ensuing fell with the coast of Guinie, to take in fresh water, where, through meere dissolute negligence, she perished vpon a sand, with the most part of the men in her, as appeareth by the confession of one that escaped, the substance and tenor whereof is this.

The confession of *William Bends* Masters Mate in the *Edward Cotton*, the 21 of October, *Ann.* 1584.

HElayth, that the 17 day of July, Anno 1583, hauing some lacke of fresh water, they put roome vpon the coast of Guinie, where they were set vpon a sand about 8 leagues from the shore, and this *Crainate*, with 29 more, got into the pinnesse, who arriued in an Island, being desolate of people, and five miles in compass, where they rested 18 dayes through force of weather, hauing nought to eate but grasse. The rest of the company the ship being splitted in two, and in quarters, got them into one of the after quatters, and by the helpe of raftes came also a shore into another Island neere to Rio grande, where they all died as he suppoeth.

Rio grande.

The other 30 in the pinnesse, at the end of 18 dayes, departed that Island, and came to *Saint Domingo*, where comming on shore, they were taken of the *Moorees*, & stripped naked, And they buried one *Coxe* an olde man aliue, notwithstanding his pitifull lamentation and shriekings: the rest hauing Rice and water allowed them, liued there a certaine time. This *Crainate* was at last sold to a *Portugall*, with whom he dwelt the space of a quarter of a yere, and in the end, a *Portugall* *Carauel* comming thither, his master laden the same with *Negroes*, and he obtained leaue of his master to goe in the same *Carauell*, & by that meanes arriued at *Lisbone*, and from thence came into England the 17 of October, 1584, leauing behinde him of his companie aliue, *Richard Hacker*, *John Baker*, *John Mathew*, and a boy, with two others which were gone beyond *Saint Domingo*: all which, as he saith, were so sicke and diseased, that he iudgeth them to be long before this time dead.

One *Coxe* an old English man buried aliue by the *Moorees* of *Rio grade* in *Guinea*.

The escape of the *Primrose* a tall ship of *London*, from before the towne of *Bilbao* in *Biscay*: which ship the *Corrigidor* of the same *Prouince*, accompanied with 97 *Spaniards*, offered violently to arrest, and was defeated of his purpose, and brought prisoner into *England*.

Whereunto is added the Kings Commission for a generall imbargment or arett of all English, *Netherlandish*, and *Easterlings* ships, written in *Barcelona* the 19 of May 1585.



Tis not vnknown vnto the world what danger our English Shippes haue lately escaped, how sharply they haue bene intreated, and howe hardly they haue bene assaulted: so that the valiancie of those that manned them is worthy remembrance. And therefore in respect of the couragious attempt and valiant enterprise of the ship called the *Primrose* of *London*, which hath obtained renowne, I haue taken in hande to publish the trueth thereof, to the intent that it may be generally knowne to the rest of the English ships, that by the good example of this the rest may in time of extremitie aduenture to doe the like: to the honour of the Realme, and the perpetuall remembrance of themselves: The maner whereof was as followeth.

Vpon Wednesday being the sixe and twentieth day of May 1585, the shippe called the *Primrose* being of one hundred and fiftie tunnes, lying without the bay of *Bilbao*, hauing bene there two dayes, there came a *Spanish* pinnesse to them, wherein was the *Corrigidor* and sixe others with him: these came aboord the *Primrose*, seeming to be *Marchantes* of *Biscay*, or such like, bringing *Cherries* with them, and spake very friendly to the *Maister* of the ship, whose name was *Foster*, and he in courteous wise had them welcome, making them the best chere that he could with beere, beefe, and bisket, where with that ship was well furnished: and while they were thus in banquetting with the *Maister*, foure of the seuen departed in the sayd pinnesse, and went backe againe to *Bilbao*: the other thre stayed, and were very pleasant for the time. But *Maister Foster* misdoubting some danger secretly gaue speech that he was doubtfull of these men what their intent was; neuerthelesse he sayd nothing, nor seemed in any outwards wise to mistrust them at all. Foozthwith there came a ship-boate wherein were teuentie persons being *Marchants* and such like of *Biscay*: and besides this boate, there came also the pinnesse which befoze had brought the other thre, in which pinnesse there came foure and twentie, as the *Spaniards* themselves since confessed, These made towards the *Primrose*, and

and being come thither, there came aboard the Corrigidor with three or foure of his men: but Master Foster seeing this great multitude desired that there might no more come aboard, but that the rest should stay in their boates, which was granted: neither the selfe they tooke small heed of these wordes; for on a suddaine they came forth of the boate, entering the shippe, every Spaniard taking him to his Rapier which they brought in the boate, with other weapons, and a drumme where with to triumph over them. Thus did the Spaniards enter the shippe, plunging in fiercely upon them, some planting themselves vnder the deeke, some entering the Cabberns, and a multitude attending their pray. Then the Corrigidor hauing an officer with him which bare a white wand in his hand, sayd to the master of the ship: Yeeld your selfe, for you are the kings prisoner: whereat the Maister sayd to his men, We are betrayed. Then some of them set daggers to his breast, and seemed in furious manner as though they would haue slaine him, meaning nothing lesse then to doe any such act, for all that they fought was to bring him and his men safe a live to shore. Whereat the Maister was amazed, and his men greatly discomfited to see themselves readie to be conueyed euen to the slaughter: notwithstanding some of them respecting the daunger of the Maister, and seeing how with themselves there was no way but present death if they were once landed among the Spaniards, they resolved themselves eyther to defend the Maister, and generally to shunne that daunger, or else to die and be buried in the middest of the sea, rather then to suffer themselves to come into the tormentors hands: and therefore in very bold and manly sort some tooke their iavelings, lances, boze-speares, and shot, which they had set in readinesse before, and hauing fine Calliceters readie charged, which was all the small shot they had, those that were vnder the hatches or the grate did shoote by at the Spaniards that were ouer their heads, which shot so amazed the Spaniards on the suddaine, as they could hardly tell which way to escape the daunger, fearing this their small shot to be of greater number then it was: others in very manlike sort dealt about among them, shewing themselves of that courage with boze-speares and lances, that they dismaped at euery stroke two or three Spaniards. Then some of them desired the Maister to commaund his men to cease and holde their handes, but hee answered that such was the courage of the English Nation in defence of their owne liues, that they would slay them and him also: and therefore it lay not in him to doe it. Now did their blood runne about the ship in great quantitie; some of them being shot in betweene the legges, the bullets issuing forth at their breasts, some cut in the head, some thrust into the bodie, and many of them very sore wounded, so that they came not so fast in on the one side, but now they tumbled as fast ouer board on both sides with their weapons in their handes, some falling into the sea, and some getting into their boates, making haste towards the Citie. And this is to be noted, that although they came very thicke thither, there returned but a small companie of them, neither is it knowne as yet how many of them were slaine or drowned, onely one English man was then slaine, whose name was Iohn Tristram, and sixe other hurt. It was great pite to behold how the Spaniards lay swimming in the sea, and were not able to saue their liues. Foure of them taking holde of the shippe were for pities sake taken by againe by Master Foster and his men, not knowing what they were: all the Spaniards holomes were stuf with paper, to defend them from the shot, and these foure hauing some wounds were dyest by the Surgeon of the shippe. One of them was the Corrigidor himselfe, who is gouernour of a hundred Townes and Cities in Spaine, his liuing by his office being better then sixe hundred pound yearly. This skirmish happened in the euening about sixe of the clocke, after they had laden twentie Tunne of goods and better out of the sayd ship: which goods were deliuered by two of the same ship, whose names were Iohn Burrell, and Iohn Brodbanke, who being on shore were apprehended and slayed.

After this valiant enterpryse of eight and twentie English men against 97 Spaniardes, they saw it was in vaine for them to stay and therefore set vp sayles, and by Gods prouidence atoyded all danger, brought home the rest of their goods, and came thence with all expedition: and (God be thanked) arriued safely in England where London on Wednesday being the 8 day of June, 1585. In which their returne to England the Spaniards that they brought with them offered sixe hundred crownes to be set on shore in any place: which, seeing the Maister would not doe, they were content to be ruled by him and his companie, and craued mercie at their handes. And after Master Foster demaunded why they came in such sort to betray and destroy them, the Corrigidor answered, that it was not done onely of themselves, but by the commandement of the king himselfe; and calling for his holl which were wet, did plucke forth the kings Commission, by which he was authorized to doe all that he did: The Copie whereof followeth, being translated out of Spanishe,

The Corrigidor
of Bilbao taken
and brought
to London.

The Spanish kings commission for the generall imbarment
or arrest of the English, &c.

Licentiat de Escobar, my Corigidor of my Signorie of *Biskay*, I haue caused a great flecte to be put in readinette in the hauen of *Lisbone*, and the riuer of *Stuill*. There is required for the Souldiers, armour, victuals, and munition, that are to bee employed in the same great store of shipping of all sortes against the time of seruice, and to the end there may be choise made of the best, vpon knowledge of their burden and goodnesse; I doe therefore require you, that presently vpon the arriual of this carrier, and with as much dissimulation as may be (that the matter may not be knowen yntill it be put in execution) you take order for the staying and arresting (with great foresight) of all the shipping that may be found vpon the coast, and in the portes of the sayd Signorie, excepting none of *Holand*, *Zeland*, *Easterland*, *Germanie*, *England*, and other Prouinces that are in rebellion against mee, sauing those of *France* which being litle, and of small burden and weake, are thought vsfit to serue the turne. And the stay being thus made, you shall haue a speciall care that such marchandize as the sayd shippes or hulkes haue brought, whether they be all or part vnladen, may bee taken our, and that the armour, munition, tackels, sayles, and victuals may be safely bestowed, as also that it may be well foreteene, that none of the shippes or men may escape away. Which things being thus executed, you shall aduertise me by an expresse messenger, of your proceeding therein: And send me a plaine and distinct declaration of the number of ships that you shall haue so stayed in that coast and partes, whence euery one of them is, which belong to my Rebels, what burthen & goods there are, and what number of men is in euery of them, and what quantitie they haue of armour, ordinance, munition, victuals, tacklings and other necessaries, to the end that vpon sight hereof, hauing made choise of such as shall be fit for the seruice, we may further direct you what ye shall do. In the meane time you shall presently see this my commandement put in execution, and if there come thither any more ships, you shall also cause them to be stayed and arrested after the same order, vsing therein such care and diligence, as may answere the trust that I repose in you, wherein you shall doe me great seruice. Dated at *Barcelona* the 29 of May. 1585.

And thus haue you heard the trueth and manner thereof, wherein is to be noted the great courage of the maister, and the louing hearts of the seruants to saue their maister from the daunger of death: yea, and the care which the maister had to saue so much of the owners goods as hee might, although by the same the greatest is his owne losse in that he may neuer trauell to those partes any moze without the losse of his owne life, nor yet any of his seruantes; for if hereafter they should, being knowen they are like to taste of the sharpe tormentes which are there accustomed in their Holy-houle. And as for their terming English shippes to be in rebellion against them, it is sufficiently knowen by themselves; and their owne consciences can not denie it, but that with loue, vnitie, and concord, our shippes haue euer bene fauourable vnto them, and as willing to pleasure their King, as his subiectes any way willing to pleasure English passengers.

The Letters patents or priuiledges granted by her Maiestie
to certaine Noble men and Marchants of *London*, for a trade
to *Barbarie*, in the yeere 1585.

ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. to the Treasurer & Barons of our Exchequer, and to all Officers, Shirifs, constables, customers, collectors of our customes and subsidies, controllers, searchers, and keepers of our hauens and creekes, ports and passages, within this our realme of England and the dominions of the same, and to all our officers, ministers and subiects, and to all other whosoever to whom it shall or may appertaine, and to euery of them greeting. Whereas it is made evidently and apparantly knowen vnto vs, that of late yeeres our right trustie and right welbeloued counsellors, Ambrose Erle of Warwike, and Robert Erle of Leicester, and also our louing and naturall subiects, Thomas Starkie of our citie of London Alderman, Ierard Gore the elder, and all his sonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Atie gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Staper, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbeney, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthony Garrard, Robert How, Henry Colthirft, Edward Holmden, Iohn Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henrie Farrington, Iohn Tedcastle, Walter Williams,

Williams, William Brune, John Suzan, John Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afield, Robert Washborne, Reinold Guy, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lydiat, John Cartwright, Henry Payton, John Boldroe; Robert Bowyer, Anthonic Dassel, Augustine Lane, Robert Lion, and Thomas Dod, all of London, Merchants now trading into the Countrey of Barbary, in the parts of Africa, vnder the gouernment of Muly Hammet Sheriffe, Emperoz of Marocco, and king of Fesse and Sus, haue sustained great and grieuous losses, and are like to sustaine greater if it should not be prevented: In tender consideration whereof, and for that diuers Merchandizes of the same Countries are very necessary and conuenient for the vse and defence of this our Realme of England, and for diuers other causes vs specially mouing, minding the reliefe and benefite of our said subiects, and the quiet traffique and good gouernment to be had, and vsed among them in their said trade, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge, and mere motion haue giuen and granted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors, doe giue and grant vnto the saide Charles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, Arthur Arie gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Straper, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbenie, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonic Gerrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthirst, Edward Holmden, John Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henry Farrington, John Tedcastle, Walter Williams, William Brune, John Suzan, John Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afield, Robert Washborne, Rainold Guie, Thomas Hitchcocke, George Lidiate, John Cartwright, Henry Payton; John Baldroe, Robert Bowyer, Anthony Dassel, Augustine Lane, Robert Lion, and Thomas Dod, that they and euery of them by themselves, or by their factors or seruants, and none others, shall and may, for, and during the space of 12. yeres, haue and enioy the whole freedom and libertie in the saide traffique or trade, vnto or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to or from any part thereof, for the buying and selling of all maner of wares and merchandizes whatsoeuer, that now or accustomedly heretofore haue bene brought or transported, frō, or to the said countrey of Barbary, or frō or to any of the cities, townes, places, ports, roades, hauens, harbors or creeks of the said countrey of Barbary, any law, statute, graunt, matter, customes or priuileges, to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding.

And for the better establishing, ordering and gouerning of the said Countrey of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, &c. abouesaid, their factors, seruants and assignes in the trade aforesaid, we for vs our heires and successors, doe by these presents giue and graunt full licence to the saide Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, and the rest aforesaid, and to euery of them from time to time, during the said terme of twelue yeres, at their pleasures to assemble and meete together in any place or places conuenient within our citie of London, or else where, to consult of, and for the said trade, and with the consent of the said Countrey of Leicester, to make and establish good and necessary orders and ordinances for, and touching the same, and al such orders and ordinances so made, to put in vze and execute, and them or any of them with the consent of the said Countrey of Leicester, to alter, change and make voyde, and if need be, to make new, as at any time during the saide terme, they or the most part of them then liuing and trading, shall finde conuenient.

Provided alwayes, that the ordinances or any of them bee not contrary or repugnant to the lawes, statutes or customes of this our Realme of England. And to the intent that they onely to whom the said libertie of traffique is graunted by these our Letters patents, and none other our Subiects whatsoeuer, without their speciall consent and licence before had, should during the said terme haue trade or traffique for any maner of Merchandizes, to, or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to, or from any Citie, towne, place, port, harbor or creeke within the said countrey of Barbary, to, or out of our said Realmes and dominions, wee doe by these presents straightly charge, commaund, and prohibite all and euery our Subiects whatsoeuer, other then only the said Countrey of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, and the rest abouesaid, and euery of them by themselves, or by their factors or seruants during the saide terme, to trade or traffique, for or with any merchandize, to, or from the saide Countrey of Barbary, or to, or from any the dominions of the same, as they tender our fauour, and will auoyde our high displeasure, and vpon paine of imprisonment of his and their bodies, at our will and pleasure, and of forfeiting all the merchandizes, or the full value thereof, wherewith they or any of them during the saide terme, shall trade or traffique to or from the said countrey of Barbary, or to, or from the dominions of the same, contrary to this our priuilege and prohibition, vnlesse it be by and with the expresse licence, consent, and agreement of the saide Countrey of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, Ierard Gore the elder, and all his sonnes, Thomas Gore the elder, Arthur Arie gentleman, Alexander Auenon, Richard Straper, William Iennings, Arthur Dawbenie, William Sherington, Thomas Bramlie, Anthonic Gerrard, Robert Howe, Henry Colthirst, Edward Holmden, John Swinnerton, Robert Walkaden, Simon Lawrence, Nicholas Stile, Oliuer Stile, William Bond, Henry Farrington,

rington, Iohn Tedcattle, Walter Williams, William Brune, Iohn Suzan, Iohn Newton, Thomas Owen, Roger Afield, Robert Washborne, Rainold Guy, Thomas Hirschcock, George Lidiat, &c. or by, and with the expresse licence and consent of the moze part of them then liuing and trading, first had and obtained, so alwayes, that the sayd Earle of Leicester be one, if hee bee liuing.

And we further for vs our heires and successors of our speciall grace, meere motion and certaine knowledge, do graunt to the said Erles of Warwike and Leicester, Thomas Starkie, and the rest abouesaid, and to euery of them, that nothing shall be done, to be of force or validite touching the said trade or traffike, or the exercise thereof, without or against the consent of the saide Erles, Thomas Starkie, (and the others befoze named) during the time of these our Letters patents for 12. yeeres as afozesaid.

And for that the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and euery of them afozesaid should not be prevented or interrupted in this their said trade, we do by these presents for vs, our heires and successours, straightly prohibite and forbid all maner of person or persons, as well strangers of what nation or countrey soeuer, as our owne Subiects, other then onely the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and euery of them as afozesaid, that they nō any of them from hencefoorth during the said terme of 12. yeeres, do or shall bring, or cause to be brought into this our Realme of England, or to any the dominions thereof, any maner of marchandizes whatsoeuer growing, or being made within the said Countrey of Barbary, or within any the dominions thereof, vnlesse it be by and with the licence, consent and agreement of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or with the consent and licence of the moze part of them then liuing, first had and obtained, so alwayes y the sayd Earle of Leicester (if hee be liuing) be one, vnder the paine that euery one that shall offend or doe against this our present prohibition here last aboue mentioned in these presents, shall forfeite and lose all and singular the said marchandizes to be landed in any our realmes and dominions, cōtrary to the tenor and true meaning of this our prohibition in that behalfe provided: the one moitie of all and euery which said forfeitures whatsoeuer mentioned or specified in these our present Letters patents, shalbe to vs our heires & successors: And the other moity of al and euery the said forfeitures, we doe by these presents of our certaine knowledge and meere motion, clearly and wholly for vs, our heires and successors, giue and graunt vnto the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. And these our Letters patents, vpon the onely sight thereof, without any further warrant, shal bee sufficient authoritie to our Treasurer of England for the time being, to our Barons of the Exchequer, and to all other our officers that shall haue to deale in this behalfe, to make full allowance vnto the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. their deputies or assignes of the one moitie of all and singular the goods, marchandizes and things whatsoeuer mentioned in these our present Letters patents, to be forfeited at any time or times during the said terme of twelue yeeres: which said allowance we doe straightly charge and commaund from time to time to be made to the sayd Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. and to euery of them accordingly, without any maner of delay or deniall of any of our officers whatsoeuer, as they tender our fauour and the furtherance of our good pleasure. And wee doe straightly charge and commaund, and by these presents prohibite all and singular Customers and Collectors of our customes & subsidies, and comptrollers of the same, of, and within our Citie and port of London, and all other portes, creekes, & places within this our Realme of England, and euery of them, that they ne any of them take or perceiue, or cause, or suffer to be taken, receiued, or perceiued for vs & in our name, or to our vse, or to y vses of our heires or successors of any person or persons, any sum or summes of money, or other things whatsoeuer during the said terme of 12. yeeres, for, and in the name & lieu or place of any custome, subsidy & other thing or duties to vs, our heires or successors due or to be due for the customes & subsidies of any marchandizes whatsoeuer growing, being made or cōming out of the said countrey of Barbary, or out of the dominions thereof, nor make, cause, nor suffer to be made any entrie into our or their books of customs & subsidies, nor make any agreement for the subsidies and customs, of, and for any the said marchants, sauing onely with, & in the name of the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or the most part of them, as they and euery of them will answere at their vttermost perils to the contrary. And for the better and moze sure obseruation of this our graunt, wee will, and grant for vs our heires & successors by these presents, that the Treasurer & barons of our Exchequer for the time being, by force of this our graunt or enuolment thereof in the said court, at al & euery time & times during the said terme of 12. yeeres, at & vpon request made vnto them by the said Erles, Thomas Starkie, &c. or by the attorneis, factors, deputies or assignes of them, or the most part of them then liuing and trading, shall and may make & direct vnder the seale of the said Exchequer, one or moe sufficient writ or writs, close or patents, vnto euery or any of our said customers, collectors or cōtrollers of our heires and successors in all and euery, or to any port or portes, creeke, haueu, or other places within this our

realme of England, as the said Erls, Thomas Starkie, &c. or any the attornets, factozs, deputies or assignes of them or the most part of them then liuing and trading, shall at any time require, commaunding and straightly charging them and euery of them, that they nor any of them at any time or times during the said terme of 12. yeeres, make any entrie of any wares or marchandizes whatsoeuer, growing, being made or comming out or from the said countrey of Barbary, or the dominions thereof, nor receiue or take any custome, subsidie or other entrie, or make any agreement for the same, other then with or in the name of the said Erls, Thomas Starkie, &c. the factor or factozs, deputies or assignes of them or the most part of them then liuing and trading, according to this our graunt, and the true meaning thereof, and according to our saide will and pleasure before in these presents declared. In witness whereof we haue caused these our Letters to be made patents. Witness our selfe at Westminster the 5. day of July in the 27. yeere of our reigne.

The Ambassage of Master Henry Roberts, one of the sworne Esquires of her Maiesties person, from her highnesse to Mully Hamet Emperour of Marocco and the King of Fesse, and Sus, in the yeere 1585: who remained there as Liger for the space of 3. yeeres. Written briefly by himselfe.



Upon an incorporation granted to the Company of Barbary Marchants resident in London, I Henry Roberts one of her Maiesties sworne Esquires of her person, was appointed her highnesse messenger, and Agent vnto the aforesaid Mully Hamet Emperour of Marocco, king of Fesse and Sus. And after I had receiued my Commission, instructions, and her Maiesties letters, I departed from London the 14. of August in the yeere 1585. in a tall ship called the Ascension, in the company of the Minion and Hopewell, and we all arriued in safetie at Azafi a port of Barbary, the 14. of September next following. The Alcaide of the towne (being the kings officer there, and as it were Maior of the place) receiued mee with all humanitie and honour, according to the custome of the Countrey, lodging me in the chiefest house of the towne, from whence I dispatched a messenger (which in their language they call a Trottero) to aduertise the Emperour of my arriual: who immediatly gaue order, and sent certaine souldiers for my guard and conduct, and horses for my selfe, and mules for mine owne and my companies carrriages. Thus being accompanied with M. Richard Euans, Edward Salcor, and other English Marchants resident there in the Countrey, with my traine of Moores and carrriages, I came at length to the riuer of Tenisit, which is within foure miles of Marocco: and there by the water side I pitched my tents vnder the Oliue trees: where I met with all the English Marchants by themselves, and the French and Flemish, and diuers other Christians, which attended my comming. And after we had dined, & spent out the heat of the day, about foure of the clocke in the afternoone we all set forward toward the Citie of Marocco, where we arriued the said day, being the 14. of September, and I was lodged by the Emperours appointment in a faire house in the Iudaria or Iurie, which is the place where the Iewes haue their abode, and is the fairest place, and quietest lodging in all the Citie.

After I had repoled my selfe 3. dayes, I had accesse to the kings presence, deliuered my message and her Maiesties letters, and was receiued with all humanitie, and had fauourable audience from time to time for thre yeeres: during which space I abode there in his Court, as her Maiesties Agent and Liger: and whensoever I had occasion of businesse I was admitted either to his Maiesties himselfe, or to his vice Roy, whose name was Alcaide Brems Saphiana, a very wise and discret person, and the chiefest about his Maiestie. The particulars of my seruice, for diuers good and reasonable causes, I forbear here to put downe in writing.

After leaue obtained, and an honourable reward bestowed by the Emperour vpon me, I departed from his Court at Marocco the 18. of August 1588, toward a garden of his, which is called Shersbonare, where he promised mee I should stay but one day for his letters: howbeit, vpon some occasion I was stayed vntill the 14. of September at the kings charges, with 40. or 50. shot attending vpon me for my guard and safetie.

From thence at length I was conducted with all things necessary to the port of Santa Cruz, being five dayes iourney from Marocco, and the place where our shippes do commonly take in their lading, where I arriued the 21. of the same moneth. In this port I stayed 43. dayes, and at length the second of Nouember I imbarqued my selfe, and one Marshok Reiz a Capraine and a Gentleman, which the Emperour sent with mee vpon an Ambassage to her Maiestie: and after much toylement and foule weather at Sea, per New-yeeres day I came on land at S. Iues in Cornwall, from whence passing by land both together by towards London, we were met without the
Citie

citie with the chiefest marchants of the Barbary Company, well mounted all on horsebacke, to the number of 40. or 50. horse, and so the Ambassadour and my selfe being both in Coche, entered the citie by torchlight, on Sunday at night the 12. of January 1589.

Este es vn traslado bien y fielmente sacado da vna carta real del Rey Muley Hamet de Fes y Emperador de Marruecos, cuyo tenor es este, que Segue.



On el nombre de Dios piadoso y misericordioso, &c. El sierno de Dios soberano, el conquistador per su causa, el successor en salcado por Dios, Emperador de los Moros, hijo del Emperador de los Moros, Lariffe, Haceni, el que perpetue su honra, y ensalce su estado. Se pone este nnestro real mandado en manos de los criados de nuestras altas puertas los mercadores Yngleses; para que por el sepan todos los que la presente vieren, como nuestro alto Consejo les ampara con el favor de Dios de todo aquello, que les especiere. y dannare en qualquiera manera, que fueren offendidos, y en qualquiera viaze, que fueren ningunelos captiua en estos nuestros reynos, y puertos, y lugares, que a nos pertenescen: y que les cubre el anporo de nuestro poder de qualquiera sauga; y ningun los impida con mano de enemistad, ni se dar causa, de que se agranien en qualquiera manera con el favor de Dios y de su amparo. Y mandamos a los Alcaydes de los nuestros puertos y fortalezas, y a los que en estos nuestros reynos tienen cargo, y a toda la gente commun, que no les alleguen en ninguna manera, con orden, de que sean offendidos en ninguna manera; y esto sera necessariamente: Que es escrita en los medios dias de Rabel, segundo anno de nueete çientos, y nouenta y seys.

Concorda el dia desta carta con veynte dias de Março del anno de mil y quiniento y ochenta y siete, lo qual yo Abdel Rahman el Catan, interprete per su Magestad la que, y romance de verbo ad verbum, como en el se contiene, y en Fee dello firmo de my nombre, fecho vt supra.

Abdel Rahman el Catan.

This is a copy well and truly translated of an edict of Muley Hamet king of Fez and Emperour of Marocco, whose tenor is as followeth: to wit, I hat no Englishmen should be molested or made slaves in any part of his Dominions, obtained by the aforesaid *M. Henry Roberts.*

The same in English.



In the name of the pitifull and the mercifull God, &c. The seruant of the supreme God, the conqueror in his cause, the successor advanced by God, the Emperour of the Moores, the sonne of the Emperour of the Moores, the Lariffe, the Haceny, whose honour God long increase and advance his estate. This our princely commandement is deliuered into the hands of the English marchants, which remaine in the protection of our stately palaces: to the ende that all men which shall see this present writing, may understand that our princely counsaile wil defend them by the fauor of God, from any thing that may impeach or hurt them in what sort soeuer they shalbe wronged: and that, which way soeuer they shall trauaile, no man shall take them captiues in these our kingdomes, ports, and places which belong vnto vs, which also may protect and defend them by our authoritie from any molestation whatsoeuer: and that no man shall hinder them by laying violent hand vpon them; and shall not giue occasion that they may be griened in any sort by the fauour and assistance of God. And we charge and command our officers of our hauens and fortresses, and all such as beare any authoritie in these our dominions, and like wise all the common people, that in no wise they do molest them, in such sort that they be no way offendod or wronged. And this our commandement shall remaine inuiolable, being registred in the middest of the moneth of Rabel in the yere 996.

The date of this letter agreeth with the 20. of March 1587. which I *Abdel Rahman el Catan*, interpretour for his Maiestie, haue translated and turned out of the *Arabian* into *Spanish* word for word as is contained therein: and in witnesse thereof haue subscribed my name as aforesaid.

Abdel Rahman el Catan.

En nombre de Dios el piadoso piador.

Oracion de Dios sobre nuestro Sennor y Propheta Mahumet, y los allegados a el.



El sierno de Dios, y muy guerrero, y ensalsado por la gracia de Dios, Myra Momany, hijo de Myra Momany, nieto de Myra Momany, el Larif, el Hazeny, que Dios sustenga sus reynos, y enbalse sus mandados, para el Sennor muy affamado y muy illustre, muy estimado, el Conde de Leicester, despues de dar las loores devidas a Dios, y las oraciones, y saludes devidas

The letter of Muley Hamet to the Earl of Leicester.

uidas à le Propheta Mahumet. Seruirà esta por os hazer saber que llegò a qui à nuesta real Corte vuestra carta, y entendimos lo que en ella se contiene. Y vuestro Ambaxador, que aqui està en nuestra corte me dio à entender la causa de la tardança de los rehenes hasta agora: el qual descuento recebimos, y nos damos por satisfechos. Y quanta à lo que à nos escriuieys por causa de Iuan Herman. y lo mesmo que nos ha dicho el Ambaxador sobre el, antes que llegasse vuestra carta por la queixa del ambaxador, que se auia queixado del, ya auiamos mandado prender lo, y assi queda agora preso, y quedera, basta que se le haga la iusticia que mas se le ha de hazer. Y con tanto nuestro Sennor os tenga en su guardia. Hecha en nuestra corte real en Marruecos, que Dios sostenga, el 28. dias del mes de Remodan anno 996.

In the Name of the mercifull and pitifull God.

The blessing of God light vpon our lord and prophet Mahumet, and those that are obedient vnto him.

The seruant of God both mightie in warre and mightily exalted by the grace of God Myra Momany, the son of Myra Momany, the Iariff, the Hazeni, whose kingdoms God maintaine and aduance his authoritie: Unto the right famous, right noble, & right highly esteemed Erie of Leicester, after due praises giuen vnto God, & due blessings and salutations rendred vnto the prophet Mahumet. These are to giue you to vnderstand, that your letters arrivcd here in our royal Court, and we wel perceine the contents thereof. And your Ambassadors which remaineth here in our Court told me the cause of the slownesse of the gages or pledges vntil this time: which reckoning we accept of, and holde our selues as satisfied. And as touching the matter wherof you write vnto vs concerning Iohn Herman, and the selfe same complaint which your Ambassadors hath made of him, befoze the comming of your letter, we had already commaunded him to be taken vpon the complaint which your Ambassadors had made of him, wherupon he still remaineth in hold, and that so continue vntil further iustice be done vpon him according to his desert. And so our Lord keepe you in his safegard. Written at our royall court in Marocco, which God maintaine, the 20. day of the moneth Remodan, Anno 1596.

Which is with vs 1587.

The Queenes Maiesties letters to the Emperour of Marocco.

Vy alto, y muy poderoso Sennor, Auiedo entendido de parte de nuestro Agente la mucha aficion, y voluntad, que nos teney, y quanta honra, y favor le hazeys por amor nuestro, para dar nos tanto mayor testimonio de vuestra amistad, hemos recebido de lo vno y de lo otro muy grande contento, y satisfacion: y asy no podemos dexar de agradecer oslo, como mereceys. Vuestras cartas hemos tambien recibido, y con ellas holgadosnos infinitamente, por venir de parte de vn Principe, à quien enemos tanta obligacion. Nuestro Agente nos ha escripto sobre ciertas cosas, que desseyas ser os embiadas de aqui: Y aunque queriamos poder os en ello puntualmente cõplazer, como pidiç, ha succaido, que las guerras, en que stamos al presente occupadas, no nos lo consienten del todo: Hemos però mandado, que se os satisfaga en parte, y conforme à lo que por agora la necessiad nos permite, como mas particularmente os lo declararà nuestro Agente: esperando, que lo recibirreys en buena parte y cõforme al animo, con que os lo cõcedemos. Y porque nos ha sido referido, que auçys prometido de proceder cõtra vn Iuan Herman vassallo nuestro, (el qual nos ha grauemente offendido) de la manera, que os lo demandaremos, auemos dado orden à nuestro dicho Agente de deziros mas particularmente lo que desseamos ser hecho acerca deste negocio, yogando os, que lo mandeys assi cõplir: y que se ay seruido de fauoreser siempre al dicho Agente, y tener lo en buen credito, como hasta agora auçys hecho, sin permitir, que nadie os haga mudar de parecer acerca de las calumnias, que lo podran leuantar, ny dudar, que no cõplamos muy por entero todo, lo que de vuestra parte os promettere. Nuestro Sennor guarde voftra muy alta y muy poderosa persona. Hecha en nuestra Corte Real de Grenewich a 20. de Lulio 1587.

The Queenes letters to the Emperour.

The same in English.

Right high and mightie Prince, Having vnder stood from our Agent the great affection and good wil which you beare vs, and how great honour and fauor you shew him for our sake, to the end to giue vs more ample testimonie of your friendship, we haue receiued very great contentment & satisfaction, aswel of the one as of the other: and withall we could not omit to magnifie you, according to your desert. We haue also receiued your letters, and do not a little reioyce thereof, because they come from a prince vnto whom we are so much beholden. Our Agent hath written vnto vs concerning certaine things which you desire to be sent vnto you from hence. And albeit we wish that we could particularly satisfie you, as you desire, yet it is fallen out, that the warres, wherin at this present we be buied, wil not suffer vs fully

John Herman an
English rebel.

to doe the same: neuertheless, wee haue commaunded to satisfie you in part, and according as the present necessitie doeth permit vs, as our Agent will declare vnto you moze particularly, hoping you will receiue it in good part, and according to the good will wherewith wee graunt the same. And because it hath bene signified vnto vs that you haue promised to proceed in iustice against one John Herman our Subiect, which hath grieuouly offended vs, in such sort as wee haue sent word vnto you, wee haue giuen order to our said Agent to informe you moze particularly in that which we desire to be done in this busines, praying you also to command the same to be put in execution: and that it would please you alwayes to fauour our said Agent and to hold him in good credite, as you haue done hitherto, not suffering your selfe to be changed in your opinion, for all the false reports which they may raise against him, nor to doubt that wee will not accomplish at large all that he shall promise you on our behalfe. Our Lord keepe and preserue your right high and mightie person. Written in our royall Court at Greenwich the 20. of July 1587.

A voyage to the *Azores* with two pinases, the one called the *Serpent*, and the other the *Mary Sparke* of *Plimouth*, both of them belonging to Sir *Walter Raleigh*, written by *John Euesham* Gentleman, wherein were taken the gouernour of the Ile of *Saint Michael*, and *Pedro Sarmiento* gouernour of the Straits of *Magalanes*, in the yeere 1586.



On the 10. of June 1586. we departed from *Plimouth* with two pinases, the one named the *Serpent*, of the burthen of 35. Tunnes, and the other the *Mary Sparke* of *Plimouth* of the burthen of 50. Tuns, both of them belonging to Sir *Walter Raleigh* knight; and directing our course towards the coast of *Spaine*, & from thence towards the *Iles* of the *Azores*, we tooke a small barke laden with *Sumacke* and other commodities, wherein was the gouernour of *S. Michaels* Island, being a *Portugal*, hauing other *Portugals* and *Spaniards* with him. And from thence we sailed to the Island of *Graciosa*, to the Westward of the Island of *Tercera*, where we discried a saile, and bearing with her wee found her to be a *Spaniard*: But at the first not greatly respecting who we tooke, so that we might haue enriched our selues, which was the cause of this our trauaile, and for that we would not bee knownen of what nation we were, wee displayed a white like ensigne in our maine toppe, which they seeing, made accompt that we had bene some of the king of *Spaines* Armadas, lying in wait for English men of war: but when we came within shot of her, we tooke downe our white flagge, and spread abroad the Crosse of *S. George*, which when they saw, it made them to flie as fast as they might, but all their haste was in vaine, for our shippes were swifter of saile then they, which they fearing, did presently cast their ordnance and small shot with many letters, and the vnto of the Straights of *Magelan* into the Sea, and therupon immediately we tooke her, wherein wee also tooke a gentleman of *Spaine*, named *Pedro Sarmiento*, gouernour of the Straights of *Magelan*, which saide *Pedro* we brought into *England* with vs, and presented him to our soueraigne Lady the *Queene*.

The gouernour
of *S. Michael* taken
prisoner.

Pedro Sarmiento the gouernour of the Straights of *Magelan* taken piloter.

A ship laden with fish taken and released againe.

One of the ships taken, and sent away with 2. persons.

The Carauel taken.

After this, lying off and about the *Ilands*, wee discried another saile, and bearing after her, we spent the maine maste of our Admirall, but yet in the night our Viceadmirall tooke her, being laden with fish from *Cape Blanke*, the which shippe wee let goe againe for want of men to bring her home. The next day we discried two other sailes, the one a shippe and the other a *Carauel*, to whom we gaue chase, which they seeing, with all speede made in vnder the *Ille* of *Graciosa*, to a certaine *Fort* there for their succour, where they came to an anchor, and hauing the winde of vs we could not hurt them with our ships, but we hauing a small boate, which we called a light horseman, wherein my selfe was, being a *Musqueter*, and foure moze with *Caliuers*, and foure that rowed, came neere vnto the shoare against the winde, which when they saw vs come towards them they carried a great part of their marchandise on land, whither also the men of both vessels went and landed, and as soone as we came within *Musquet* shot, they began to shoote at vs with great ordnance and small shot, and we likewise at them, and in the ende we boozed one shippe wherein was no man left, so we cut her cables, hoysed her sailes, and sent her away with two of our men, and the other 7. of vs passed moze neere vnto the shoare, and boozed the *Carauel*, which did ride within a stones cast from the shoare, and so neere the land that the people did cast stones at vs, but yet in despite of them all we tooke her, and one onely *Negro* therein; and cutting her cables in the hawse we hoysed her sailes, and being becalmed vnder the land, we were constrained to rowe her out with our boate, the *Fort* still shooting at vs, and the people on land with *Musquets* and *caliuers* to the number of 150. or thereabout: and we answered them with the small force we had; In the time of which our shooting, the shot of my *Musquet* being a crossebarre-shot happened to strike

stricke the gunner of the fort to death, euen as he was giuing scull to one of his great pieces, and thus we parted from them without any losse or hurt on our side. And now, hauing taken these five sailes of shippes, we did as befoze, turne away the shippe with the silt, without hurting them, and from one of the other shippes wee tooke her maine Mast to serue our Admirals turne, and so sent her away putting into her all the Spaniards and Portugals, (sauing that gentleman Pedro Sarmiento, with thzee other of the principal men and two Negroes) leauing them all within sight of land, with bread and water sufficient for 10. dayes if neede were.

The prizes sent home.

Thus secting our course for England, being off the Islands in the height of 41. degrees, or there about, one of our men being in the toppe descried a saile, then 10. saile, then 15. whereupon it was concluded to sende home those prizes we had, and so left in both our Pinasses not about 60. men. Thus wee returned againe to the flecte wee had descried, where wee found 24. saile of shippes, wherof two of them were Caracks, the one of 1200. and the other of a 1000. tunnes, and 10. Galions, the rest were small shippes and Carauels all laden with Treasure, spices, and sugars, with which 24. shippes we with two small Pinasses did fight, and kept company the space of 32. houres, continually fighting with them and they with vs, but the two Caracks kept still betwixt the flecte and vs, that wee could not take any one of them, so wanting powder, wee were forced to giue them ouer against our willes, for that wee were all wholly bent to the gaining of some of them, but necessitie compelling vs, and that onely for want of powder, without losse of any of our men, (which was a thing to be wondered at considering the inequalitye of number) at length we gaue them ouer. Thus we againe set our course for England, and so came to Plimouth within 6. houres after our prizes, which we sent away 40. houres befoze vs, where wee were receiued with triumphant joy, not onely with great Opviance then shot off, but with the willing hearts of all the people of the Towne, and of the Countrey thereabout; and we not sparing our Opviance (with the powder wee had left) to requite and answer them againe. And from thence wee brought our prizes to Southampton, where sit Walter Raleigh being our owner, rewarded vs with our shares.

Two Caracks, 10. Galions, 12. small shippes.

The 2. pinasses returned for England.

Our prizes were laden with sugars, Elephants teeth, ware, hides, rice, brasill, and Cuser, as by the testimonie of Iohn Euesham himselfe, Captaine Whiddon, Thomas Rainford, Benjamin Wood, William Cooper Master, William Cornish Master, Thomas Drake Corporall, Iohn Ladd gunner, William Warefield gunner, Richard Moone, Iohn Drew, Richard Cooper of Harwich, William Beares of Ratcliffe, Iohn Row of Salcath, and many others, may appeare.

A briefe relation of the notable seruice performed by Sir Francis

Drake vpon the Spanish Fleete prepared in the Road of Cadix: and of his destroying of 100. saile of barks; Passing from thence all along the coast to Cape Sa- cre, where also hee tooke certaine Forts: and so to the mouth of the Riuer of Lisbon, and thence crossing ouer to the Isle of Sant Michael, surprized a mighty Carack called the Sant Philip comming out of the East India, which was the first of that kinde that euer was seene in England: Performed in the yeere 1587.



Her Maestie being informed of a mightie preparation by Sea begonne in Spaine for the inuasion of England, by good aduise of her graue and prudent Counsell thought it expedient to prevent the same. Whereupon she caused a flecte of some 30. sailes to be rigged and furnished with all things necessary. Duer that flecte she appointed Generall Sir Francis Drake (of whose manifold former good seruices she had sufficient prooffe) to whom she caused 4. shippes of her Maie royall to be deliuered, to wit, The Bonaventure wher- in himselfe went as General, the Lion vnder the conduct of Master William Borough Controller of the Maie; the Dread-nought vnder the command of M. Thomas Venner; and the Rainbow, captaine whereof was M. Henry Bellingham: vnto which 4. shippes two of her pinasses were appointed as hand-maids. There were also added vnto this flecte certaine tall shippes of the Citie of London, of whose especial good seruice the Generall made particular mention in his priuate Letters directed to her Maestie. This flecte set saile from the sound of Plimouth in the mo- neth of April towards the coast of Spaine.

The 16. of the said moneth we mette in the latitude of 40. degrees with two shippes of Middle- borough, which came from Cadiz; by which we vnderstood that there was great store of warlike prouision at Cadiz & thereabout ready to come for Lisbon. Upon this information our Generall with all speed possible, bending himselfe thither to cut off their said forces and prouisions, vpon the 19. of April entered with his flecte into the Harbor of Cadiz: where at our first entring we were

assailed ouer against the Towne by sixe Gallies, which notwithstanding in short time retired vnder their fortresse.

There were in the Road 60. ships and diuers other small vessels vnder the fortresse: there fled about 20. French ships to Port Real, and some small Spanish vessels that might passe the shoales. At our first coming in we sunke with our shot a ship of Ragusa of a 1000. tunnes, furnished with 40. pieces of brasse and very richly laden. There came two Gallies more from S. Mary port, and two from Porto Reale, which shot freely at vs, but altogether in vaine: for they went away with the blowes well beaten for their paines.

Before night we had taken 30. of the said ships, & became Masters of the Road, in despite of the Gallies, which were glad to retire them vnder the fort: in the number of which ships there was one new ship of an extraordinary hugeness in burthen about 1200. tunnes, belonging to the Marquesse of Santa Cruz being at that instant high Admiral of Spaine. Five of them were great ships of Biskay, whereof 4. we fired, as they were taking in the Kings provision of victuals for the furnishing of his fleet at Lisbon: the fifth being a ship about 1000. tunnes in burthen, laden with Iron-spkes, nails, yron hoops, horse-shoes, and other like necessaries bound for the West Indies we fired in like manner. Also we tooke a ship of 250. tunnes laden with wines for the Kings provision, which we carried out to the Sea with vs, and there discharged the said wines for our owne store, and after ward set her on fire. Moreouer we tooke 3. Flyboats of 300. tunnes a piece laden with biscuit, whereof one was halfe vnladen by vs in the Harborow, and there fired, and the other two we tooke in our company to the Sea. Likewise there were fired by vs ten other ships which were laden with wine, raisins, figs, oiles, wheat, & such like. To conclude, the whole number of ships and barkes (as we suppose) then burnt, suncke, and brought away with vs, amounted to 30. at the least, being (in our iudgement) about 10000. tunnes of shipping.

There were in sight of vs at Porto Real about 40. ships, besides those that fled from Cadiz.

We found little ease during our aboard there, by reason of their continuall shooting from the Gallies, the fortresses, and from the shoare: where continually at places conuenient they planted new ordnance to offend vs with: besides the inconuenience which we suffered from their ships, which, when they could defend no longer, they set on fire to come among vs. Whereupon when the flood came we were not a little troubled to defend vs from their terrible fire, which neuertheless was a pleasant sight for vs to beholde, because we were thereby eased of a great labour, which lay vpon vs day and night, in discharging the victuals, and other provisions of the enemye. Thus by the assistance of the Almighty, and the inuincible courage and industrie of our Generall, this strange and happy enterprize was achieved in one day and two nights, to the great astonishment of the King of Spaine, which bred such a corrasie in the heart of the Marquesse of Santa Cruz high Admiral of Spaine, that he neuer enjoyed good day after, but within fewe moneths (as may easily be supposed) died of extreme grieffe and sorrow.

Thus hauing performed this notable seruice, we came out of the Road of Cadiz on the Friday morning the 21. of the said moneth of April, with very small losse not worth the mentioning.

After our departure ten of the Gallies that were in the Road came out, as it were in disdain of vs, to make some pastime with their ordnance, at which time the wind skanted vpon vs, whereupon we cast about againe, and stood in with the shoare, & came to an anchor within a league of the town: where the said Gallies, for all their former bragging, at length suffered vs to ride quietly.

We now haue had experience of Gallie-fight: wherein I can assure you, that onely these 4. of her Maiesties ships will make no account of 20. Gallies, if they may be alone, and not busied to guard others. There were neuer Gallies that had better place and fitter opportunity for their aduantage to fight with ships: but they were still forced to retire, we riding in a narrow gut, the place yeelding no better, and giuen to maintaine the same, vntill we had discharged and fired the shippes, which could not conueniently be done but vpon the flood, at which time they might driue cleare off vs. Thus being victuated with bread and wine at the enemies cost for diuers moneths (besides the provisions that we brought from home) our Generall dispatched Captaine Crosse into England with his letters, giuing him further in charge to declare vnto her Maiestie all the particularities of this our first enterprize.

After whose departure we shaped our course toward Cape Sacre, and in the way thither we tooke at severall times of ships, barkes, and Carauels well nere an hundred, laden with hoops, gally-oares, pipe-stauces, & other provisions of the king of Spaine, for the furnishing of his forces intended against England, at which we turned, hauing delt fauorably with the men and sent them on shoare. We also spoiled and consumed all the fisher-boats and nets thereabouts, to their great hinderance; and (as we suppose) to the better ouerthrow of the rich fishing of their Tunies for the same yere. At length we came to the aforesaid Cape Sacre, where we went on land; and the bet-

ter to enioy the benefite of the place, and to ride in harborow at our pleasure, we assailed the same castle, and three other strong holds, which weooke some by force and some by surrender.

Thence we came befoze the haven of Lisbon ankering nere unto Cascais, where the Marques of Santa Cruz was with his Gallies, who seeing vs chase his ships a shoare, & take and carry away his barks and Caravels, was content to suffer vs there quietly to tary, and likewise to depart, and neuer charged vs with one Canon-shot: And when our Generall sent him worde that hee was there ready to exchange certaine bullets with him, the marques refused his chalenge, sending him word, that he was not then ready for him, nor had any such Commission from his King.

Our Generall thus refused by the Marques, and seeing no more good to be done in this place, thoughte it convenient to spend no longer time vpon this coast: and therefore with consent of the chiefe of his Company he shaped his course toward the Isles of the Açores, and passing towards the Isle of Saint Michael, within 20. or 30. leagues thereof, it was his good fortune to meeete with a Portugale Carak called Sanc Philip, being the same shippe which in the voyage outward had carried the 3. Princes of Iapan, that were in Europe, into the Indies. This Carak without any great resistance hee tooke, bestowing the people thereof in certaine vessels well furnished with victuals, and sending them courteously home into their Countrey: and this was the first Carak that euer was taken comming forth of the East Indies; which the Portugals tooke for an euil signe, because the ship bare the Kings owne name.

The Carak called the Sanc Philip taken.

The riches of this prize seemed so great vnto the whole Company (as in truely it was) that they assured themselves euerie man to haue a sufficient reward for his tranel: and thereupon they all resolved to returne home for England: which they happily did, and arriued in Plimouth the same Sommer with their whole flecte and this rich booty, to their owne profite and due commendation, and to the great admiration of the whole kingdome.

And here by the way it is to be noted, that the taking of this Carak wrought two extraordinary effects in England: first, that it taught others, that Caracks were no such bugs but that they might be taken (as since indeed it hath fallen out in the taking of the Madre de Dios, and spreing and sinking of others) and secondly in acquainting the English Nation more generally with the particularities of the exceeding riches and wealth of the East Indies: whereby themselves and their neighbours of Holland haue bene encouraged, being men as skillfull in Nauigation and of no lesse courage then the Portugals to share with them in the East Indies, where their strength is nothing so great as heretofore hath bene supposed.

A Patent granted to certaine Marchants of Exeter, and others of the West parts, and of London, for a trade to the Riuer of Senega and Gambia in Guinea, 1588.



Elizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To our Treasurer and Admirall of England, our Treasurer and Barons of our Exchequer, and all and euerie our Officers, ministers and subiects whatsoever, greeting. Whereas our welbeloued subiects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicolas Spicer, and Iohn Doricot of our City of Exeter marchants, Iohn Yong of Coliton in our countie of Deuon marchant,

Richard Doderige of Barnestable in our saide Countie of Deuon Marchant, Anthonie Dassell, and Nicolas Turner of our Citie of London Marchants, haue bene perswaded and earnestly moued by certaine Portugals resident within our Dominions, to vndertake and set forward a voyage to certaine places on the coast of Guinea: Videlicet, from the nothermost part of the Riuer commonly called by the name of the Riuer of Senega, and from and within that Riuer all along that coast vnto the Southermost part of another Riuer commonly called by the name of Gambia, and within that Riuer: which, as we are informed, they haue already once performed accordingly: And for that we are credibly giuen to vnderstand that the further prosecuting of the same voyage, and the due and orderly establishing of an orderly traffique and trade of marchandize into those Countreis, will not only in time be very beneficial to these our Realmes and dominions, but also be a great succour and reliefe vnto the present distressed estate of those Portugals, who by our princely fauour liue and continue here vnder our protection: And considering that the aduenturing and enterprising of a newe trade cannot be a matter of small charge and hazard to the aduenturers in the beginning: we haue therefore thought it convenient, that our said louing subiects William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthonie Dassell, and Nicholas Turner, for the better encouragement to proceede in their saide aduenture and trade in the said Countreis, shal haue the sole vse and exercise thereof for a certaine

the former voy. age to Gambia.

time. In consideration whercof, and for other weightie reasons and considerations vs specially mouing, of our speciall grace, certaine knowlege and mere motion, we haue giuen and graunted, and by these presents for vs, our heires and successors doe giue and graunt vnto the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Young, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel and Nicholas Turner, and to euery of them, and to such other our Subiects as they or the most part of them shall thinke conuenient to receiue into their Company and Societie, to be the traders with them into the said Countreys, that they and euery of them by themselves or by their seruants or Factozs and none others, shall and may for and during the full space and terme of tenne yeeres next ensuing the date of these presents, haue and enioy the free and whole trafique, trade and feat of marchandise, to and from the said Northernmost part of the said Riuer, commonly called by the name of the Riuer of Senega: and from and within that Riuer all along the coast of Guinea, vnto the Southermost part of the said Riuer, commonly called by the name of the Riuer of Gambia, and within that Riuer also. And that they the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel and Nicholas Turner, & euery of them, by themselves or by their seruants or factozs, & such as they or the most part of them shall receiue into their Company and Societie, to be traders with them into the sayd Countreys (as is aforesaid) and none others, shall and may, for, and during the said space and terme of 10. yeeres, haue and enioy the sole & whole trafique or trade of marchandize into and from the said places afoze limited and describ'd, for the buying & selling, bartering and changing of and with any goods, wares, and marchandizes whatsoever, to be vnted had or found, at or within any the cities, townes, or places situated or being in the countries, parts & coastes of Guinea befoze limited, any law, statute, or graunt, matter, custome or priuileges to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And for the better ordering, establishing, & gouerning of the said Societie and Company in the said trade and trafique of marchandizes, & the quiet, orderly & lawfull exercise of the same, We for vs, our heires, and successors, do by these presents giue and graunt full license and authoritie vnto the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, and to such others as they shall receiue into their saide societie and company to be traders into the said countreys, as is aforesaid, and to euery of them, that they or the most part of them shall and may at all conuenient times at their pleasures, assemble and meete together in any place or places conuenient, as well within our citie of Exeter, as elsewhere within this our Realme of England, or other our dominions, during the said terme of ten yeere, to consult of, for, and concerning the saide trade and trafique of marchandize, and from time to time to make, orvaine, and stablish good, necessary, and reasonable orders, constitutions, and ordinances, for, and touching the same trade. And al such orders, constitutions, and ordinances so to be made, to put in vze and execute, and them, or any of them, to alter, change, and make voyd, and, if need be, to make new, as at any time, during the said terme of ten yeeres, to them, or the most part of them then trading, as is aforesaid, shall be thought necessary and conuenient. Vnto all and euery which said orders, constitutions, and ordinances, they, and euery of them, and all other persons which shall hereafter be receiued into the saide Societie and Company, shall submit themselves, and shall well and duely obserue, performe, and obey the same, so long as they shall stand in force, or else shall pay and incurre such forfeitures, paines, and penalties, for the breach thereof, and in such maner and forme, and to such vses & intents, as by the saide orders, constitutions, and ordinances shall be assel'd, limited and appointed. So alwayes, as the same orders, constitutions and ordinances, be not repugnant or contrary to the lawes, statutes, and customes of this Realme of England, nor any penaltie to excede the reasonable forme of other penalties, assel'd by the Company of our Marchants, named Aduenturers. And to the intent that they onely, to whom the said power and libertie of trafique and trade of marchandize is graunted by these our letters patents aforesaid, and none others whatsoever, without their speciall content and license befoze had, shall, during the said terme of ten yeeres, vse, or haue trade or trafique, with or for any maner of goods or marchandizes, to and from the saide coastes or parts of Guinea afoze limited: We doe by these presents, by our royall and supreme authoritie, straightly charge and command, that no person, or persons whatsoever, by themselves, or by their factozs, or seruants, during the said terme of 10. yeeres, shall in any wise trade or trafique, for or with any goods or marchandizes, to or from the said coastes and parts of Guinea afoze limited, other then the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, and such as from time to time, they, or the most part of them, shall receiue into their societie or company, to be traders with them, as is aforesaid, as they tender our fauour, and will auoyde our high displeasure, and vpon paine of imprisonment of his or their bodies, at our will and pleasure, and to lose and forfeit the ship or shippes, and all the goods, wares,

wares, and marchandizes, wherewith they, or any of them shall, during the said terme of 10. yeeres, trade, or traffique to or from the said Countreies, or any part thereof, according to the limitation a- boue mentioned, contrary to our expresse prohibition and restraint, in that behalfe. And further, we do by these presents graue and graunt full power and authoritie to the said William Brailey, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, and to such other persons, as they shall receiue into their societie and company, to be traders with them, as is aforesaid, and the most part of them for the time being: that they, and euery of them, by themselves, their factors, deputies, or assigns, shall and may, from time to time, during the said terme of 10. yeeres, take, arrest, take, and seise all, and all manner of ship, and ships, goods, wares, and marchandizes whatsoeuer, which shall be brought from, or carried to the said coasts and parts of Guinea afoze limited, contrary to our will and pleasure, and the true meaning of the same, declared and expessed in these our letters patents. Of all and euery which said forfeitures whatsoeuer, the one thirde part shall be vnto vs, our heires, and successors, and another thirde part thereof we graue and graunt by these presents, for and towards the reliefe of the saide Portugals continuing here vnder our protection, as is aforesaid. And the other thirde part of all the same forfeitures, we do by these presents, of our certaine knowledge and meere motion for vs, our heires and successors, graue and graunt cleerly and wholly vnto the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, and such other persons, as they shall receiue into their societie, and company, as is aforesaid. And these our letters patents, or the inuolment or exemption of the same, without any further or other warrant, shall from time to time, during the said terme yeeres, be a sufficient warrant and authoritie to our Tresasurer of England, for the time being, and to the barons of our Exchequer, and to all other our officers and ministers whatsoeuer, to whom it shall or may appertaine, to allow, deliuer, and pay one thirde part of all the said forfeitures, to the vse of the said Portugals, and one other thirde part of the same forfeitures, to the saide William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, and such other persons, as they shall receiue into their societie and Company, to be traders with them, as aforesaid, to their owne proper vse and behoofe: which said allowances and payments thereof, our will and pleasure is, and we do straightly charge and command, to bee from time to time duly made and performed accordingly, without any delay or denial of any our officers aforesaid, or any other our officers or ministers whatsoeuer. And we do straightly charge and command, and by these presents prohibite all and singular our customers, collectors, and farmers of our Customes and subsidies, and controllers of the same, of and within our ports of the citie of London, and the Citie of Exeter, and all other ports, creekes, and places, within this our Realme of England, and euery of them, and all other our officers and ministers whatsoeuer, which haue or shall haue any dealing or intermedling, touching our said Customes and subsidies, that they, ne any of them by themselves, their clerks, deputies, or substitutes, or any of them take or receiue, or in any wise cause or suffer to be taken or receiued for vs, or in our name, or to our vse, or for, or in the names or to the uses of our heires or successors, of any person, or persons, any summe or summes of money, or other things whatsoeuer, during the said terme of ten yeeres, for, or in the name, lieu, or place of any Custome, subsidie, or other thing or duetie, to vs, our heires, or successors, due, or to be due, for the Customes or subsidies of any such goods, wares, or marchandizes, to be transported, carried, or brought to or from the priuileged places, befoze in these presents mentioned, or any of them: nor make, nor cause to be made any entry into, or of the booke of subsidies or customes, nor make any agreement for the Customes or subsidies, of, or for any goods, wares, or marchandizes, to be sent to, or returned from any the priuileged places, befoze in these presents mentioned, sauing onely with, and in the name, and by the consent of the saide William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, or of some of them, or of such as they or the most part of them shall receiue into their societie and Company, as aforesaid. Provided alwaies, that if at any time hereafter, we our selues, by our writing signed with our proper hand, or any fixe or more of our priuate Councell, for the time being, shall, by our direction, and by writing signed and subscribed with their hands, signifie and notifie to the said William Brayley, Gilbert Smith, Nicholas Spicer, Iohn Doricot, Iohn Yong, Richard Doderige, Anthony Dassel, and Nicholas Turner, or to any of them, or to any other, whom they, or the most part of them shall receiue into their Company and societie, as is aforesaid, or other wise to our officers in our ports of Exeter, or Plymouth, by them to be notified to such as shall haue interest in this speciall priuilege, that our will and pleasure is, that the said trade and traffique shall cease, and be no longer continued into the saide coasts and partes of Guinea befoze limited: then immediatly from and after the ende of fixe moneths

next ensuing, after such signification & notification so to be given to any of the said Company and Societic, as is aforesaid, or otherwise to our Officers in our ports of Exeter or Plymouth, by them to be notified to such as shall have interest in this speciall privilege, these our present letters Patents, and our graunt therein contained shall be utterly voyde, and of none effect, ne validitie in the lawe, to all intents and purposes: any thing before mentioned to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding. Witness our selfe at Westminster, the thirde day of May, in the thirtieth yere of our Reigne 1588.

A voyage to Benin beyond the Countrey of Guinea, set foorth by Master Bird and Master Newton Marchants of London, with a shippe called the *Richard* of *Arundell*, and a Pinesse; Written by *James Welsh*, who was chiefe Master of the said voyage, begunne in the yeece 1588.



Upon the twelfth of October wee wayed our ankers at Rarcliffe and went to Blackwall. And the next day sayling from thence, by reason of contrary winde and weather, wee made it the 25. of October before wee were able to reach Plymouth, and there we stayed (to our great expence of victuals) for lacke of winde and weather unto the 14. of December.

On Saturday the said 14. of December we put from thence, and about midnight were thwart of the Lizart.

Thursday the second of January wee had sight of the land neere Rio del oro, God be thanked, and there had 22. degrees of latitude, and 47. minutes.

The thirde of January wee had sight of Cauo de las Barbas, and it bare Southeast five leagues off.

The 4. we had sight of the Crofiers in the morning.

Tuesday the 7. day we had sight of Cauo verde, and I finde this place to be in latitude 14. degrees, and 43. minutes, being 4. leagues from the shoare.

Friday the 17. Cauo de Monte bare off vs North North-east, we sounded and had 50. fathome blacke oafe, and at 2. of the clocke it bare North North-west 8. leagues off. And Cauo Mensurado bare of vs East and by South, and wee went North-east with the maine: here the currant setteth to the East Southeast alongst the shoare, and at midnight wee sounded and had 26. fathome blacke oafe.

The 18. in the morning we were thwart of a land much like Cauo verde, and it is as I iudge 9. leagues from Cauo Mensurado; it is a hill saddlebacked, and there are 4. or 5. one after another: and 7. leagues to the Southward of that, we saw a row of hills saddlebacked also, and from Cauo Mensurado are many mountaines.

The 19. we were thwart Rio de Sestos, and the 20. Cauo dos Baixos was North & by West 4. leagues off the shoare, and at afternoone there came a boate from the shoare with 3. Negroes, from a place (as they say) called Tabanoo. And towards evening we were thwart of an Island, and a great many of small Islands or rockes to the Southward, and the currant came out of the Souther-boord: we sounded and had 35. fathomes.

The 21. wee had a flat hill that bare North North-east off vs, and wee were from the shoare 4. leagues, and at 2. a clocke in the afternoone we spake with a Frenchman riding neere a place called Ratire, and another place hard by called Crua. This Frenchman caried a letter from vs to M. Newton: wee layd it on hull while wee were writing of our letter; and the current set vs to the Southward a good pace alongst the shoare South Southeast.

The 25. we were in the bight of the bay that is to the Westward of Capo de Tres puntas: the currant did set East North-east.

The 28. we lay fire glasses a hull tarying for the pinesse.

The last of January the middle part of Cape de tres puntas was thwart of vs thre leagues at seven of the clocke in the morning: and at eight the pinesse came to an anker: and wee prouced that the current setteth to the Eastward: and at fire at night the uttermost lande bare East and by South 5. leagues, and we went Southwest, and Southwest and by South.

Saturday the first of February 1588. we were thwart of a Round foreland, which I take to be the Eastermost part of Capo de tres puntas: and within the said Round foreland was a great bay with an Island in the said bay.

The second of February wee were thwart of the Castle of Mina, and when the thirde glasse of our Looke-out was spent, we spied vnder our Larbord-quarter one of their Boates with certaine Negroes, and one Portugale in the Boate, wee would haue had him to come aboard, but

Rio del oro is in
22. Degrees,
and 47. minit.

Cauo de las
Barbas.

Croffiers.

Cauo Verde, in
14. degr. 43. min.

Cauo de Monte.

Cauo Mensurado.

Rio de Sestos.
Cauo dos Baixos.

Tabanoo.

A French ship
at Ratire.
Crua.

A currant to
the South-
eastward.

Cauo de tres
puntas.

The Castle of
Mina.

but he would not, And over the castle upon the hie rockes we did see as it might be two white houses, and they did shew very white: and we went eastnortheast.

Two white
warty houses.

The 4 in the morning we were thwart a great high hill, and by into the lande were moze high ragged hilles, and those I reckoned to be but little thort of Monte Redondo. Then I reckoned that we were 20 leagues Southeast-ward from the Mina, and at 11 of the clocke I sawe two hilles within the land, these hills I take to be 7 leagues from the first hills. And to sea-ward of these hilles is a bay, and at the east end of the bay another hill, and from the hills the landes lie verie low. We went Eastnortheast, and East and by North 22 leagues, and then East along the shoze.

Monte Redondo.

The 6 we were thort of Villa longa, and there we met with a Portugall Carauell.

The 7 a faire temperate day, and all this day we road before Villa longa.

Villa longa.

The 8 at noone we set saile from Villa longa, and ten leagues from thence we ankered againe and stayed all that night in ten fadom water.

The 9 we set saile, and all alongst the shoze were very thicke woodes, and in the afternoone we were thwart a riuer, & to the Eastward of the riuer a litle way off was a great high bush-tree as though it had no leanes, and at night we ankered with faire and temperate weather.

Rio de Lagoa.

The 10 we set saile and went East, and East and by South 14 leagues along the shoare, which was so full of thicke woods, that in my iudgement a man should haue much to doe to passe thpough them, and towards night we ankered in 7 fadome with faire weather.

The 11 we sayled East and by South, and three leagues from the shoze we had but 5 fadome water, and all the wood vpon the land was as euen as if it had bene cut with a paire of gardeners sheeres, and in running of two leagues we descerned a high tuft of trees vpon the bow of a land, which shewed like a Porpoise head, and when wee came at it, it was but part of the lande, and a league further we saw a head-land very low and full of trees, and a great way from the land we had very shallow water, then we lay South into the sea, because of the sands for to get into the deepe water, and when we found it deepe, we ankered in five fadom thwart the riuer of Iaya, in the riuers mouth,

Very shallow
water.

The 12 in the morning we road still in the riuers mouth. This day we sent the pinnesse and the boat on land with the marchants, but they came not againe untill the next morning. The shallowest part of this riuer is toward the West, where there is but 4 fadom and a halfe, and it is very broad. The next morning came the boate aboord, and they also said it was Rio de Iaya. Here the currant seteth Westward, and the Eastermost land is higher then the Westermost.

Rio de Iaya.

Thursday the 13 we set saile, and lay South Southeast along the shoze, where the trees are wonderfull euen, and the East shoze is higher then the West shoze, and when wee had sayled 18 leagues we had sight of a great riuer, then we ankered in three fadom and a halfe, and the currant went Westward. This riuer is the riuer of Benin, and two leagues from the maine it is very shallowe.

Rio Benin.

The 15 we sent the boat and pinnesse into the riuer with the marchants, and after that we set saile, because we road in shallow water, and went Southsoutheast, and the starboord tacke aboord untill we came to five fadom water, where we road with the currant to the Westward: then came our boat out of the harbour and went aboord the pinnesse. The West part of the land was high bowed much like the head of a Gurnard, and the Eastermost land was lower, and had on it three tufts of trees like stacks of wheate or corne, and the next day in the morning we sawe but two of those trees, by reason that we went moze to the Eastward. And here we road still from the 14 of Februarye untill the 14 of Aprill, with the winde at Southwest.

A currant
Westward.

The 16 of Februarye we rode still in 5 fadome, and the currant ranne still to the Westward, the winde at Southwest, and the boat and pinnesse came to vs againe out of the riuer, and told vs that there was but ten foote water vpon the barre. All that night was drowlie, and yet reasonable temperate.

Ten foote wa-
ter vpon the
barre of Rio
de Benia.

The 17 a close day the winde at Southwest. Our marchants wayed their goods and put them aboord the pinnesse to goe into the riuer, and there came a great currant out of the riuer and set to the Westward.

The 18 the marchants went with the boat and pinnesse into the riuer with their commodities. This day was close and drowlie, with thunder, raine and lightning.

The 24 a close morning and temperate, and in the afternoone the boat came to vs out of the riuer from our marchants.

Tuesday the 4 of March, a close soultry hot morning, the currant went to the Westward, and much troubled water came out of the riuer.

The 16 our pinnesse came a boord and Anthonie Ingram in her, & she brought in her 94 bags
of

Sicknesse among our men

of pepper, and 28 Elephants teeth, and the Master of her and all his company were sicke. This was a temperate day and the winde at Southwest.

The 17. 18. and 19 were faire temperate weather and the winde at Southwest. This day the pinnelle went into the river againe, and caried the Purser and the Surgeion.

The 25 of the said moneth 1589 we sent the boate into the river.

The 30 our pinnelle came from Benin, and brought sozowfull newes, that Thomas Hemsted was dead and our Captaine also, and she brought with her 159 Crons or sakes of pepperc and Elephants teeth.

The death of the Captaine.
Pepper & Elephants teeth.

Note that in all the time of our abiding here, in the mouth of the river of Benin, and in all the coast hereabout, it is faire temperate weather, when the winde is at Southwest. And when the winde is at Northeast and Northerly, then it raineth, with lightning and thunder, and is very in-temperate weather.

A good note.

The 13 of Aprill 1589 we set saile home wards in the name of Iesus. In the morning we sayled with the winde at Southwest, and lay West and by North, but it pzooued calme all that night, and the currant Southeast.

The 14 the river of Benin was Northeast 7 leagues from the shore, and there was litle winde and towards night calme.

The 17 a faire temperate day the winde variable, and we had of latitude foure degrees and 20 minutes.

The 25 a faire temperate day the winde variable, and here we had three degrees & 29 minuts of latitude.

A deceitfull currant.

The 8 of May we had sight of the shore, which was part of Cauo de Monte, but we did not thinke we had beene so farre, but it came so to passe by reason of the currant. In this place D. Towrson was in like maner deceiued with the currant.

The 9 we had sight of Cauo de monte.

The 17 a darke drowlie day, this was the first night that I tooke the North starre.

The 26 a temperate day with litle winde, and we were in 12 degrees and 13 minutes of latitude.

The 30 we met a great sea out of the Northwest.

The 6 of June we found it as temperate as if we had beene in England, & yet we were within the height of the sunne, for it was declined 23 degrees, and 26 minuts to the Northward, and we had 15 degrees of latitude.

The 8 faire and temperate as in England, here we met with a counter sea, out of the South-ward.

The 15 a faire temperate day, the winde variable, here we had 18 degrees and fiftie nine minutes.

Rockweed on Sagasso all along the sea.

The 12 of July in 30 degrees of latitude we met with great floze of rockweed, which did stick together like clusters of grapes, and this continued with vs vntill the 17 of the said moneth, and then we saw no moze, at which 17 day we were in two and thirtie degrees sixe and fortye minuts of latitude.

The 25 at sixe of the clocke in the morning, we had sight of the Isle of Pike, it bare North and by East from vs, we being 15 leagues off.

The 27 we spake with the poste of London and she told vs good newes of England.

The nine and twentieth we had sight of the Island of Cueruo, and the 30 we saw the Island of Flores.

The 27 of August in 41 degrees of latitude we saw 9 saile of Bizitons, and three of them folowed vs vntill noone, and then gaue vs ouer.

The 30 we had sight of Cape Finisterre.

The eight of September at night wee put into Plimouth sound, and road in Caufon bay all night.

The 9 we put into Catwater and there stayed vntill the 28 of September, by reason of want of men and sicknesse.

The nine and twentieth we set saile from Plimouth, and arriued at London the second of October 1589.

The commodities that we caried in this voyage were cloth both linnen & wollen, yron worke of sundry sorts, Manillios or bracelets of copper, glasse beades, and corall.

The commodities that we brought home were pepper and Elephants teeth, opie of palme, cloth made of Cotton wooll very curiously wouen, and cloth made of the barke of palme trees.

Their

Their money is pretie white shels, for golde and siluer we saw none. They haue also great stoze of cotton growing: their bread is a kind of roots, they call it Inamia, and when it is well sodden I would leaue our bread to eat of it, it is pleasant in eating, and light of digestion, the roote thereof is as bigge as a mans arme. Our men vpon fish-daves had rather cate the rootes with oyle and vineger, then to eate good stockfish. There are great stoze of palme trees, out of the which they gather great stoze of wine, which wine is white and very pleasant, & we should buy two gallons of it for 20 shels. They haue good stoze of sope, and it smelleth like beateen violets: Also many pretie fine mats and baskets that they make, and spoones of Elephants teeth very curiously wrought with diuers proportions of foules and beasts made vpon them. There is vpon the coast wonderfull great lightning and thunder, in so much as I neuer hard the like in no Countrey, for it would make the deeke or hatches tremble vnder our feete, and before we were well acquainted wick it, we were fearefull, but God be thanked we had no harme. The people are very gentle and louing, and they goe naked both men and women vncill they be married, and then they goe couered from the middle downe to the knees. They would bring our men eatchen pottes of the quantitie of two gallons, full of hony and hony combes for 100 shelles. They would also bring great stoze of Oranges and Plantans which is a fruit that groweth vpon a tree, and is very like vnto a Cucumber but very pleasant in eating. It hath pleased God of his mercifull goodnesse to giue me the knowledge how to preserve fresh water with little cost, which did serue vs six moneths at the sea, & when we came into Plimmouth it was much wondered at, of the pzinipal men of the towne, who said that there was not sweeter water in any spring in Plimouth, Thus doth God provide for his creatures, vnto whom be praise now and for euer more, Amen.

Inamia, a kind of bread in Benin.

Wine of palme trees.

Abundance of hony.

This preseruation is wrought by casting into an hoghead of water an handfull of bay-salt, as the author told me.

The voiage set forth by M. John Newton, and M. John Bird marchants of London to the kindome and Cirie of Benin in Africa, with a ship called the Richard of Arundell, and a pinnesse, in the yere 1588. briefly set downe in this letter following, written by the chiefe Factor in the voyage to the foresaid Marchants at the time of the ships first arriuall at Plimouth.



Whipsul Sirs, the discourse of our whole proceeding in this voyage wil take moze time and a person in better health then I am at this present, so that I trust you will pardon me, till my coming vnto you: in the meane time let this suffice. Whereas we departed in the moneth of December from the coast of England with your good ship the Richard of Arundell and the pinnesse, we held our direct course towards our appointed port, and the 14 day of February following we arriued in the hauen of Benin, where we found not water enough to carry the ship ouer the barre, so that we left her without in the road, and with the pinnesse & ship boat, into which we had put the chiefe of our marchandise, we went by the riuer to a place called Goto, where we arriued the 20 of February, the foresaid Goto being the neereest place that we could come to by water, to go for Benin. From thence we presently sent Negroes to the king, to certifie him of our arriuall, and of the cause of our coming thither: who returned to vs againe the 22 day with a noble man in their company to bring vs vnto the Citie, and with 200 Negroes to carrie our commodities: hereupon the 23 day we deliuered our marchandize to the kings Factor, & the 25 day we came to the great Citie of Benin, where we were well entertained: The sixe & twenty day we went to the Courte to haue spoken with the king, which (by reason of a solemne feast then kept amongst them) we could not doe: but yet we spake with his Veadore, or chiefe man, that hath the dealing with the Christians: and we conferred with him concerning our trading, who answered vs, that we should haue all things to our desire, both in pepper and Elephants teeth.

Goto in Benin.

The great citie of Benin.

The first of March, we were admitted to the kings presence, and he made vs the like courteous answer for our traffike: the next day we went againe to the Court, where the foresaid Veadore shewed vs one basket of Greene pepper, and another of dry in the stalkes: wee desired to haue it plucked from the stalkes and made cleane, who answered, that it would take time, but yet in should be done: and that against another yeere it should be in better readines, & the reason why we found it so vnprepared was, because in this kings time no Christians had euer resorted thither, to lade pepper. The next day there were sent vs 12 baskets, and so a litle euery day vntill the 9 of March at which time we had made vpon 64 scrons of pepper, and 28 Elephants teeth. In this time of our being at Benin (our natures at this first time not so well acquainted with that climate) we fell all of vs into the disease of the feuer, whereupon the Captaine sent me downe with those goods which we already had received, to the rest of our men at Goto: where being arriued, I found all the men of our pinnesse sicke also, and by reason of their weaknes not able to conuey the pinnesse

and

and goods downe to the place where our ship rood: but by good hap within two houres after my comming to Goto, the boate came by from the ship, to see how all things stood with vs, so that I put the goods into the boat, and went downe towards the ship: but by that time I was come aboard, many of our men died: namely, *Walter Benson*, the Cooper, the Carpenter, & 3 or 4 more, & my selfe was also in such a weake state that I was not able to returne againe to Benin. Whereupon I sent by *Samuel Dunne*, and the Chirurgicalian with him to our men, that were about to let them blood, if it were thought needfull: who at their comming to Benin, found the Captaine and your sonne *William Bird* dead, and *Thomas Hempsteede* very weake, who also died within two dayes after their comming thither. This sorrowfull accident caused them with such pepper and teeth, as they could then find, speedily to returne to the ship, as by the Cargason will appeare: at their comming away the *Veadore* tolde them, that if they could or would stay any longer time, he would vse all possible expedition to bring in more commodities: but the common sicknesse so increased and continued amongst vs all, that by the time our men which remained were come aboard, we had so many sicke and dead of our companie, that we looked all for the same happe, and so thought to loose both our ship, life, countrey and all. Very hardly and with much adoe could we get by our ankers, but yet at the last by the mercie of God having gotten them by, but leaving our pinnelle behinde vs, we got to sea, and set saile, which was vpon the 13 of *Aprill*. After which by little and little our men beganne to gather by their cruims and to recover some better strength: and so sailing betwixt the Islands of *Cape Verde*, and the maine we came to the Islands of the *Azores* vpon the 25 of *July*, where our men beganne a fresh to grow ill, and diuers died, among whom *Samuel Dun* was one, and as many as remained liuing were in a hard case: but in the midst of our distresse, it fell so well out, by Gods good prouidence, that we met with your ship the *Barke Burre*, on this side the *North* cape, which did not only keepe vs good companie, but also sent vs sixe fresh men aboard, without whose helpe, we should surely haue tasted of many incontinences. But by this good meanes we are now at the last arrived in *Plimouth*, this 9 day of *September*: and for want of better health at this time, I referre the further knowledge of more particularities, till my comming to *London*.

Yours to commaund
Anthony Ingram.

The second voyage to *Benin*, set foorth by *Master Iohn Newton*, and *Master Iohn Bird* Marchants of *London* in the yeere 1590 with a ship called the *Richard of Arundell* of the burthen of one hundredth tunnes, and a small pinnesse, in which voyage *Master James Welsh* was chiefe Maister.



The third of *September* 1590 we set saile from *Ratclife*, and the 18 of the said moneth we came into *Plimouth* sound, and the two and twentieth we put to sea againe, and at midnight we were off the *Lisarc*, and so passed on our voyage vntill the 14 of *October*, on which day we had sight of *Forreuentura* one of the *Canarie* Islands, which appeared very ragged as we sailed by it.

The 16 of *October*, in the latitude of 24 degrees and nine minutes we met with a great hollow sea, the like whereof *Inceur* saw on this coast, and this day there came to the ships side a monstrous great fish (I thinke it was a *Gobarto*) which put by his head to the steepe tubs where *Yooke* was in shifting the victuals, who I thought the fish would haue caried away.

The 21 in this latitude of 18 degrees we met with a countersea out of the *North* boord, and the last voyage in this very place we had the countersea out of the *South*, being very calme weather as now it is also.

The 24 we had sight of *Cauo Verde*, and the 25 we met with a great hollow sea out of the *North*, which is a common signe that the winde will be *Northely*, and so it pproved.

The 15 of *November* we met with three currants out of the *West* and *Northwest*, one after another, with an houres time betwene each currant. This was in the latitude of 6 degrees and 42 minutes.

The 18 day we met with two other great currants out of the *Southwest*, and the 20 we saw another current out of the *North* east, and the 24 we had a great current out of the *South* south-west, and at 6 of the clocke towards night we had 3 currents more.

The 27 we thought that we had gone at the least 2 leagues and a halfe every watch, and it fell out that we sailed but one league every watch for the space of 24 hours, by meanes of a great billow and current that came still out of the *South*,

A token of a
flourberly
bumbe.

Great curre
sants.

The 5 of December in setting the watch we cast about and lay East North-east, and North-east, and here in 5 degrees and a halfe our pinnesse lost vs willfully.

The 7 at the going downe of the Sunne we saw a great blacke spot in the Sunne, and the 8, day both at rising and setting we saw the like, which spot to our seeming was about the bignesse of a shilling, being in 5 degrees of latitude, and still there came a great billow out of the souther-boord.

The 14 we sounded and had 15 fadom water and grosse red sand, and 2 leagues from the shoze the current set Southeast along the shoze with a billow still out of the souther-boord.

The 15 we were thwart a rocke somewhat like the Jewstone in England, it was 2 leagues from vs, here we sounded and had 27 fadom, but the rocke is not about a mile from the shoze, and a mile farther we saw another rocke, and betweene them both broken ground; here we sounded and had but 20 fadome and blacke sand, and we might see plaine that the rockes went not along the shoze, but from the land to the seaward, and about 5 leagues to the Southward we sawe a great bay, here we had 4 degrees and 27 minuts.

Two rocks.

The 16 we met with a French ship of Hunsleur, who robbed our pinnesse, we sent a letter by him, and this night we saw another spot in the Sunne at his going downe. And towards evening we were thwart of a riuer, and right ouer the riuer was a high tuft of trees.

A French ship of Hunsleur.

The 17 we ankered in the riuers mouth, and then we found the land to be Cauo de las Palmas, and betweene vs & the cape was a great ledge of rockes, one league and a halfe into the sea, and they bare to the West of the Cape, we saw also an Island off the point of the foze land, thus it wared night that we could perceiue no more of the lande, but onely that it trended in like a bay, where there runneth a streame as if it were in the riuer of Thames, and this was the change day of the Moone.

Cauo de las Palmas.

The 19 a faire temperate day, and the wind South, we went East, and the lande a sterne of vs West, and it shewed low by the water side like Islands, this was the east of Cauo de las Palmas, and it trended in with a great sound, and we went East all night, and in the morning wee were but 3 or 4 leagues from the shoze.

The 20 we were thwart of a riuer called Rio de los Barbos.

The 21 we went along the shoze East, & 3 or 4 leagues to the West of Cauo de tres puntas, I find the bay to be set deeper then it is by 4 leagues, and at 4 of the clocke the land began to rise high, and the first part of it full of Palme trees.

Rio de los Barbos.

The 24 still going by the shoze, the land was very low and full of trees by the water side, and at 12 of the clocke we ankered thwart of the riuer called, Rio de Boilas. Here we sent our boate a shoze with the marchants, but they durst not put into the riuer because of a great billow that continually brake at the entrance vpon the barre.

Rio de Boilas.

The 28 we sailed alongst the shoze, and ankered at night in seuen fadom because a great current would haue put vs backe, which came from the East Southeast from Papuas.

Papuas.

The 29 at noone we were thwart of Arda, and there we tooke a Carauel but the men were fled on land, then we went aboord her, but she had nothing in her but only a litle oyle of Palme trees, and a few roots. The next morning our Captaine and marchants went to meete Portugals, that came in a boate to speake with vs, where they communed about the buying of the Carauell of our men againe, and the Portugals promised that we should haue for the Carauell, certaine bullocks and Elephants teeth, and they gaue vs one tooth and one bullocke presently, and sayd they would bring vs the rest the next day.

Arda.

The first of Ianuarie our Captaine went on land to speake with the Portugales, but when he saw they did dissemble, he came aboord againe, and presently we unrigged the Carauell, and set her on fire befoze the towne. Then we set saile and went along the coast, where we saw a Date tree, the like whereof is not in all that coast vpon the water side, also we fell on ground a litle in one place: Thus we went to Villa longa, and there ankered.

Ianuarie.

Villa longa.

The thid we were as far shot as Rio de Lagoa, where our marchants went a shoze and vpon the barre they found 3 fadom flat, but they went not in because it was late. There is also to the Eastward of this riuer a Date tree higher then all the rest of the other trees thereabout. Thus we went along the coast, and euery night ankered, & at the shoze as we went was full of trees and thicke woods.

Rio de Lagoa.

The 6 day in the morning it was very foggy, so that we could not see the land, and at three of the clocke in the afternoone it cleared vp, & then we found our selues thwart of the riuer of Iaya, and when we found the shallow water, we bare into the sea South, as we did the voyage befoze, and came to an ancre in five fadom water. The next day we set saile againe, and towards noone we were thwart of the riuer of Benin in foure fadom water.

The riuer of Iaya.

The riuer of Benin. The 10 day our Captaine went on land with the shallop at 2 a clocke in the afternoone. All this weeke it was very foggy euey day vntill ten a clocke, and all this time hitherto hath bene as temperate as our summer in England. This day we went into the road and ankered, & the west point of the road bare East northeast off vs, we riding in foure sadome water.

Goto. The 21 a faire temperate day, this day M. Hassald went to the towne of Goto, to heare newes of the Captaine.

The Caranell beinge by terty aboord. The 22 came the Carauell, and Samuell in her, and she brought 63 Elephants teeth, and thzee brillocks.

298. lacks of pepper. The 28 a faire temperate day, and towards night there fell much raine, lightning, and thunder, this day our boate came aboord from Goto.

The 24 of Februarye, we tooke in 298 Cerons of lacks of pepper, and 4 Elephants teeth, and the winde was at Southeast. And the 26 we put the rest of our goods into the Caranell, and M. Hassald went with her to Goto.

The 5 of March the Carauell came againe & brought 21 Cerons of pepper, & 4 Elephants teeth.

The 9 of Aprill our Carauell came aboord with water for our provision for the sea, and this day also we lost our shallope.

Three spoutes. The 17 a drowisie raine day, and in the afternoone we saw 3 great spoutes of raine, two on our larbord side, and one right with the ships head, but God be thanked, they came not at vs, and this day we tooke in the last of our water for the sea, and the 26 we victualed our Caranell to go with vs to the sea.

They returned homeward. The 27 we set saile to goe homeward with the winde at Southwest, and at two a clocke in the afternoone, the riuer of Benin was Northeast 8 leagues from vs.

The 3 of May we had such a terrible gust with raine, lightning & thunder, that it toze and split our fore saile, and also the Carauells fore-sayle and maine-sayle, with the wind at Southeast.

The 12 a faire temperate day, much like our sommer moynings in England, being but one degree & a halfe from the line, but at midnight we had a cruell gust of raine, & the wind at northeast.

The 24 we were South from from Cauo de las Palmas 37 leagues.

Braua. The first of Iuly we had sight of the Island of Braua, and it bare East 7 leagues off, and this Island is one of the Islands of Cauo Verde.

The 13 of August we spake with the Queenes ships, the Lord Thomas Howard being Admirall, and sir Richard Greeneuill Viceadmirall. They kept vs in their company vntill the 15 day at night, themselves lying a hull, in waitge for purchase 30 leagues to the Southwest of the Island of Flores.

We departed in company of a pise. The 15 we had leaue to depart with a fly-boat laden with sugar that came from Sant Thome, which was taken by the Queenes ships, whereof my Lord Admirall gaue me great charge, not to leaue her vntill she were harborized in England.

Coruo. The thzee and twentieth the Northeast part of the Island of Coruo bare off vs East and by South five leagues off.

The 17 of September we met with a ship of Plimouth that came out of the West Indies, but she could tell vs no newes. The next day we had sight of another sayle, this day also one of our company named M. Wood died.

The 23 we spake with the Dragon of my Lord of Cumberland, whereof Master Iuie was Maister.

The second of October we met with a ship of New-castle which came from Newfoundland, and out of her we had 300 couple of Newland fish.

The 6 we had sight of Sillie, and with raine and winde we were forced to put into S. Maries sound, where we staid all night, and 4 dayes after.

The 11 we set saile againe, and comming out had thzee sadome vpon the barre at a high water, then we lay out Southeast, through Crow-land, and shortly after we had sight of the lands end, and at ten of the clocke we were thwart of the Lysart.

The 13 we were put into Dartmouth, and there we stayd vntill the 12 of December. From thence we put out with the winde at West, and the 18 of December, God be praised, we ankered at Limehouse in the Thames, where we discharged 589 lacks of pepper, 150 Elephants teeth, and 32 barrels of oile of Palme trees.

The commodities that we caried out this second voyage were Broad cloth, Kersties, Bayes, Linnen cloth, Iron vntwought, Bracelets of Copper, Corall, Hawks belles, Hoptercilles, Hats, and such like.

This voyage was moze comfortable vnto vs then the first, because we had good stoe of fresh water, and that very sweet: for as yet we haue very good water in the shippe which we brought out

out of the riuer of Benin the first day of Aprill 1591, and it is at this day (being the 7 of June 1592.) to be seen aboord the ship as cleare and as sweet as any fountaine can yeeld.

In this voiage we sailed 350 leagues within halfe a degree of the equinoctiall line, and there we found it more temperate, then where we rode. And under the line wee did kill great stoz of small Dolphines, and many other good fishes, and so did we all the way, which was a very great refreshing unto vs, and the fish neuer forooke vs, until we werr to the Northwards of the Islands of Azores, and then we could see no more fish, but God be thanked we e met with good company of our countrey ships which were great comfort unto vs, being five moneths before at Sea without any companie.

It is more temperate under the equinoctiall, then on the coast of Guine & Benin.

By me James Welsh master of the *Richard* of *Arundell*, in both these voyages to the riuer of *Benin*.

An Aduertisement sent to *Philip* the second king of *Spaine* from *Angola* by one *Baltazar Almeida de Sousa*, touching the state of the foresayd countrey, written the 21 of May, 1591.



The 26 of July I certified your maiestie by John Frere de Bendanha your maiesties pay-master and commissioner, with the gouernour Paulo Dias, which is lately deceased, of all things that happened the 28 of December in the yere last past 1590. Now I thought it conuenient to aduertise your maiestie what hath fallen out since that time, which is as foloweth. The gouernour Luis Serano encamped himselfe eight leagues from Cabala, where the Negro king dwelleth, with 350 Portugal souldiers: & after ward being there encamped, it hapned that the king of Macamba sent a strong and mightie army, & in warlike maner, with strange inuentions for the layd purpose. So the king of Angola gane this other king battell, and the gouernour sent 114 souldiers Portugals to helpe the said king of Angola: in which battell it was the will of God that our army was ouerthrowen and all slaine, as well our Portugals as the Moores which tooke part with them. So with this ouerthrow it happened that this realme the second time hath rebelled against your maiestie. Whereupon the Gouernour assembling the rest of his Portugall souldiers, to the number of 250 altogether, went to Amasanguano, which is now his place of abode. Moreover, besides the manifold losses which haue befallen the Portugals in this realme, your maiestie hath sustained other great misfortunes both in your lands and goods. And because I cannot personally come to certifie your maiestie thereof, I thought it good to write some part of the same whereby your maiestie may vnderstand the estate of this countrey. This realme, for the most part thereof hath twise bene wonne, and twise lost for want of good government. For here haue bene many gouernours which haue pretended to do iustice, but haue pitifully neglected the same, and practised the cleane contrary, and this I know to be most true. But the onely way to recouer this realme, and to augment your maiesties lands, goods and treasure, must be by sending some noble and mighty man to rule here, which must bring authozitie fro your maiestie, and by taking straight order that euery captaine which doeth conqueere here may bee rewarded according to his deserts. Likewise your maiestie must send hither 2000 good souldiers, with munition and sufficient stoz of prouision for them. And by this means your highnesse shall know what yeerely reuenuue Angola will yeeld vnto your coffers, and what profit will grow thereof. Otherwise your maiestie shall reape but litle benefit here. If with my presence I may doe your maiestie any seruice in giuing information of the state of this realme, as one which haue had experience thereof, and haue seene the order of it, vpon the vnderstanding of your maiesties pleasure herein, I will doe my best induerour. And the cause wherefore I haue not done this heretofore hath bene, by reason that the Gouernours of this realme would suffer none of the captaines which haue conquered this countrey to informe your maiestie of that which is needfull for your seruice, and the augmenting of this conquest. Our lord preferue your catholicque person with increase of many kingdomes, and the augmentation of your crowne. Written in the conquest of the realme of Angola the 21 of May 1591.

Paulo Dias Gouernour of Angola.

The king of Macamba. 114 Portugals slain in Angola.

Amasanguano the Portugals abode in Angola

The onely way to reduce a rebellious kingdome vnto obedience.

An vsuall trick of lewd gouernours.

Your maiesties most loiall subiect,

Baltazar Almeida de Sousa.

A true discourse written (as is thought) by Colonel *Antonie Winkfield* employed in the voyage to *Spaine* and *Portugall*, 1589. sent to his particular friend, & by him published for the better satisfaction of all such as having bene seduced by particular report, haue entred into conceits tending to the discredit of the enterprise and Actors of the same.



Although the desire of aduancing my reputation caused me to withstand the many perswasions you vsed to hold me at home, & the pursute of honozable actions drew me (contrary to your expectation) to neglect that aduise, which in loue I know you gaue me: yet in respect of the many assurances you haue yeelded mee of your kindest friendship, I cannot suspect that you will either loue or esteeme me the lesse, at this my returne: and therefore I wil not omit any occasion which may make me appeare thankful, or discharge any part of that ductie I owe you; which now is none other then to offer you a true discourse how these warres of *Spaine* and *Portugall* haue passed since our going out of *England* the 18 of *Aprill*, till our returne which was the first of *July*. Wherein I wil (under your favourable pardon) for your further satisfaction, as well make relation of those reasons which confirmed me in my purpose of going abroad, as of these accidents which haue happened during our aboad there; thereby hoping to perswade you that no light faulce did drawe me from the fruition of your dearest friendship, but an earnest desire, by following the warres to make my selfe more worthy of the same.

During the refoze determinately purposed to put on this habite of a souldier, I grew doubtfull whether to employ my time in wars of the low Countreies, which are in auxiliarie maner maintained by her maiestie, or to follow the fortune of this voyage, which was an aduventure of her and many honozable personages, in reuenge of vnsupportable wrongs offered vnto the estate of our countrey by the *Castilian* king: in arguing whereof, I find that by how much the chalenger is reputed before the defendant, by so much is the iourney to be preferred before those defendine wars. For had the duke of *Parma* his turne bene to defend, as it was his good fortune to inuade: from whence could haue proceeded that glorioz honoz which these late warres haue laid vpon him, or what could haue bene said moze of him, then of a Respondent (though neuer so valiant) in a private Duell: Euen, that he hath done no moze then by his honour he was tied vnto. For the gaine of one towne or any small defeat giueth moze renoume to the Assailant, then the defence of a countrey, or the withstanding of twentie encounters can yeeld any man who is bound by his place to guard the same: whereof as well the particulars of our age, especially in the *Spaniard*, as the reports of former histories may assure vs, which haue still laied the fame of all warres vpon the *Inuader*. And do not ours in these dayes liue obscured in *Flanders*, either not hauing wherewithall to manage any warre, or not putting on armes, but to defend the selues when the enemy shall procure them? Where as in this short time of our Aduventure, we haue won a towne by escalade, battered & assaulted another, ouerthrowen a mightie princes power in the field, landed our armie in 3 seueral places of his kingdom, marched 7 dayes in the heart of his countrey, lien three nightes in the suburbs of his principall citie, beaten his forces into the gates thereof, and possessed two of his frontier Forts, as shall in discourse thereof moze particularly appeare: whereby I conclude, that going with an *Inuader*, and in such an action as euery day giueth new experience, I haue much to vaunt of, that my fortune did rather carry me thither then into the wars of *Flanders*. Notwithstanding the vehement perswasions you vsed with me to the contrary, the grounds whereof sithence you receiued them from others, you must giue me leaue to acquaint you with the error you were led into by the, who labouring to bring the world into an opinion that it stood moze with the safety of our estate to bend all our forces against the prince of *Parma*, then to follow this action by looking into the true effects of this iourney, will iudicially conuince themselves of mistaking the matter. For, may the conquest of these countreies against the prince of *Parma* be thought more easie for vs alone now, then the defence of them was 11 yeeres agoe, with the men and money of the *Queene* of *England*? the power of the *Monsieur* of *France*? the assistance of the principall states of *Germanie*? and the nobilitie of their owne countrey? Could not an armie of moze then 20000 horse, & almost 30000 foot, beat *Don Iohn* de *Austria* out of the countrey, who was possessed of a very few frontier townes? & shal it now be laid vpon her maiesties shoulders to remooue so mightie an enemy, who hath left vs but 3 whole parts of 17 vnconquered? It is not a iourney of a few moneths, nor an auxiliarie warre of few yeeres that can demerite the king of *Spaine* in these places where we shall meet at euery 8 or 10 miles end with a towne, which will cost moze the winning then will peerey pay 4 or 5 thousand mens wages, where all the countrey is quartered by riuers which haue no passage vnfortified, and where most of the best souldiers of *Christendome* that

be on our aduerse party be in pension. But our armie, which hath not cost her maiestie much aboute the third part of one yeres expences in the Low countries, hath already spoiled a great part of the provision he had made at the Groine of all sortes, for a new voyage into England; burnt 3 of his ships, wherof one was the second in the last yeres expedition called S. Iuan de Colorado; taken from him aboute 150 pieces of good artillerie; cut off more then 60 hulks and 20 French ships well manned fit and readie to serue him for men of war against vs, laden for his store with coine, victuals, masts, cables and other marchandizes; slaine and taken the principall men of war he had in Galicia; made Don Pedro Enriques de Gusman, Conde de Fuentes, Generall of his forces in Portugall, shamefully run at Peniche; laid along of his best Commanders in Lisbon; and by these few aduentures discovered how easily her maiestie may without any great aduenture in short time pull the Tyrant of the world vpon his knees, as well by the disquieting his vsurpation of Portugall as without difficultie in keeping the commoditie of his Indies from him, by sending an army so accomplished, as may not be subiect to those extremities which we haue endured: except he draw, for those defences, his forces out of the Low countries and disurnish his garisons of Naples & Milan, which with safetie of those places he may not do. And yet by this meane he shall rather be enforced therunto, then by any force that can be vled there against him: wherefore I directly conclude that this proceeding is the most safe and necessary way to be held against him, and therefore more improving then the war in the Low countries. Yet hath the iourney (I know) bene much mistaked by some, who either thinking too worthily of the Spaniards valure, too indifferently of his purposes against vs, or too vnworthily of them that vnderooke this iourney against him, did thinke it a thing dangerous to encounter the Spaniard at his owne home, a thing needlesse to proceed by insurrection against him, a thing of too great moment for two subiects of their qualitie to vndertake: And therefore did not so aduance the beginnings as though they hoped for any good successe thereof.

The chances of wars be things most vncertaine: for what people soeuer vndertake them, they are in deed as chastisements appointed by God for the one side or the other. For which purpose it hath pleased him to giue some victories to the Spaniards of late yeeres against some whom he had in purpose to ruine. But if we consider what wars they be that haue made their name so terrible, we shall find them to haue bin none other then against the barbarous Moores, the naked Indians, and the unarmed Netherlanders, whose yeelding rather to the name then the act of the Spaniards, hath put them into such a conceit of their mightines, as they haue considerately vnderaken the conquest of our monarchie, considering of a people vnitid & alwayes held sufficiently warlike: against whom what successe their invincible army had the last yeere, as our very children can witness, so I doubt not but this voyage hath sufficiently made knownen what they are euen vpon their owne dunghill, which had it bene set out in such sort as it was agreed vpon by their first demaund, it might haue made our nation the most glorious people of the world. If or hath not the want of 8 of the 12 pieces of artillerie, which were promised vnto the Aduenture, lost her maiestie the possession of the Groine and many other places, as hereafter shall appeare, whose defensible rampires were greater then our batterie (such as it was) cold force: and therefore were left vnattempted:

It was also resolved to haue sent 600 English hozles of the Low countries, wherof we had not one, notwithstanding the great charges expended in their transportation hither: and that may the army assembled at Puenche de Burgos thanke God of, as well as the forces of Portugall, who foreran vs 6 daies together: Did we not want 7 of the 13 old Companies, which we should haue had from thence; foure of the 10 dutch Companies; & 6 of their men of war for the sea, from the Hollanders: which I may iustly say we wanted, in that we might haue had so many good souldiers, so many good ships, and so many able bodies more then we had?

Did there not vpon the first thinking of the iourney diuers gallant Courtiers put in their names for aduenturers to the summe of 10000 li. who seeing it went forward in good earnest, aduised themselves better, and laid the want of so much money vpon the iourney?

Was there not moreover a round summe of the aduenture spent in leaping, furnishing, and maintaining 3 moneths 1500 men for the seruice of Berghen, with which Companies the Dutinies of Ostend were suppressed, a seruice of no smal moment?

What misery the detracting of the time of our setting out, which should haue bene the 1 of February, did lay vpon vs, too many can witness: and what extremities the want of that moneths victuals which we did eat, during the moneth we lay at Plimmouth for a wind, might haue oriened vs vnto, no man can doubt of, that knoweth what men do liue by, had not God giuen vs in the ende a more prosperous wind and shorter passage into Galicia then hath bene often seen, where our owne force & fortune reuiuicualled vs largely: of which crosse windes, that held vs two daies after our going out, the Generals being wearie, thrust to Sea in the same, wisely chusing rather to attend the change thereof there, then by being in harborough to lose any part of the better, when it

should come by having their men on shoze : in which two dayes 25 of our companies shipped in part of the fleet were scattered from vs, either not being able or willing to double Vshant.

These burdens layed vpon our Generals befoze their going out, they haue patiently endured, and I thinke they haue thereby much enlarged their honour : for having done thus much with the want of our artillery, 600 horse, 3 000 foot, 20000 li. of their aduventure, and one moneths victuals of their proportion, what may be conjectured they would haue done with their full complement.

For the losse of our men at sea, since we can lay it on none but the will of God, what can be said more, then that it is his pleasure to turne all those impediments to the honor of them against whom they were intended : and he will still shew himselfe the Lord of hostes in doing great things by the, whom many haue sought to obscure : who if they had let the action fall at the height thereof in respect of those defects, which were such especially for the seruice at land, as would haue made a mighty subiect stoope vnder the, I do not see how any man could iustly haue layd any reproch vpon him who commanded the same, but rather haue lamented the iniquity of this time, wherein men whom fozen countries haue for their conduct in seruice worthily esteemed of, should not only in their owne country not be seconded in their honorable endeouors, but mightily hindered, euen to the impairing of their owne states, which most willingly they haue aduencured for the good of their countries: whose worth I wil not value by my report, lest I should seem guilty of flattery (which my soule abhorreth) & yet come short in the true measure of their praise. Onely for your instruction against them who had almost seduced you from the true opinion you hold of such men, you shal vnderstand that General Norris fro his booke was trained vpon in the wars of the Admirall of France, and in very yong yeeres had charge of men vnder the erle of Essex in Ireland : which with what commendations he then discharged, I leaue to the report of them who obserued those seruices. Upon the breach betwixt Don John & the States, he was made Colonell generall of all the English forces there present, or to come, which he continued 2 yeeres : he was then made Marshall of the field vnder Conte Hohenlo : and after that, General of the army in Frisland : at his coming home in the time of Monsieurs government in Flanders, he was made lord President of Munster in Ireland, which he yet holdeth from whence within one yeere he was sent for, & sent General of the English forces which her maiestie the sent to the Low countries, which he held til the erle of Leicesters going ouer. And he was made Marshall of the field in England, the enemy being vpon our coast, and when it was expected the crowne of England should haue bene tried by battel. At which places of commandement which neuer any Englishman successiuelly attained vnto in fozen wars, and the high places her maiestie hath thought him woorthy of, may suffice to perswade you, that he was not altogether unlikely to discharge that which he vndertooke.

That same general Drake hath gotten by his iourney about the world, by his aduentures to the west Indies, & the scourges he hath layd vpon the Spanish nation, I leaue to the Southerne parts to speake of, & refer you to The Booke extant in our own language treating of the same, & beseech you considering the weighty matters they haue in all the course of their liues with wonderful reputation managed, that you wil esteeme them not wel informed of their proceedings, that thinke them insufficient to passe through that which they vndertooke, especially having gone thus far in the view of the world, through so many incomburances, & disappointed of those agreements which led them rather to vndertake the seruice. But it may be you wil thinke me herein either too much opinionated of the voyage, or conceited of the Commanders, the labouring thus earnestly to aduance the opinion of them both, haue not so much as touched any part of the misorders, weaknes & wants that haue bene amongst vs, whereof they that returned did plentifully report. True it is, I haue conceiued a great opinion of the iourney, & do thinke honorable of the Commanders : for we find in greatest antiquities, that many Commanders haue bene received home with triumph for lesse merite, & that our owne country hath honored men heretofore with admiration for aduentures unequal to this: it might therefore in those daies haue seemed superfluous to extend any mans commendations by particular remembrances, for that then all men were ready to giue euery man his due. But I hold it most necessary in these daies, sitheence euery vertue findeth her direct opposite, & actions woorthy of all memory are in danger to be enuiously obscured, to denounce the payless of the action, and actors to the full, but yet no further then with sinceritie of truth, & not without grieving at the iniury of this time, wherein is enforced a necessitie of Apologies for those men & matters, which all former times were accustomed to entertaine with the greatest applause that might be. But to answer the reports which haue bene giuen out in reproch of the actors and action by such as were in the same : let no man thinke other wise, but that they, who fearing the casuall accidents of war had any purpose of returning, did first aduise of some occasion that should moue them thereunto : and having found any whatsoeuer did thinke it sufficiently iust, in respect of the earnest desire they had to seeke out matter that might colour their coming home.

Of these there were some, who having noted the late Flemish warres did finde that many young men haue gone ouer and safely returned souldiers within fewe moneths, in having learned some wordes of Arte vsed in the warres, and thought after that good example to spend like time amongst vs: which being expired they beganne to quarrell at the great mortalicie that was amongst vs.

The neglect of discipline in the Armie, soz that men were suffered to be drunke with the plentie of wines.

The scarcitie of Surgions.

The want of carriages soz the hurt and sicke: and the penurie of victuals in the Campe:

Thereupon diuining that there would be no good donz: And that therefore they could be content to lose their time, and aduenture to returne home againe.

These men haue either conceiued wel of their owne wits (who by obseruing the passages of the warre were become sufficient souldiers in these fewe weeks, & did long to be at home, where their discourtes might be wondred at) or missing of their Portegues and Milraves which they dreamed on in Portugall, would rather returne to their former maner of life, then attend the ende of the iourney, for seeing that one hazard brought another; and that though one escaped the bullet this day it might light vpon him to morrow, the next day, or any day; and that the warre was not confined to any one place, but y euery place brought forth new enemies, they were glad to see some of the poore souldiers fall sicke, y fearing to be infected by them they might iustly desire to go home.

The sicknesse I confesse was great, because any is too much. But hath it bene greater then is ordinary amongst Englishmen at their first entrance into the warres, whither soeuer they goe to want the fulnesse of their flesh pots? Haue not ours decayed at all times in France, with eating yong fruits and drinking newe wines? haue they not abundantly perished in the Low countreys with cold, and rawnesse of the aire, euen in their garrisons? Haue there not moze died in London in sixe moneths of the plague, then double our Armie being at the strongest? And could the Spanish Armie the last yeere (who had all provisions that could be thought on for an Armie, and tooke the fittest season in the yeere for our Climate) auoyd sicknes amongst their souldiers? May it then be thought that ours could escape there, where they found inordinate heat of weather, and hot wines to distemper them withall?

Answer to the first.

But can it be, that wee haue lost so many as the common sort perswade themselves we haue? It hath bene proued by strickt examinations of our musters, that we were neuer in our fulnesse before our going from Plimouth 11000. souldiers, nor about 2500. Partizners. It is also euident that there returned about 6000. of all sorts, as appeareth by the severall payments made to them since our comming home. And I haue truely shewed you that of these numbers very nere 3000. sozooke the Armie at the Sea, whereof some passed into France and the rest returned home. So as we neuer being 13000. in all, and hauing brought home about 6000. with vs, you may see how the world hath bene seduced, in beleeuing that we haue lost 16000. men by sicknes.

To them that haue made question of the government of the warres (little knowing what appertaineth therunto in that there were so many drunkards amongst vs) I answer, that in their government of shires and parishes, yea in their very householdes, themselves can hardly abide their vassals from that vice. For we see it is a thing almost impossible, at any your Faircs or publique assemblies to finde any quarter thercof sober, or in your Townes any Alepotes vnfrequented: And we obserue that though any man hauing any disordered persons in their houses, do locke by their drinke and set Butlers vpon it, that they will yet either by indirect meanes steale themselves drunke from their Masters tables, or runne abroad to seeke it. If then at home in the eyes of your Iustices, Magistors, Preachers, and Masters, and where they pay for euery pot they take, they cannot be kept from their liquor: doe they thinke that those base disordered persons whom themselves sent vnto vs, as liuing at home without rule, who hearing of wine doe long for it as a daintie that their purses could neuer reach to in England, and hauing it there without money end in their houses where they lie & hold their guard, can be kept from being drunke; and once drunke, held in any order or tunc, except we had for euery drunkard an officer to attend him? But who be they that haue runne into these disorders? Euen our newest men, our yongest men, and our idlest men, and soz the most part our sloouely prest men, whom the Iustices (who haue alwayes thought vnwoorthily of any warre) haue sent out as the scumme and dregs of their country. And those were they, who distempred themselves with these hote wines, haue brought in that sicknesse, which hath infected honester men then themselves. But I hope, as in other places the recoverye of their diseases doeth acquaint their bodies with the aire of the countries where they be, so the remainder of these which haue either recovered, or past without sicknesse will prouoe most fit for Partiaall seruices.

Answer to the second.

Answer to
the third.

If we haue wanted Surgeons, may not this rather be laid vpon the captaines (who are to provide for their severall Companies) then vpon the Generals, whose care hath bene more generall. And how may it be thought that euery captaine, vpon whom most of the charges of raising their Companies was laid as an aduventure, could provide themselves of all things expedient for a war, which was alwaies wont to be maintained by the purse of the prince. But admit euery captaine had his Surgeon: yet were the want of curing neuer the lesse: for our English Surgeons (for the most part) be vnerperienced in hurts that come by shot; because England hath not knowne wars but of late, from whose ignorance proceeded this discomfort, which I hope wil warne those hereafter go to the wars to make preparation of such as may better preserve mens liues by their skill.

Answer to
the fourth.

From whence the want of cariages did proceed, you may coniecture in y^e we marched through a countrey neither plentiful of such provisions, nor willing to part from any thing: yet this I can assure you, that no man of worth was left either hurt or sicke in any place vnprovided for. And that the General commanded all the mules & asses that were laden with any baggage to be unburdened and taken to that vse: and the earle of Essex and he for mony hired men to cary m^e vpon pikes. And the earle (whose true vertue and nobilitie, as it doeth in all other his actions appeare, so did it very much in this) threw down his own stiffe, I meane apparel & necessaries which he had there, from his owne cariages, and let them be left by the way, to put hurt and sicke men vpon them. Of whose honorable doerings I shall not need here to make any particular discourse, for that many of his actions do hereafter giue me occasion to obserue the same.

Answer to
the fifth.

And the great complaint that these men make for the want of victuals may well proceed from their not knowing the wants of the war; for if to feed vpon good bicues, muttons & goats, be to want, they haue endured great scarcitie at land, wherunto they neuer wanted, two daies together, wine to mixe with their water, nor bread to eat with their meat (in some quantitie) except it were such as had vowed rather to starue then to stir out of their places for food: of whom we had too many, who if their time had serued for it, might haue seen in many camps in the most plentifull countries of the world for victuals, men daily die with want of bread and drinke in not hauing money to buy, nor the countrey yeelding any good or healthful water in any place; whereas both Spaine and Portugall do in euery place afford the best water that may be, and much more healthful then any wine for our drinking.

And although some haue most iniuriously exclaimed against the small provisions of victuals for the sea, rather grounding the same vpon an euil that might haue fallen, then any that did light vpon vs: yet know you this, that there is no man so forgetfull, that will say they wanted before they came to the Groine, that whosoever made not very large provisions for himselfe & his company at the Groine, was very improuident, where was plentiful store of wine, beefe and fish, & no man of place prohibited to lay in the same into their ships, wherewith some did so furnish themselves, as they did not ouely in the tourney supplie the wants of such as were lesse prouident then they, but in their returne home made a round commoditie of the remainder thereof. And that at Cascais there came in such store of provisions into the Fleet out of England, as no man that would haue used his diligence could haue wanted his due proportion thereof, as might appeare by the remainder that was returned to Plimnouth, and the plentifull sale thereof made out of the marchants ships after their comming into the Thames.

But least I should seeme vnto you too studious in confuting idle opinions, or answering frivolous questions, I will adresse me to the true report of those actions that haue passed therein: wherein I protest, I will neither hide any thing that hath hapned against vs, nor attribute more to any man or matter, then the iust occasions thereof lead me vnto: wherein it shall appeare that there hath bene nothing left vndone by the Generals which was before our going out vnderaken by them, but that there hath bene much more done then was at the first required by Don Antonio, who should haue reaped the fruit of our aduventure.

After 6 daies sailing from the coast of England, & the 5 after we had the wind good being the 20 of April in the euening, we landed in a baie more then an English mile from the Groine, in our long boats and pinnacles without any impeachment: from whence we presently marched toward the towne, within one halfe mile we were encountred by the enemie, who being charged by ours, retired into their gates. For that night our armie lay in the villages, houses & mills next adjoining, and very nere round about the towne, into the which the Galeon named S. Iohn (which was the second of the last yeeres Fleet agaynst England) one hulke, two smaller ships and two Gallies which were found in the road, did beate vpon vs and vpon our Companies as they passed too and fro that night and the next morning. Generall Norris hauing that morning before day viewed the towne, found the same defended on the land side (for it standeth vpon the necke of an Island) with a wall vpon a dry ditch: whereupon he resolved to tris in two places what might bee done against

Our men land
within a mile
of the Groine
the 20 of April

againgt it by escalade, and in the meane time aduised for the landing of some artillery to beat vpon the ships and gallies, that they might not annoy vs: which being put in execution, vpon the planting of the first piece the gallies abandoned the road, and betooke them to Feroll, not farre from thence: and the Armada being beaten with the artillery and musketers that were placed vpon the next shore, left her playng vpon vs. The rest of the day was spent in preparing the companies, and other provisions ready for the surprize of the bafe towne, which was effected in this sort.

There were appointed to be landed 1200 men vnder the conduct of Colonnell Hunckley, and Captaine Fenner the Viceadmirall, on that side next fronting vs by water in long boats and pinnelles, wherein were placed many pieces of artillery to beat vpon the towne in their approach: at the corner of the wall which defended the other water side, were appointed Captaine Richard Wingfield Lieutenant Colonnell to Generall Norris, and Captaine Sampson Lieutenant Colonnell to Generall Drake to enter at low water with 500 men if they found it passable, but if not, to betake them to the escalade, for they had also ladders with them: at the other corner of the wall which ioyned to that side that was attempted by water, were appointed Colonnell Vmpton, and Colonnell Brec with 300 men to enter by escalade. All the companies which should enter by boat being imbarked befoze the low water, and hauing giuen the alarme, Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampson betooke them to the escalde, for they had in commandement to charge all at one instant. The boats landed without any great difficulty: yet had they some men hurt in the landing. Colonnell Brec and Colonnell Vmpton entred their quatter without encounter, not finding any defence made againt them: for Captaine Hinder being one of them that entred by water, at his first entry, with some of his owne company whom he trusted well, betooke himselfe to that part of the wall, which he cleared befoze that they offered to enter, and so still scoured the wall till hee came on the backe of them who maintained the fight againt Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Sampson; who were twice beaten from their ladders, and found very good resistance, till the enemies perceiuing ours entred in two places at their backs, were driuen to abandon the same. The reason why that place was longer defended then the other, is (as Don Iuan de Luna who commanded the same affirmeth) that the enemy that day had resolued in councell how to make their defences, if they were appzoched: and therein concluded, that, if we attempted it by water, it was not able to be held, and therefore vpon the discouery of our boats, they of the high towne should make a signall by fire from thence, that all the low towne might make their retreat thither: but they (whether troubled with the sudden terror we brought vpon them, or forgetting their decree) omitted the fire, which made them guard that place til we were entred on euery side.

Then the towne being entred in three seueral places with an huge cry, the inhabitants betooke them to the high towne: which they might with lesse perill doe, for that ours being strangers there, knew not the way to cut them off. The rest that were not put to the sword in fury, fled to the rocks in the Island, and others hid themselves in chambers and sellers, which were euery day found out in great numbers.

Amongst those Don Iuan de Luna, a man of very good commandement, hauing hidden himselfe in a house, did the next morning preld himselfe.

There was also taken that night a commissary of victuals called Iuan de Vera, who confessed that there were in the Groine at our entry 500 souldiers being in seuen cōpanies which returned very weake (as appeareth by the small numbers of them) from the iourney of England, namely:

Under Don Iuan de Luna.	Don Diego Barran, a bastard sonne of the Marques of Santa Cruz; his company was that night in the Galeon.
	Don Antonio de Herera then at Madrid.
	Don Pedro de Manriques brother to the Earle of Paxides.
	Don Ieronimo de Mourray of the Order of S. Iuan, with some of the towne were in the fort.
	Don Gomez de Caramasal then at Madrid.
	Captaine Manço Caucafo de Socas.

Also there came in that day of our landing from Retanzas the companies of Don Iuan de Moſalle, and Don Pedro poure de Leon.

Also he saith that there was order giuen for baking of 300000 of biscuit, some in Baranſas, some in Ribadeo, and the rest there,

There were then in the towne 2000 pipes of wine, and 150 in the ships.

That there were lately come vnto the Marques of Seralba 300000 ducats,

That there were 1000 farres of oile.

A great quantity of beanes, peaze, wheat, and fish,

That there were 3000 quintals of beefe.

And that not twenty dayes befoze, there came in three barks laden with match & harquebuzes.

Some others also found fauour to be taken prisoners, but the rest falling into the hands of the common souldiers, had their throats cut, to the number of 500, as I coniecture, first and last, after we had entered the towne; and in the entry thereof there was found euery celler full of wine, whereon our men, by inordinate drincking, both grew themselues for the present senselesse of the danger of the shot of the towne, which hurt many of them being drunke, & tooke the first ground of their sicknesse; for of such was our first and chiefest mortality. There was also abundant store of victuals, salt, and all kinde of prouision for shipping and the warre: which was confessed by the sayd Commissary of victuals taken there, to be the beginning of a magazin of all sorts of prouision for a new voyage into England: whereby you may coniecture what the spoile thereof hath advantaged vs, and preiudiced the king of Spaine.

The next morning about eight of the clocke the enemies abandoned their ships. And hauing ouercharged the artillery of gallion, left her on fire, which burnt in terrible sort two dayes together, the fire and ouercharging of the pieces being so great, as of fifty that were in her, there were not aboue sirteene taken out whole; the rest with ouercharge of the powder being broken, and molten with heat of the fire, were taken out in broken pieces into diuers shippes. The same day was the cloister on the South side of the towne entered by vs, which ioyned very neere to the wall of the towne, out of the chambers and other places whereof we beat into the same with our musquetiers.

The next day in the afternoone there came downe some 2000 men, gathered together out of the countrey, euen to the gates of the towne, as resolutely (sedde by what spirit I know not) as though they would haue entered the same: but at the first defence made by ours that had the guard there, wherein were slaine about eighteene of theirs, they tooke them to their heeles in the same disorder they made their approach, and with greater speed then ours were able to follow: not withstanding we followed after them more then a mile. The second day Colonell Hunley was sent into the countrey with three or foure hundred men, who brought home very great store of kine and sheepe for our reliefe.

The third day in the night the Generall had in purpose to take a long munition-house builded vpon their wall, opening towards vs, which would haue giuen vs great aduantage against them; but they knowing the commodity thereof for vs, burnt it in the beginning of the euening; which put him to a new counsell: for he had likewise brought some artillery to that side of the towne. During this time there happened a very great fire in the lower end of the towne; which, had it not bene by the care of the Generals heedily seene vnto, and the fury thereof prevented by pulling downe many houses which were most in danger, as next vnto them, had burnt all the prouisions we found there, to our woonderfull vnderance.

The fourth day were planted vnder the gard of the cloister two demy-cannons, and two coluerings against the towne, defended or gabioned with a crosse wall, thorow the which our battery lay; the first and second tire whereof shooke all the wall downe, so as all the ordnance lay open to the enemy, by reason whereof some of the Canoniers were shot and some slaine. The Lieutenant also of the ordnance, M. Spencer, was slaine fast by Sir Edward Norris, Master thereof: whose valour being accompanied with an honourable care of defending that trust committed vnto him, neuer left that place, till he receiued direction from the Generall his brother to cease the battery, which he presently did, leauing a guard vpon the same for that day; and in the night following made so good defence for the place of the battery, as after there were very few or none annoyed therein. That day Captaine Goodwin had in commandement from the Generall, that when the assault should be giuen to the towne, he should make a proffer of an escalade on the other side, where he held his guard: but he (mistaking the signall that should haue bene giuen) attempted the same long befoze the assault, and was shot in the mouth. The same day the Generall hauing planted his ordnance ready to batter, caused the towne to be summoned; in which summons they of the towne shot at our Drum: immediately after that there was one hanged ouer the wall, and a parle desired; wherein they graue vs to vnderstand, that the man hanged was he that shot at the Drum befoze: wherein also they intreated to haue faire warres, with promise of the same on their parts. The rest of the parle was spent in talking of Don Iuan de Luna, and some other prisoners, and somewhat of the rending of the towne, but not much, for they listened not greatly thereunto.

Generall Norris hauing by his skillfull view of the towne (which is almost all seated vpon a rocke) found one place thereof mineable, did presently set workmen in hand withall; who after three dayes labour (and the seuenth after we were entered the base towne) had bedded their powder, but indeed not farre enough into the wall. Against which time the breach made by the

canon being thought assaultable, and companies appointed as well to enter the same, as that which was expected should be blown up by the mine: namely, to that of the canon, Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Philpott, who lead the Generals foot-company, with whom also Captaine Yorke went, whose principall commandment was ouer the horsemen. And to that of the Mine, Captaine John Sampson, and Captaine Anthonie Wingfield Lieutenant Colonel to the Master of the Ordnance, with certaine selected out of diuers Regiments. All these companies being in armes, and the assault intended to be giuen in all places at an instant, fire was put to the traine of the mine; but by reason the powder brake out backwards in a place where the caue was made too high, there could be nothing done in either place for that day. During this time Captaine Hinder was sent with some chosen out of euery company into the country for provisions, whereof he brought in good store, and returned without losse.

The next day Captaine Anthonie Sampson was sent out with some 500 to fetch in provisions for the army, who was encountred by them of the country, but he put them to flight, and returned with good spoile. The same night the Miners were set to worke againe, who by the second day after had wrought very well into the foundation of the wall. Against which time the companies aforesayd being in readinesse for both places (Generall Drake on the other side, with two or three hundred men in pinnales, making proffer to attempt a strong fort upon an Island befoze the towne, where he left more then thirty men) fire was giuen to the traine of the mine, which blew up halfe the tower vnder which the powder was planted. The assaillants hauing in charge vpon the effecting of the mine presently to giue the assault, perfozmed it accordingly; but too soone: for hauing entered the top of the breach, the other halfe of the tower, which with the first force of the powder was onely shaken and made loose, fell vpon our men: vnder which were buried about twenty or thirty, then being vnder that part of the tower. This so amazed our men that stood in the breach, not knowing from whence that terror came, as they forsooke their Commanders, and left them among the ruines of the mine. The two Ensignes of Generall Drake and Captaine Anthonie Wingfield were shot in the breach, but their colours were rescued: the Generals by Captaine Sampsons Lieutenant, and Captaine Wingfields by himselfe. Amongst them that the wall fell vpon, was Captaine Sydenham pitifully lost; who hauing three or foure great stones vpon his lower parts, was held so fast, as neither himselfe could stirre, nor any reasonable company recover him. Notwithstanding the next day being found to be aliuie, there was ten or twelue lost in attempting to relieue him.

The breach made by the canon was woonderfully well assaulted by them that had the charge thereof, who brought their men to the push of the pike at the top of the breach. And being ready to enter, the loose earth (which was indeed but the rubbish of the outside of the wall) with the weight of them that were thereon slipped ourwards from vnder their feet. Whereby did appear halfe the wall vnbattered. For let no man thinke that culuerin or demy-canon can sufficiently batter a defensible rampire: and of those pieces which we had; the better of the demy-canons at the second shot brake in her carriages, so as the battery was of lesse force, being but of three pieces.

In our retreat (which was from both breaches thorow a narrow lane) were many of our men hurt: and Captaine Dolphin, who serued very well that day, was hurt in the very breach. The failing of this attempt, in the opinion of all the beholders, and of such as were of best iudgement, was the fall of the mine; which had doubtlesse succeeded, the rather, because the approach was vnllooked for by the enemy in that place, and therefore not so much defence made there as in the other; which made the Generall grow to a new resolution: for finding that two dayes battery had so little beaten their wall, and that he had no better preparation to batter withall: he knew in his experience, there was no good to be done that way; which I thinke he first put in prooffe, to trie if by that terror he could get the vpper towne, hauing no other way to put it in hazard so speedily, and which in my conscience had obtained the towne, had not the defendants bene in as great perill of their liues by the displeasure of their king in giuing it up, as by the bullet or sword in defending the same. For that day befoze the assault, in the view of our army, they burne a cloister within the towne, and many other houles adioyning to the castle, to make it more defensible: whereby it appeared how little opinion themselves had of holding it against vs, had not God (who would not haue vs suddenly made proud) layed that misfortune vpon vs.

Whereby it may appear, that the foure canons, and other pieces of battery promised to the iourney, and not perfozmed, might haue made her Maiesty mistresse of the Groine: for though the mine were infortunat, yet if the other breach had bene such as the earth would haue held our men thereon, I doe not thinke but they had entered it thorowly at the first assault giuen: which had bene more then I haue heard of in our age. And being as it was, is no more then the Prince of Parma

Parma hath in winning of all his towne endured, who neuer entered any place at the first assault, nor above three by assault.

The next day the Generall hearing by a prisoner that was brought in, that the Conde de Andrada had assembled an armie of eight thousand at Puenca de Burgos, five miles from thence in the way to Petance, which was but the beginning of an armie : in that there was a greater leaue readie to come thither vnder the Conde de Altemira, either in purpose to relieue the Groine, or to encampe themselues neere the place of our embarking, there to hinder the same; so that that purpose had the marquesse of Seraiba written to them both the first night of our landing, as the Commissarie taken then confessed, or at the least to stop our further entrance into the Countrey, (so during this time, there were many incursions made of three or foure hundred at a time, who burnt, spoiled, and brought in victuals plentifully) the Generall, I say, hearing of this armie, had in purpose the next day following to visite them, agaynst whom hee carried but nine Regiments : in the vanguard were the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonell Sidney : in the Battaille, that of the Generall, of Colonell Lane, and Colonell Medkerk : and in the Rereward, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonell Huntley, and Colonell Brets Regiments; leaving the other five Regiments with Generall Drake, to the guard of the Cloister and Arillerie. About ten of the clocke the next day, being the first of May, halfe a mile from the campe, we discouering the enemy, Sir Edward Norris, who commanded the vanguard in chiefe, appointed his Lieutenant Colonell Captaine Anthonie Wingfield to command the shot of the same, who diuided them into three troups; the one he appointed to Captaine Middleton to be conducted in a way on the left hand : another to Captaine Erington to take the way on the right hand, and the body of them (which were Musquetiers) Captaine Wingfield tooke himselfe, keeping the direct way of the march. But the way taken by Captaine Middleton met a little before with the way held by Captaine Wingfield, so as he giuing the first charge vpon the enemy, was in the instant seconded by Captaine Wingfield, who beat them from place to place (they hauing very good places of defence, and crosse walles which they might haue held long) till they betooke them to their bridge, which is ouer a creeke comming out of the Sea, builded of stone vpon arches. On the foot of the further side whereof, lay the Campe of the enemy very strongly entrenched, who with our shot beaten to the further end of the bridge, Sir Edward Norris marching in the point of the pikes, without stay passed to the bridge, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, Captaine Hinder, Captaine Fulford, and diuers others, who found the way cleare ouer the same, but through an incredible volley of shot; so that the shot of their army flanked vpon both sides of the bridge, the further end whereof was barricaded with barrels: but they who should haue guarded the same, seeing the proud appoach we made, forsooke the defence of the barricade, where Sir Edward entered, and charging the first defendant with his pike, with very earnestness in ouerthrusting, fell; and was grievously hurt at the sword in the head, but was most honourably rescued by the Generall his brother, accompanied with Colonell Sidney, and some other gentlemen: Captaine Hinder also hauing his Calke shoe off, had five wounds in the head and face at the sword: and Captaine Fulford was shot into the left arme at the same encounter: yet were they so thorowly seconded by the Generall, who thrust himselfe so neere to giue encouragement to the attempt (which was of wooderfull difficulty) as their bravest men that defended that place being ouerthrowen, their whole army fell presently into rout, of whom our men had the chace three miles in foure sundry wayes, which they betooke themselves vnto. There was taken the Stamberd with the Kings armes, and borne before the Generall. How many two thousand men (so of so many consisted our vanguard) might kill in pursuit of foure sundry parties, so many you may imagine fell before vs that day. And to make the number more great, our men hauing giuen ouer the execution, and returning to their standes, found many hidden in the Vineyards and hedges, which they dispatched. Also Colonell Medkerk was sent with his regiment three miles further to a Cloister, which he burnt and spoiled, wherein he found two hundred more, & put them to the sword. There were slaine in this fight on our side onely Captaine Cooper, and one private souldier; Captaine Barton was also hurt vpon the bridge in the eye. But had you seene the strong barricades they had made on either side of the bridge, and how strongly they lay encamped thereabouts, you would haue thought it a rare resolution of ours to giue so braue a charge vpon an army so strongly lodged. After the furie of the execution, the Generall sent the vanguard one way, and the battell another, to burne and spoile; so as you might haue seene the countrey more then three miles compasse on fire. There was found very good store of munition and victuals in the Campe, some plate and rich apparell, which the better sort left behinde, they were so hotly pursued. Our sailers also landed in an Island next adioyning to our ships, where they burnt and spoiled all they found. Thus we returned

The notable overthrow giue to the Spaniards at Puenca de Burgos.

to the Groine, bying small comforto to the enemy within the same, who shot many times at vs as we marched out; but not once in our coming backe againe.

The next day was spent in shipping our artillery landed for the battery, and of the rest taken at the Groine, which had it bene such as might haue giuen vs any assurance of a better battery, or had there bene no other purpose of our iourney but that, I thinke the Generall would haue spent some moze time in the siege of the place.

The two last nights, there were that undertooke to fire the higher towne in one place, where the houses were builded vpon the wall by the water side; but they within suspecting as much, made so good defence against vs, as they prevented the same. In our departure there was fire put into euery house of the low towne, insomuch as I may iustly say, there was not one house left standing in the base towne, or the cloister.

The next day, being the eight of May, we embarked our army without losse of a man, which (had we not beaten the enemy at Puente de Burgos) had bene impossible to haue done; for that without doubt they would haue attempted something against vs in our imbarking: as appeared by the report of the Commissary aforesayd, who confessed, that the first night of our landing the Marques of Seralba writ to the Conde de Altemira, the Conde de Andrada, and to Terncis de Sanctislo, to bying all the forces against vs that they could possible raise, thinking no way so good to assure that place, as to bying an army thither, where withall they might either besiege vs in their base towne; if we should get it, or to lie betweene vs and our place of imbarking, to fight with vs vpon the advantage; for they had aboute 15000 souldiers vnder their commandements.

After we had put from thence, we had the winde so contrary, as we could not vnder nine dayes reconer the Burlings: in which passage on the thirtcenth day the Earle of Essex, and with him M. Walter Deuereux his brother (a Gentleman of woonderfull great hope) Sir Roger Williams Colonell generall of the footmen, Sir Philip Bulder, who hath alwayes bene most inward with him, and Sir Edward Wingfield, came into the fleet. The Earle hauing put himselfe into the iourney against the opinion of the world, and as it seemed to the hazzard of his great fortune, though to the great advancement of his reputation, (for as the honourable cariage of himselfe towards all men doth make him highly esteemed at home; so did his exceeding forwardnesse in all seruices make him to be woondered at amongst vs) who, I say, put off in the same winde from Falmouth, that we left Plimmouth in, where he lay, because he would auoid the opportunity of messengers that were dayly sent for his returne, and some other causes moze secret to himselfe, not knowing (as it seemed) what place the Generals purposed to land in, had bene as farre as Cadiz in Andaluzia, and lay vp and downe about the South Cape, where he tooke some ships laden with cozne, and brought them vnto the fleet. Also in his returne from thence to meet with our fleet, he fell with the Islands of Bayon; and on that side of the riuer which Cannas standeth vpon, he, with Sir Roger Williams, and those Gentlemen that were with him went on boze, with some men out of the ship he was in, whom the enemy, that held guard vpon that coast, would not abide, but fled vp into the countrey.

The 16 day we landed at Peniche in Portugall, vnder the shot of the castle, and aboute the waste in water, moze then a mile from the towne, wherein many were in perill of drowning, by reason the winde was great, and the sea went high, which ouerthrew one boat, wherein five and twenty of Captaine Dolphins men perished. The enemy being five companies of Spaniards vnder the commandement of the Conde de Fuentes, sallied out of the towne against vs, and in our landing made their approach close by the water side. But the Earle of Essex with Sir Roger Williams, and his brother, hauing landed sufficient number to make two troupes, left one to holde the way by the water side, and led the other ouer the Sandhills; which the enemy seeing, drew theirs likewise further into the land; not, as we conjectured, to encounter vs, but indeede to make their speedy passage away: notwithstanding, they did it in such sort, as being charged by ours which were sent out by the Colonell generall vnder Captaine Jackson, they stood the same euin to the push of the pike: in which charge and at the push, Captaine Robert Piew was slaine. The enemy being fled further then we had reason to follow them, all our companies were drawn to the towne; which being vnforsitied in any place, we found vndefended by any man against vs. And therefore the Generall caused the castle to be summoned that night; which being abandoned by him that commanded it, a Portugall named Antonio de Aurid, being possessed thereof, desired but to be assured that Don Antonio was landed, whereupon he would deliuer the same; which he honestly perfozmed. There was taken out of the castle some hundred shot and pikes, which Don Emanuel furnished his Portugals withall, and twenty barrells of powder: so as possessing both the towne and the castle, we rested there one day; wherein some Friers and other pooze men came vnto their new king, promising in the name of their country next adioyning, that

within two dayes he should haue a good supply of horse and foote for his assistance. That day we remained there, the Generalls company of horses were bushipped.

The Generalls there fully resolved, that the Armie should march ouer land to Lisbon vnder the conduct of Generall Norris; and that Generall Drake should meete him in the riuer thereof with the flecte; that there should be one Company of foote left in garde of the Castle, and five in the ships; also that the sicke & hurt should remaine there with provisions for their cures. The Generall, to trie the event of the matter by expedition, the next day beganne to march in this sort: his owne Regiment, and the Regiment of Sir Roger Williams, Sir Henrie Norris, Colonel Lane, and Colonel Medkerk, in the vanguard: Generall Drake, Colonel Deuereux, Sir Edward Norris, and Colonel Sidneis in the battell: Sir James Hales, Sir Edward Wingfield, Colonel Vimprons, Colonel Huerlies, and Colonel Brets in the arrearward. By that time our army was thus marshalled, Generall Drake, although hee were to passe by Sea, yet to make knowne the honourable desire he had of taking equall part of all fortunes with vs, stood vpon the ascent of an hill, by the which our battalions must of necessity march, and with a pleasing kindnesse tooke his leaue severally of the Commanders of euery regiment, wishing vs all most happy successe in our iourney ouer the land, with a constant promise that he would, if the iniury of the weather did not hinder him, meet vs in the riuer of Lisbon with our flect. The want of cariages the first day was such, as they were enforced to cary their manition vpon mens backs, which was the next day remedied.

In this march Captaine Crispe the Prouost Marshall caused one who (contrary to the Proclamation published at our arriuall in Portugall) had broken by an house for pillage, to be hanged, with the cause of his death vpon his breast, in the place where the act was committed: which good example prouidently giuen in the beginning of our march, caused the commandement to be more respectiully regarded all the iourney after, by them whom feare of punishment doeth onely holde within compasse. The campe lodged that night at Lorinha: the next day we had intelligence all the way, that the enemy had made head of horse and foote against vs at Torres Vedras, which we thought they would haue held: but comming thither the second day of our march, not two houres before our vanguard came in, they left the towne and the castle to the possession of Don Antonio.

There began the greatest want we had of victuals, especially of bread, vpon a commandement giuen from the Generall, that no man should spoile the countrey, or take any thing from any Portugall: which was more respectiully obserued, then I thinke would haue bene in our owne countrey, amongst our owne friends and kindred: but the countrey (contrary to promise) wholly neglected the provision of victuals for vs, whereby we were driuen for that time into a great scarcity. Which moued the Colonell generall to call all the Colonells together, and with them to aduise for some better course for our people: who thought it best, first to aduertise the king what necessity we were in, before we should of our selues alter the first institution of abstinence. The Colonell generall hauing acquainted the Generall herewith, with his very good allowance thereof, went to the king; who after some expostulations vsed, tooke the more carefull order for our men, and after that our army was more plentifully relieued.

The third day we lodged our army in three sundry villages, the one battalion lying in Exarama de los Caualleros, another in Exarama do Obispo, and the third in San Sebastian.

Captaine Yorke who commanded the Generalls horse company, in this march made triall of the valour of the horsemen of the enemy; who by one of his Corporals charged with eight horses chozow 40 of them, & himselfe chozow more then 200 with some forty horses: who would abide him no longer then they could make way from him.

The next day we marched to Lores, and had diuers intelligences that the enemy would cary vs there: for the Cardinall had made publique promise to them of Lisbon, that he would fight with vs in that place, which he might haue done aduantageously; for we had a bridge to passe ouer in the same place: but before our comming he dislodged, notwithstanding it appeared vnto vs that he had in purpose to encampe there; for we found the ground staked out where their trenches should haue bene made: and their horsemen with some few shot shewed themselves vpon an hill at our comming into that village; whom Sir Henry Norris (whose regiment had the point of the vanguard) thought to dr̄aw vnto some fight, and therefore marched without sound of drumme, and somewhat faster then ordinary, the rebv to get neere them before he were discovered, for he was shadowed from them by an hill that was betweene him and them: but before he could dr̄aw his companies any thing neere, they retired.

General Drakes regiment that night, for the commodity of good lodging, dr̄w themselves into a village, more then one English mile from thence, and neere the enemy: who not daring to do
any

any thing against vs in foure dayes before, tooke that occasion, and in the next morning fell downe vpon that regiment; crying, *Viua el Rey Don Antonio*, which was a generall salutation thozow all the Countrey as they came: whom our yooing Souldiers (though it were vpon their guard, and before the watch were discharged) began to encertaine kindly, but hauing got within their guard, they fell to cut their throats: but the alarme being taken inwards, the officers of the two next Companies, whose Captaines (Captaine Sydnam and Capcaine Young) were lacerly dead at the Groine, brought downe their colours and pikes vpon them in so resolute maner, as they presently braue them to retire with losse: they killed of ours at their first entrance fourteene, and hurt sixe or seuen.

The next day we lodged at Aluelana within thzee miles of Lisbon, where many of our souldiers drincking in two places of standing waters by the way were poisoned, and thereon presently died. Some do thinke it came rather by eating of hony, which they found in the houses plentifully. But whether it were by water or by hony, the pooze men were poisoned.

That night the Earle of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams went out about eleuen of the clocke with 1000 men to lie in ambuscade nere the towne, and hauing layed the same very neere, sent some to giue the alarme vnto the enemy: which was well performed by them that had the charge thereof, but the enemy refused to issue after them, so as the Earle returned assoone as it was light without doing any thing, though he had in purpose, and was ready to haue giuen an honourable charge on them.

The 25 of May in the euening we came to the suburbs of Lisbon: at the very entrance whereof Sir Roger Williams calling Captaine Anthony Wingfield with him, tooke thirty shot or thereabouts, and first scowped all the streets till they came very neere the towne; where they found none but olde folks and beggers, crying, *Viua el Rey Don Antonio*, and the houses shut vp: for they had caried much of their wealth into the towne, and had fired some houses by the water side, full of cozne and other pzoouisions of victuals, least we should be benefited thereby, but yet left behinde them great riches in many houses.

The foure regiments that had the vanguard that day, which were Colonell Deuereux, Sir Edward Norris, Colonell Sidneys, and Generall Drakes (whom I name as they marched) the Colonell generall caused to holde guard in the neerest streets of the Suburbs: the battell and the arrearward stood in armes all the night in the field neere to Alcantara. Before morning Captaine Wingfield, by direction from the Colonell generall Sir Roger Williams, held guard with Sir Edward Norris his regiment in thzee places very neere the towne wall, and so held the same till the other regiments came in the morning. About midnight they within the towne burnt all their houses that stood vpon their wall either within or without, least we possessing them, might thereby greatly haue annoyed the towne.

The next morning Sir Roger Williams attempted (but not without perill) to take a Church called S. Antonio, which layed to the wall of the towne, and would haue bene a very euill neighbour to the towne: but the enemy hauing moze easie entry into it then we gained it before vs. The rest of that morning was spent in quartering the battell and arrearward in the Suburbs called Bona Vista, and in placing Musquetiers in houses, to front their shot vpon the wall, who from the same scowped the great streets very dangerously.

By this time our men being thozowly weary with our sixe dayes march, and the last nightes watch, were desirous of rest; whereof the enemy being aduertised, about one or two of the clocke sallied out of the towne, and made their appoach in thzee severall streets vpon vs, but chiefly in Colonell Brets quarter: who (as most of the army was) being at rest, with as much speed as he could, drew his men into armes, and made head against them so thozowly, as himselfe was slaine in the place, Captaine Carley shot thozow the thigh, of which hurt he died within foure dayes after, Captaine Carre slaine presently, and Captaine Caue hurt (but not mortally) who were all of his regiment.

This resistance made aswell here, as in other quarters where Colonell Lane and Colonell Medkerk commanded, put them to a sudden soule retreat; insomuch, as the Earle of Essex had the chase of them euen to the gates of the high towne, wherein they left behinde them many of their best Commanders: their troupe of horsemen also came out, but being charged by Captaine Yorke, withdrew themselves againe. Many of them also left the streets, and betooke them to houses which they found open: for the Sergeant maioz Captaine Wilson flew in one house with his owne hands thzee or foure, and caused them that were with him to kill many others. Their losse I can assure you did triple ours, aswell in quality as in quantity.

During our march to this place, Generall Drake with the whole fleet was come into Cascais, and possessed the towne without any resistance: many of the inhabitants at their discovery of our

navy, fledde with their baggage into the mountaines, and left the towne for any man that would possesse it, till Generall Drake sent unto them by a Portugall Pilot which he had on board, to offer them all peaceable kindnesse, so farre forth as they would accept of their King, and minister necessities to the army he had brought; which offer they joyfully embraced, and presently sent two chiefe men of their towne, to signifie their loyalty to Don Antonio, and their honest affection to our people. Whereupon the Generall landed his companies not farre from the Cloister called San Domingo, but not without perill of the shot of the castle, which being guarded with 65 Spaniards, held still against him.

As our fleet were casting ancre when they came first into that road, there was a small ship of Brasil that came from thence, which bare with them, and seemed by striking her sailes, as though she would also haue ancreed: but taking her fittest occasion hoised againe, and would haue passed by the riuer, but the Generall presently discerning her purpose, sent out a pinnesse or two after her, which forced her in such sort, as she ran herselfe vpon the Rocks: all the men escaped out of her, and the lading (being many chests of sugar) was made nothing woorth, by the salt water. In his going thither also, he tooke ships of the port of Portugall, which were sent from thence, with fiftene other from Pedro Vermendes Xantes Sergeant maior of the same place, laden with men and victuals to Lisbon: the rest that escaped put into Seiuuel.

The next day it pleased Generall Norris to call all the Colonels together, and to aduise with them, whether it were moze expedient to tary there to attend the forces of the Portugall horse and foot, whereof the King had made promise, and to march some conuenient number to Cascais to fetch our artillery and munition, which was all at our ships, sauing that which for the necessity of the seruice was brought along with vs: whereunto, some caried away with the vaine hope of Don Antonio, that most part of the towne stood for vs, held it best to make our abode there, and to send home 3000 for our artillery: promising to themselves, that the enemy being wel beaten the day before, would make no moze sallies: some others (whose vnbelieve was very strong of any hope from the Portugall) perswaded rather to march wholly away, then to be any longer carried away with the opinion of things, whereof there was so little appearance. The Generall not willing to leaue any occasion of blotte to be layed vpon him for his speedy going from thence, nor to lose any moze time by attending the hopes of Don Antonio; to lve them, that though the expedition of Portugall were not the onely purpose of their iourney, but an aduventure therein (which if it succeeded prosperously, might make them sufficiently rich, and woonderfull honourable) and that they had done so much already in trial thereof, as what end soeuer happened, could nothing impair their credits: yet in regard of the Kings last promise, that he should haue that night 3000 men armed of his owne Countrey, he would not for that night dislodge. And if they came, thereby to make him so strong, that he might send the like number for his munition, he would resolute to trie his fortune for the towne. But if they came not, he found it not conuenient to diuide his forces, by sending any to Cascais, and keeping a remainder behinde, & thence he saw them the day before so boldly sally vpon his whole army, and knew that they were stronger of Souldiours armed within the towne, then he was without: and that before our returne could be from Cascais, they expected moze supplies from all places, of Souldiours: for the Duke of Bragança, and Don Francisco de Toledo were looked for with great reliefe. Whereupon his conclusion was, that if the 3000 promised came not that night, to march wholly away the next morning.

It may be here demanded, why a matter of so great moment should be so slenderly regarded, as that the Generall should march with such an army against such an enemy, before he knew either the fulnesse of his owne strength, or certaine meanes how he should abide the place when he should come to it. Wherein I pray you remember the Decrees made in the Countsell at Peniche, and confirmed by publique protestation the first day of our march, that our navy should meet vs in the riuer of Lisbon, in the which was the store of all our provisions, and so the meane of our tariance in that place, which came not, though we continued till we had no munition left to entertaine a very small fight. We are also to consider, that the King of Portugall (whether carried away with imagination by the aduertisements he receiued from the Portugals, or willing by any promise to bring such an army into his Countrey, thereby to put his fortune once moze in trial) assured the Generall, that vpon his first landing, there would be a revolt of his subjects: whereof there was some hope given at our first entry to Peniche, by the maner of the proceeding of that towne and fort, which made the Generall thinke it most conuenient speedily to march to the principall place, thereby to giue courage to the rest of the Countrey. The Friers also and the poore people that came vnto him promised, that within two dayes the gentlemen and others of the Countrey would come plentifully in: within which two dayes came many moze Priests, and
some

Some very few gentlemen on horsebacke; but not till we came to Torres Vedras: where they that noted the course of things how they passed, might somewhat discover the weaknesse of that people. There they tooke two dayes more; and at the end thereof referred him till our comming to Lisbon, with assurance, that so soone as our army should be scene there, all the inhabitants would be for the King and fall vpon the Spaniards.

After two nights tariance at Lisbon, the King, as you haue heard, promised a supply of 3000 foot, and some horse: but all his appointinents being expired, euen to the last of a night, all his horse could not make a cozier of 40, nor his foot furnish two ensignes fully, although they caried three or foure colours: and these were altogether such as thought to enrich themselves by the ruine of their neighbours: for they committed more disorders in euery place where we came by spoile, then any of our owne.

The Generall, as you see, hauing done more then before his comming out of England was required by the King, and giuen credit to his many promises, euen to the breach of the last, he desired not to perswade him to stay yet nine dayes longer: in which time he might haue engaged himselfe further, then with any honour he could come out of againe, by attempting a towne fortified, wherein were more men armed against vs, then we had to oppugne them withall, our artillery and munition being fiftene miles from vs, and our men then declining; for there was the first shew of any great sickenesse amongst them. Whereby it seemeth, that either his prelatry did much abuse him in perswading him to hopes, whereof after two or three dayes he saw no semblance: or he like a silly louer, who promiseth himselfe fauor by impoertuning a coy mistresse, thought by our long being before his towne, that in the end taking pity on him, they would let him in.

What end the Friars had by following him with such deuotion, I know not, but sure I am, the Laitie did respite their homage till they might see which way the victory would sway; fearing to shew themselves apparantly vnto him, least the Spaniard should after our departure (if we prevailed not) call them to account: yet sent they vnder hand messages to him of obedience, thereby to saue their owne, if he became King; but indeed very well contented to see the Spaniards and vs try by blowes, who should carry away the crowne. For they be of so base a mould, as they can very well subiect themselves to any government, where they may liue free from blowes, and haue liberty to become rich, being loth to endure hazard either of life or goods. For durst they haue put on any minds chorowly to reuolt, they had three woonderfull good occasions offered them during our being there.

Themselves did in generall confesse, that there were not aboute 5000 Spaniards in that part of the Countrey, of which number the halfe were out of the towne till the last day of our march: during which time, how easily they might haue prevailed against the rest, any man may conceiue. But vpon our approach they tooke them all in, and combined themselves in generall to the Cardinal.

The next day after our comming thither, when the sally was made vpon vs by their most resolute Spaniards, how easily might they haue kept them out, or haue giuen vs the gate which was held for their retreat, if they had had any thought thereof?

And two dayes after our comming to Cascais, when 6000 Spaniards and Portugals came against vs as farre as S. Iulians by land, as you shal presently heare (all which time I thinke there were not many Spaniards left in the towne) they had a more fit occasion to shew their deuotion to the King, then any could be offered by our tarrying there. And they could not doubt, that if they had shut them out, but that we would haue fought with them vpon that aduantage, hauing sought them in Galicia vpon disadvantage to beat them: and hauing taken so much paines to seeke them at their owne houses, whereof we gaue sufficient testimony in the same accident. But I thinke the feare of the Spaniard had taken so deepe impressiion within them, as they durst not attempt any thing against them vpon any hazard.

For, what ciuill countrey hath euer suffered themselves to be conquered by so few men as they were; to be deprived of their naturall King, and to be tyrannized ouer thus long, but they? And what countrey, lining in slauery vnder a stranger whom they naturally hate, hauing an army in the field to fight for them and their liberty, would lie still with the pike vpon their necks, attending if any strangers would vnburthen them, without so much as rousing themselves vnder it, but they? They will promise much in speeches, for they be great talkers, whom the Generall had no reason to distrust without triall, and therefore marched on into their countrey: but they performed little in action, whereof we could haue had no prooffe without this chorow triall. Wherein he hath discovered their weaknesse, and honorably performed more then could be in reason expected of him: which had he not done, would not these maligners, who seeke occasions of slander,

haue reported him to be suspicious of a prople, of whose indelity he had no testimony: and so be fearefull without cause, if he had refused to giue credit to their promises without any aduventure: Let no fruitles questioner therefore further enquire why he marched so many dayes to Lisbon, and taried there so small a while.

The next morning, seeing no performance of promise kept, he gaue order for our marching away; himselfe, the Earle of Essex, and Sir Roger Williams remaining with the stand that was made in the high street, till the whole army was drawn into the field, and so marched out of the towne, appointing Captaine Richard Wingfield, and Captaine Anthony Wingfield in the arrearward of them with the shot; thinking that the enemy (as it was most likely) would haue issued out vpon our rising; but they were otherwise aduised. When we were come into the field, euery battallion fell into that order which by course appertained vnto them, and so marched that night vnto Cascais. Had we marched thorow his Countrey as enemies, our Souldiours had bene well supplied in all their wants: but had we made enemies of the Suburbs of Lisbon, we had bene the richest army that euer went out of England: for besides the particular wealth of euery house, there were many Warehouses by the water side full of all sorts of rich marchandise.

In our march that day the gallies which had somewhat, but not much, annoyed vs at Lisbon, (for that our way lay along the riuer) attended vs till we were past S. Iulians, bestowing many shot amongst vs, but did no harme at all, saving that they strooke off a gentlemans leg, & killed the Sergeant majors mose under him. The hopitmen also followed vs afarre off, and cut off as many sicke men as were not able to holde in march, nor we had carriage for.

After we had bene two dayes at Cascais, we had intelligence by a Frier, that the enemy was marching strongly towards vs, and then came as farre as S. Iulian: which newes was so welcome to the Earle of Essex and the Generalls, as they offered euery one of them to giue the messenger an hundred crownes if they found them in the place; for the Generall desiring nothing more then to fight with them in field roomes, dispatched that night a messenger with a trumpet, by whom he wrot a cartel to the Generall of their army, wherein he gaue them the lie, in that it was by them reported that we dislodged from Lisbon in disorder and feare of them (which indeed was most false) for that it was five of the clocke in the morning before we fell into armes, and then went in such sort, as they had no courage to follow out vpon vs. Also he challenged him therein, to meet him the next morning with his whole army, if he durst attend his comming, and there to try out the iustnesse of their quarrel by battell: by whom also the Earle of Essex (who preferring the honor of the cause, which was his countreys, before his owne safety) sent a particular cartel, offering himselfe against any of theirs, if they had any of his quality; or if they would not admit of that; five, eight, or tenne, or as many as they would appoint, should meet so many of theirs in the head of our battell to trie their fortunes with them; and that they should haue assurance of their returne and honourable intreaty.

The Generall accordingly made all his army ready by three of the clocke in the morning and marched euen to the place where they had encamped, but they were dislodged in the night in great disorder, being taken with a sudden feare that we had bene come vpon them, as the Generall was the next day certainly informed: so as the Trumpet followed them to Lisbon, but could not get other answer to either of his letters, but threatening to be hanged, for varing to bring such a message. Howbeit the Generall had caused to be written vpon the backside of their passport, that if they did offer any violence vnto the messengers, he would hang the best prisoners he had of theirs: which made them to aduise better of the matter, and to returne them home; but without answer.

After our army came to Cascais, and the rastle summoned, the Castellan thereof granted, that vpon five or six shot of the canon he would deliuer the same, but not without sight thereof. The Generall thinking that his distresse within had bene such for want of men or victuals as he could not holde it many dayes, because he saw it otherwise defensible enough, determined rather to make him yeeld to that necessity, then to bring the cannon, and therefore onely set a guard vpon the same, least any supply of these things which he wanted should be brought vnto them. But he still standing vpon those conditions, the Generall about two dayes before he determined to goe to Sea, brought three or foure pierces of battery against it: vpon the first fire whereof he surrendered, and compounded to go away with his baggage and armes: he had one canon, two culuerings, one basiliske, and three or foure other field pierces, threescore and five Souldiours, very good store of munition, and victualles enough in the Castle; insomuch as he might haue held the same longer then the Generall had in purpose to tarry there. One company of footmen was put into the guard thereof, till the artillery was taken out, and our army embarked; which

which without hauing that fort, we could not without great perill haue done. When we were ready to set saile (one halfe of the fort being by order from the Generall blowen by by mine) the company was drawne away.

During the time we lay in the road, our fleet began the second of Iune, and so continued sixe dayes after to fetch in some hulks to the number of threescore, of Dansk, Sretin, Rostock, Lubbeck & Hamburg, laden with Spanish goods, and as it seemed for the kings prouision, and going for Lisbon: their pzinicpall lading was Cozne, Hacks, Cables, Copper, and Ware: amongst which were some of great burthen woonderful well builded for sailing, which had no great lading in them, and therefore it was thought that they were brought for the kings prouision, to reinforce his decayed navy: whereof there was the greater likelihood, in that the owner of the greatest of them which carried two misnies, was knowne to be very inward with the Cardinall, who rather then he would be taken with his ships, committed himselfe vnto his small boat, wherein he recovered S. Sebastians: into the which our men, that befoze were in flieboats, were shipped, and the flieboats sent home with an offer of cozne, to the value of their hire. But the winde being good for them for Rochel, they chose rather to lose their cozne then the winde, and so departed. The Generall also sent his hozles with them, and from thence shipped them into England.

The third of Iune, Colonell Deuereux and Colonell Sidney, being both very sicke, departed for England, who in the whole iourney had shewed themselues very forwarde to all seruices, and in their departure very unwilling to leaue vs: that day we imbarked all our army, but lay in the road vntill the eight thereof.

The first day the Earle of Essex, vpon receit of letters from her Maiesty, by them that brought in the victuals, presently departed towards England, with whom Sir Roger Williams was very desirous to go, but found the Generals very unwilling he should do so, in that he bare the next place vnto them, and if they should miscarry, was to command the army. And the same day there came vnto vs two small barks that brought tidings of some other shippes come out of England with victuals, which were passed vpwards to the Cape: for meeting with whom, the second day after we set saile for that place, in purpose after our meeting with them to go with the Isles of Agores, the second day, which was the ninth, we met with them comming backe againe towards vs, whose prouision little answered our expectation. Notwithstanding we resolved to continue our course for the Islands.

About this time was the Marchant Royall, with thre or foure other ships, sent to Peniche, to fetch away the companies that were left there; but Captaine Barton hauing receiued letters from the Generals that were sent ouerland, was departed befoze, not being able by reason of the enemies speedy marching thither, either to bying away the artillery, or all his men, according to the direction those letters gaue him; for he was no sooner gone, then the enemy possessed the towne and castle, and shot at our ships as they came into the road.

At this time also was the Ambassadoz from the Emperoz of Marocco, called Reys Hamet Bencafamp; returned, and with him M. Ciprian, a Gentleman of good place and desert, was sent from Don Antonio, and Captaine Ousley from the Generals to the Emperoz.

The next morning the nine gallies which were sent not fixe dayes befoze out of Andaluza for the strengthening of the riuer of Lisbon (which being ioyned with the other twelue that were there befoze, though we lay hard by them at S. Julians, durst neuer make any attempt against vs) vpon our departure from thence were returning home, and in the morning being a very dead caline, in the dawning thereof, fell in the winde of our fleet, in the vtermost part whereof they assailed one stragling barge of Plimmouth, of the which Captaine Cauerley being Captaine of the land company, with his Lieutenant, the Master, and some of the Hariners abandoned the ship, and tooke them to the ship-boats, whereof one, in which the Master and the Captaine were, was ouerrunne with the gallies, and they drowned. There were also two hulks stragled farre from the strength of the other ships, which were so calmed, as neither they could get to vs, nor we to them, though all the great shippes towed with their boats to haue relieved them, but could not be recovered; in one of which was Captaine Minshaw with his company, who fought with them to the last, yea after his ship was on fire, which whether it was fired by himselfe or by them we could not well discern, but might easily iudge by his long and good fight, that the enemy could not but sustaine much losse: who setting also vpon one other hulke wherein was but a Lieutenant, and he very sicke, were by the valour of the Lieutenant put off, although they had first beaten her with their artillery, and attempted to boord her. And seeing also one other hulke a league off, a sterne off vs, they made towards her; but finding that she made ready to fight with them, they durst not further attempt her: whereby it seemed, their losse being great in the other fights, they were loth to proceed any further.

From that day till the 19 of June, our direction from the Generall was, that if the wind were Northerly, we should plie for the Açores; but if Southerly, for the Isles of Bayon. We lay with contrary windes about that place and the Rocke, till the Southerly winde prevailing carried vs to Bayon: part of our ships to the number of 25, in a great winde which was two dayes before, having lost the Admirals and fleet; according to their direction, fell in the morning of that day with Bayon, among whom was Sir Henry Norris in the Ayde; who had in purpose (if the Admirals had not come in) with some 500 men out of them all to have landed, and attempted the taking of Vigo. The rest of the fleet held with Generall Drake, who though he were two dayes before put upon those Islands, cast off againe to sea for the Açores: but remembering how unprouided he was for that iourney, and seeing that he had lost company of his great ships, returned for Bayon, and came in there that night in the evening, where he passed by the riuer more then a mile about Vigo.

The next morning we landed as many as were able to fight, which were not in the whole about 2000 men, (for in the 17 dayes we continued on board we had cast many of our men overboard) with which number the Colonell generall marched to the towne of Vigo, neere the which when he approached, he sent Captaine Anthony Wingfield with a troupe of shot to enter one side of the same, who found upon euery streets end a strong barricade, but altogether abandoned; for having entered the towne, he found but one man therein, but might see them making way before him to Bayon. On the other side of the towne entered Generall Drake with Captaine Richard Wingfield, whose approach on that side (I thinke) made them leaue the places they had so artificially made for defence: there were also certaine shippes sent with the Vice-admirall to lie close before the towne, to beat vpon the same with their artillery.

In the afternoone were sent 300 vnder the conduct of Captaine Petuin and Captaine Henry Poure, to burne another village betwixt that and Bayon, called Borhis, and as much of the country as the day would giue them leaue to do; which was a very pleasant rich valley: but they burne it all, houses and corne, as did others on the other side of the towne, both that and the next day, so as the countrey was spoiled tenen or eight miles in length. There was found great store of wine in the towne, but not any thing els: for the other dayes warning of the shippes that came first in, gaue them a respite to carry all away.

The next morning by break of the day the Colonell generall (who in the absence of the Generals that were on board their ships, commanded that night on shore) caused all our companies to be drawn out of the towne, and sent in two troupes to put fire in euery house of the same: which done, we imbarcked againe.

This day there were certaine Hariners which (without any direction) put themselves on shore, on the contrary side of the riuer from vs for pillage; who were beaten by the enemy from their boats, and punished by the Generals for their offer, in going without allowance.

The reasons why we attempted nothing against Bayon were before shewed to be want of artillery, and may now be alledged to be the small number of our men: who should haue gone against so strong a place, manned with very good souldiers, as was shewed by Iuan de Vera taken at the Groine, who confessed that there were sixe hundred olde Souldiers in garrison there of Flanders, and the Tercios of Naples, lately also returned out of the iourney of England,

Under the leading of

- Capitan Puebla.
- Christofero Vasques de Viralka a souldier of Flanders.
- Don Pedro Camascho, del tercio de Napoles.
- Don Francisco de Cespedes.
- Cap. Iuan de Solo, del tercio de Naples.
- Don Diego de Cassaua.
- Cap. Sauban.

Also he sayth there be 18 picces of brasse, and foure of yron, lately layd vpon the walles of the towne, besides them that were there before.

The same day the Generals seeing what weak estate our army was drawn into by sicknesse, determined to man and victual twenty of the best ships for the Islands of Açores with Generall Drake, to see if he could meet with the Indian fleet, and Generall Norris to returne home with the rest: And for the shifting of men and victualles accordingly, purposed the next morning to fall downe to the Islands of Bayon againe, and to remaine there that day. But Generall Drake, according to their appointment, being vnder saile neuer strooke at the Islands, but put straight to sea; whom all the fleet followed sauing three and thirty, which being in the riuer further then he, and at the entrance out of the same, finding the winde and tide too hard against them, were enforced to cast ancre there for that night; amongst whom, by good fortune, was the Foresight, and

Vigo taken.

Vigo burned.

and in her sir Edward Norris. And the night following, Generall Norris being driuen from the rest of the fleet by a great storme, (for all that day was the greatest storme we had all the time we were out) came againe into the Islands, but not without great perill, he being forced to trust to a Spanish fisher-man (who was taken two dayes befoze at sea) to bring him in,

The next morning he called a council of as many as he found there, holding the purpose he had concluded with sir Francis Drake the day befoze, and directed all their courses for England, tarrying there all that day to water and helpe such with victuall, as were left in wonderfull distresse by having the victualls that came last, caried away the day befoze to sea.

The next day he set saile, and the 10 day after, which was the 2 of July came into Plimmouth, where he found sir Francis Drake and all the Queens ships, with many of the others, but not all: for the fleet was dispersed into other harbors, some led by a desire of returning to whence they came, and some being possessed of the hulks sought other Ports from their Generals eie, where they might make their private commoditie of them, as they haue done to their great aduantage.

Presently vpon their arrival there, the Generals dissolved all the armie sauing 8 companies which are yet held together, giuing euery souldier five shillings in money, and the armes hee bare to make money of, which was more then could by any means be due vnto them: for they were not in seruice thre moneths, in which time they had their victualls, which no man will value at lesse then halfe their pay, for such is the allowance in her maiesties ships to her mariners, so as there remained but 10 shillings a moneth more to be paid, for which there was not any private man but had apparel and furniture to his owne vse, so as euery common souldier discharged, receiued more in money, victualls, apparell and furniture, then his pay did amount vnto.

Notwithstanding, there be euen in the same place where those things haue passed, that either do not or will not conceiue the souldiers estate, by comparing their pouertie and the wortnesse of the time together, but lay some iniuries vpon the Generals and the action. Where, and by the way, but especially here in London, I find there haue bene some false prophets gone befoze vs, telling strange tales, for as our countrey doeth bring forth many gallant men, who desirous of honour doe put themselves into the actions thereof, so doeth it many more dull spirited, who though their thoughts reach not so high as others, yet doe they listen how other mens acts doe passe, and either beleeming what any man will report vnto them, are willingly caried away into errors, or tied to some great mans faith, become secretaries against a noted truth. The one sort of these doe take their opinions from the high way side, or at the furthest goe no further then the Pauls to enquire what hath bene done in this voyage: where, if they meet with any, whose capacitie befoze their going out could not make them liue, nor their valour maintaine their reputation, and who went onely for spoile, complaining on the hardnesse and misery thereof, they thinke they are bound to giue credite to these honest men who were parties therein, and in very charittie become of their opinions. The others to make good the faction they are entred into, if they see any of those malecontents (as euery iourney yeldeth some) doe runne vnto them like tempting spirits to confirme them in their humour, with assurance that they forelaw befoze our going out what would become thereof.

We ye not therefore too credulous in beleueing euery report: for you see there haue bene many more beholders of these things that haue passed, then actors in the same; who by their experience, not having the knowledge of the ordinarie wants of the warre, haue thought, that to lie hard, not to haue their meat well dyessed, to drinke sometimes water, to watch much, or to see men die and be slaine, was a miserable thing; and not having so giuen their mindes to the seruice, as they are any thing instructed thereby, doe for want of better matter discourse ordinarily of these things: whereas the iourney (if they had with that iudgement scene into it, which their places required) hath giuen them far more honorable purpose and argument of discourse.

These mens discontentments and millikings befoze our comming home haue made mee labour thus much to instruct you in the certaintie of euery thing, because I would not willingly haue you miscaried in the iudgements of them, wherein you shall giue me leaue somewhat to dilate vpon a question, which I onely touched in the beginning of my letter, namely, whether it bee more expedient for our estate to maintain an offensive war against the king of Spaine in the Low countries, or as in this iourney, to offend him in his neerer territories, seeing the grounds of arguing thereof are taken from the experience which the actions of this iourney haue giuen vs.

There is no good subiect that wil make questiō, whether it be behoofefull for vs to hold friendship with these neighbours of ours or no, atwell in respect of the infinite proportion of their shipping, which must stand either with vs or against vs; as of the commoditie of their harbors, especially that of Wlissing, by the fauour whereof our Flaues may continually keepe the Narrow seas, and which would harbour a greater fleet agaynst vs, then the Spaniard shall neede annoy vs withall, who being now distressed by our common enemy, I thinke it most expedient for our

saletie

Their returne to Plimmouth.

It worthy questiō dilated.

saferie to defend them, and if it may be, to giue them a reeentrie into that they haue of late yeeres lost vnto him. The one without doubt her maiestie may do without difficultie, and in so honorable sort as he shall neuer be able to dispossesse her of them of any the townes they now hold. But if any man thinke that the Spaniard may be expelled from thence more speedily or conveniently by keeping an armie there, then by sending one against him into his owne countrey: let him consider of how many men and continuall supplies that armie must consist, and what intollerable expenses it requireth. And let him thinke by the example of the duke of Alua, when the prince of Orange had his great armie agaynst him; and of Don Iuan, when the States had their mightie assembly against him, how this wise enemy, with whom we are to deale, may but by prolonging to fight with vs, leaue vs occasions enough for our armie within few moneths to mutine and bzeake; or by keeping him in his townes leaue vs a spoyled field: where though our prouision may bee such of our owne as we starue not, yet is our weaknesse in any strange countrey such, as with sickness and miserie we shall be dissolued. And let him not forget what a continual burthen we hereby lay vpon vs, in that to repossesse those countreys which haue bene lately lost, will be a warre of longer continuance then we shall be able to endure.

In the very action whereof, what should hinder the king of Spaine to bring his forces home vnto vs: For it is certaine he hath long since set downe in councill, that there is no way for him wholy to recouer those Low countreys, but by bringing the warre vpon England it selfe, which hath alwayes assisted them against him: and that being determined, and whereunto he hath bene vehemently urged by the last yeeres losse he sustained vpon our coasts, and the great dishonour this journey hath laid vpon him; no doubt if we shall giue him repitce to doe it, but he will mightily aduance his purpose, for he is richly able therunto, and wonderfull desirous of reuenge.

To encounter wherewith, I with euen in true and honest zeale to my Countrey, that we were all perswaded that there is no such assured meanes for the saferie of our estate, as to busy him with a well furnished armie in Spaine, which hath so many goodly Bayes open, as we may land without impeachment as many men as shall be needfull for such an inuasion. And hauing an armie of 20000 royally furnished there, we shall not need to take much care for their payment: for shall not Lisbon be thought able to make so few men rich, when the Suburbs thereof were found so abounding in riches, as had we made enemy of them, they had largely enriched vs all: Which with what small losse it may be won, is not here to the w; but why it was not won by vs, I haue here in shewed you. It is not the spoyle of Siuil sufficient to pay more then shall bee needfull to be sent against it, whose defence (as that of Lisbon) is otely force of men, of whom how many may for the present be raised, is not to be esteemed, because wee haue discovered what kind of men they be, euen such as will neuer abide ours in field, nor dare withstand any resolute attempt of ours agaynst them: for during the time we were in many places of their countrey, they cannot say that euer they made 20 of our men turne their faces from them. And be there not many other places of lesse difficultie to spoyle, able to satisfie our forces?

But admit, that if vpon this alarme that we haue giuen him, he tendering his naturall and needfull soile before his further remooued off governments, do draw his forces of old souldiers out of the Low countreys for his owne defence, is not the victorie then won by drawing and holding them from thence, for the which we should haue kept an armie there at a charge by many partes greater then this, and not stirred them?

Admit further our armie be impeached from landing there, yet by keeping the Sea, and possessing his principall roades, are we not in possibilitie to meet with his Indian marchants, and very like to prevent him of his prouisions comming out of the East countreys; without the which, neither the subject of Lisbon is long able to liue, nor the king able to maintaine his Rauen? For though the countrey of Portugall doe some yeeres find themselves coyne, yet are they neuer able to victuall the least part of that Citie. And albeit the king of Spaine be the richest prince in Christendome, yet can he neither draw cables, hewe masses, nor make powder out of his metcals, but is to be supplied of them all from thence. Of whom (some will hold opinion) it is no reason to make prize, because they bee not our enemies: and that our disagreeance with them will impeach the trade of our marchants, and so impouerish our countrey. Of whose mind I can hardly be drawn to be: For if my enemy fighting with me doe bzeake his sword, so as I thereby haue the aduantage against him; what shall I thinke of him that putteth a new sword into his hand to kill me withall? And may it not bee thought more fitting for vs in these times to looke our trades of Cloth, then by suffering these mischiefes, to put in hazard whether we shall haue a countrey left to make cloth in or no? And yet though neither Hamburg, Embden, nor Stode doe recieue our cloth, the necessary vse thereof in all places is such, as they will find means to take it from vs with our sufficient commoditie.

And admit (which were impossible) that we should have him neither at sea nor land (for unless it be with a much more mightie armie then ours, he shall neuer be able to withstand vs) yet shall we by holding him at his home, free our selues from the warre at our owne wals: the benefit whereof let them consider that best can iudge, and haue obserued the difference of inuading, and being inuaded; the one giuing courage to the souldier, in that it doeth see before him commoditie and reputation; the other a fearefull terror to the countrey-man, who if by chance he play the man, yet is he neuer the richer: and who knowing many holes to hide himselfe in, will tricke them all before he put his life in perill by fighting: whereas the Inuader casteth vp his account before hee goeth out, and being abroad must fight to make himselfe way, as not knowing what place or strength to trust vnto. It will not say what I obserued in our countrey-men when the enemy offered to assaile vs here: but I wish that all England knew what terror we gaue to the same people that frightened vs, by visiting them at their owne houses.

Were not Alexanders fortunes great against the mightie Darius, onely in that his Macedonians thirsted after the wealth of Persia, and were bound to fight it out to the last man, because the last man knew no safer way to saue himselfe then by fighting? Whereas the Persians either trusting to continue still masters of their wealth by yielding to the Inuader, began to practise against their owne king: or hauing more inward hopes, did hide themselves euen to the last, to see what course the Conquerour would take in his Conquest. And did not the aduise of Scipio, though mightily impugned at the first, prove very sound and honourable to his countrey? Who seeing the Romans wonderfully amazed at the neerenesse of their enemies Forces, and the lesse they daily sustained by them, gaue counsell rather by way of diuersion to cary an army into Afrike, and there to assaile, then by a defensue warre at home to remaine subiect to the common spoiles of an assailing enemy. Which being put in execution drew the enemy from the gates of Rome, and Scipio returned home with triumph: albeit his beginnings at the first were not so fortunate against them, as ours haue bene in this final time against the Spaniard. The good successe whereof may encourage vs to take armes resolutely against him. And I beseech God it may stirre vp all men that are particularly interested therein, to bethinke themselves how small a matter will assure them of their safetie, by holding the Spaniard at a Bate, so farre of: whereas, if we giue him leaue quietly to hatch and bring forth his preparations, it will be with danger to vs all.

We takeeth not armes against vs by any pretence of title to the crowne of this realme, nor led altogether with an ambitious desire to command our countrey, but with hatred towards our whole Nation and religion. Her maiesties Scepter is already giuen by Bull to another, the honours of our Nobilitie are bestowed for rewards vpon his attendants, our Clergie, our Gentlemen, our Lawyers, yea all men of what condition soeuer are offered for spoyle vnto the common souldier. Let every man therefore, in defence of the libertie and plenty he hath of long enjoyed, offer a voluntary contribution of the smallest part of their stoze for the assurance of the rest. It were not much for euery Justice of peace, who by his black coat protecteth the property and most seruicable men at euery mustre from the warres, to contribute the charge that one of these idle men doe put him to for one yeere: nor for the Lawyer, who riseth by the dissensions of his neighbours, to take but one yeeres gifts (which they call Fees) out of his coffers. What would it hinder euery officer of the Exchequer, and other of her Maiesties courts, who without checke doe suddenly grow to great wealth, honestly to bring forth the mysticall commodity of one yeeres profits? Or the Clergie, who looke precisely for the Tenth of euery mans increase, simply to bring forth the Tenth of one yeeres gathering, and in thankfulness to her Maiestie, (who hath continued for all our safeties a most chargeable warre both at land & sea) bestow the same for her honor & their owne assurance, vpon an army which may make this bloody enemy so to know himselfe and her Maiesties power, as he shall bethinke him what it is to moue a stirring people? Who, though they haue receiued some small checke by the sickness of this last iourney, yet doubt I not, but if it were made known, that the like voyage were to be supported by a generalitie, (that might and would beare the charge of a more ample provision) but there would of all sorts most willingly put themselves into the same: some caried with an honorable desire to be in action, and some in loue of such would affectionately follow their fortunes; some in thirsting to reuenge the death and hurts of their brethren, kindred, and friends: and some in hope of the plentifull spoiles to be found in those countreys, hauing bene there already and returned poore, would desire to goe againe, with an expectation to make amends for the last: and all, in hatred of that cowardly proud Nation, and in contemplation of the true honour of our owne, would with courage take armes to hazard their liues agaynst them, whom euery good Englishman is in nature bound to hate as an implacable enemy to England, thirsting after our blood, and labouring to ruine our land, with hope to bring vs under the yoke of perpetuall slaerie.

Against them is true honour to be gotten, for that we shall no sooner set foot in their land, but that every step we tread will yeeld vs new occasion of action, which I wish the gallantrie of our Countrey rather to regard then to follow those soft unprofitable pleasures wherein they now consume their time and patrimonie. And in two or three towne of Spaine is the welth of all Europe gathered together, which are the Magalins of the fruits and profits of the East and West Indies, wherunto I wish our young able men, who, (against the libertie they are borne vnto) terme themselves Seruing men, rather to bend their desires and affections, then to attend their double liues: and 40 shillings by the yeere wages, and the reuerfion of the old Copp-hoib, for carrying a ditty to their masters table. But let me here repprehend my selfe and craue pardon for entring into a matter of such state and consequence, the care whereof is already laid vpon a most graue and honorable counsell, who wil in their wisdoms foresee the dangers that may be threathned agaynst vs. And why do I labour to disquiet the securitie of these happy gentlemen, & the trade of those honest seruing men, by perswading them to the warres when I see the profession thereof so slenderly esteemed? For though all our hope of peace be frustrate, and our quarrels determinable by the sword: though our enemy hath by his owne forces and his pensionaries industry, confined the vnitied Provinces into a narrow ronne, & almost disunited the same: if he be now in a good way to harbor himselfe in the principall hauiens of France, from whence he may front vs at pleasure: yea though we are to hope for nothing but a bloodie warre, noz can trust to any helpe but Armes; yet how far the common sort are from reuerencing or regarding any persons of conduction, was too apparant in the returne of this our iourney, wherein the base and common souldier hath bene tollerated to speake against the Captaine, and the souldier and Capaine against the Generals, and wherein mechanicall and men of base condicou doe dare to censure the doings of them, of whose acts they be not woorthie to talke.

The ancient graue degree of the Prelacie is byheld, though Martin raise neuer so much, & the Lawyer is after the old maner worshipped, whosortur much against him. But the ancient English honour is taken from our men of war, & their profession in disgrace, though neuer so necessary. Either we commit idolatry to Neptune, and will put him alone still to fight for vs as he did the last yeere, or we be enchanted with some diuinely opinions, that trauell nothing more then to diminish the reputation of them, vpon whose shoulders the burden of our defence against the enemy must lie when occasion shall be offered. For whensoever he shall set foote vpon our land, it is neither the preaching of the Clergie that can turne him out againe, noz the pleading of any Lawyers that can remooue him out of possession: no, then they will honour them whom now they thinke not of, and then must those men stand betwene them and their perils, who are now thought vnwoorthie of any estimation.

May the burning of one towne (which cost the king then being six times as much as this hath done her maiestie, wherein were lost seuen times as many men as in any one seruice of this iourney, and taried not the tenth part of our time in the enemies Countrey) be by our elders so highly reputed and sounded out by the hystorie of the Realme; and can our voyage be so meanly esteemed, wherein we burned both towne and Countreys without the losse of fornic men in any such attempt?

Did our kings in former times reward some with the greatest titles of honour for ouerthrowing a number of pooze Scots, who, after one battell lost, were neuer able to reinfoze themselves against him; and shall they in this time who haue ouerthrowen our mightie enemy in battell, and taken his roiall Standert in the field, besieged the marquesse of Saralba 15 dayes together, that should haue bene the Generall of the Armie against vs, brought away so much of his artillarie (as I haue befoze declared) be vnwoorthily esteemed of?

Is it possible that some in some times should receiue their reward for looking vpon an enemy; and ours in this time not receiue so much as thanks for hauing beaten an enemy at hande strokes?

But it is true that no man shall bee a prophet in his Countrey: and for my owne part I will lay aside my Armes till that profession shall haue moze reputation, and liue with my friends in the countrey, attending either some moze fortunat time to vse them, or some other good occasion to make me forget them.

But what shall the blind opinion of this monster, a beast of many heads, (for so hath the generalitie of old bene termed) cause me to neglect the profession from whence I challenge some reputation, or diminish my loue to my countrey, which hitherto hath nourished me? No, it was for her sake I first tooke armes, and for her sake I will handle them so long as I shall bee able to vse them: not regarding how some men in priuate conuenicles do measure mens estimations by their owne humors; noz how euery popular person doeth giue sentence on euery mans actions by the
wo:th

worst accidents. But attending the gracious aspect of our dead Soueraigne, who neuer yet left vertue unrewarded: and depending vpon the iustice of her most rare and graue aduisors, who by their heedie looking into euery mans worst, do giue encouragement to the vertuous to exceed others in vertue: and assuring you that there shall neuer any thing happen moze pleasing vnto me, then that I may once againe bee a partie in some honozable iourney against the Spaniard in his owne countrey, I will cease my complaint: and with them that deserue beyond me, patiently endure the vbaduised censure of our malicious reproouers.

If I haue seemed in the beginning hereof troublesome vnto you, in the discouering of those impediments, and answering the slander which by the vulgar malicious and mutinous sort are laid as blemishes vpon the iourney, and reproches vpon the Generals (hauing indeed proceeded from other heads:) let the necessitie of conferring the reputation of the action in generall, & the honozs of our Generals in particular, bee my sufficient excuse: the one hauing by the vertue of the other made our country moze dreaded & renowned, then any act that euer England vnderooke before. Wherfore if you haue thought my perswasible discourse long in the latter end; let the affectionate desire of my countreys good be therein answerable for me. And such as it is I pray you accept it, as only recommended to your selfe, and not to be deliuered to the publique view of the world, least any man take offence thereat; which some particular men may seeme iustly to do, in that hauing deserved very well, I should not herein giue them their due commendations: whereas my purpose in this private discourse hath bene onely to gratifie you with a touch of those p̄ncipall matters that haue passed, wherein I haue onely taken notice of those men who either commanded euery seruice, or were of chiefest marke: if therfore you shall impart the same to one, and he to another, and so it passe through my hands, I know not what constructions would be made thereof to my p̄iudice; for that the Hares eares may happily be taken for hoznes. Howbeit I hold it very necessary (I must confesse) that there should be some true manifestation made of these things: but be it far from me to be the authoꝝ thereof, as very vnfit to deliuer my censure of any matter in publique, & most vnwilling to haue my weaknesse discovered in private. And so I doe leaue you to the happy successe of your accustomed good exercises, earnestly wishing that there may be some better acceptance made of the fruits of your studies, then there hath bene of our hazards in the wars. From London the 30 of August 1589.

The voiage of the right honorable George Erle of Cumberland to the Azores, &c. Written by the excellent Mathematician and Engineer master Edward Wright.

The right honorable the Erle of Cumberland hauing at his owne charges prepared his small Fleet of foure Sailes onely, viz. The Victorie one of the Quenees ships royall; the Meg and Margaret small ships, (one of which also he was forced soone after to send home againe, finding her not able to endure the Sea) and a small Carauell, and hauing assembled together about 400 men (or fewer) of gentlemen, souldiers, and saylers, embarked himself and them, and set saile from the Sound of Plimmouth in Deuonshire, the 18 day of June 1589, being accompanied with these captaines and gentlemen which hereafter folow.

Captaine Christopher Lister a man of great resolution, captaine Edward Carelesse, *alias* Wright, who in sir Francis Drakes West-Indian voyage to S. Domingo and Carthagenā, was captaine of the Hope. Captaine Boswell, M. Meruin, M. Henry Long, M. Partridge, M. Norton, M. William Mounson captaine of the Meg, and his vice admittall, now sir William Mounson, M. Pigeon captaine of the Carauell.

About 3 dayes after our departure from Plimmouth we met with 3 French ships, whereof one was of Newhauen, another of S. Malos, and so finding them to be Leaguers & lawfull Pirates, we cooke them and sent two of them for England with all their lading, which was fish for the most part from New-found-land, sauing that there was part thereof distributed amongst our small Fleet, as we could find stowage for the same: and in the third, all their men were sent home into France. The same day & the day folowing we met with some other ships, whom (wher after some conference had with them, we perceiued plainly to bee of Roterodam and Emden, bound for Rochell) we dismissed.

The 28 and 29 dayes we met diuers of our English ships, returning from the Portugall voyage which my lord relieved with victuals. The 13 day of July being Sunday in the morning, we espied 11 ships without sight of the coast of Spaine, in the height of 39 degrees, whom we presently prepared for, & provided to meet them, hauing first set forth captaine Mounson in the Meg, before vs, to descry whence they were. The Meg appoaching neere, there passed some shot betwixt them, whereby

whereby, as also by their Admiral and Viceadmirall putting forth their flags, we perceived that some fight was likely to follow. Having therefore fitted our selves for them, we made what hast we could towards them with regard alwayes to get the wind of them, and about 10 or 11 of the clocke, we came up to them with the Victory. But after some few shot & some litle fight passed betwixt vs, they peeled themselves, & the masters of them all came aboard vs, shewing their severall Passports from the cities of Hamburg and Lubeck, from Breme, Pomerania and Calice.

They had in them certaine bags of Pepper & Synniam, which they confessed to be the goods of a Jew in Lisbon, which should have bene carried by them into their country to his Factor there, and so finding it by their owne confession to be lawfull Prize, the same was soone after taken and decided amongst our whole company, the value wherof was esteemed to be about 4500 pounds, at two shillings the pound.

The 17 day the foresaid ships were dismissed, but 7 of their men that were willing to go along with vs for sailers, we tooke to helpe vs, and so held on our course for the Azores.

The 1 of August being Friday in the morning, we had sight of the Island of S. Michael, being one of the Eastermost of the Azores toward which we sailed all that day, and at night having put forth a Spanish flag in our main-top, that so they might the lesse suspect vs, we appoched neere to the chiefe towne and road of that Island, where we espied 3 ships riding at anker and some other vessels: all which we determined to take in the darke of the night, and accordingly attempted about 10 or 11 of the clocke, sending our boats well manned to cut their cables and haulters, and let them drue into the sea. Our men comming to them, found yone of those greatest ships was the Falcon of London being there vnder a Scottish Pilot who bare the name of her as his own. But 3 other smal ships that lay neere vnder the caille there, our men let loose and towed them away unto vs, most of the Spaniards that were in them leaping ouer-board and swimming to shore with loud and lamentable outcries, which they of the towne hearing were in an vproze, and answered with the like crying. The caille discharged some great shot at our boats, but shooting without marke by reason of the darknesse they did vs no hurt. The Scots likewise discharged 3 great pieces into the aire to make the Spaniards thinke they were their friends and our enemies, and shortly after the Scottish master, & some other with him, came aboard to my lord doing their dutie, and offering their seruice, &c. These 3 ships were fraught with wine and Sallet-oile from Siuil.

3 ships forcibly rowed out of harbour.

The same day our Caravel chaled a Spanish Caravel to shore at S. Michael, which carried letters thither, by which we learned that the Caraks were departed from Tercera 8 dayes before.

The 7 of August we had sight of a litle ship which wee chaled towards Tercera with our pinnace (the weather being calme) and towards euening we ouertooke her, there were in her 30 tunnes of good Madera wine, certaine woollen cloth, silke, cassata, &c. The 14 of August we came to the Island of Flores, where we determined to take in some fresh water and fresh victuals, such as the Island did affoord. So we manned our boats with some 120 men and rowed towards the shore; whereto when we appoched the inhabitantes that were assembled at the landing place, put forth a flag of truce, wherupon we also did the like.

When we came to them, my Lord gaue them to vnderstand by his Portugall interpreter, that he was a friend to their king Don Antonio, and came not any way to iniury the, but that he ment onely to haue some fresh water and fresh victuals of them, by way of exchange for some provision that he had, as oile, wine, or pepper, to which they presently agreed willingly, & sent some of their company for beeces and sheepe, and we in the meane season marched Southward about a mile to Villa de Santa Cruz, from whence all the inhabitantes pong and old were departed, and not any thing of value left. We demanding of them what was the cause hereof, they answered, Feare; as their vsuall manner was when any ships came neere their coast.

We found that part of the Island to be full of great rockie barren hills and mountains, litle inhabited by reason that it is molested with ships of war which might partly appeare by this towne of Santa Cruz (being one of their chiefe townes) which was all ruinous, and (as it were) but the reliques of the ancient towne which had bene burnt about two yeeres before by certaine English ships of war, as the inhabitantes there reported.

At euening as we were in rowing towards the Victory, an huge fish pursued vs for the space well nigh of two miles together, distant for the most part fro the boats sterne not a speares length, and sometimes so neere that the boat stroke vpon him, the tips of whole finnes about the ghills (appearing oft times aboue the water) were by estimation 4 or 5 yards asunder, and his lawes gaping a yard and an halfe wide, which put vs in feare of ourt-turning the pinnace, but God bee thanked (rowing as hard as we could) we escaped.

When we were about Flores a litle ship called the Drake, brought vs word that the Caraks were at Tercera, of which newes we were very glad, & sped vs thitherward with all the speed we could,

could : and by the way we came to Fayal road the seuen and twentieth day of August, after sunne set, where we espied certaine shippes ryding at anker, to whom we sent in our Skiffe with Capitaine Lister and Capitaine Monson in her to discouer the roaders : and leass any daunger should happen to our boate, we sent in likewise the Sawie-lacke and the small Carauell ; but the wind being off the shoare, the shippes were not able to fet it so nigh as the Spaniards ride, which neuertheless the boate did, and clapped a shippe aboord of two hundred and fiftie tunnes, which carried in her fourteene cast peeces, and continued fight alone with her for the space of one houre vntill the comming vp of other boates to the reskue of her, which were sent from the shippes, and then a fresh boording her againe one boate in the quarter, another in the haiffe, wee entred her on the one side, and all the Spaniards lept ouerboord on the other, saue Iuan de Palma the Capitaine of her and two or thre more, and thus we became possessors of her. This shippe was mozed to the Cattle which shot at vs all this while : the onely hurt which we receiued of all this shot was this, that the master of our Carauell had the calfe of his legge shot away. This shippe was laden with Sugar, Ginger, and hides lately come from S. Iuan de Puerto Rico ; after we had towed her cleare off the cattle, we rowed in againe with our boates, and fetched out siue small ships more ; one laden with hides, another with Elephants teeth, graines, coco-nuts, and goates skins come from Guinie, another with woad, and two with dogge-fish, which two last we let driu in the sea making none account of them. The other foure we sent for England the 30 of August.

At the taking of these Prizes were consozted with vs some other small men of warre, as Maister Iohn Davis, with his shippe, Pinnesse, and Boate, Capitaine Marquesburie with his ship, whose owner was Sir Walter Raleigh, the Barke of Lime, which was also consozted with vs before.

The last of August in the morning we came in sight of Tercera, being about some nine or ten leagues from shoare, where we espied comming towards vs, a small boat vnder saile, which seemed some what strange vnto vs, being so farre from land, and no shippe in sight, to which they might belong : but comming nere, they put vs out of doubt, shewing they were English men (eight in number) that had lately bene prisoners in Tercera, and finding opportunitie to escape at that time, with that small boat committed themselues to the sea, vnder Gods prouidence, hauing no other yard for their maine saile, but two pipe staues tyed together by the endes, and no more prouision of victuals, then they could bring in their pockets and bolomes. Hauing taken them all into the Victorie, they gaue vs certaine intelligence, that the Carackes were departed from thence about a weeke before.

An escape of 8. Englishmen from Tercera.

Thus being without any further hope of these Caraks, we resolved to returne for Fayall, with intent to surprize the towne, but vntill the ninth of September, we had either the winde so contrary, or the weather so calme, that in all that time, we made scarce nine or ten leagues way, lying vp and downe not farre from Pico.

The tenth of September, being Wednesday in the afternoone, wee came againe to Fayal roade. Whereupon immediatly my Lord sent Capitaine Lister, with one of Graciola (whom Capitaine Munson had before taken) and some others, towards Fayal, whom certaine of the Inhabitants met in a boat, and came with Capitaine Lister to my Lord, to whom hee gaue this choice : either to suffer him quietly to enter into the platforme there without resistance, where he and his companie would remaine a space without offering any iniurie to them, that they (the Inhabitants) might come vnto him and compound for the ranfome of the Towne : or else to stand to the hazard of warre.

With these words they returned to the towne : but the keepers of the platforme answered, that it was against their oath and alleageance to king Philip to giue ouer without fight. Whereupon my Lord commanded the boates of euerie ship, to be presently manned, and soone after landed his men on the landie shoare, vnder the side of an hill, about halfe a league to the Northwards from the platforme : vpon the toppe of which hill certaine horsemen and footmen shewed themselues ; and other two companies also appeared, with ensignes displayed, the one before the towne vpon the shore by the sea side, which marched towards our landing place, as though they would encounter vs ; the other in a valley to the Southwards of the platforme, as if they would haue come to helpe the Townesmen : during which time, they in the platforme also played vpon vs with great Ordnance. Notwithstanding my L. (hauing set his men in order) marched along the sea shore, vpon the sands, betwixt the sea & the towne towards the platforme for the space of a mile or more, & then the shore growing rockie, & permitting no further progresse without much difficultie, he entred into the towne & passed through the street without resistance, vnto the platforme ; for those companies before mentioned at my Lo. approaching, were soone disperfed, and suddenly vanished.

The taking of the towne and platforme of Fayal.

Like wile they of the platforme, being all fled at my Lordes comming thither, left him

and his company to scale the walles, to enter and take possession without resistance.

In the meane time our Shippes ceased not to batter the foresaid Towne and Platfoyme with great shotte, till such time as we saw the Red-Crosse of England flourishing upon the Front thereof.

¶ Description
of the towne
of Fayal.

This Fayal is the principall towne in all that is land, & is situate directly ouer against the high and mighty mountaine Pico, lying towards the West North-west from that mountaine, being divided therefrom by a narrow Sea, which at that place is by estimation about some two or thre leagues in breadth betweene the Isles of Fayal and Pico.

The towne conteyned some thre hundred households, their houses were faire and strongly builded of lime and stone, and double couered with hollow tyles much like our roofo-tyles, but that they are lesse at the one end then at the other.

Euery house almost had a cisterne or well in a garden on the backe side: in which gardens grew vines (with ripe clusters of grapes) making pleasant shadowes, and Tabacco nowe commonly known and vsed in England, wherewith their women there dye their faces reddish, to make them seeme fresh and young: Pepper Indian and common; figge-trees bearing both white and red figges: Peach trees not growing very tall: Oranges, Limons, Quinces, Potato-roots, &c. Swete wood (Cedr I thinke) is there very common, euen for building and firing.

My Lord hauing possessed himselfe of the towne and platfoyme, and being carefull of the preservation of the towne, gaue commandement, that no mariner or souldier should enter into any house, to make any spoyle thereof. But especially he was carefull that the Churches and houses of religion there should be kept inuolate, which was accordingly performed, through his appointment of guarders and keepers for those places: but the rest of the towne eyther for want of the former inhibition, or for desire of spoyle & prey, was rifled, & ransacked by the souldiers & mariners, who scarcely left any house vnsearched, out of which they tooke such things as liked them, as chests of swete wood, chaires, cloth, conerlets, hangings, bedding, apparell: and further ranged into the countrey, where some of them also were hurt by the inhabitants. The Friery there conteyning and maintayning thirtie Franciscan Friers (among whom we could not finde any one able to speake true Latine) was builded by a Fryer of Angra in Tercera of the same order, about the yeare of our Lord one thousand five hundred and sixe. The tables in the hall had seates for the one side onely, and were alwayes couered, as readie at all times for dinner or supper.

From Wednesday in the afternoone, at which time we entred the towne, till Saturday night, we continued there, untill the Inhabitants had agreed and payed for the ranlome of the towne, two thousand duckats, most part whereof was Church-plate.

We found in the platfoyme eight and fiftie yron peeces of Ordnance, whereof thre and twentie (as I remember) or moze were readie mounted vpon their carriages, betwene Baricados, vpon a platfoyme towards the sea-side, all which Ordnance we tooke, and set the platfoyme on fire, and so departed: My Lord hauing invited to dinner in the Victorie, on the Sunday following, so many of the Inhabitants as would willingly come (saue onely Diego Gomes the Gouvernour, who came but once onely to parle about the ranlome) onely foure came and were well entertained, and solemnly dismissed with sound of drumme and trumpets, and a peale of Ordnance: to whom my Lord deliuered his letter subscribed with his owne hand, importing a request to all other Englishmen to abstaine from any further molesting them, saue onely for fresh water, and victuals necessary for their intended voyage. During our abode here (viz. the 11 of September) two women came out of Pico which had bene prisoners there: Also at Fayal we set at libertie a prisoner translated from S. Iago, who was cousin to a seruant of Don Anthonio king of Portugall in England: These prisoners we deteprned with vs.

On Monday we sent our boates a shoze for fresh water, which (by reason of the raine that fell the former night) came plentifully running downe the hilles, and would otherwise haue bene hard to be gotten there. On Tuesday like wise hauing not yet sufficiently serued our turnes, we sent againe for fresh water, which was then not so easie to be gotten as the day before, by reason of a great winde: which in the afternoone increased also in such sort, that we thought it not safe to ride so neere the land; whereupon we weped anker and so departed North-west and by west, alongst the coast of Fayal Island, Some of the Inhabitants comming aboard to vs this day, tolde vs that alwayes about that time of the yeere such windes West South-west blew on that coast.

This day, as we sayled neere Saint Georges Island, a huge fish lying still a litle vnder water, or rather euen therewith, appeared hard by a head of vs, the sea breaking vpon his backe, which was blacke coloured, in such sort as deeming at the first it had bene a rocke, and the ship Gemming

stemming directly with him, we were put in a sudden feare for the time: till soone after we saw him moue out of the way.

The 16 of September in the night it lightened much, whereupon there followed great winds and raine, which continued the 17 18 19 20 and 21 of the same. The 23 of September we came againe into Saial road to weigh an anker which (for haste and feare of foule weather) we had left there befoze, where we went on shoze to see the towne, the people (as we thought) hauing now settled themselves there againe: but notwithstanding many of them through too much distrustfulnesse, departed and prepared to depart with their packers at the first sight of vs: vntill such time as they were assured by my Lord, that our comming was not any way to iniure them, but especially to haue fresh water, and some other things needefull for vs, contenting them for the same.

So then we viewed the Towne quietly, and bought such things as we desired for our money as if we had bene in England. And they helped to fill vs in fresh water, receiuing for their paines such satisfaction as contented them.

The 25 day we were forced againe to depart from thence, befoze we had sufficiently watered, by reason of a great tempest that suddenly arose in the night, in so much, that my Lord himselfe soone after midnight rayled our men out of their Cabines to wey anker, himselfe also together with them haling at the Capten, and after the aring them by with wine.

The next day we sent our Carauell and the Sawfie-Jacke to the road of Saint Michael, to see what they could espie: we following after them vpon the 27 day, plying to and fro, came within sight of S. Michael, but by contrary windes the 28 29 and 30 dayes wee were driuen to leeward, and could not get neere the Island.

The first of October wee sailed alongst Tercera, and euen against Brasill (a promontorie neere to Angra the strongest Towne in that Island) wee espied some boates comming to the Towne, and made out towarde them: but being neere to the lande they ranne to shoare and escaped vs.

In the afternoone we came neere to Graciola, whereupon my Lord forthwith sent Captain Lister to the Islanders, to let them vnderstand that his desire was onely to haue water and wine of them, and some fresh victuals, and not any further to trouble them. They answered they could giue no resolute answer to this demaund, vntill the Governours of the Island had consulted thereupon, and therefore desired him to send againe to them the next day.

Vpon the second day of October early in the morning, we sent forth our long boat and Pinnesse, with emptie Calke, and about some fiftie or sixty men together with the Margaret, and Captaine Davis his shippe: for we now wanted all the rest of our consoztes. But when our men would haue landed, the Islanders shot at them, and would not suffer them. And troups of men appeared vpon land, with ensignes displayed to resist vs: So our boates rowed alongst the shoare, to finde some place where they might land, not with too much disadvantage: our shippes and they still shooting at the Islanders: but no place could be founde where they might land without great perill of loosing many of their liues, and so were contrayned to retire without receiuing any answer, as was promised the day befoze. We had thzee men hurt in this conflict, whilst our boates were together in consulting what was best to be done: two of them were stroken with a great shot (which the Islanders drew from place to place with Dren) wherewith the one lost his hand, and the other his life within two or thzee dayes after: the third was shot into his necke with a small shot, without any great hurt.

With these newes our company returned backe againe at night, whereupon preparation was made to goe to them againe the next day: but the day was farre spent befoze we could come neere them with our ship: neither could we finde any good ground to anker in, where we might lye to batter the Towne, and further we could finde no landing place, without great danger to loose many men: which might turne not onely to the ouerthrow of our voiage, but also put the Queenes ship in great perill for want of men to bring her home. Therefore my Lord thought it best to write to them to this effect: That he could not a litle maruell at their inhumanitie and crueltie which they had shewed towards his men, seeing they were sent by him vnto them in peaceable manner, to receiue their answer which they had promised to giue the day befoze: and that were it not for Don Antonio their lawfull king his sake, he could not put vp so great iniury at their hands, without iust reuengement vpon them: notwithstanding for Don Antonio his sake, whose friend he was, he was yet content to send to them once againe for their answer: At night Captaine Lister returned with this answer from them. That their Gunner shot off one of their peeces, which was charged with powder onely, and was stopped; which our men thinking it had bin shot at them, shot againe, and so beganne the fight: and that the next morning they would send my

Lord a resolute answer to his demaunde, for as yet they could not knowe their Governours minde herein. The next morning there came unto vs a boate from the shoare with a flagge of truce, wherein were three of the chiefe men of the Island; who agreed with my Lord that hee should haue of them sixtie buttes of wine, and fresh victuals to refresh himselfe and his companie withall: but as for fresh water, they could not sacrifice our needs therein, hauing themselves little or none, sauing such as they saued in vessels or cisternes when it rayned, and that they had rather giue vs two tunnes of wine then one of water: but they requested that our souldiers might not come on shoare, for they themselves would bring all they had promised to the water-side, which request was graunted; we keeping one of them aboard with vs vntill their promise was performed, and the other we sent to shoare with our emptie Caskes, and some of our men to helpe to fill, and bring them away with such other prouision as was promised: so the Margaret, Captaine Davis his shippe, and another of Weymouth stayed ryding at anker before the Towne, to take in our prouision. This shippe of Weymouth came to vs the day before, and had taken a rich Prize (as it was reported) worth sixtene thousand pound, which brought vs newes that the West-Indian Fleete was not yet come; but would come very shortly. But we with the Victorie put off to sea, and vpon Saturday the fourth of October, we tooke a French shippe of Saint Malo (a citie of the unholy league) loden with fish from Newfoundland: which had bene in so great a tempest, that she was constrained to cut her mayne mast ouerboard for her safetie, and was now comming to Graciola, to repaire her selfe. But so hardly it befell her, that she did not onely not repaire her former losses, but lost all that remained unto vs. The chiefe of her men we tooke into our ship, and sent some of our men, mariners, and souldiers into her to bring her into England.

Upon the Sunday following at night, all our promised prouision was brought unto vs from Graciola: and we friendly dismissed the Islanders with a peale of Ordnance.

Upon Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, we plyed to and fro about those Isles, being very rough weather. And vpon Thursday at night, being dixen some three or foure leagues from Tercera, we saw sixtene saile of the West-Indian Fleete comming into the Hauens at Angra in Tercera. But the winde was such, that for the space of foure dayes after, though wee lay as close by the winde as was possible, yet we could not come neere them. In this time we lost our late French Prize, not being able to lie so neere the winde as we, and heard no more of her till we came to England where shee safely arrived. Upon Monday we came very neere the Hauens mouth, being minded to haue runne in amongst them, and to haue fetched out some of them if it had bene possible: But in the end this enterprize was deemed too daungerous, considering the strength of the place where they rode, being haled and towed in neerer the towne, at the first sight of our approaching, and lying vnder the protection of the Castle of Brasill, on the one side (hauing in it five and twentie peeces of Ordnance) and a fort on the other side wherein were 13 or 14 great bualle pieces. Besides, when we came neere land the winde prououed too scant for vs to attempt any such enterprize.

Upon Tuesday the fourteenth of October we sent our boate to the roade to sound the depth, to see if there were any ankoing place for vs, where we might lie without shot of the Castle and Fort, and within shot of some of those shippes, that we might either make them come out to vs, or sinke them where they lay. Our boate returned hauing found out such a place as we desired, but the winde would not suffer vs to come neere it, and againe if we could haue ankoied there, it was thought likely that they would rather runne themselves a ground to saue their lines and liberties, and some of their goods, then come forth to loose their liberties and goods to vs their enemies. So we shot at them to see if we could reach them, but it fell farre short. And thus we departed, thinking it not probable that they would come forth so long as we watched for them before the hauens mouth, or within sight of them. If of the space of five dayes after we put off to sea, and lay without sight of them, and sent a pinnesse to lie out of sight close by the shoare, to bring vs word if they should come forth. After a while the Pinnesse returned and tolde vs that those ships in the Hauens had taken downe their sayles, and let downe their toppe mastes: so that wee supposed they would neuer come forth, till they perceived vs to bee quite gone.

Wherefore vpon the 20 of October, hearing that there were certaine Scottish ships at Saint Michael, we sayled thither, and found there one Scottish roader, and two or three more at Villa Franca, the next roade a league or two from the towne of S. Michael, to the Eastwards: of whom we had for our reliefe some small quantitie of wine (viz. some five or six buttes of them all) and some fresh water, but nothing sufficient to serue our turne.

Upon Tuesday the one and twentieth of October, we sent our long boate to shoare for fresh water

water at a brooke a little to the Westwards from Villa Franca,

But the Inhabitants espying vs came downe with two Ensignes displayed, and about some hundred and fiftie men armed, to withstand our landing. So our men hauing spent all their powder vpon them in attempting to land, and not being able to preuaile at so great oddes, returned frustrate.

From hence we departed towards Saint Maries Island, intuding to water there, and then to goe for the coast of Spaine. For we had intelligence that it was a place of no great force, and that we might water there very well: therefore vpon Friday following, my Lord sent Captaine Lister, and Captaine Amias Preston now Sir Amias Preston (who not long before came to vs out of his owne shippe, and shee tooing vs in the night, hee was forced to carry still with vs) with our long boate and Pinnesse, and some fiftie or seuentie shotte in them, with a friendly letter to the Islanders, that they would grant vs leaue to water, and we would no further trouble them.

So we departed from the Victorie for the Island, about nine of the clocke in the forenoone, and rowed freshly vncill about 3 a clocke afternoone. At which time our men being something weary with rowing, and being within a league or two of the shoare, and 4 or 5 leagues from the Victorie, they espied (to their refreshing) two ships ryding at anker hard vnder the towne, wherewithon hauing shifted some 6 or 7 of our men into Captaine Dauis his boate, being too much pestered in our owne, and retayning with vs some 20 shot in the pinnesse, we made way towards them with all the speede we could.

By the way as we rowed we saw boates passing betwixt the roaders and the shoare; and men in their thirties swimming and wading to sheare, who as we perceiued afterwarthes, were labouring to let those shippes fall on ground, and the Inhabitants as busily preparing themselves for the defence of those roaders, their Island, and themselves. When we came neere them, Captaine Lister commaunded the Trumpets to be sounded, but prohibited any shot to be discharged at them, vncill they had direction from him: But some of the companie, either not well perceiuing or regarding what he sayd, immediatly vpon the sound of the Trumpets discharged their pieces at the Islanders, which for the most part lay in trenches and fortified places vnseene, to their owne best advantage: who immediatly shot likewise at vs, both with small and great shot, without danger to themselves: Notwithstanding Captaine Lister earnestly hastened forward the Saplors that rowed, who beganne to synke at that shot, flying so fast about their eares, and himselfe first entering one of the shippes that lay a litle further from shoare then the other, we speedily followed after him into her, still plying them with our shot. And hauing cut in vnder her Cables and Hauers, towed her away with our Pinnesse. In the meane time Captaine Dauis his boate ouertooke vs and entred into the other shippe, which also (as the former) was forsaken by all her men: but they were constraind to leaue her & to come againe into their boate (whilest shot and stones from shoare flew fast amongst them) finding her to sticke so fast a ground, that they could not fire her: which the Townesmen also perceiuing, and seeing that they were but fewe in number, and vs (busied about the other ship) not comming to ayde them, were preparing to haue come and taken them. But they returned vnto vs, and so together we came away towards the Victorie, towing after vs the Prize that we had now taken, which was lately come from Brafill, loden with Sugar.

In this fight we had two men slaine and 16 wounded: and as for them, it is like they had litle hurt, lying for the most part behind stone walles, which were builded one about another hard by the sea side, vpon the end of the hill wherewithon the Towne stood betwixt two vallies. Vpon the toppe of the hill lay their great Ordnance (such as they had) wherewith they shot leaden bullets, wherewith one pierced through our Prizes side, and lay still in the shippe without doing any more harme.

The next day we went againe for water to the same Island, but not knowing before the inconuenience and disadvantage of the place where we attempted to land, we returned frustrate.

The same night the 25 of October we departed for S. Georges Island for fresh water, whither we came on Sunday following October 27, and hauing espied where a spout of water came running downe: the pinnesse and long boate were presently manned and sent vnder the conduct of Captaine Preston, and Captaine Munson, by whom my Lord sent a letter to the Islanders as before, to grant vs leaue to water onely, and we would no further trouble them: notwithstanding our men comming on shoare found some of the pooore Islanders, which for feare of vs hid themselves amongst the rockes.

And on Wednesday following our boats returned with fresh water, wherewith they brought onely sixe tunnes for the Victorie, alieaguing they could get no more, thinking (as it was supposed)

that my Lord having no more provision of water and wine, but onely 12 tunnes, would not goe for the coast of Spaine, but straight for the coast of England, as many of our men greatly desired: notwithstanding my Lord was unwilling so to doe, and was minded the next day to have taken in more water: but through roughnesse of the seas and winde, and unwillingnesse of his men it was not done. Yet his Hon. purposed not to returne with so much provision onely, and his voyage (as he thought) not yet performed in such sort as mought give some reasonable contentment or satisfaction to himselfe and others.

Therefore because no more water could now conveniently be gotten, and being uncertaine when it could be gotten, and the time of our staying aboard also uncertaine, the matter being referred to the choyse of the whole companie, whether they would carrie longer, till wee might be more sufficiently provided of fresh water, or goe by the coast of Spaine for England, with halfe so much allowance of drinke as befoze, they willingly agreed that every meale should be allowed at one meale but halfe so much drinke as they were accustomed (except them that were sicke or wounded) and so to goe for England, taking the coast of Spaine in our way, to see if we could that way make by our voyage.

Upon Saturday Octob. 31 we sent the Margaret (because she leaked much) directly for England, together with the Prize of Basile which we tooke at S. Marie, and in them some of our hurt and wounded men or other wise sicke were sent home as they desired, for England: but Captaine Monson was taken out of the Megge into the Victorie.

So we held on our course for the coast of Spaine with a faire winde and a large which befoze we seldom had. And upon Tuesday following being the 4 of Nouemb. we espied a saile right befoze vs, which we chased till about thzee a clocke in the afternoone, at which time we overtaking her, she strooke sayle, and being demaunded who was her owner and from whence she was, they answered, a Portugall, and from Pernambucke in Brasile. She was a ship of some 110 tuns burden, freighted with 410 chestes of Sugar, and 50 Rincals of Brasill-wood, every Rincall containing one hundred pound weight: we tooke her in latitude nine and twentie degrees, about two hundred leagues from Lisbone westwards: Captaine Preston was presently sent unto her, who brought the principall of her men aboard the Victorie, and certaine of our men, mariners and souldiers were sent aboard her. The Portugals of this Prize told vs that they saw another ship befoze them that day about noone: Having therefore dispatched all things about the Prize afozesaid, and left our long boat with Captaine Davis, taking his lesser boat with vs, we made way after this other ship with all the sayles we could beare, holding on our course due East, and giving order to Captaine Davis his ship and the Prize that they should follow vs due East, and that if they had sight of vs the morning following they should follow vs still: if not, they should goe for England.

The next morning we espied not the sayle which we chased, and Captaine Davis his ship and the Prize were behinde vs out of sight: but the next Thursday the first of Nouember (being in latitude 38 degrees 30 minutes, and about sixtie leagues from Lisbone westwards) early in the morning Captaine Preston descried a sayle some two or thzee leagues a head of vs, after which we presently hastened our chase, and overtooke her about eight or nine of the clocke befoze noone. She came lately from Saint Michaels roade, having beene befoze at Brasill loden with Sugar and Brasile. Having sent our boat to them to bring some of the chiefe of their men aboard the Victorie, in the meane time whilst they were in comming to vs one out of the maine toppe espied another saile a head some thzee or foure leagues from vs. So immediately vpon the returne of our boate, having sent her backe againe with some of our men aboard the prize, we pursued speedily this new chase, with all the sayles we could packe on, and about two a clocke in the afternoone overtooke her: she had made provision to fight with vs, having hanged the sides of the ship so thicke with hides (where with especially she was loden) that musket shot could not have pierced them: but yet we had discharged two great pieces of our Ordnance at her, she strooke sayle, and approaching nearer, we asking of whence they were, they answered from the West-Indies, from Mexico, and Saint Iohn de Lowe (truly called Vlhua.) This ship was of some thzee or foure hundred tunnes, and had in her seven hundred hides worth tenne shillings a peece: five chestes of Cochawell, curry chest houlding one hundred pound weight, and every pound worth five and twentie shillings and eight pence, and certaine chestes of Sugar and China dishes, with some plate and silver.

The Captaine of her was an Italian, and by his behaviour seemed to be a graine, wise, and civill man: he had put in adventure in this Shippe five and twentie thousand Duckats. Wee tooke him with certaine other of her chiefe men (which were Spaniards) into the Victorie: and Captaine Lister with some other of the chiefe of our Mariners, souldiers, and saylers

as were thought sufficient, to the number of 20. or thereabouts, were sent into her. In the meane time (we staying) our other prizes which followed after, came by to vs. And now we wee had our hands full and with ioy shaped our course for England, for so it was thought meetest, hauing now so many Portugals, Spaniards and Frenchmen amongst vs, that if we should haue taken any moze prizes afterwards, wee had not bene well able to haue manned them without endaungering our selues. So about 6. of the clocke in the afternoone (when our other prize had overtaken vs) wee set saile for England. But our prizes not being able to beare vs company without sparing them many of our sailes, which caused our ship to rowle and wallow, in such sort that it was not onely very troublesome to vs, but, as it was thought, would also haue put the maine Passage in danger of falling ouerboard: hauing acquainted them with these inconueniencies, we gaue them direction to keepe their courtes together, following vs, and so to come to Portsmouth. We tooke this last prize in the latitude of 39. degrees, and about 46. leagues to the Westwards from The Roche.

She was one of those 16. shippes which we saw going into the hauein at Angra in Terçera, October 8. Some of the men that we tooke out of her tolde vs, that whilest wee were plying vp and downe befoze that hauein, as befoze was shewed, expecting the comming forth of those shippes; these of the greatest and best of them, at the appointment of the Souerainour of Terçera, were burdened of their treasure and marchandize. And in euery of them were put thre hundred Souldiers, which were appointed to haue come to lay the Victory aboard in the night, and take her: but when this should haue bene done the Victory was gone out of their sight.

Now we went merily befoze the winde with all the sailes we could beare, insomuch that in the space of 24. houres, we sailed nere 47. leagues, that is seuentye English miles, betwixt Friday at noone and Saturday at noone (notwithstanding the shippe was very foule, and much growne with long being at Sea) which caused some of our company to make account they would see what running at Tilt there should bee at Whitehall vpon the Queenes day. Others were imagining what a Christmas they would keepe in England with their shares of the prizes we had taken. But so it befell, that we kept a colde Christmas with the Bishop and his clerkes (rockes that lye to the Westwards from Sylly, and the Westerne parts of England:) for soone after the wind leaning came about to the Eastwards (the worst part of the heauens for vs, from which the winde could blow) in such sort, that we could not fetch any part of England. And hereupon also our allowance of drinke, which was scant ynough befoze, was yet moze more scanted, because of the scarcitie thereof in the shippe. So that now a man was allowed but halfe a piute at a meale, and that many times colde water, and scarce sweete. Notwithstanding this was an happy estate in comparisou of that which followed: for from halfe a piute we came to a quarter, and that lasted not long neither, so that by reason of this great scarcitie of drinke, and contrarietie of winde, we thought to put into Ireland, there to relieue our wants. But when wee came nere thither, lying at hull all night (carrying for the daylight of the next morning, whereby we might the safer bying our ship into some conuenient harbour there) we were driven so farre to lee-ward, that we could fetch no part of Ireland, so as with heauie hearts and sad cheate, wee were constrained to returne backe againe, and expect till it should please God to send vs a faire winde either for England or Ireland. In the meane time we were allowed euery man thre or foure spoones full of vineger to drinke at a meale: for other drinke we had none, sauing onely at two or thre meales, when we had in stead hereof as much wine, which was wringed out of Wine-leses that remained. With this hard fare (for by reason of our great want of drinke, wee durst eate but very little) wee continued for the space of a fourt night or thereabouts: Sauing that now and then wee sealed for it in the meane time: And that was when there fell any haile or raine: the haile-stones wee gathered by and did eate them moze pleasantly then if they had bene the sweetest Comfits in the world; The raine-drops were so carefully saued, that so nere as wee coulde, not one was lost in all our shippe. Some hanged by sheetes tied with cordes by the foure corners, and a weight in the midd that the water might runne downe thicher, and so be receiued into some vessel set or hanged vnderneath: Some that wanted sheetes, hanged by nakins, and cloutes, and watched them till they were shrow wet, then wringing and sucking out the water. And that water which fell downe and washed away the filth and slopping of the shippe, trod vnder foote, as bad as running downe the keel many times when it rained, was not lost I warrant you, but watched and attended carefully (yea sometimes with strife and contention) at euery scupper-hole, and other place where it ranne downe, with dishes, pates, cannes, and Jarres, whereof some drunke hearty draughts euen as it was, mud and all, without tarrying to cleanse or settle it: Others clensted it first, but not often, for so was so thicke and white so shewly shrow, that they might ill enoure to cary so long, and were loth to loose too much of such precious stuffe: some licked with their tongues (like dogges) the boards vnder feete, the sides, railles, and Haues of the shippe: others that were moze ingenious,

fastened

fastened girdles or ropes about the Hatches, dawbing tallow betwixt them and the Hatch (that the raine might not runne downe betweene) in such sort, that those ropes or girdles hanging lower on the one side then on the other, a spout of leather was fastened to the lowest part of them, that all the raine drops that came running downe the Hatch, might meete together at that place, and there be receiued.

See that got a canne of water by these meanes was spoken of, sued to, and enuied as a rich man, *Quam pulchrum digno monstrari & dicier hic est?* Some of the pooze Spaniards that we had taken (who notwithstanding had the same allowance that our owne men had) would come and craue of vs, for the loue of God, but so much water as they could holde in the hollow of their hand: and they had it, notwithstanding our great extremitie, to teache them some humanitie in stead of their accustomed barbaritie, both to vs and other nations heretofore. They put also bullets of lead into their mouths to stake their thirst.

Now in euery corner of the shippe we were heard the lamentable cries of sicke and wounded men sounding wofully in our eares, crying out and pitifully complaining for want of drinke, being ready to die, yea many dying for lacke thereof, so as by reason of this great extremitie we lost many more men, then wee had done all the voyage before: hauing before this time bene so well and sufficiently provided for, that we liued in maner as well and healthfully, and died as few as if wee had bene in England, whereas now lightly euery day some were cast ouerboord.

But the second day of December 1589, was a festiuall day with vs, for then it rained a good pace, and wee saued some pretie store of raine water (though wee were well wet for it, and that at midnichte) and filled our skins full besides: notwithstanding it were muddie and bitter with washing the shippe, but (with some sugar which we had to sweeten it withall) it went merrily downe, yet remembred we and wished for with all our hearts, many a Conduit, pumpe, spring, & streame of cleare sweete running water in England: And how miserable wee had accorrupted some pooze soules whom we had scene dzinen for thirst to drinke thereof, and how happy we would now haue thought our selues if we might haue had our fills of the same: yet should wee haue feared the better with this our pooze feasting, if we might haue had our meate and drinke (such and so much as it was) stand quietly before vs: but beside all the former extremities, wee were so tossed and turmoiled with such horrible stormie and tempestuous weather, that euery man had best holde fast his Cane, cup, and dish in his hands, yea and himselfe too, many times, by the ropes, railes, or sides of the ship or else he should soone finde all vnder fecte.

Herewith our maine saile was tozne from the yarde and blowne ouerboord quite away into the sea without recovery, and our other sailes so rent and tozne (from side to side some of them) that hardly any of them escaped hole. The raging waues and forming surges of the sea came rowling like mountaines one after another, and ouerraked the wasse of the shippe like a migeie riuer running ouer it, whereas in faire weather it was neere 20. foote about the water, that now wee might cry out with the princely Prophet Psalme 107. vers. 26. They mount vp to heauen, and descend to the deepe, so that their soule melteth away for trouble: they reele too and fro, and stagger like a drunken man, and all their cunning is gone. With this extremitie of soule weather the ship was so tossed and shaken, that by the creaking noise it made, and by the leaking which was now much more then ordinary, wee were in great feare it would haue shaken in sunder, so that now also we had iust cause to pray a little other wise then the Poet, though marring the verse, yet mending the meaning.

*Deus maris & Coeli, quid enim nisi vota supersunt,
Soluere quassata parcito membra ratis.*

Notwithstanding it pleased God of his great goodnesse to deliuer vs out of this danger. Then forthwith a new maine saile was made and fastened to the yarde, and the rest repaired as time and place would suffer: which we had no looner done, but yet againe wee were troubled with as great extremitie as before, so that againe we were like to haue lost our new maine saile, had not Master William Antony the Master of the ship himselfe (when none else would or durst) ventured with danger of drowning by creeping along vpon the maine yarde (which was let downe close to the railes) to gather it vp out of the sea, and to fasten it thereto, being in the meane while oft-times ducked ouer head and eares into the sea.

These stormes were so terrible, that there were some in our company, which confessed they had gone to seas for the space of 20. yeres, and had neuer seene the like, and vowed that if euer they returned safe home, they would neuer come to Sea againe.

The last of Nouember at night we met with an English ship, out of which (because it was too late that night) it was agreed that we should haue had the next morning two or thre Tunnes of wine, which, as they said, was all the prouision of drinke they had, save only a But or two, which they
must

most needs serue for their owne vse: but after that, we heard of them no more, till they were set on ground vpon the coast of Ireland, where it appeared that they might haue spared vs much more then they pretended they could, so as they might wel haue relieved our great necessities, and haue had sufficient for themselues besides, to bring them into England.

The first of December at night we spake with another English ship, and had some beere out of her, but not sufficient to carry vs into England, so that wee were constrained to put into Ireland; the winde so seruing.

The next day we came to an anchor, not far from the S. Kelmés vnder the land & winde, where we were somewhat more quiet, but (that being no safe harbour to ride in) the next morning wee went about to weigh anchor, but hauing some of our men hurt at the Capsten, wee were faine to giue ouer and leaue it behinde, holding on our course to Ventre hauen, where wee safely arriued the same day, that place being a very safe and conuenient harbor for vs, that now wee might sing as we had iust cause, They that goe downe to the Sea, &c.

So soone as we had anchored here my Lord went forthwith to shoare, and brought presently fresh water and fresh victuals, as Muttons, pigges, hennes, &c. to refresh his company withall. Notwithstanding himselfe had lately bene very weake, and talked of the same extremitie that his Company did: For in the time of our former want, hauing a little fresh water left him remaining in a pot, in the night it was broken, and the water drunke and dried vp. Soone after the sicke and wounded men were carried to the next principall Towne, called Dingenacush, being about thre miles distant from the foresaide hauen, wher our shippe roade, to the Eastwards, that there they might be the better refreshed, and had the Chirurgians dayly to attend vpon them. Here we wel refreshed our selues whilst the Irish harpe sounded sweetely in our eares, and here we, who for the former extremities were in maner halfe dead, had our liues (as it were) restored vnto vs againe.

This Dingenacush is the chiefe Towne in all that part of Ireland, it consisteth but of one maine streete, from whence some smaller doe proceede on either side. It hath had gates (as it seemeth) in times past at either ende to open and shut as a Towne of warre, and a Castle also. The houses are very strongly built with thicke stone walles, and narrow windowes like vnto Castles: for as they confessed, in time of trouble, by reason of the wilde Irish or otherwise, they used their houses for their defence as Castles. The castle and all the houses in the Towne, saue foure, were won, burnt, and ruinated by the Erle of Desmond. These foure houses fortified themselues against him, and withstood him and all his power perforce, so as he could not winne them.

There remaineth yet a thicke stone wall that passeth ouerthwart the midst of the streete which was a part of their fortification. Notwithstanding whilst they thus defended themselues, as some of them yet aliuie confessed, they were driuen to as great extremities as the Iewes, besieged by Titus the Romane Emperour, inso much that they were constrained to eat dead mens carcases for hunger. The Towne is nowe againe somewhat repaired, but in effect there remaine but the ruines of the former Towne. Commonly they haue no chimnies in their houses, excepting them of the better sort, so that the smoake was very troublesome to vs, while we continued there. Their fewell is turfes, which they haue very good, and whinnes or fures. There groweth little wood thereabouts, which maketh building chargeable there: as also want of lime (as they reported) which they are faine to fetch from farre, when they haue neede thereof. But of stones there is store enough, so that with them they commonly make their hedges to part ech mans ground from other; and the ground seemeth to be nothing else within but rockes and stones: Yet it is very fruitfull and plentifull of grasse, and graine, as may appeare by the abundance of kine and cattel there: inso much that we had good muttons (though somewhat lesse then ours in England) for two shillings or five groates a peece, good pigges and hennes for 3. pence a peece.

The greatest want is industrious, painefull, and husbandly inhabitants to till and trimme the ground: for the common sort, if they can prouide sufficient to serue from hand to mouth, take no further care.

Of money (as it seemeth) there is very small store amongst them, which perhaps was the cause that made them double and triple the prizes of many things we bought of them, more then they were before our coming thither.

Good land was here to be had for foure pence the Acre yeerely rent. There are Mines of As-
sone, Tinne, brasse, and yron. Stones wee sawe there as cleare as Christall, naturally squared
like Diamonds, Mines in Ire-
land.

That part of the Countrey is all full of great mountaines and hills, from whence came running downe the pleasant streames of sweete fresh running water. The naturall hardnesse of that Nation appeareth in this, that their small chilozen runne vsually in the middelt of Winter vp and downe the streeces bare-foote and bare-legged, with no other apparell (many times) saue onely

onely a mantell to couer their nakednesse.

The chiefe Officer of their Towne they call their Soueraigne, who hath the same office and authoritie among them that our Maiors haue with vs in England, and hath his Sergeants to attend vpon him, and beare the Pace before him as our Maiors.

We were first entertained at the Soueraignes house, which was one of those 4. that withstood the Cite of Desmond in his rebellion. They haue the same forme of Common prayer word for word in Latin, that we haue here in England. Upon the Sunday the Soueraigne commeth into the Church with his Sergeant before him, and the Sheriffe and others of the Towne accompany him, and there they kneele downe euery man by himselfe priuately to make his prayers. After this they rise and go out of the Church againe to drinke, which being done, they returne againe into the Church, and then the Minister beginneth prayers.

Their maner of baptizing differeth something from ours: part of the seruice belonging thereto is repeated in Latin, and part in Irish. The Minister taketh the child in his hands, and first dippeth it backwards, and then forwards, ouer head and eares into the cold water in the midst of Winter, whereby also may appeare their naturall hardnesse, (as before was specified.) They had neither Bell, drum, nor trumpet, to call the Parishioners together, but they expect till their Soueraigne come, and then they that haue any deuotion follow him.

They make their bread all in cakes, and, for the tenth part, the bakets bake for all the towne.

We had of them some 10. or 11. Tunnes of beere for the Victory, but it proued like a present purgation to them that took it, so that we chose rather to drinke water then it.

The 20. of December we loosed fro hence, hauing well prouided our selues of fresh water, and other things necessary, being accompanied with sir Edw. Dennie, his Lady, and two yong sonnes.

This day in the morning my Lord going ashore to dispatch away speedily some fresh water that remained for the Victory, the winde being very fatre for vs, brought vs newes that there were 60. Spanish prizes taken and brought to England. For two or three dayes wee had a fatre winde, but after wards it scanted so, that (as I said before) we were faine to keepe a cold Christmas with The Bishop and his clearkes.

After this we met with an English ship, that brought vs ioyful newes of 91. Spanish prizes that were come to England: and sorrowfull newes withall, that the last and best prize we tooke, had suffered shipwracke at a place vpon the coast of Cornwall which the Cornish men call Als Efferne, that is, Hel-cliffe, and that Captaine Lister and all the men in the ship were drowned, saue 5. or 6. the one halfe English, the other Spanish that saued themselues with swimming: but notwithstanding much of the goods were saued, and referred for vs, by sir Francis Godolphin, and the worshipfull gentlemen of the Countrey there. My Lord was very sorry for Captaine Listers death, wishing that he had lost his voyage to haue saued his life.

The 29. of December we met with another shippe, that tolde vs the same newes, and that sir Martin Frobisher, & Captaine Reymond had taken the Admirall and vice-Admirall of the Fleet that we espied going to Terçera hauen. But the Admirall was sunke with much leaking, nere to the Idy Stone, a rocke that lieth ouer against Plimouth sound, and the men were saued.

This ship also certified vs that Captaine Prestons ship had taken a prize loden with siluer. My Lord entred presently into this ship, & went to Falmouth, and we held on our course for Plimouth. At night wee came nere to the Ram-head (the next Cape Westwards from Plimouth sound) but we were afraid to double it in the night, misdoubting the scantnesse of the winde. So we stood off to Sea halfe the night, and towards morning had the winde moze large, and made too little spare thereof, that partly for this cause, and partly through mistaking of the land, wee were driuen so much to lee-wards, that we could not double that Cape: Therefore we returned backe againe, and came into Falmouth hauen, where wee stricke on ground in 17. foote water: but it was a low ebbe, and ready againe to flowe, and the ground soft, so as no hurt was done. Here with gladnesse wee set foote againe vpon the English ground (long desired) and refreshed our selues with keeping part of Christmas vpon our native soile.

The valiant fight performed by 10. Merchants ships of London, against 12. Spanish gallies in the Straights of Gibraltar, the 24. of April 1590.



It is not long since sundry valiant ships appertaining to the Merchants of London, were freighted & rigged forth, some for Venice, some for Constantinople, & some to sundry other places of traffique, among whom these ensuing met within the Straights of Gibraltar, as they were taking their course homewards, hauing before escaped all other danger. The first whereof was the Salomon appertai-

ning

Captaine Lister
drowned.

February
1590.

ning to *M.* Albermar Barnam of London, and *M.* Bond, and *M.* Twyd of Harwich; which went forth the first day of February last. The second was the Margaret and Iohn belonging to *M.* Wats of London: The thirde was the Minion: The fourth was the Ascension. The fifth was the Centurion of *M.* Haster Cordal: The sixt the Violer: the seuenth the Samuel: the eighth the Crescent: the ninth the Elizabeth: and the 10. was the Richard belonging to *M.* Duffield. All these ships being of notable and approued seruice, comming neere to the mouth of the Straights hard by the coast of Barbary, descried twelue tall Gallies brauely furnished and strongly provided with men and munition, ready to seaze vpon these English ships: which being perceiued by the Captaines and Masters thereof, wee made speedy preparation for the defence of our selues, still waiting all the night long for the approaching of the enemye. In the morning early being the Tuesday in Easter weeke, and the 24 of April 1590, according to our vsual customes, we said Seruice and made our prayers vnto Almighty God, beseeching him to saue vs from the hands of such tyrants as the Spaniards, whom we iustly imagined to be, and whom we knew and had found to be our most mortall enemies vpon the Sea. And hauing finished our prayers, and set our selues in a readinesse, we perceiued them to come towards vs, and that they were indeede the Spanish Gallies that lay vnder the conduct of Andre Doria, who is Vice-roy for the King of Spaine in the Straights of Gibraltar, and a notable knowne enemy to all Englishmen. So when they came somewhat neerer vnto vs, they waued vs a maine for the King of Spaine, and wee wauted them a maine for the Queene of England, at which time it pleased Almighty God greatly to encourage vs all in such sort, as that the neerer they came the lesse we feared their great multitudes and huge number of men, which were planted in those Gallies to the number of two or three hundred men in eeh Gallie. And it was thus concluded among vs, that the foure first and tallest ships should be placed hindmost, and the weaker & smallest ships for most, and so it was performed, euery man being ready to take part of such successe as it should please God to send.

At the first encounter the Gallies came vpon vs very fiercely, yet God so strengthened vs, that if they had bene ten times moze, we had not feared them at all. Whereupon the Salomon being a hot shippe, and hauing sundry cast pieces in her, gaue the first shotte in such a lowe sort, as that it shored away so many men as fate on the one side of a Gallie, and pierced her through in such maner, as that she was ready to sinke, which made them to assault vs the moze fiercely. Whereupon the rest of our shippes, especially the foure chiefest, namely, the Margaret and Iohn, the Minion, and the Ascension followen, and gaue a hot charge vpon them, and they at vs, where began a hot and fierce battaile with great valiancie the one against the other, and so continued for the space of sixe houres. About the beginning of this our fight there came two Flemings to our fleet, who seeing the force of the Gallies to be so great, the one of them presently peeled, strooke his sailes, and was taken by the Gallies, whereas if they would haue offered themselues to haue fought in our behalfe and their owne defence, they needed not to haue bene taken so cowardly as they were to their cost. The other Fleming being also ready to performe the like piece of seruice began to baile his sailes, and intended to haue peeled immediatly. But the Trumpetter in that shippe plucked forth his faultchion and stepped to the Pilote at the helme, and howed that if he did not speedily put off to the English fleet, and so take part with them, he would presently kill him: which the Pilote for feare of death did, and so by that meanes they were defended from present death, and from the tyrannie of those Spaniards, which doubtlesse they should haue found at their handes.

20 fight of sixe
houres long.

20 faint hearted
Fleming.

Thus we continued in fight sixe houres and somewhat moze, wherein God gaue vs the vpper hand, and we escaped the hands of so many enemies, who were constrained to flie into harbour and shroude themselues from vs, and with speed to lecke for their owne safetie. This was the handie worke of God, who defended vs all from danger in such sort, as that there was not one man of vs slaine. And in all this fierce assault made vpon vs by the Spanish power, wee sustained no hurt or damage at all moze then this, that the shrouds and backe-stay of the Salomon, who gaue the first and last shot, and galled the enemye shrewdly all the time of the battell, were cleane stricken off.

The battell being ceased, we were constrained for want of wind to stay and waite by and downe, and then went backe againe to Titon in Barbary, which is sixe leagues off from Gibraltar, and when we came thither we found the people wonderful fauourable to vs, who being but Moores and heathen people they wed vs where to haue fresh water and al other necessaries for vs, And there we had such good intertainment, as if we had bene in any place of England.

The gouernour was one that fauoured vs greatly, whom wee in respect of his great friendship presented with giftes and such commodities as we had in our custodie, which he wonderfully wel accepted of: and here we stayed foure dayes.

After the battell was ceased, which was on Easter Tuesday, we stayed for want of winde be-
foze

foze Gibraltar, vntill the next morning, where wee were becalmed, and therefore looked euery houre when they would haue sent forth some fresh supply against vs, but they were farre vnable to doe it, for all their Gallies were so foze battered, that they durst not come forth of the harbour, by reason of our hot resistance which they so lately befoze had receiued. Yet were they greatly vrged thereunto by the Governour of the said Towne of Gibraltar.

At our being at Ticion in Barbary, there we heard report of the hurt that wee had done to the Gallies, for at our comming from them wee could not well discern any thing at all by reason of the smoake which the powder had made: there we heard that we had almost spoiled those twelue Gallies by shooting them cleane through, that two of them were ready to sinke, and that we had slaine of their men such great abundance, as that they were not able to furnish forth any more Gallies at all for that yere.

Thus after we came from Ticion, we assayed to depart the Straight three seuerall times, but could not passe, yet, God be thanked, the fourth time wee came safely away, and so sailed with a pleasant winde vntill wee came vpon the coast of England, which was in the beginning of the moneth of July 1590.

The valiant fight performed in the Straight of Gibraltar, by the *Centurion* of London, against five Spanish Gallies, in the moneth of April 1591.



In the moneth of Nouember 1590, there were sundry shippes appertaining to seuerall Marchants of London, which were rigged and fraught forth with marchandize, for sundry places within the Straight of Gibraltar: who, together hauing winde and weather, which oft-time fell out very vncertaine, arriued safely in those space, at such places as they desired. Among whom was the *Centurion* of London, a very tall shippe of burden, yet but weakely manned, as appeareth by this discourse following.

This afoze said shippe called *The Centurion* safely arriued at Marseils, where after they had deliuered their goods, they stayed about the space of five weekes, and better, and then tooke in landing, intending to returne to England.

Now when the *Centurion* was ready to come away from Marseils, there were sundry other shippes of smaller burden which entreated the Master thereof, (whose name is Robert Bradshaw, dwelling at Lime-house) to stay a day or two for them, vntill they were in a readinesse to depart with them, thereby perswading them, that it would be farre better for them to stay and goe together in respect of their assistance, then to depart of themselves without company, and so happily for want of aide fall into the hands of their enemies in the Spanish Gallies. Upon which reasonable perswasion, not withstanding that this shippe was of such sufficiency as they might hazard her in the danger of the Sea, yet they stayed for those little shippes, according to their request, who together did put to Sea from Marseils, and vowed in generall not to flie one from another, if they should happen to meete with any Spanish Gallies.

These small shippes, accompanied with the *Centurion*, sayling along the coast of Spaine, were vpon Easter day in the Straight of Gibraltar suddenly becalmed, where immediately they saw sundry Gallies make towards them, in very valiant and couragious foze: the chiefe Leaders and souldiers in those Gallies brauely apparelled in like coates, with their silver whistles about their neckes, and great plumes of feathers in their hattes, who with their Caliuets shot at the *Centurion* so fast as they might: so that by 10. of the clocke and somewhat befoze, they had boorded the *Centurion*, who befoze their comming had prepared for them, and intended to giue them so soure a welcome as they might. And thereupon hauing prepared their close fights, and all things in a readinesse, they called vpon God, on whom onely they trusted: and hauing made their prayers, and cheered by one another to fight so long as life endured, they beganne to discharge their great Ordnance vpon the Gallies, but the little shippes durst not come forward, but lay aloofe, while five Gallies had boorded them, yea and with their grappling irons made their Gallies fast to the said shippe called the *Centurion*.

The Gallies were grappled to the *Centurion* in this maner, two lay on one side, and two on another, and the Admirall lay full in the sterne, which galled and battered the *Centurion* so foze, that her maine Mast was greatly weakened, her sailes filled with many holes, and the Mizzen and sterne made almost vnersuiceable.

During which time there was a foze and deadly fight on both sides, in which the Trumpet of the *Centurion* sounded forth the deadly points of warre, and encouraged them to fight manfully against their aduersaries: on the contrary part, there was no warlike Musicke in the Spanish Gallies,

Gallies, but onely their whistles of silver, which they sounded forth to their owne contentment: in which sight many a Spaniard was turned into the Sea, and they in multitudes came crawling and hung vpon the side of the shippe, intending to haue entered into the same, but such was the courage of the Englishmen, that so fast as the Spaniards did come to enter, they gaue them such entertainment, that some of them were glad to tumble aliue into the Sea, being remedlesse for euer to get by aliue. In the Centurion there were in all, of men and boyes, fourtie and eight, who together fought most valiantly, and so galled the enemy, that many a braue and lustie Spaniard lost his life in that place.

The Centurion was fired siue severall times, with wilde fire and other prouision, which the Spaniards threw in for that purpose: yet, God be thanked, by the great and diligent foresight of the Master it did no harme at all.

In euery of the Gallies there were about 200. souldiers: who together with the shot, spoiled, rent, and battered the Centurion very sore, shot through her maine Mast, and slew 4. of the men in the said shippe, the one of them being the Masters mate.

Ten other persons were hurt, by meanes of splinters which the Spaniards shotte: yea, in the ende when their prouision was almost spent, they were constrained to shoote at them hammers, and the chaines from their slaues, and yet God bee thanked, they receiued no more damage: but by spoyling and ouerwearyng of the Spaniards, the Englishmen constrained them to ungrapple themselves, and get them going: and sure if there had bene any other fresh shippe or succour to haue relieued and assisted the Centurion, they had slaine, suncke, or taken all those Gallies and their Souldiers.

The Dolphin lay a loose off and durst not come neere, while the other two small shippes fledde away, so that one of the Gallies went from the Centurion and set vpon the Dolphin, which shippe immediatly was set on fire with their owne powder, whereby both men and shippe perished: but whether it was with their good wits or no, that was not knowne vnto the Centurion, but sure, if it had come forward, and bene an aide vnto the Centurion, it is to bee supposed that it had not perished.

Five houres and a halfe this fight continued, in which time both were glad to depart onely to breath themselves, but when the Spaniards were gone, they neuer durst returne to fight: yet the next day sixe other Gallies came and looked at them, but durst not at any hand meddle with them.

Thus God deliuered them from the handes of their enemies, and gaue them the victoery: for which they heartily praised him, and not long after safely arriued in London.

There were present at this fight Master *John Hawes* Marchant, and sundry other of good accompt.

A report of the truth of the fight about the Isles of *Acores*, the last of August 1591. betwixt the *Reueche*, one of her Maiesties shippes, and an Armada of the king of Spaine; Penned by the honourable Sir *Water Raleigh* knight.



Because the rumours are diuently spred, as well in England as in the Lowe countreis and else where, of this late encounter betweene her Maiesties ships and the Armada of Spaine; and that the Spaniards according to their vsuall manner, fill the world with their vaine-glorious vaunts, making great apparance of victories, when on the contrary, themselves are most commonly and shamefully beaten and dishonoured; thereby hoping to possesse the ignorant multitude by anticipating & forerunning false reports: It is agreeable with all good reason, for manifestation of the truth, to ouercome falsehood and vntreuth; that the beginning, continuance and successe of this late honourable encounter of Sir Richard Greenwill, and other her Maiesties Captaines, with the Armada of Spaine; should be truly set downe and published without partialtie or false imaginations. And it is no marueile that the Spaniard should seeke by false and slanderous pamphlets, aduises and Letters, to couer their owne losse, and to derogate from others their due honors, especially in this fight being performed far off: seeing they were not ashamed in the yeere 1588. when they purposed the inuasion of this land, to publish in sundry languages in print, great victories in wordes, which they pleaded to haue obtained against this Realme; and spred the same in a most false sort ouer all parts of France, Italy, and else where. When shortly after it was happily manifested in very deed to all Nations, both their Flavy which they termed inuincible, consisting of 140. saile of shippes, not onely of their owne kingdome, but strengthened with the greatest Argosies, Portugal Caracks, Florentines, and huge hulks of other Countreis, were by 30. of her Maiesties owne ships of war, and a few of our owne Marchants,

by the wise, valiant, and aduantageous conduct of the L. Charles Howard high Admirall of England, beaten and shuffled together; euen from the Lizard in Cornwall first to Portland, where they shamefully left Don Pedro de Valdes, with his mighty ship; from Portland to Cales, where they lost Hugo de Moncado, with the Gallias of which he was Capitaine, and from Cales, vniuen with Iquibs from their anchoys, were chased out of the sight of England, round about Scotland and Ireland. Where for the sympathie of their barbarous religion, hoping to finde succour and assistance, a great part of them were crusht against the rocks, and those other that landed, being very many in number, were notwithstanding broken, slain, and taken, and so sent from village to village coupled in halters, to be shipped into England. Where her Maictie of her Princely and inuincible disposition, disoaining to put them to death, and scorning either to retaine or entertaine them: they were all sent backe againe to their countreys, to witnes and recount the worthy achievements of their inuincible and dreadfull flauy: Of which the number of Souldiers, the fearefull burthen of their shippes, the commanders names of euery Squadron, with all other their magazines of provisions, were put in print; as an Army and flauy vnersistable, and vnderstanding prevention. With all which so great and terrible an ostentation, they did not in all their sailing round about England, so much as sinke or take one shippe, Barke, Pinnesse, or Cockboote of ours: or euer burnt so much as one sheepecote of this land. Whereas on the contrarie; Sir Francis Drake, with onely 800. souldiers not long before, landed in their Indies, and forced Sant-Iago, Santo Domingo, Cartagena, and the forts of Florida.

And after that, Sir John Norris marched from Peniche in Portugall, with a handfull of souldiers, to the gates of Lisbonne, being aboute 40 English miles. Where the Earle of Essex himselfe and other valiant Gentlemen braued the Citie of Lisbonne, encamped at the very gates; from whence, after many dayes abode, finding neither promised partie, nor provision to batter; they made retrait by land, in despight of all their Garrisons, both of horse & foote. In this sort I haue a litle digressed from my first purpose, onely by the necessarie comparison of theirs and our actions: the one couetous of honour without haunt of ostentation; the other so greedy to purchase the opinion of their owne affaires, and by false rumors, to relish the blasse of their owne dishonours, as they will not onely not blush to spread all manner of vntruthes: but euen for the least aduantage, be it but for the taking of one poore aduenterer of the English, will celebrate the victoery with bonfires in euery towne, alwayes spending more in faggots, then the purchase was worth they obtained. When as we neuer thought it worthy the consumption of two billets, when we haue taken eight or ten of their Indian shippes at one time, and twentie of the Brasill fleet. Such is the difference betweene true valure, and ostentation: and betweene honozable actions, and frivolous vaine glorious vaunts. But now to returne to my purpose.

The L. Thomas Howard with sixe of her Maicties shippes, sixe victuallers of London, the Barke Raleigh, & two or thre other Pinnaques riding at anchor nere vnto Flores, one of the Westery Ilands of the Azores, the last of August in the afternoone, had intelligence by one Capitaine Middleton of the appoach of the Spanish Armada. Which Middleton being in a very good sailer had kept them company thre dayes before, of good purpose, both to discouer their forces the more, as also to giue aduise to my L. Thomas of their appoach. Hee had no sooner deliuered the newes but the fleet was in sight: many of our shippes companies were on shore in the Ilande; some prouiding ballast for their shippes; others filling of water and refreshing themselves from the land with such things as they could either for money, or by force recover. By reason whereof our shippes being all pestered and romaging euery thing out of order, very light for want of ballast, and that which was most to our disaduantage, the one halfe part of the men of euery shippe sicke, and orderly vnteriteable: for in the Reuenge there were ninety diseased: in the Bonauenture, not so many in health as could handle her maine saile. For had not twenty men bene taken out of a Barke of Sir George Careys, his being commaunded to be sunke, and those appointed to her, she had hardly euer recovered England. The rest, for the most parte, were in litle better state. The names of her Maicties shippes were these as followeth, the Desiance, which was Admirall, the Reuenge Viceadmirall, the Bonauenture commaunded by Capitaine Crosse, the Lion by George Fenner, the Foresight by Sir Thomas Vauasour, and the Crane by Duffild. The Foresight & the Crane being but small shippes; only the other were of the middle size; the rest, besides the Barke Raleigh, commaunded by Capitaine Thin, were victuallers; and of small force or none. The Spanish fleet hauing shrouded their appoach by reason of the Ilande; were now so soone at hand, as our shippes had scarce time to way their anchoys, but some of them were driuen to let slippe their Cables and set saile. Sir Richard Grinuile was the last that wayed, to recover the men that were vpon the Ilande, which other wise had bene lost. The L. Thomas with the rest very hardly recovered the winde, which Sir Richard Grinuile not being able to doe, was perswaded by the

the Master and others to cut his maine sayle, and cast about, and to truit to the sayling of the thip; for the Squadron of Siuil were on his weather bow. But Sir Richard utterly refused to turne from the euenie, allcaging that hee would rather choole to die, then to dishonour himselfe, his countrey, and her Maiesties shippe, perswading his companie that hee would passe through the two squadrons, in despyght of thein, and enforce those of Siuil to giue him way. Which hee persozmed vpon diuers of the fornost, who, as the Mariners terme it, sprang their luffe, and fell vnder the lee of the Reuenge. But the other course had bene the better, and might right well haue bene answered in so great an impossibility of ppeualing. Notwithstanding out of the greatnesse of his minde, he could not be perswaded. In the meane while as hee attended those which were nearest him, the great San Philip being in the winde of him, and cunning towards him, becalmed his sailes in such sort, as the shippe could neither make way, nor feele the helme: so huge and high charged was the Spanish shipp, being of a thousand and five hundred tuns. Who after layd the Reuenge aboard. When he was thus bereft of his sailes, the ships that were vnder his lee luffing vp, also layd him aboard: of which the next was the Admirall of the Westaines, a very mighty and puissant shippe commanded by Britrandona. The sayd Philip carried thre eire of ordnance on a side, and eleuen pieces in euery eire. She shot eight fozt right out of her chafe, besides those of her sterne ports.

After the Reuenge was entangled with this Philip, foure other booyd her; two on her larbooyd, and two on her starbooyd. The fight thus beginning at thre of the clock in the afternoone, continued very terrible all that euening. But the great San Philip hauing receiued the lower eire of the Reuenge, discharged with crossebarshot, shifted her selfe with all diligence from her sides, vterly misliking her sick entertainement. Some say that the shippe foundred, but we cannot report it for truth, vnlesse we were assured. The Spanish ships were filled with companies of souldiers, in some two hundred besides the mariners; in some five, in others eight hundred. In outs there were none at all beside the mariners, but the seruitants of the commanders and some few voluntary gentlemen onely. After many enterchanged volies of great ordnance and small shot, the Spaniards deliberated to enter the Reuenge, and made diuers attempts, hoping to force her by the multitudes of their armed souldiers and Musketers, but were still repulsed againe and and againe, and at all times beaten backe into their owne ships, or into the seas. In the beginning of the fight, the George Noble of Londo hauing receiued some shot thozow her by the Armadas, fell vnder the lee of the Reuenge, and asked Sir Richard what he would command him, being but one of the victuallers and of small force: Sir Richard bid him saue himselfe, and leaue him to his fortune. After the fight had thus, without intermission, continued while the day lasted and some houres of the night, many of our men were slaine and hurte, and one of the great Gallions of the Armada, and the Admirall of the Vultkes both sunke, and in many other of the Spanish shippes great slaughter was made. Some write that sir Richard was very dangerously hurt almost in the beginning of the fight, and lay speechlesse for a time ere hee recovered. But two of the Reuenges owne company, brought home in a ship of Lime from the Ilandes, examined by some of the Lordes, and others, affirmed that hee was neuer so wounded as that hee forsooke the upper decke, till an houre before midnight; and then being shot into the bodie with a Musket as hee was a dyelling, was againe shot into the head, and withall his Chirurgeon wounded to death. This agreeth also with an examination taken by sir Francis Godolphin, of foure other mariners of the same shippe being returned, which examination, the said sir Francis sent vnto master William Killegrue, of her Maiesties priuy Chamber.

But to returne to the fight, the Spanish ships which attempted to bord the Reuenge, as they were wounded and beaten off, so alwayes others came in their places, she hauing neuer lesse then two mighty Gallions by her sides, and aboard her: So that ere the morning, from thre of the clocke the day before, there had fiftene severall Armadas assailed her; and all so ill approued their entertainement, as they wert by the breake of day, far moze willing to harken to a composition, then hastily to make any moze assaules or entries. But as the day encreased, so our men decreased: and as the light grew moze and moze, by so much moze grewe our discomforts. For none appeared in sight but enemies, sauing one small ship called the Pilgrim, commanded by Iacob Whiddon, who houered all night to see the successe: but in the morning beating with the Reuenge, was hunted like a hare amongst many rauenous houndes, but escaped.

All the powder of the Reuenge to the last barrell was now spent, all her pikes broken, foztie of her best men slaine, and the most part of the rest hurt. In the beginning of the fight shee had but one hundred free from sickness, and foure score & ten sicke, laid in hold vpon the Wallast. A small troupe to man such a ship, & a weakke garrison to resist so mighty an army. By those hundred all was sustained, the volies, booydings, and entrings of fiftene ships of warre, besides those which beat her

at large. On the contrary, the Spanish were alwayes supplied with sculdiers brought from euery Squadron: all maner of Armes and powder at will. Unto ours there remained no comfert at all, no hope, no supply either of ships, men, or weapons; the Gallies all beaten ouer boord, all her tackle cut asunder, her hyper worke altogether rased, and in effect enueded hee was with the water, but the very foundation of boitome of a ship, nothing being left ouer head either for flight or defence. Sir Richard finding himselfe in this distresse, and vnable any longer to make resistance, hauing endured in this fiftene houres fight, the assault of fiftene seuerall Armadas, all by turnes aboord him, and by estimation eight hundred shotte of great Artilerie, besides many assaults and entrees; and that himselfe and the shippe must needs be possessed by the enemy, who were now all cast in a ring round about him (The Reuenge not able to moue one way or other, but as she was moued with the waues and billow of the sea) commaunded the Master gunner, whom hee knew to be a most resolute man, to split and sinke the shippe; that thereby nothing might remaine of glory or victoory to the Spaniards: seeing in so many houres fight, and with so great a Haue they were not able to take her, hauing had fiftene houres time, about ten thousand men, & fiftie and thre saille of men of warre to perfoyme it withall: and perswaded the company, or as many as hee could induce, to peebe themselves vnto God, and to the mercie of none else; but as they had, like valiant resolute men, repulsed so many enemies, they should not now shorten the honour of their Nation, by prolonging their owne liues for a few houres, or a few daues. The Master gunner readily condescended and diuers others; but the Captaine and the Master were of another opinion, and besought Sir Richard to haue care of them: allcaging that the Spaniard would be as ready to entertaine a composition, as they were willing to offer the same: and that there being diuers sufficient and valiant men yet liuing, and whose wounds were not mortal, they might do their Countrey and prince acceptable seruice hereafter. And whereas Sir Richard had alleaged that the Spaniards should neuer glory to haue taken one shippe of her Maiestie, seeing they had so long and so notably defended themselves; they answered, that the shippe had fire foote water in holbe, thre shot vnder water, which were so weakely stopped, as with the first working of the sea, she must needs sinke, and was besides so crusht and byused, as shee could neuer be remoued out of the place.

The Spanish 53.
saile.

And as the matter was thus in dispute, and Sir Ricard refusing to hearken to any of those reasons; the Master of the Reuenge (while the Captaine wanne vnto him the greater party) was conuoyd aboord the Generall Don Alfonso Baçan. Who (finding none ouer hastie to enter the Reuenge againe, doubting least Sir Richard would haue blowne them by and himselfe, and perceiving by the report of the Master of the Reuenge his dangerous disposition) peebed that all their liues should be saued, the company sent for England, & the better soyt to pay such reasonable ransome as their estate would beare, and in the meane season to be free from Gallies imprisonment. To this he so much the rather condescended as wel, as I haue said, for feare of further losse and mischief to themselves, as also for the desire he had to recouer Sir Richard Greenuil; whom for his notable valure he seemed greatly to honour and admire.

When this answer was returned, and that safetie of life was promised, the common soyt being now at the ende of their perill, the most drew backe from Sir Richard and the Master gunner, being no hard matter to dissuade men from death to life. The Master gunner finding himselfe and Sir Richard thus prevented and mastered by the greater number, would haue staine himselfe with a sword, had he not bene by force withheld and locked into his Cabben. Then the Generall sent many boates aboord the Reuenge, and diuers of our men fearing Sir Richards disposition, stole away aboord the Generall and other shippes. Sir Richard thus overmatched, was sent vnto by Alfonso Baçan to remoue out of the Reuenge, the shippe being maruellous vnfortunozie, filled with blood and bodies of dead, and wounded men like a slaughter house. Sir Richard answered that hee might doe with his body what he list, for hee esteemed it not, and as he was carried out of the shippe hee swounded, and reuiuing againe desired the company to pray for him. The Generall vsed Sir Richard with all humanitie, and left nothing vnattempted that tended to his recouerie, highly commending his valour and worthinesse, and greatly bewailing the danger wherein he was, being vnto them a rare spectacle, and a resolution seldome approued, to see one shippe turne toward so many enemies, to endure the charge and booyding of so many huge Armadas, and to resist and repell the assaults and entrees of so many sculdiers. All which and moze is confirmed by a Spanish Captaine of the same Armada, and a present actor in the fight, who being seuered from the rest in a storme, was by the Lion of London a small ship taken, and is now prisoner in London.

The generall commander of the Armada, was Don Alphonso Baçan, brother to the Marques of Santa Cruz. The admirall of the Biscaine Squadron, was Britandona, Of the Squadron of Siuil, the

Marques of Arumburch. The Hulkes and Flybotes were commanded by Luis Coutinho. There were slaine and drowned in this fight, well nere one thousand of the enemies, and two speciall commanders Don Luis de sant Iohn, and Don George de Primaria de Mallaga, as the Spanissh captaine confesseth, besides diuers others of speciall account, whereof as yet report is not made.

The Admirall of the Hulkes and the Ascension of Siuil were both sunke by the side of the Reuenge; one other recouered the rode of Saint Michael, and sunke also there; a fourth ranne her selfe with the hozze to saue her men. Sir Richard died as it is sayd, the second or third day aboord the Generall, and was by them greatly be wailed. What became of his body, whether it were buried in the sea or on the land we know not: the comfort that remaineth to his friends and country, and of the same to his posteritie, and that being dead, he hath not outliued his owne honour.

For the rest of her Maiesties ships that entred not so farre into the fight as the Reuenge, the reasons and causes were these. There were of them but fixe in all, whereof two but small ships; the Reuenge ingaged past recouery: The Island of Flores was on the one side, 53 saile of the Spanissh, diuided into squadrons on the other, all as full filled with souldiers as they could containe: Almost the one halfe of our men sicke and not able to serue: the ships growne foule, vnrcomaged, and scarcely able to beare any saile for want of ballast, hauing bene fixe moneths at the sea befoze. If all the rest had entred, all had bene lost: for the very hugenes of the Spanissh flecte, if no other violence had bene offered, would haue crushed them betweene them into shiners. Of which the dishonour and losse to the Queene had bene farre greater then the spoyle or harme that the enemye could any way haue receiued. Notwithstanding it is very true, that the Lord Thomas would haue entred betweene the squadrons, but the rest would not condescend; and the master of his owne ship offred to leape into the sea, rather then to conduct that her Maiesties ship and the rest to bee a pray to the enemye, where there was no hope nor possibilitie either of defence or victory. Which also in my opinion had ill sorted or answered the discretion and trust of a Generall, to commit himselfe and his charge to an assured destruction, without hope or any likelihood of preuailing: thereby to diminish the strength of her Maiesties Navy, and to enrich the pride and glory of the enemye. The Foresight of the Queenes commaunded by D. Thomas Vauisor performed a very great fight, and staped two houres as nere the Reuenge as the weather would permit him, not forsaking the fight, till he was like to be encompassed by the squadrons, & with great difficultie cleared himselfe. The rest gaue diuers volleys of shot, and entred as farre as the place permitted, and their owne necessities, to keepe the weather gage of the enemye, untill they were parted by night. A fewe dayes after the fight was ended, and the English prisoners dispersed into the Spanissh and Indie ships, there arose so great a storme from the West and Northwest, that all the flecte was dispersed, as well the Indian flecte which were then come vnto them, as the rest of the Armada that attended their arriuall, of which 14 saile together with the Reuenge, and in her 200 Spaniards, were cast away vpon the Isle of S. Michael. So it pleased them to honor the buriall of that renowned ship the Reuenge, not suffering her to perish alone, for the great honour she atchieued in her life time. On the rest of the Isles there were cast away in this storme, 15 or 16 more of the ships of warre: and of an hundred and odde saile of the Indie flecte, expected this yeere in Spaine, what in this tempest, and what befoze in the bay of Mexico, and about the Bermudas, there were 70 and odde consumed and lost, with those taken by our shippes of London, besides one very rich Indian ship, which set her selfe on fire, being boorded by the Pilgrim, and five other taken by master Was his ships of London, between the Hauana and Cape S. Antonio. The fourth of this moneth of Nouember we receiued letters from the Tercera, affirming that there are 3000 bodies of men remaining in that Island, saued out of the perished ships: & that by the Spaniards owne confession, there are 10000 cast away in this storme, besides those that are perished betweene the Isles and the maine. Thus it hath pleased God to fight for vs, and to defend the iustice of our cause, against the ambitious and bloody pretenses of the Spaniard, who seeking to deuoure all nations, are themselves deuoured. A manifest testimony how iniust and displeasing, their attempts are in the sight of God, who hath pleased to witnes by the successe of their affaires, his dislike of their bloody and inuiurious delignes, purposed and practised against all Chyistian princes, ouer whom they seeke vnlawfull and vngodly rule and Empery.

One day or two befoze this wracke happened to the Spanissh flecte, when as some of our prisoners desired to be set on hozze vpon the Isles, hoping to be from thence transported into England, which libertie was formerly by the Generall promised: One Morice Fitz Iohn, sonne of olde Iohn of Desmond, a notable traytour, cousin german to the late Earle of Desmond, was sent to the English from shippe to shippe, to perswade them to serue the King of Spaine.

The arguments hee vsed to induce them were these. The increase of pay which he promised to be crebled: aduancement to the better sort: and the exercise of the true Catholique Religion, and safetic of their soules to all. For the first, euen the beggerly and vnnaturall behaviour of those English and Irish rebels, that serued the King in that present action, was sufficient to answer that first argument of rich pay. For so poore and beggerly they were, as for want of apparell they stripped their poore Countrey men prisoners out of their ragged garments, worne to nothing by thre months seruice, and spared not to despoyle them euen of their bloody shirtes, from their wounded bodie, and the very shoes from their feete; A notable testimonie of their rich entertainment and great wages. The second reason was hope of aduancement if they serued well, and would continue faithfull to the King. But what man can bee so blockishly ignorant euer to expect place or honour from a foraine King, hauing no other argument or perswasion then his owne disloyaltie; to be vnnaturall to his owne Countrey that bred him; to his parents that begat him, and rebellious to his true Prince, to whose obedience he is bound by oath, by nature, and by Religion? No, they are onely assured to be employed in all desperate enterprises, to bee helde in scorn and disdain euer among those whom they serue. And that euer traitour was either trusted or aduanced I could neuer yet reade, neither can I at this time remember any example. And no man could haue lesse become the place of an Orator for such a purpose, then this Morice of Desmond. For the Erle his cofen being one of the greatest subjects in that kingdom of Ireland, hauing almost whole Countreys in his possession; so many goodly Mannors, castles, and lordships; the Count Palatine of Kerry, siue hundred gentlemen of his owne name and family to follow him, besides others (all which he possessed in peace for thre or foure hundred yeeres) was in lesse then thre yeeres after his adhering to the Spaniards and rebellion, beaten from all his holdes, not so many as ten gentlemen of his name left liuing, himselve taken and beheaded by a souldier of his owne nation, and his land giuen by a Parliament to her Maiestie, and possessed by the English: His other cofen Sir Iohn of Desmond taken by Master Iohn Zouch, and his body hanged ouer the gates of his natine Citie to be deuoured by rauens: the thirde brother Sir Iames hanged, drawne, and quartered in the same place. If hee had withall vaunted of his successe of his owne house, no doubt the argument would haue moued much, and wrought great effect: which because hee for that present forgot, I thought it good to remember in his behalfe. For matter of Religion it would require a particuler volume, if I should set downe how irreligiouly they couer their greedy and ambitious pretences, with that veile of pietie. But sure I am, that there is no kingdome or common-wealth in all Europe, but if they be reformed, they then inuade it for religion sake: if it bee, as they terme Catholique, they pretend title; as if the Kings of Castile were the naturall heires of all the world: and so betweene both, no kingdome is vnought. Where they dare not with their owne forces to inuade, they basely entertaine the traitours and vabandons of all Nations; seeking by those and by their rummagate Iesuits to winne parts, and haue by that meane ruined many Noble houses and others in this lande, and haue extinguished both their liues and families. What good, honour, or fortune euer man yet by them achieved, is yet vnheard of, or vnwritten. And if our English Papists doe but looke into Portugall, against which they haue no pretence of Religion, how the Nobilitie are put to death, imprisoned, their rich men made a praye, and all sorts of people captiued; they shall finde that the obedience euen of the Turke is easie and a libertie, in respect of the slauerie and tyrannie of Spaine. What haue they done in Sicill, in Naples, Millaine, and in the Low countreys; who hath there bene spared for Religion at all? And it commeth to my remembrance of a certaine Burger of Anewerpe, whose house being entered by a company of Spanish souldiers, when they first lacked the Citie, hee sought them to spare him and his goods, being a good Catholique, and one of their owne partie and faction. The Spaniards answered, that they knew him to be of a good conscience for himselve, but his money, plate, iewels, and goods, were all hereticall, and therefore good prize. So they abused and tormented the foolish Fleming, who hoped that an Agnus Dei had bene a sufficient target against all force of that holy and charitable nation. Neither haue they at any time as they prot. invaded the kingdomes of the Indies and Peru, and elsewhere, but onely led therunto, rather to reduce the people to Chyistianitie, then for either gold or Emperie. When as in one onely Island called Hispaniola, they haue wasted thirtie hundred thousand of the naturall people, besides many millions else in other places of the Indies: a poore and harmelesse people created of God, and might haue bene wonne to his knowledge, as many of them were, and almost as many as euer were perswaded therunto. The storie whereof is at large written by a Bishop of their owne nation called Bartholomew delas Casas, and translated into English and many other languages, intituled The Spanish cruelties. Who would therefore repose trust in such a nation of rauinous strangers, and especially in those Spaniards which more greedily thirst after English

English blood, then after the lites of any other people of Europe, for the many overthrowes and dishonours they haue receiued at our hands, whole weakenesse wee haue discovered to the world, and whole forces at home, abroad, in Europe, in India, by sea and land, wee haue euen with handfulls of men and shippes, overthrowen and dishonoured. Let not therefore any English man, of what religion soeuer, haue other opinion of the Spaniards, but that those whom hee seeke to winne of our Nation, he esteemeth base and trayterous, unworthy persons, or unconstant fooles: and that he vseth his pretence of religion, for no other purpose but to bewitch vs from the obedience of our naturall Prince; there by hoping in time to bring vs to slavery and subiection, and then uone shall be vnto them so odious, and disdayned as the traitours themselves; who haue solde their Countrey to a stranger, and forsaken their faith and obedi:nce contrarie to nature & religion; and contrarie to that humane and generall honour, not onely of Christians, but of heathen and irreligious nations, who haue alwayes sustayned what labour soeuer, and embraced euen death it selfe, for their countrey, Prince, or common-wealth. To conclude, it hath euer to this day pleased God to prosper and defend her Maiestie, to breake the purposes of malicious enemies, of forsworne traytors, and of inuult practises and inuasions. She hath euer bene honoured of the worthiest kings, serued by faithfull subiects, and shall by the fauour of God, resist, repell, and confound all whatsoeuer attempts against her sacred person or kingdom. In the meane time let the Spaniard and traytour vaunt of their successe, and wee her true and obedient vassals, guided by the shining light of her vertues, shall alwayes loue her, serue her, and obey her to the end of our lites.

A particular note of the Indian fleet, expected to haue come into Spaine this present yeere of 1591. with the number of shippes that are perished of the same: according to the examination of certaine Spaniards lately taken and brought into England by the ships of London.



The fleet of Noua Hispania, at their first gathering together and setting forth, were two and fiftie sailes. The Admirall was of sixe hundred tunnes, and the Vice Admirall of the same burthen. Foure or fise of the shippes were of nine hundred and 1000 tunnes a peece, some fise hundred, and some fourse hundred and the least of two hundred tuns. Of this fleet 19 were cast away, and in them 2600 men by estimation, which was done along the coast of Noua Hispania,

so that of the same fleet there came to the Hauana but 33 sailes. The fleet of Terra Firma were, at their first departure from Spaine, fiftie sailes, which were bound for Nombre de Dios, where they did discharge their lading, and thence returned to Cartagena, for their healths sake, vntill the time the treasure was readie they should take in, at the said Nombre de Dios. But before this fleet departed, some were gone by one or two at a time, so that onely 23 sayles of this fleet arrived in the Hauana.

- | | | |
|----------------------------|---|--|
| At the Hauana
there met | } | 33 sailes of Noua Hispania.
23 sailes of Terra Firma.
12 sailes of San Domingo.
9 sailes of the Hunduras. |
|----------------------------|---|--|

The whole 77 shippes, ioyned and set sailes all together at the Hauana, the 17 of July, according to our account, and kept together vntill they came into the height of thirrie fise degrees, which was about the tenth of August, where they found the winde at Southwest chaunged suddenly to the North, so that the sea coming out of the Southwest, and the wind very violent at North, they were put all into great extremitie, and then first lost the Generall of their fleet, with 500 men in her; and within three or foure dayes after, another storme rising, there were fise or sixe other of the biggest shippes cast away with all their men, together with their Vice-Admirall.

And in the height of 38. degrees, about the end of August, grew another great storme, in which all the fleet sauing 48. sailes were cast away: which 48. sailes kept together, vntill they came in sight of the Islands of Coruo and Flores, about the fife or sixt of September, at which time a great storme separated them: of which number fiteene or sixteene were after scene by these Spaniards to ride at anchour vnder the Tercera; and twelue or foureteene more to beare with the Island of S. Michael; what became of them after that these Spaniards were taken cannot yet be certified; their opinion is, that very few of the fleet are escaped, but are either drowned or eaken. And it is otherwaies of late certified, that of this whole fleet that should haue come into Spaine

Spaine this yeere, being one hundred twentie and three sayle, there are arriv'd as yet but five and twentie. This note was taken out of the examination of certaine Spaniards, that were brought into England by fire of the ships of London, which tooke leue of the aboue named Indian Fleete, neere the Ilands of Açores,

A report of Master *Robert Flicke* directed to Master *Thomas Bromley*, Master *Richard Staper*, and Master *Cordall* concerning the successe of a part of the *London* supplies sent to my Lord *Thomas Howard* to the Iles of the *Açores*, 1591.



Shipfull, my heartie commendations vnto you premised: By my last of the twelfth of August from this place I aduertised you particularly of the accidents of our Fleete vntill then. It remaineth now to relate our endeuours in accomplishing the order receiued for the ioyning with my Lozde *Thomas Howard*; together with the successe wee haue had. Our departure from hence was the seuenteenth of August, the winde not seruing before. The next day following I caused a Flagge of Counsell to be put forth, whercupon the Captaines and Masters of euery shippe came aboard, and I acquainted them with my Commission, firmed by the Right honourable the Lozdes of her Maiesties Counsell, and with all the aduertisements of Sir *Edward Denny*, of my Lozdes determination to remaine threescore leagues to the West of *Fayal*, spreading North and South betwixt thirtie seven and a halfe or thiry eight and a halfe degrees. And not finding him in this heigh to repaire to the Iles of *Flores* and *Coruo*, where a Pinnele of purpose should stay our comming vntill the last of August, with intent after that day to repaire to the coast of *Spaine*, about the heigh of *The Roche*, some twentie or thirtie leagues off the shoare. The which being aduisedly considered of, hauing regard vnto the shortnesse of time, by reason of our long abode in this place, and the vncertainety of the weather to fauour vs, it was generally holden for the best and securest way to meete with my Lozde, to beare with the heigh of *The Roche*, without making any stay vpon the coast, and so directly for the Ilands which was accordingly fully agreed and performed. The 28 day wee had sight of the *Burlings*, and the 29 being thwart of *Peniche*, the winde seruing vs, without any stay we directed our course West for the Ilands. The 30 day we met with *Captaine Royden* in the *Red-Rose*, sometime called the *Golden Dragon*, separated from my Lozde of *Cumberland* in a storme: who certified vs of 50 sayles of the *Spanish kings Armadas* to be gone for the Ilands, but could not informe vs any newes of my Lozde *Thomas Howard*, otherwise then vpon presumption to remaine about the Ilandes, and so wee continued our course the winde standing with vs.

The 4 of September we recovered *Tercera*, and ranged along all the Ilands, both on the South and North sides the space of foure dayes: during which time it was not our hap to meete with any shipping, whereby either to vnderstand of my Lozde, or of the *Indian Fleete*: hereupon we directed our course to the West from *Fayal*, according to the instructions of Sir *Edward Denny*. The 11 day in the plying to the Westwards we deseried a sayle out of our maine tope, and in the afternoone betweene two and thre of the clocke hauing rayscd her hull, the weather became calme, so that the ship could not fetch her. I sent off my Skiffe thoroughly manned, furnished with shot and swords, *The Cherubin*, and the *Margaret* and *John* doing the like. Upon this the sayle stood off againe, and the night appoching, our boates lost her and so returned. In this our pursute after the sayle the *Centurion* being left a sterne, the next morning wee missed her, and spent that day in plying vp and downe seeking her. And for as much as euery of the ships had receiued order, that, if by extremity of weather or any other mischance they should be seuered from our Fleete, they should meete and ioyne at *Flores*, we, according to the instructions of Sir *Edward Denny*, proceeded to the finding of my Lozde *Thomas Howard*, being in the heigh appointed and not able to holde the same by reason of extreme tempestes which forced vs to the Iles of *Flores* and *Coruo*, which we made the 14 day in the morning, and there also ioyned againe with the *Centurion*, whose company before we had lost: who declared vnto vs that the 12 day, being the same day they lost vs, they met with five and forty sailles of the *Indian Fleete*. The same night vpon these newes we came to an anchor betweene *Flores* and *Coruo*, and the morning following at the brake of day, a flagge of Counsell being put out the Captaines & Masters came aboard me: where, for the desire to vnderstand some tidings of my Lozde, as also the supplying of our want of water, it was thought good to send our boats furnished on shoare, vnder the conduct of *Captaine Brothus*, and then it was also ordered after our departure thence to range along the South

Southside of the Islands to the end we might either understand of my Lord, or else light on the Indian fleet; and in the missing of our purpose to direct our course for Cape Sant Vincente.

The boates, according to the foresayd determination, being sent on shoare, it chanced that The Costely ryding vndermost in the roade, did weigh to bring her selfe moze neere among vs for the succour of the boates sent off, and in opening the land discovered two sayles, which we in the roade could not perceiue: whereupon shee gaue vs a warning peece, which caused vs to waue off our boates backe, and befoze they could recouer our shippes, the discryed ships appeared vnto vs, towardes the which we made with all haste, and in a very happie heure, as it pleased God, In that wee had not so soone cleared the lande, and spoken with one of them, which was a Barke of Bristol, who had also sought my Lorde in the heigths appointed and could not finde him, but a violent storme arose, in such manner, as if we had remained in the roade, we had bene in daunger of perishing: and the same extremely continued during the space of threelooke houres. In which storme I was separated from our flecte, excepte the Cherubin and the Costely, which kept company with mee. And so saying among the Islands, I viewed the roade of Fayal, and finding no Rooders there, went directly for the Isle Tercera.

20 violenc
Royme.

The nineteenth day in the morning conyning vnto y same with intent to edge into the Road, a tempest arose and scauced the winde, that we could not seaze it: from the which being driuen we fell among certaine of the Indian flecte, which the sayde storme disperfed, and put them from the roade: whereupon my selfe with the other two ships in companie gaue severall chases, and there by lost the company each of other.

In following our chafe alone noone we made her to strike and yeelde, being a Portugall, laden with hides, sassa-perilla and Anile. At this very instant we espied another, and taking our Prize with vs followed her, and somewhat befoze night obtayned her, named the Conception, Francisco Spinola being Captaine, which was laden with hides, Cochonillio, and certaine raw silke. And for that the seas were so growen, as neither with boate nor shippe they were to be boarded, we kept them till fit opportunitye. The same night a litle befoze day there happened another into our company, supposing vs by our two prizes to be of their flecte, which we burnt the morning dissembled.

20 Portugall
Prize taken.

A rich West-
India Prize
taken.

The 20 day in the morning, the sayle being shot somewhat a head of vs, hauing a speciall care for the safe keeping of the two former, we purposed to cause our Prizes to put out moze sayle thereby to keepe them neere in giuing chafe to the other: vnto the which the Master would not hearken nor be perswaded, but that they would follow vs: by the which his wilfulnesse by such time as we had caused the other to yeelde, and sent men aboard, the Conception, Francisco Spinola Captaine being brought a strine, and hauing gotten the winde of vs, stood off with all her sayles bearing, so as we were forced to make a new chafe of her: and had not the winde enlarged vpon vs we had lost her. In the pursute befoze we recouered her and brought our selues againe in company of our other Prizes, the whole day was spent, and by this meanes we lost the opportunitye of that day, the weather fitly seruing to boord the Portugall Prize, which was in great distresse, and made request to take them being readie to sinke, and, as we well perceiued, they ceased not to pumpe day and night: the which ship to all our iudgements the same night perished in the sea.

The one and twentie day the Conception, whereof Francisco Spinola was Captaine, being also in a leake, and the same still increasing notwithstanding the continuall pumping, in such sort as not to be kept long about water, I tooke and discharged out of her two and forty chestes of Cochonillio and silkes, and so left her with 11 foote water in holde, and her furniture and 4700 hides, vnto the seas.

The other Prize which we haue brought into the harborough is named Nostra Sennora de los remedios, whereof Francisco Aluares is Captaine, laden with 16 chestes of Cochonillio, certaine fardels of raw silke, and about 4000 hides. Upon the discharge of the goods your worshipps shall be particularly aduertised thereof.

In the boording of the Prizes the disorder of the company was such, as that they letted not presently besides the rifling of the Spaniards to breake open the chests and to purloine such money as was in them: notwithstanding that it was ordered at convenient leasure to haue gone aboard my selfe, and there in the presence of three or foure witnesses to haue taken a iust account thereof, and the same to haue put in safe keeping, according to the effects of articles receiued in this behalfe.

And whereas there were also certaine summes of money taken from the company which they had

had thus purloyned and embeseled, and the same with some other parcels brought aboard my ship, amounting unto 2129 pezoes & a halfe, the company as pillage due unto them demanded to haue the same shared, which I refused, & openly at the maine mast read the articles framed by my Lord Treasurer and my lord Admirall, whereby we ought to be directed, and that it was not in mee any way to dispose thereof vntill the same were finally determined at home. Hereupon they murmured and at last grew into such furie, as that they would haue it or els breake downe the cabbine, which they were also ready to put in practise, whereby I was forced to yield, least the Spaniards which we had aboard being many perceiuing the same, might haue had fit opportunity to rise against vs, which, after their brawles were appeased, they sought to haue put in execution.

By the last aduise from Castile the Generall of the kings Armada which is lately come to sea hath receiued commaundment to ioyne his Fleet with those of the Indies, and for to stay altogether at Tercera vntill the 15 of October: for that 6 pataches with 7 or 8 millions of the kings treasure will come by that time, or els they stay their coming from Hauana vntill January next, or the kings further pleasure therein to be knowen. These Pataches are said to be of 300 tuns the peece, and to cary 30 peece of byasse, and also of saile reported to haue the aduantage of any shipping.

There perished of the Indies Fleet sunke in the sea before their coming to Flores 11 sailes, whereof the General was one, and not one man saued. And it is by the Spaniards themselves presumed that the stormes which we had at Flores & at Tercera haue detoured many more of them, whereof in part we were eye witnesses. And so what by the seas and our men of warre I presume that of 75 sailes that came from Hauana, halfe of them will neuer arrive in Spaine.

The 11 day of October at night we came to anker in the sound of Plymouth, and the next morning with our Prize came into Carrewater: for which God be thanked: for that a vehement storme arose, and with such fury increased, as that the Prize was forced to cut ouer her maine mast: otherwise with the violence of the storme, her ground tackle being bad, she had diuen on shore: which was the most cause that moued me to put in here; intending now here to discharge the goods without further aduventure, and haue certified thus much vnto my Lord Admirall, and therewith also desired to vnderstande the direction of the Lords of the Council together with yours, inasmuch as my Lord Thomas Howard is not returned. Now the rest of our consorts which were separated from vs by weather haue sped, or what Prizes they haue taken, whereof there is much hope by reason of the scattering of the West Indian Fleet, as yet we are able to say nothing. And thus expecting your answer, and for all other matters referring me vnto the bearer Captaine Furtho, I end. Plymouth the 24 of October. 1591.

Your worships louing friend
Robert Flicke.

A large testimony of *Iohn Huighen van Linschoten* Hollander, concerning the worthy exploits atchieued by the right honourable the Earle of Cumberland, By Sir *Martine Frobisher*, Sir *Richard Greenwile*, and diuers other English Captaines, about the Isles of the *Acores*, and vpon the coasts of *Spaine* and *Portugall*, in the yeeres 1589, 1590, 1591, &c. recorded in his excellent discourse of voiaiges to the East and West Indies. cap. 96, 97. and 99.



We 22 of July 1589 about Euening, being by the Islands of Flores & Coruo, we perceiued 3 ships that made towards vs, which came from vnder the land, which put vs in great feare: for they came close by our Admirall, and shot diuers times at him, and at another ship of our companie, whereby we perceived them to be Englishmen, for they bare an English flagge vpon their maine tops, but none of them shewed to be aboue 60 tunnes in greatnes. About Euening they followed after vs, and all night bore lanternes with candles burning in them at their sternes, although the Moone shined. The same night passing hard by the Island of Fayal, the next day being betweene the Island of S. George that lay on our right hand, and the small Island called Graciola on our left hand, we espied the 3 English ships still following vs & tooke counsell together, whereof one sailed backwards, thinking that some other ship had come after vs without company, & for a time was out of sight, but it was not long before it came again to 5 other two, wherewith they tooke counsell & came all 3 together against our ship, because we lay in the lee of all our ships, & had the Island of S. George on the one side in stead of a sconce, thinking to deale so with vs, that in the end we should be constrained to run vpon the shore, whereof we wanted not much, and in that maner with

with their flagges openly displayed, came lustily towards vs, sounding their Trumpts, and sayd at the least three times about vs, beating vs with Musket and Caliver; and some great pieces, and did vs no hurt in the body of our Shippe; but spoiled all our sayles and ropes, and to conclude, wee were so plagued by them, that no man durst put forth his head, and when wee shot off a peece, wee had at the least an houres worke to lade it againe, whereby wee had so great a noise and crie in the Shippe, as if we had all bene cast away, whereat the English men themselves beganne to mocke vs, and with a thousand ielling words called vnto vs. In the meane time the other Shippes hoisted all their sayles, and did the best they could to saile to the Island of Tercera; not looking once behinde them to helpe vs, doubting they should come too late thither, not caring for vs, but thinking themselves to haue done sufficiently so they saued their owne stakes, whereby it may easily be seene what company they keepe one with the other, and what order is among them. In the ende the English men perceiuing small aduantage against vs, (little knowing in what case and feare we were, as also because wee were not farre from Tercera) left vs, which made vs not a litle to reioyce, as thinking our selues to bee risen from death to life, although wee were not well assured, neyther yet voyde of feare till we lay in the road befoze Tercera, and vnder the safetie of the Porringales for, and that we might get thither in good time wee made all the sayles we could: on the other side we were in great doubt, because we knew not what they did in the Island, nor whether they were our friends or enemies, and we doubted so much the more, because we found no men of warre nor any Caruels of aduise from Portugall, as wee made our accounts to doe, that might conuoy vs from thence, or giue vs aduise, as in that countrey ordinarily they vse to do: and because the English men had bene so victorizous in those parts, it made vs suspect that it went not well with Spaine: they of the Island of Tercera were in no lesse feare then we, for seeing our fleet, they thought vs to bee Englishmen, and that wee came to ouerrun the Island, because the 3. Englishmen had bound vp their flags, and came in company with vs: for the which cause the Island sent out two Caruels that lay there with aduise from the king, for the Indian ships that should come thither. Those Caruels came to view vs, and perceiuing what we were, made after vs, whereupon the English ships left vs, and made towards them, because the Caruels thought them to be friends, and humned them not, as supposing them to bee of our company, but we shot foure or fve times and made signes vnto them that they should make towards the Island, which they presently did. The Englishmen perceiuing that, did put forwards into the sea, & so the Caruels boyled vs telling vs that the men of the Island were all in armes, as hauing receiued aduise from Portugall, that Sir Francis Drake was in readinesse, and would come vnto those Islands. They likewise brought vs newes of the overthrow of the Spanish fleet befoze England, and that the English men had bene befoze the gates of Lisbon: whereupon the king gaue vs commandement that we should put into the Island of Tercera, and there lie vnder the safetie of the Castle until we receiued further aduise what we should do, or whether we should saile: for that they thought it too dangerous for vs to go to Lisbon. Those newes put out fleet in great feare, and made vs looke vpon eche other not knowing what to say, as being dangerous for them to put into the road, because it lieth open to the sea: so that the Indian ships, although they had expresse commandement from the king, yet they durst not anker there, but onely vsed to come thither, and to lie to and fro, sending their boates on land to fetch such necessaries as they wanted, without ankering: but being by necessitie compelled thereunto, as also by the kings commandement, and for that we vnderstood the Erle of Cumberland not to bee farre from those Islands with certaine ships of warre, we made necessitie a vertue, and entering the road, ankered close vnder the Castle, staying for aduise and order from the king, to performe our voyage, it being then the 24. of July, and S. James day.

The day befoze the Erle of Cumberland with 6. or 7. ships of war, sailed by the Island of Tercera, and to their great good fortune passed out of sight, so that they dispatched themselves in all haste, and for the more securitie, tooke with them 4. hundred Spaniards, of those that lay in Garrison in the Island, and with them they sayled towards Lisbon, hauing a good wind: so that within 11. daies after they arriued in the riuer of Lisbon with great gladnes & triumph: for if they had stayed but one day longer befoze they had entered the riuer, they had all bene taken by Captaine Drake, who with 40 ships came befoze Cascais, at the same time that the Indian ships cast anker in the riuer of Lisbon, being garded thither by diuers Gallies.

While I remained in Tercera, the Erle of Cumb. came to S. Marie, to take in fresh water, and some other victuals: but the inhabitants would not suffer him to haue it, but wounded both himselfe & diners of his men, whereby they were forced to depart without hauing any thing there.

The Erle of Cumberland while I lay in Tercera, came vnto the Ile of Graciosa, where himselfe in person, with seuen or eight in his company went on land, asking certaine beasts, hens, and

and other victuals, with wine and fresh water, which they willingly gaue him, and therewith he departed from thence, without doing them any hurt: for the which the inhabitants thanked him, and commended him for his courtesie, and keeping of his promise.

The same time that the Erle of Cumberland was in the Island of Graciola, he came likewise to Fayal, where at the first time that he came, they beganne to resist him, but by reason of some controuersie among them, they let him land, where he razed the Castle to the ground; and sunke all their Ordnance in the sea, taking with him certaine Carauels and ships that lay in the road; with provision of all things that he wanted: and therewith departed againe to sea. Whereupon the king caused the principall actors therein to be punished, and sent a company of souldiers thither againe, which went out of Tercera, with all kinde of warlike munition, and great shot, making the fortresse by againe, the better to defend the Island, trusting no more in the Portugales.

The 99 Chapter.

The ninth of October 1589, there arriued in Tercera fourteen ships that came from the Spanish Indies, laden with Cochenile, Hides, Golde, Siluer, Pearles, and other rich wares. They were sicke in companie, when they departed out of the Pauen of Hauana, whereof, in their coming out of the Channell, eleuen sunke in the same Channell by foule weather, the rest by a storme were scattered and separated one from the other. The next day there came another ship of the same companie, that sayled close vnder the Island, so to get into the Roades where she met with an English ship that had not about three cast peeces, and the Spaniards 12. They fought a long time together, which we being in the Island might stand and behold: whereupon the Gouvernour of Tercera sent two boates of Musketers to helpe the shippe: but befoze they could come at her, the English ship had shot her vnder water, and we saw her sinke into the Sea with all her sayles vp, and not any thing seene of her about the water. The Englishmen with their boate saued the Captaine and about thirtie others with him, but not one penie-worth of the goods, and yet in the shippe there was at the least to the value of two hundred thousand Duckats in Golde, Siluer, and Pearles, the rest of the men were drowned which might be about fiftie persons, among the which were some fflyers and women, which the Englishmen would not saue. Those that they had saued they set on land: and then they sayled away, The tenen and twentieth of the same moneth, the sayd fourteen ships hauing refreshed themselves in the Island departed from Tercera toward Siuill, and coming vpon the coast of Spaine they were taken by the English ships that lay there to watch for them, two onely excepted which escaped away, and the rest were wholly caried into England.

About the same time the Erle of Cumberland with one of the Queenes ships, and five or sixe more, kept about those Islands and came oftentimes so close vnder the Island, and to the Road of Angra, that the people on land might easily tell all his men that he had aboard, and knewe such as walked on the Hatches: they of the Island not once shooting at them, although they might easily haue done it, for they were within Musket shot both of the towne and fort. In these places he continued for the space of two moneths, and sayled round about the Islands, and landed in Graciola and Fayal, as in the description of those Islands I haue already declared. Here he tooke diuers ships and Carauels, which he sent into England: so that those of the Island durst not once put foorth their heads. At the same time about three or foure dayes after the Erle of Cumberland had bene in the Island of Fayal, and was departed from thence, there arriued in the said Island of Fayal sixe Indian shippes, whose Generall was one Iuan Dorius: and there they discharged in the Island 4 millions of golde and siluer. And hauing with all speede refreshed their ships, fearing the coming of the Englishmen they let sayle, and arriued safely in S. Lucar, not meeting with the enemye, to the great good lucke of the Spaniards and hard fortune of the Englishmen: for that within lesse then two dayes after the gold and siluer was laden againe into the Spanish ships, the Erle of Cumberland sayled againe by that Island: so that it appeared that God would not let them haue it, for if they had once had sight thereof, without doubt it had bene theirs, as the Spaniards themselves confessed.

In the moneth of Nouember there arriued in Tercera two great shippes, which were the Admirall and Viceadmirall of the Fleet laden with siluer, who with stormie weather were separated from the fleet, and had bene in great torment and distresse, and ready to sinke: for they were forced to vse all their Pumps: so that they wished a thousand times to haue met with the Englishmen to whom they would willingly haue given their siluer and all that euer they brought with them, onely to saue their liues. And although the Erle of Cumberland lay still about those Islands,

Islands, yet they met not with him, so that after much paine and labour they got into the Road before Angra, where with all speede they unladed and discharged about five millions of siluer, all in pieces of 8 or 10 pound great: so that the whole Bay lay couered with plates and chests of siluer, full of Ryales of eight, most wonderfull to behold, (each million being ten hundred thousand duckats,) besides pearles, gold, and other stones, which were not registred. The Admirall and chiefe commaunder of those ships and flecte called Aluaro Flores de Quiniones was sicke of the Neapolitan disease, and was brought to land, whereof not long after he died in Siuilla. He brought with him the Kings broad seale and full authoritie to be Generall and chiefe commaunder vpon the Seas, and of all flectes of ships, and of all places and Islands, or lands wherelouer he came: whereupon the gouernour of Tercera did him great honour, and betweene them it was concluded, perceiuing the weaknesse of their ships, and the danger of the Englishmen, that they would lend the shippes emptye with souldiers to conuoy them, either to Siuill or Lisbon, where they could first arriue, with aduise vnto his Maiestie of all that had pass, and that he would giue order to fetch the siluer with good and safe conuoy. Whereupon the said Aluaro Flores layed there, vnder colour of keeping the siluer, but specially because of his disease, and for that they were affaide of the Englishmen. This Aluaro Flores had alone for his owne part about 50000 Duckats in pearles, which he shewed vnto vs, & sought to sell them or barter them with vs for lyces or bills of exchange. The said two ships set sayle with 3 or 4 hundred men, as well souldiers as others that came with them out of India, and being at sea had a storme, wherewith the Admirall burst and sunke in the sea, & not one man saued. The Vice-Admirall cut downe her mast, and ranne the ship on ground hard by Serual, where it burst in pieces, some of the men sauing themselves by swimming, that brought the newes, but the rest were drowned.

In the same moneth there came two great ships out of the Spanish Indies, and being within half a mile of the Road of Tercera, they met with an English ship, which, after they had fought long together, tooke them both. About 7 or 8 moneths before, there had beene an English shippe in Tercera, that vnder the name of a Frenchman came to traffike in the Island, there to lade wood, and being discouered was both ship and goods confiscated to the kings vse, and all the men kept prisoners: yet went they by and downe the streets to get their liuings, by labouring like slaues, being in deede as safe in that Island, as if they had beene in prison. But in the ende vpon a Sunday, all the Saylers went downe behind the hills called Bresil: where they found a Fisher-boat, wherinto they got and rowed into the sea to the Erie of Cumberlands shippes, which to their great fortune chanced at that time to come by the Island, and ankered with his ships about halfe a mile from the Road of Angra, hard by two small Islands, which lie about a bases shot from the Island and are full of Goats, Deere and Sheepe, belonging to the inhabitants of the Island of Tercera. Those Saylers knew it well, and thereupon they rowed vnto them with their boates, and lying at anker that day, they fetched as many Goates and sheepe as they had neede of: which those of the towne and of the Island well saw and beheld, yet durst not once goe forth: so there remained no more on land but the Master and the Marchant of the said English ship. This Master had a brother in law dwelling in England, who hauing newes of his brothers imprisonment in Tercera, got licence of the Queene of England to set forth a ship, there with to see if he could recouer his losses of the Spaniards by taking some of them, and so to redeme his brother that lay prisoner in Tercera, and he it was that tooke the two Spanish ships before the Towne, the Master of the ship aforesaid standing on the shore by me, and looking vpon them, for he was my great acquaintance. The ships being taken that were worth 300 thousand duckats, he sent all the men on land sauing onely two of the principall Gentlemen, which he kept aboord thereby to ransom his brother: and sent the Pilot of one of the Indian ships that were taken, with a letter to the Governour of Tercera: wherein he wrote that he should deliuer him his brother, & he would send the 2 Gentlemen on land: if not, he would saile with them into England, as indeed he did, because the Governour would not doe it, saying that the Gentlemen might make that suite to the king of Spaine himselfe. This Spanish Pilot we bid to supper with vs, and the Englishmen likewise, where he shewed vs all the manner of their fight, much commending the order and maner of the Englishmens fighting, as also their courteous vsing of him: but in the end the English Pilot likewise stole away in a French ship, without paying any rancome as yet.

In the moneth of Januarie 1590 there arriued one ship alone in Tercera, that came from the Spanish Indies, and brought newes that there was a flecte of a hundred shippes which put out from the firme land of the Spanish Indies, and by a storme were driuen vpon the coast called Florida, where they were all cast away, the hauing onely escaped, wherin there were great riches, & many men lost, as it may well be thought: so that they made their account, that of 220 ships that for certaine were knownen to haue put out of Noua Spagna, S. Domingo, Hauana, Capo verde,

Brasilia, Guinea, &c. in the yeere 1589, to saile for Spaine & Portugall, there were not above 14 or 15 of them arrived there in safetie, all the rest being either drowned, burst or taken.

In the same moneth of January there arrived in Tercera 15 or 16 ships that came from Siuil, which were most flieboats of the Low countries, and some Britons that were arrested in Spaine: these came full of souldiers, and well appointed with munition, to take the silver that lay in Tercera, and to fetch Aluares de Flores by the kings commandement into Spaine. And because that time of the yeere there are alwayes stormes about those Islands, therefore they durst not enter into the road of Tercera, for that as then it blew so great a storme that some of their ships that had ankred were forced to cut downe their mastes, and were in danger to be lost: and among the rest a ship of Biscaine ran against the land and was striken in pieces, but all the men saved themselves. The other ships were forced to keepe the sea and seperate themselves one from the other, where wind and weather would vniue them vntill the 15 of March for that in all that time they could not haue one day of faire weather to anker in, whereby they endured much miserie, cursing both the silver and the Island. This storme being past, they chanced to meet with a small English ship of about 40 tunnes in bignesse, which by reason of the great wind could not beare all her sailes: so they set vpon her and tooke her, and with the English flag in their Admirals sterne, they came as proudly into the haven as if they had conquered all the realme of England: but as the Admirall that bare the English flag vpon her sterne was entering into the road, there came by chance two English ships by the Island that paid her so well for her paines, that they were forced to cry Misericordia, and without all doubt had taken her, if she had bene but a mile further in the sea: but because she got vnder the Foxtrelle, which also began to shoot at the Englishmen, they were forced to leaue her, and to put further into the sea, hauing slaine five or sixe of the Spaniards. The Englishmen that were taken in the small shippe were put vnder hatches, and coupled in bolts, and after they had bene prisoners 3 or 4 dayes, there was a Spanish Ensigne-bearer in the ship that had a brother slaine in the Fleet that came for England, who as then minding to reuenge his death, and wishall to shew his manhood on the English captiues that were in the English ship, which they had taken, as is aforesayd, tooke a poiniard in his hand and went downe vnder the hatches, where finding the poore Englishmen sitting in boltes, with the same poiniard he stabbed fixe of them to the heart: which two others of them perceiuing, clasped each other about the middle, because they would not be murdered by him, & threw themselves into the sea and there were drowned. This acte was of all the Spaniards much disliked and very ill taken, so that they caried the Spaniard prisoner vnto Lisbon, where being arrived, the king of Spaine willed he should be sent into England, that the Queene of England might vse him as she thought good: which sentence his friends by intreacie got to be reuered, notwithstanding he commaunded he should without all fauour be behaded: but vpon a good Friday the Cardinall going to masse, all the captaines and Commanders made so great intreaty for him, that in the end they got his pardon. This I thought good to note, that men might vnderstand the bloody & dishonest minds of the Spaniards when they haue men vnder their subiection.

The same two English ships which folowed the Spanish Admirall till he had got the Foze of Tercera, as I sayd before, put into the sea, where they met with another Spanish ship being of the same Fleet, that had likewise bene leattered by the storme and was onely missing, for the rest lay in the road. This small ship the Englishmen tooke, and sent all the men on shoze, not hurting any of them: but if they had knowen what had bene done vnto the foze sayd English captiues, I beleue they would soone haue reuenged themselves, as after ward many an innocent soule paid for it. This ship thus taken by the Englishmen, was the same that was taken and confiscated in the Island of Tercera by the Englishmen that got out of the Island in a fisher boat (as I said before) and was sold vnto the Spaniards that as then came from the Indies, wherewith they sayled to S. Lucar, where it was also arrested by the duke, and appointed to go in company to fetch the silver in Tercera, because it was a ship that sailed well, but among the Spaniards Fleet it was the meannest of the company. By this means it was taken from the Spaniards and caried into England, and the owners had it againe when they least thought of it.

The 19 of March the aforesayd ships being 19 in number, set saile, hauing laden the kings silver, and receiued in Aluares Flores de Quiniones, with his company and good prouision of necessaries, munition and souldiers that were fully resolued (as they made shew) to fight valiantly to the last man before they would yeeld or lose their riches: and although they set their course for S. Lucar, the wind draue them vnto Lisbon, which (as it seemed) was willing by his force to helpe them, and to bring them thither in safetie, although Aluares de Flores, both against the wind and weather would perforce haue sailed to Saint Lucar, but being constrained by the wind and impoportunitie of the sailers that protested they would require their losses and damages of him, he was

was content to saile to Lisbon: from whence the siluer was by land caried vnto Siou. At Cape S. Vincent there lay a fleet of 20 English ships to watch for the Armada, so that if they had put into S. Lucar, they had fallē right into their hands, which if the wind had serued they had done. And therefore they may say that the wind hath lent them a happy voiage: for if the Englishmen had met with them, they had surely bene in great danger, and possibly but few of them had escaped, by reason of the feare wherewith they were possessed, because fortune or rather God was wholly against them: which is a sufficient cause to make the Spaniards out of heart, & to the contrary to giue the Englishmen more courage, and to make them bolder for that they are but courageous, stout and valiant: and seeing all their enterprises do take so good effect, that thereby they are become lords and masters of the sea, and need care for no man, as it wel appeareth by this briefe discourse.

The 7 of August 1590. a nauie of English ships was seen before Tercera, being 20 in number, and 5 of them the Queenes ships: their Generall was one Martin Frobisher, as we after had intelligence. They came purposely to watch for the fleet of the Spanish Indies, and for the Indian ships, and the ships of the countreys in the West: which put the Nlanders in great feare, specially those of Fayal, for that the Englishmen sent a trumpet to the Gouvernour to aske certaine wine, flesh, and other victuals for their money and good friendship. They of Fayal did not onely refuse to giue care vnto them, but with a shot killed their messenger or trumpeter: which the Englishmen tooke in euill part, sending them word that they were best to looke to themselves and stand vpon their guard, for they ment to come and visite them whether they would or no. The Gouvernour made them answer, that he was there in the behalfe of his maiestie of Spaine, and that he would doe his best to keepe them out, as he was bound: but nothing was done, although they of Fayal were in no litle feare, sending to Tercera for aide, from whence they had certaine barkes with ponder and munition for warre, with some biscet and other necessary provision.

The 30 of August we received very certaine newes out of Portugal, that there were 80 ships put out of the Groine laden with victuals, munition, money and souldiours, to goe for Britaine to aide the Catholiques and Leaguers of France against the king of Nauarre. At the same time two Netherland hulkes comming out of Portugal to Tercera being halfe the Seasoner, met with 4 of the Queenes ships, their Generall being sir John Hawkins, that staied them, but let them go againe without doing them any harme. The Netherlanders reported, that each of the Queenes ships had 80 pieces of Ordnance, and that captaine Drake lay with 40 ships in the English channell watching for the armie of the Groine: and likewise that there lay at the Cape S. Vincent ten other English ships, that if any ships escaped from the Nlands, they might take them. These tidings put the Nlanders in great feare, least if they failed of the Spanish fleet and got nothing by them, that then they would fall vpon the Nlands, because they would not returne emptie home, wherupon they held streit watch, sending aduise vnto the king what newes they heard.

The first of September there came to the Island of S. Michael a Portugall ship out of the haen of Phernambuck in Brasile, which brought newes that the Admirall of the Portugall fleet that came from India, hauing missed the Island of S. Helena, was of necessitie constrained to put into Phernambuck, although the king had expressly vnder a great penaltie forbidden him so to doe, because of the wormes that there doe spoile the ships. The same shippe wherein Bernardin Ribero was Admirall the yeere before 1589. failed out of Lisbon into the Indies, with 5 ships in her company, whereof but 4 got into India, the 5 was neuer heard of, so that it was thought to be cast away: the other foure returned safe againe into Portugall, though the Admirall was much spoiled, because he met with two English ships that fought long with him, and slew many of his men, but yet he escaped from them.

The 5 of the same moneth there arriued in Tercera a carauel of the Island of Coruo, & brought with her 50 men that had bin spoiled by the Englishmen who had set them on shoze in the Island of Coruo, being taken out of a ship that came from the Spanish Indies, they brought tidings that the Englishmen had taken 4 more of the Indian ships, & a carauel with the king of Spaines letters of aduise for the ships comming out of the Portugall Indies, & that with those which they had takē, they were at the least 40 English ships together, so that not one bark escaped them, but fell into their hands, & that therefore the Portugall ships comming out of India durst not put into the Nlands, but tooke their course vnder 40 & 42 degrees, and so thence sailed to Lisbon, humming likewise the Cape S. Vincent, other wise they could not haue had a prosperous iourney of it, for that as then the sea was full of English ships. Whereupon the king aduised the fleet lying in Hauana in the Spanish Indies ready to come for Spaine, that they should stay there all that yeere till the next yeere, because of the great danger they might fall into by the Englishmen, which was no small charge, & hinderance to the fleet, for that the ships that lie there do consume themselves, and in a maner eat vpon one another, by reason of the great number of people, together with the scarcitie of all things, so that

Great hauch
of Spaniard.

many ships chose rather one by one to aduencure theselues alone to get hoine, then to stay there: all which fell into the Englishmens hands, wherof diuers of the men were brought into Tercera, for that a whole day we could see nothing els, but spoiled men set on shoze, some out of one ship, some out of another, that pittie it was to see all of them cursing the Englishmen & their owne fortunes, with those that had bene the causes to prouoke the Englishmen to fight, and complaining of the small remedie and order taken therein by the king of Spaines officers.

The 19 of the same month there came to Tercera a Carauel of Lisbon, with one of the kings officers, to caule the goods that were saued out of the ship which came from Malacca (for y^e which we staid there) to be laden and sent to Lisbon. And at the same time there put out of the Groine one Don Alonso de Baçan, with 40 great ships of warre to come vnto the Islands, there to watch for the fleet of the Spanish & Portugall Indies, and the goods of the Malacca ship being laden, they were to conuoy the all together into the riuer of Lisbon: but being certaine daies at sea, alwaies hauing a contrary wind, they could not get vnto the Islands, onely two of them that were scattered from the fleet, arriued at Tercera, and not finding the fleet, they presently returned to seeke them: in the meane time the king changed his mind, & caused the fleet to stay in India, as I said before: and therefore hee sent worde vnto Don Alonso de Baçan, that hee should returne againe to the Groine, which he presently did (without doing any thing, nor once approaching neer the Islands, sauing onely the two foresayd ships, for he well knew that the Englishmen lay by the Island of Coruo, but he would not visit them: and so he returned to the haueu the Groine, whereby our goods that came from Malacca were yet to ship, and trussed by againe, and forced to stay a moze fortunate time with patience perforce.

The 23 of October there arriued in Tercera a Carauel with aduise out of Portugall, that of 5 ships which in the yere 1590 were laden in Lisbon for the Indies, 4 of them were turned againe to Porcin. After they had bene 4 moneths abroad, & that the Admirall, wherein the Viceroy called Mathias d'Albukerk sailed, had onely gotten to India, as afterward newes there of was brought ouer-land, hauing bin at the least 11 moneths at sea & neuer saw land, and came in great misery to Malacca. In this ship there died by the way 280 men, according to a note by himselfe made, and sent to the Cardinal at Lisbon, with the names & surnames of euery man, together with a description of his voiage, & the misery they had endured, which was onely done, because he would not lose the government of India: and for that cause he had chooze either to lose his life, or to arrive in India, as in deed he did afterwards, but to the great danger, losse and hinderance of his companie, that were forced to buy it with their liues, & onely for want of prouision, as it may wel be thought: for he knew full well that if he had returned backe againe into Portugal as the other ships did, he should haue bin cashiered from his Indian regiment, because the people began already to murmure at him for his proud & lofty mind. And among other things that shewed his pride the moze, behind about the gallery of his ship, he caused Fortune to be painted, & his own picture wth a staffe standing by her, as it were threating Fortune, with this polie, Quero que vencas, that is, I wil haue thee to ouercome: which being read by the Cardinal & other gentlemen (that to honoz him brought him aboard his ship) it was thought to be a point of exceeding folly: but it is no strange matter among the Portugals: for they about all others must of force let the foole peepe out of their sleeves, specially when they are in authoritie, for that I knew the said Mathias d'Albukerk in India, being a souldier and a captaine, where he was esteemed and accounted for one of the best of them, & much honoured, and beloued of all men, as behauing himselfe courteously to euery man, whereby they all desired that he might be Viceroy. But when he once had receiued his patent with full power & authoritie from the king to be Viceroy, he changed so much from his former behauior, that by reason of his pride, they all began to feare and curse him, and that before hee departed out of Lisbon, as it is often seene in many men that are aduanced vnto state and dignitie.

The 20 of Januarie 1591, there was newes brought out of Portugall into Tercera, that the Englishmen had takē a ship that the king had sent into the Portugal-Indies, wth aduise to the Viceroy for the returning againe of the 4 ships that should haue gone to India, & because the ships were come backe againe, that ship was stuffed and laded as full of goods as possible it might be, hauing likewise in ready money 500 thousand duckets in roials of 8, besides other wares. It departed from Lisbon in the month of Nouember 1590, & met with the Englishmen, with whō for a time it fought, but in the end it was taken and caried into England with men & all, yet when they came there, the men were set at libertie, and returned into Lisbon, where the captaine was committed prisoner; but he excused himselfe and was released, with whom I spake my selfe, & he made this report vnto me. At the same time also they tooke a ship that came from the Mine ladē with gold, & 2 ships laden with pepper & spices that were to saile into Italy, the pepper onely that was in them, being worth 170 thousand duckets: all these ships were caried into England, & made good prize.

In the moneth of July 1591, there hapned an earthquake in the Island of S. Michael, which continued fro the 26 of July, to the 12 of August, in which time no man durst stay within his house but fled into the fields, fasting & praying with great sorrow, for that many of their houses fel down, and a towne called Villa Franca, was almost cleane razed to the ground, all the cloisters & houses shaken to the earth, and therein some people slaine. The land in some places rose vp, and the cliffs remooued from one place to another, and some hills were defaced and made euen with the ground. The earthquake was so strong, that the ships which lay in the road and on the sea, shaked as if the world would haue turned round: there sprang also a fountaine out of the earth, from whence for the space of 4 daies, there flowed a most cleare water, & after that it ceased. At the same time they heard such thunder & noise vnder the earth, as if all the deuils in hell had bin assembled together in that place, wherewith many died for feare. The Island of Tercera hooke 4 times together, so that it seemed to turne about, but there hapned no misfortune vnto it. Earthquakes are common in those Islands, for about 20 yeres past there hapned another earthquake, whereln a high hill that lieth by the same towne of Villa Franca, fell halfe downe, & couered all the towne with earth, and killed many men. The 25 of August the kings Armada comming out of Ferol arriued in Tercera being in all 30 ships, Biskaines, Portugals and Spaniards, and 10 dutch flieboats that were arrested in Lisbon to serue the king, besides other small ships & pataros, that came to serue as messengers from place to place, and to discover the seas. This nauie came to stay for, and conuoy the ships that should come from the Spanish Indies, and the flieboats were appointed in their returne home, to take in the goods that were saued in the lost ship that came from Malacca, and to conuoy them to Lisbon.

The 13 of September the said Armada arriued at the Island of Coruo, where the Englishmen with about 16 ships as then lay, staying for the Spanish fleet, wher e of some of the most part were come, and there the English were in good hope to haue taken them. But whē they perceiued the kings army to be strong, the Admirall being the lord Thomas Howard, commanded his Fleet not to fal vpon them, nor any of them once to separate their ships from him, vntill he gaue commission so to do: not withstanding the vice admirall sir Richard Greenuil being in the ship called the Reuenge, went into the Spanish fleet, and shot among them doing them great hurt, & thinking the rest of the company would haue folowed, which they did not, but left him there, & sailed away: the cause why could not be knowē. Which the Spaniards perceiuing, with 7 or 8 ships they boorded her, but the withstood them all, fighting with them at the least 12 houres together and sunke two of them, one being a new double flieboat of 600 tunnes, and Admirall of the flieboats, the other a Biscain: but in the end by reason of the number that came vpon her, he was taken, but to their great losse: for they had lost in fighting and by drowning about 400 men, and of the English were slaine about 100, Sir Richard Greenuil himselfe being wounded in his braine, wherof afterwards he died. He was caried into the ship called S. Paul, wher in was the Admirall of the fleet Don Alonso de Baçan: there his wounds were dressed by the Spanish surgeons, but Don Alonso himselfe would neither see him nor speake with him: all the rest of the captaines and gentlemen went to visite him, and to comfort him in his hard fortune, wondering at his courage and stout heart, for he shewed not any signe of faintnes nor changing of colour; but feeling the houre of death to approach, he spake these words in Spanish, and said: Here die I Richard Greenuil with a ioyful & quiet mind, for that I haue ended my life as a true souldier ought to do, that hath fought for his countrey, Queene, religion and honoz, whereby my soule most ioyfull departed out of this body, & that alwayes leaue behind it an euerlasting fame of a valiant & true souldier that hath done his dutie as he was bound to doe. When he had finished these or such other like words, he gaue vp the Ghost, with great & stout courage, & no man could perceiue any true signe of heauines in him.

This sir Rich. Greenuil was a great and a rich gentelman in England, & had great peerely reuenues of his owne inheritance, but he was a man very vnquiet in his mind, and greatly affected to war; inso much as of his owne private motion he offered his seruice to the Queene: he had performed many valiant acts, and was greatly feared in these Islands, and known of euery man, but of nature very seuer, so that his owne people hated him for his fiercenesse, & spake very hardly of him: for when they first entred into the fleet of Armada, they had their great saile in a readinesse, and might possibly enough haue sailed away, for it was one of the best ships for saile in England, and the master perceiuing that the other ships had left them, & folowed not after, commanded the great saile to be cut that they might make away: but sir Rich. Greenuil threatened both him & all the rest that were in the ship, if any mā laid hand vpon it, he would cause him to be hanged, and so by that occasion they were compelled to fight & in the end were taken. He was of so hard a complexion, that as he continued among the Spanish captaines while they were at dinner or supper with him, he would carouse 3 or 4 glasses of wine; and in a brauerie take the glasses betweene his teeth

and crash them in peeces & swallow them downe, so that oftentimes the blood ran out of his mouth without any harme at all vnto him: & this was told me by diuers credible persons that many times stood and beheld him. The Englishmen that were left in the ship, as the captaine of the souldiers, the master and others were dispersed into diuers of the Spanish ships that had taken them, where there had almost a new sight arisen between the Biscains and the Portugals: while each of them would haue the honour to haue first boozed her, so that there grew a great noise and quarrel among them, one taking the chiefe ensigne, and the other the flag, and the captaine and euery one held his owne. The ships that had boozed her were altogether out of order, and broken, and many of their men hurt, whereby they were compelled to come into the Island of Tercera, there to repaire themselves: where being arriued, I and my chamber-fellow, to heare some newes, went aboard one of the ships being a great Biscain, and one of the 12 Apostles, whose captaine was called Bartandono, that had bin General of the Biscains in the fleet that went for England. We seeing vs called vs by into the gallery, where with great curtesie he receiued vs, being as then set at dinner with the English captaine that late by him, and had on a sute of blacke veluet, but he could not tell vs any thing, for that he could speake no other language but English and Latine, which Bartandono also could a litle speake. The English captaine got licence of the gouernour that he might come on land with his weapon by his side, and was in our lodging with the Englishman that was kept prisoner in the Island, being of that ship whereof the sailers got away, as I said before. The gouernour of Tercera had him to dinner, and shewed him great curtesie. The master likewise with licence of Bartandono came on land and was in our lodging, and had at the least 10 or 12 wounds, as well in his head as on his body, whereof after that being at sea between Lisbon & the Islands he died. The captaine wrote a letter, wherein he declared all the manner of the fight, and sent it with the English marchand that lay in our lodging, to send it to the lord Admiral of England. This English captaine comming vnto Lisbon, was there wel receiued and not any hurt done vnto him, but with good convoy sent to Seuuall, and from thence sailed into England with all the rest of the Englishmen that were taken prisoners.

The Spanish armie staid at the Island of Coruo til the last of September, to assemble the rest of the fleet together, which in the ende were to the number of 140 sailes of ships partly comming from India, and partly of the army, and being altogether ready to saile to Tercera in good company, there suddenly rose so hard & cruell a storme, that those of the Islands did affirme, that in mans memorie there was neuer any such seen or heard off before: for it seemed the sea would haue swallowed by the Islands, the water mounting higher then the cliffs, which are so high that it amaseth a man to behold them: but the sea reached aboue them, and liuing fishes were throwen vpon the land. This storme continued not only a day or two with one wind, but 7 or 8 dayes continually, the wind turning round about in all places of the compasse, at the least twice or thise during that time, and all alike, with a continuall storme and tempest most terrible to behold, euen to vs that were on shore, much more then to such as were at sea: so that onely on the coasts and cliffes of the Island of Tercera, there were about 12 ships cast away, and not onely vpon the one side, but round about it in euery corner, where by nothing els was heard but complaining, crying, lamenting & telling, here is a ship broken in peeces against the cliffes, and there another, and all the men drowned: so that for the space of 20 dayes after the storme, they did nothing els but fish for dead men that continually came vpon the shore. Among the rest was the English ship called the Reuenge, that was cast away vpon a cliffe neere to the Island of Tercera, where it brake in an hundred peeces & sunke to the ground, hauing in her 70 men Galegos, Biscains, and others, with some of the captiue Englishmen, whereof but one was saued that got by vpon the cliffes aliue, and had his body and head all wounded, and he being on shore brought vs the newes desiring to be shrouen, & thereupon presently died. The Reuenge had in her diuers faire brasse peeces that were all sunke in y^e sea, which they of the Island were in good hope to waigh vp againe the next Sommer after. Among these ships that were cast away about Tercera, was likewise a Flie-boat, one of those that had bin arrested in Portugall to serue the king, called the white Dove, the master of her was one Cornelius Martenson of Schiedam in Holland, and there were in her 100 souldiers, as in euery one of the rest there were. We being ouer-ruled by the captaine that he could not be master of his owne, saying here and there at the mercy of God, as the storme vpon him, in the end came within the sight of the Island of Tercera, which the Spaniards perceiuing thought all their safetie onely to consist in putting into the roav, compelling the Master and the Pilot to make towards the Island, although the master refused to doe it, saying, that they were most sure there to be cast away and utterly spoiled: but the captaine called him drunkard and Heretique, and striking him with a staffe, commaunded him to doe as hee would haue him. The Master seeing this and being compelled to doe it, sayd: well then my Masters, seeing it is the desire of you all to be cast away,

The bracke of
the Reuenge.

I can but lose one life, and therewith desperately he sailed towards the shoze, and was on that side of the Island, where there was nothing els but hard Stones and rocks, as high as mountaines, most terrible to beholde, where some of the inhabitants stood with long ropes and cozke bound at the end thereof, to throw them downe vnto the men, that they might lay holde vpon them, and saue their lines: but few of them got so neere, most of them being cast away, and smitten in pieces before they could get to the wall. The ship sailing in this maner (as I sayd before) towards the Island, and approaching to the shoze, the master being an olde man, and full of yeeres, called his sonne that was in the ship with him, and hauing imbraced one another, and taken their last farewell, the good olde father willed his sonne not to take care for him, but seeke to saue himselfe; for (sayd he) sonne thou art young, & mayest haue some hope to saue thy life, but as for me it is no great matter (I am olde) what become of me, and therewith ech of these shedding many teares, as euery louing father and kinde childe may well consider, the ship fell vpon the cliffes, and brake in pieces, the father on the one side, the sonne on the other side falling into the sea, ech laying holde vpon that which came next to hand; but to no purpose; for the sea was so high and furious, that they were all drowned, and onely foure teene or fiftene saued themselves by swimming, with their legs and armes halfe broken and out of ioynt, among which was the Masters sonne, and foure other Dutch boyes: the rest of the Spaniards and Sailers, with the Captaine and Master, were drowned. Whose heart would not mele with teares to beholde so grieuous a sight, specially considering with himselfe that the greatest cause thereof was the beastlines and insolency of the Spaniards, as in this onely example may well be seene: Whereby may be considered how the other shippes sped, as we our selues did in part beholde, and by the men that were saued did heare moze at large, as also some others of our countrey men that as then were in the like danger can well witness.

On the other Islands the losse was no lesse then in Tercera: for on the Island of Saint George there were two shippes cast away: on the Island of Pico two shippes: on the Island of Graciosa three shippes: and besides those there came euery where round about diuers pieces of broken shippes, and other things fleeing to wards the Islands, wherewith the sea was all couered most pitifull to beholde. On the Island of S. Michael there were foure shippes cast away, and betwene Tercera and S. Michael thre moze were sunke, which were seene and heard to cry out; wherof not one man was saued. The rest put into the sea without masts, all cozne and rent: so that of the whole fleet and armada, being 140 shippes in all, there were but 32 or 33 arriued in Spaine and Portugall, yea, and those few with so great misery, paine and labour, that not two of them arriued there together, but this day one, and to morrow another, next day the third, and so one after the other to the number aforesayd. All the rest were cast away vpon the Islands, and ouerwhelmed in the Sea, wherby may be considered what great losse and hindrance they receiued at that time: for by many mens iudgements it was esteemed to be much moze then was lost by their army that came for England; and it may well be thought, and presumed, that it was no other but a iust plague purposely sent by God vpon the Spaniards, and that it might truly be sayd, the taking of the Reuenge was iustly reuenged vpon them, and not by the might or force of man, but by the power of God, as some of them openly sayd in the Ile of Tercera, that they beleued verily God would continue them, and that he tooke part with the Lutherans and heretiks: saying further that so soone as they had throwen the dead body of the Viceadmirall Sir Richard Greenfield ouer-board, they verily thought that as he had a diuellish faith and religion, and therefore the diuels loued him, so he presently sunke into the bottom of the sea, and downe into hell, where he raised by all the diuels to the reuenge of his death: and that they brought so great stormes and torments vpon the Spaniards, because they onely maintained the Catholike & Romish religion. Such and the like blasphemies against God, they ceased not openly to vtter, without being reprooued of any man therein; nor for their false opinions: but the most part of them rather sayd and affirmed, that of truth it must needs be so.

There 100
Spanish and
Portugall
shippes drown-
ed.

As one of those Indian fleets put out of Noua Spaigna, there were 35 of them by storme and tempest cast away and drowned in the Sea, being 50 in all, so that but 15 escaped. Of the fleet that came from Santo Domingo there were 14 cast away, comming out of the chanel of Ha-uana, wherof the Admirall and Viceadmirall were two of them: and from Terra Firma in India there came two shippes laden with golde and siluer, that were taken by the Englishmen: and before the Spanish army came to Coruo, the Englishmen at times had taken at the least 20 shippes, that came from S. Domingo, India, Brasilia, &c. and were all sent into England.

A relation sent by *Melchior Petoney* to *Nigil de Moura* at *Lisbon*, from the Iland and Castle of *Arguin*, standing a little to the Southward of *Cape Blanco*, in the Northerly latitude of 19 degrees, concerning the rich and secret trade from the inland of *Africa* thither: *Anno 1597.*



Concerning the trade to this Castle and Iland of *Arguin*, your worship is to understand, that if it would please the kings maiesty to send hicher two or three caruells once in a yeere with *Flanders* and *Spanish* commodities, as *Bacelets* of glasse, *Knives*, *Wells*, *Linnen-cloth*, *Looking-glasses*, with other kinds of small wares, his highnesse might do great good here. For 50 leagues by into the land the *Hoozes* haue many exceeding rich golde mines; insomuch that they bring downe their golde to this Castle to traffique with vs: and for a small crisse they will giue vs a great wedge of gold. And because here is no trade, the sayd *Hoozes* carry their golde to *Fez* being 250 leagues distant from hence, and there doe exchange the same for the foresayd kindes of commodities. By this means also his maiesty might stop that passage, and keepe the king of *Fez* from so huge a masse of golde, *Scarlet-clothes*, and fine *Purples* are greatly accepted of in these parts. It is a most fertile countrey within the land, and yeeldeth great store of *Wheat*, flesh of all kindes, and abundance of fruits. Therefore, if it were possible, you should do well to deale with his maiesty, either himselfe to send a couple of carauells, or to giue your worship leane to traffique here: for here is a very good harbour where ships may ride at ancre hard by the Castle. The countrey where all the golde-mines are is called *The kingdome of Darha*. In this kingdome are great store of cities and townes; and in euery city and towne a *Captaine* with certaine souldiers; which *Captaines* are lords and owners of the sayd townes. One city there is called *Couton*, another *Xanigetou*, as also the cities of *Tubguer*, *Azegue*, *Amader*, *Quaherque*, and the towne of *Faroo*. The which townes and cities are very great and fairely built, being inhabited by rich *Hoozes*, and abounding with all kinde of cattell, *Barley*, and *Dates*. And here is such plenty of golde found vpon the lands by the riuers side, that the sayd *Hoozes* vsually carry the same Northward to *Marocco*, and Southward to the city of *Tombuto* in the land of *Negros*, which city standeth about 300 leagues from the kingdome of *Darha*; and this kingdome is but 60 leagues from this Iland and Castle of *Arguin*. Wherefore I beseech your worship to put his maiesty in remembrance hereof; for the sayd cities and townes are but ten dayes iourney from hence. I heartily wish that his maiesty would send two or three marchants to see the state of the Countrey, who might trauell to the foresayd cities, to vnderstand of their rich trade. For any man may go safe and come safe from those places. And thus without troubling of your worship any further, I humbly take my leane. From the Iland and Castle of *Arguin* the 20 of *January 1591.*

Your worships seruant
Melchior Petoney.

The voyage of *Richard Rainolds* and *Thomas Dassel* to the riuers of *Senega* and *Gambra* adioyning vpon *Guinea*, 1591, with a discourse of the treasons of certtain of *Don Antonio* his seruants and followers.



By vertue of her Maiesties most gracious charter giuen in the yeere 1588, and in the thirtieth yeere of her Highnesse reigne, certaine English marchants are granted to trade, in and from the riuer of *Senega* to and in the riuer of *Gambra*, on the Westerne coast of *Africa*. The chiefest places of traffique on that coast betwene these riuers, are these:

- 1 *Senega* riuer: The commodities be *hides*, *gumme*, *elephants teeth*, a few *graines*, *ostrich feathers*, *amber-griece*, and some *golde*.
- 2 *Beseguiache*, a towne by *Capo Verde* * leagues from *Senega* riuer: The commodities be *small hides*, and a few *teeth*.
- 3 *Resisca Vieio*, a towne 4 leagues from *Beseguiache*: The commodities be *small hides*, and a few *teeth* now and then.
- 4 *Palmerin*, a towne 2 leagues from *Resisca*: The commodities be *small hides*, and a few *elephants teeth* now and then.
- 5 *Porto d'Ally*, a towne 5 leagues from *Palmerin*: The commodities be *small hides*, *teeth*, *amber-griece*, and a little *golde*: and many *Portugals* are there.

6 *Candimal*,

Commodities
fit for Arguin.

Wedges of
golde giuen for
small trifles.

Scarlet & fine
Purple cloth
greatly accep-
ted.

A good harbor
before the Cas-
tle of Arguin.

Concerning
this kingdome
reade *Leo Africanus*
a little af-
ter the begin-
ning of his 6
booke.

The names of
the chiefest pla-
ces of traffike
betwene *Senega*
& *Gambra*.

6 Candimal, a towne halfe a league from Porto d' Ally: The commodities be small hides, and a few teeth now and then.

7 Palmerin, a towne 3 leagues from Candimal: The commodities be small hides, and a few teeth now and then.

8 Ioala, a towne 6 leagues from Palmerin: The commodities be hides, ware, elephants teeth, rice, and some golde: and many Spaniards and Portugals are there.

9 GAMBRA RIUER: The commodities are rice, ware, hides, elephants teeth, and golde.

The Frenchmen of Diepe and New-haven haue traded thither about thirty yeres: and commonly with foure or fūie ships a yere, whereof two small barks go into the riuer of Senega. The other were woont (vntill within these foure yeres, that our ships came thither) to ride with their ships in the road of Porto d' Ally and so sent their small shaloups of fīre or eight tunnes to some of these places on the Sea coast befoze repeated. Where in all places generally they were well beloued and as courteously entertained of the Negros, as if they had bene naturally bozne in the countrey. And very often the Negros come into France and retorne againe, which is a further increasung of mutuall loue and amity. Since our comming to that coast the Frenchmen ride with their shippes at Refisca Vieio, and suffer vs to ancre with our shippes at Porto d' Ally. The Frenchmen neuer vse to go into the riuer of GAMBRA: which is a riuer of secret trade and riches concealed by the Portugals. For long since one Frenchman entred the riuer with a small barke which was betrayed, surpris'd, and taken by two gallies of the Portugals.

Our trade hither beganne 1587.

GAMBRA a riuer of secret & rich trade concealed.

In our second voyage and second yere there were by vile trecherous meanes of the Portugals and the king of the Negros consent in Porto d' Ally and Ioala about forty Englishmen cruelly slaine and captiued, and most of all of their goods confiscated: whereof there returned onely two, which were the merchants. And also by procurement of Pedro Gonsalues, one of Don Antonio the kings seruants, Thomas Dassel and others had bene betrayed, if it had not pleas'd almighty God to reueale the same, whereby it was prevented.

The second voyage. Forty Englishmen traitterously slaine and captiued.

From the South side of Senega riuer on the Sea coast vnto about Palmerin is all one kingdom of Negros. The kings name is Melick Zamba, who dwelleth two dayes iourney within the land from Refisca.

The 12 of Nouember 1592, I Richard Rainolds & Thomas Dassel factors in a ship called the Nightingale of London of 125 tunnes, and a pinnesse called the Messenger of 40 tunnes arrived neere vnto Capo Verde at a little Island called The Island of liberty. At this Island we set by a small pinnesse, with which we carry our merchandise on land when wee traffique. And in the meane time Thomas Dassel went with the great pinnesse to traffike with Spaniards or Portugals in Porto d' Ally or Ioala.ouer against the sayd Island on the maine is an habitation of the Negros called Befegueache. The alcaide or gouernor thereof with a great traine came aboard in their canoas to receive the kings duties for ankerage and permitting the quiet setting by of our pinnesse: wholiked passing well that no Portugall came in the shippe, saying, we should be better thought of by the king and people, if we neuer did bying Portugall, but come of our selues as the Frenchmen euer did and doe. And to purchase the more loue, I Richard Rainolds gaue him and all his company courteous entertainment. Also vpon his intreaty, hauing sufficient pledge aboard, I and others went on land with him. At this instant there was great ware betweene this alcaide and another gouernor of the next prouince. Neuerthelste vpon our artiuall truce was taken for a space; and I with our company conducted among both enemies to the gouernors house in Befegueache, and were gently and friendly feasted after their maner, and with some presents returned safe aboard againe. The next day the alcaide came aboard againe, to wil me to send some yron and other commodities in the boat to traffike with the Negros, and also requested me that I would go to Refisca with the ship; which I did. And one thing I noted, that a number of Negros attended the alcaides landing in warlike maner with bowes and poisoned arrows, darts poisoned, and swords, (because that the enemies by reason of the truce taken were there also to view the ship) who for the most part approached to him kneeling downe and kissed the backe of his hand.

Cape Verde.

Befegueache.

Befegueache.

The 17 of Nouember we weped anker; and by reason no French ship was yet come, I went to the road of Refisca: where I sent for the alcaides interpretozs, who came thither aboard, and receiued of me the kings duties for to haue free traffike with the Negros, with whom daily I exchanged my yron & other wares for hides and some elephants teeth, finding the people very friendly and tractable. And the next day after our arriuall I went by into the land about three miles to the towne of Refisca, where I was friendly vsed and well entertained of the alcaide, and especially of a yong nobleman called Conde Amar Partay, who presented me with an ore for my company, goats and some yong kids, assuring me that the king would be glad to heare of the arriuall

Refisca.

of a Christians ship, whom they called Blancos, that is, white men: especially of an English ship. And so dayly the yong Conde came with a small company of horsemen to the sea side, feasting me very kindly and courteously. And the first of December he with his traine came aboard to see the ship; which to them seemed woonderfull, as people that seldome had seene the like: who tolde me that his messenger from the king was returned; and the king reioyced much to heare that English men were come with a ship to trade in his ports; and being the first Englishman that ever came with a ship, I was the better welcome; promising that I or any Englishman hereafter should be wel intreated & find good dealing at their hands. And further the Conde on the kings behalfe and his owne, earnestly requested, that before my departure off the coast I would returne againe to his road to conferre with him for the better continuance and confirming of amity betweene them and Englishmen: which I agreed vnto. And so shewing him and his company the best friendship and courtesie I could, he went on shoze, and should haue had the hono^r of our ordinaunce but that he desired the contrary, being amazed at the sight of the ship and noise of the gunnes, which they did greatly admire.

Porto Dally.

The 13 of December at night we weighed anker, and arriued the 14 day at the road of Porto d' Ally, which is another kingdome: the king thereof is called Amar Meleck, & sonne to Meleck Zamba the other king, and dwelleth a dayes Iourney and an halfe from Porto d' Ally. When we had ankered, the kings kinmen being gouernours, with all the officers of that towne came aboard to receiue all duties for the ship & licence to traffike due to the king; who there generally seemed to be very glad that no Portugall was come in our ship out of England; saying it was the kings pleasure we should bying none hereafter; for that the king did esteeme the m as people of no truth; and complained of one Francisco de Costa seruant to Don Antonio, how he had often and the last yere also abused and deluded their king Amar Meleck in promising to bring him certaine things out of England, which he neuer performed, and deemed that to be the cause of his staying behinde this voyage, and that neither Spaniards nor Portugall could abide vs, but reported very badly and gaue out hard speeches tending to the defamacion & great dishon^r of England: and also affirmed that at the arriuall of an English ship called The Command, of Richard Kelley of Dartmouth, one Pedro Gonfalués a Portugall that came in the sayd ship from Don Antonio reported vnto them, that we were fled out of England and come away vpon intent to rob and do great spoile vpon this coast to the Negros and Portugals, and that Thomas Dassel had murdered Francisco de Acoſta since our coming from England, who was coming to their king in our ship with great presents from Don Antonio, and desired that at our arriuall stay might be made of our goods and our selues in secret maner; which they denied, not giuing credit to his report, hauing bene often abused by such friuolous and slanderous speeches by that nation; telling me their king was soze for the former murder and captiuitie of our nation, and would neuer yeeld to the like, hauing the Portugals and Spaniards in generall hatred euer since, and conceiued much better of our countrey and vs, then these our enemies report of. For which I thanked them heartie thanks, assuring them they should finde great difference betweene the loyalty of the one and disloyalty of the other: and so payed their dueties: and for that it was the chiefe place of trade, I shewed them how I was resolved to goe to their king with certaine presents which we had brought out of England; which we determined for the moze hono^r and credit of our countrey, and augmenting of their better affection toward vs.

The Comand a ship of Richard Kelley. The instructions lies of a Portugall.

Port Dally the chiefe place of trade.

Ioala.

All this while Thomas Dassel was with our great pinnesse at the towne of Ioala, being in the kingdome of king Iocoel Lamiocckeric, traffiking with the Spaniards & Portugals there. And the forenamed Pedro Gonfalués, which came out of England, was there also with other English marchants about the busines of Rich. Kelley; and as it should seeme, for that he could not obtaine his mischienous pretended purpose against Thomas Dassel and others at the towne of Porto d' Ally, where I Richard Rainolds remained, he attempted with consent of other Portugals which were made priuy to his intent to betray the sayd Thomas Dassel at this towne, & had with bribes seduced the chiefe commanders and Negros to effect his wicked & most villanous practise: which as God would, was reuealed to the sayd Thomas Dassel by Rich. Cape an Englishman and seruant to the forenamed Rich. Kelley; to whom this sayd Pedro Gonfalués had disclosed his secret treachery, willing him with all expedition to stand vpon his guard. Whereupon Thomas Dassel went aboard a small English barke called The Cherubin of Lime, and there one Iohn Payua a Portugall and seruant of Don Antonio declared, that if he & one Garcia a Portugall of the sayd towne would haue consented with Pedro Gonfalués, the sayd Thomas Dassel had bene betrayed long before. And vpon this warning Thomas Dassel the next day hauing gotten thre Portugals aboard, aduisd for our better securities to send two on land, & detained one with him called Villanoua, telling them that if the next day by eight of the clocke, they would bying Pedro Gonfalués

The Cherubin of Lime at Ioala.

aboard

aboard to him, he would release the sayd Villa noua, which they did not. And Thomas Dassel hauing intelligence that certaine Negroes and Portugals were ridden post ouer-land to Porto d' Ally with intent to haue Richard Rainolds and his company stayd on land, being doubtfull what friendship soeuer the vnconstant Negroes professed (by reason they be often wauering being overcome with drinking wine) how they would deale, to preuent the dangerous wiles that might be effected in the road by Portugals, and for better strength, the 24 of December he came with his pinnesse & Portugall to ride in the road of Porto d' Ally, where our great shippe the Nighthingall was: who was no sooner arriued but he had newes also from the shoze from Iohn Baily Anthony Dassels seruant, who was there with our goods detained by the Portugals means, that about 20 Portugals and Spaniards were come from Ioala by land, and Pedro Gonfaluies in their company, to take order for the releasing of Villa noua. So hauing had conference two or three dayes with the Commanders, the Negroes, some Spaniards, and some Portugals, in the end by due examination of the matter the Negroes seeing how vitlely Pedro Gonfaluies had delt, he being in their power, sayd he should suffer death or be tortured, for an example to others. But we in recompense of his cruelty pitied him and shewed mercy, desiring the Negroes to intreat him well though undeserued: and therupon the Commanders brought him aboard the pinnesse to Thomas Dassel to do with him what he would: where at his coming from the shoze, for lauish speeches which he vsed of Princes, he was well buffeted by a Spaniard, and might haue bene slaine, if for our sakes he had not bene rescued.

While I went on shoze with Villa noua, the sayd Pedro Gonfaluies confessed vnto Thomas Dassel that he did enquire of some Negroes and Portugals if he might not stay him and his goods in the land, and that he did nothing but by commission from his king by his letters which he receiued from London in Dartmouth after we were departed from London, for that we presumed to come to Guinea to traffike without a seruant of his; and further, that he had power or procurement from Francisco de Costa the Portugall that stayed behinde in England to detain the goods of Anthony Dassel in Guinea. Note.

By consent of M. Francis Tucker, Iohn Browbeare, and the rest of the factours of Richard Kelley, with whom this Pedro Gonfaluies came, for auoiding further mischief that might be practised, we agreed that the sayd Pedro Gonfaluies should stay aboard our shippe, and not goe any more on land untill they departed. So the ninth of January he was deliuered aboard to goe for England in the same ship wherein he came; who was all the time of his abode in our shippe both courteously and friendly vsed at my hands, much against the mariners willes, who could not abide such a wicked creature and caitiue, that is nourished and relieued in our countrey, and yet by villanous meanes sought the destruction of vs all.

The Spaniards and Portugals though they be dissemblers and not to be trusted, when they perceiued how king Amar Melicks Negroes befriended and fauored vs, and that it would be prejudiciall to their trade for diuers respects, if we should any way be iniuried, renounced the sayd practices, detesting the author, and protested to defend vs in such cases with all faithfulness; desiring we would, as the king of Negroes had commanded vs, neuer bring Portugall with vs more: vsing this phrase in disdain of such as came out of England, let your Portugals be barres of yron: for in tructh in regard of the rich trade maintained by Frenchmen and by vs of late, they esteeme more of one barre of yron then of twenty Portugals which we should bring out of England: who at their coming thither very subtilly disauantage vs, and doe great hurt to euery party.

At the beginning of these boyles the king Amar Melick had sent his chiefe secretary and thre horses for me Richard Rainolds: but I denied to goe by reason of the hurley burley, though I might haue had Negroes of account for pledges aboard: yet we sent the presents vnto the king; who so soone as he vnderstood the cause why I came not to him, being soyp and offended thereat, commanded presently by proclamation, that no iniury should be offered vs in his dominions by his owne people, or suffered to be done by Spaniards or Portugals. And if the Negroes ioyning to his kingdom should confederate with the Spaniards and Portugals to molest or trouble vs; that his subiects the Negroes should be ready to ayde, succor and defend vs. In which people appeared more confident loue and good will towards vs, then euer we shall finde either of Spaniards or Portugals, though we should relieue them of the greatest misery that can be imagined.

In the riuer of Senega no Spaniard or Portugall vsed to trade: and onely one Portugall called Ganigoga dwelleth farre within the riuer, who was married to a kings daughter.

In the townes of Porto d' Ally and Ioala, being townes of chiefe trade, and in the townes of Canton and Cassan in the riuer of Gambia are many Spaniards and Portugals resident by permission of the Negroes; who haue rich trades there along the coast, especially to San Domingo.

Rio grande.
Note this
trade.

and Rio grande, not far distant from Gambra river; whither they transport the yron which they buy of frenchmen and vs, and exchange it for Negros; which be caried continually to the West Indies in such ships as came from Spaine. Also by the gouernors order and Renters of Castel de Mina and other places, where golde is, vpon the coast of Guinea, they haue a place limited how farre they must go to trade within the riuer of Gambra; and further they may not go vpon paine of confiscation of their goods, and losse of life: for that the Renters themselves send at certaine times their owne barks within the riuer to such places, where as they haue great store of golde. And in all these places hereabouts, where we vse to trade, they haue no Fort, Castle, or place of strength, but onely trading by the Negros safeconduct and permission. And the most part of the Spaniards and Portugals that be resident in these places be banished men or fugittues, for committing most hainous crimes and incestuous acts, their life & conuersation being agreeable; and they are of the basest behauiour that we haue euer seene of these nations in any other countrey.

A rich trade
for golde in
Rio grande.

A briefe relation concerning the estate of the cities and prouinces of *Tombuto* and *Gago* written in *Marocco* the first of August 1594, and sent to *M. Anthony Dassel* marchant of *London*.

My hearty commendations premised: your letter of late I receiued, and found that you would haue me discouer unto you the estate & qualip of the countreyes of *Tombuto* and *Gago*. And that you may not thinke me to slumber in this action, wherin you would be cruelly and perfectly resolved, you shall vnderstand, that not ten dayes past here came a *Cahaia* of the *Andoluzes* home from *Gago*, and another principall *Pooze*, whom the king sent thither at the first with *Alcaide Hamode*, and they brought with them thirty mules laden with gold. I saw the same come into the *Alcafaua* with mine owne eyes: and these men themselves came not poore, but with such wealth, that they came away without the kings commandement: and for that cause the king will pay them no wages for the time they haue bene there. On the other side they dare not aske the king for any wages. And when *Alcaide Hamode* saw that the *Cahaia* of the *Andoluzes* would not stay in *Gago* with him, he thought good to send these thirty mules laden with golde by him, with letters of commendations, by which the king smelled their riches that they brought with them: and this was the cause of the kings displeasure towards them. So now there remaineth in *Gago* *Alcaide Hamode*, and *Alcaide Iawdara*, and *Alcaide Bushare*. And here are in a readinesse to depart in the end of this next September *Alcaide Monfor*, *Ben Abdrahaman Allies*, *Monfor Rico* with five thousand men, most of the fertillase, that is to say, of fier-mach, & muskets. There is gone good store of reeds & yellowes: and this yere here was want of the same comodities; but I trust the next yere will be no want. But in fine the king doth prosper wel in those parts, and here are many pledges come hither, and namely three of the kings sonnes of *Gago* and the Justice; I saw them come in with the treasure. Now when *Alcaide Monfor* cometh to *Gago*, the which will be in January next, then returneth hither *Alcaide Hamode* with all the treasure, and *Alcaide Monfor* is to keepe *Gago* vntill the king take further order. And thus much for *Gago*. Thus not hauing any other thing to write at this present, I commend you to the mercifull iudicium of the almighty. From *Marocco* the first of August, 1594.

Commodities
for *Gago*.

Your assured friend Laurence Madoc.

Another briefe relation concerning the late conquest and the exceeding great riches of the cities and prouinces of *Tombuto* and *Gago*, written from *Marocco* the 30 August 1594, to *M. Anthony Dassel* marchant of *London* aforesayd.

Loving friend *M. Dassel*, two of your letters I haue receiued, one by the shippe called *The Amity*, the other by *The Concord*: the chiefest matter therein was to be satisfied of the king of *Marocco* his proceedings in *Guinea*. Therefore these are to let you vnderstand that there went with *Alcaide Hamode* for those parts seenteene hundred men: who passing ouer the sands, for want of water perished one third part of them: and at their comming to the city of *Tombuto*, the *Negros* made some resistance; but to small purpose, for that they had no defence but with their *asagaies* or *iauelings* poisoned. So they tooke it, and proceeded to the city of *Gago*, where the *Negros* were in number infinite, and meant to stand to the vttermost for their countrey: but the *Poozes* slew them so fast, that they were faine to yeeld, and do pay tribute by the yere. The rent

Tombuto taken

Gago taken.

of

of Tombuto is 60 quintals of golde by the peere; the goodnesse whereof you know. What rent Gago will peeke, you shall know at the Spring, for then Alcaide Hamode cometh home. The rent of Tombuto is come by the caselow or carouan, which is, as above is mentioned, 60 quintals. The report is, that Mahomed bringeth with him such an infinite treasure as I neuer heard of: it doth appeare that they haue moze golde then any other part of the world beside. The Alcaide winneth all the countrey where he goeth without fighting, and is going downe toward the sea coast. This king of Marocco is like to be the greatest prince in the world for money, if he keepe this countrey. But I make account as soone as the king of Spaine hath quietnesse in Christendome, he wil thrust him out: for that the kings force is not great as yet; but he meaneth to be stronger. There is a campe ready to go now with a viceroy: the speech is with 3000 men: but I thinke they will be hardy 2000; for by report, 3000 men are enough to conquer all the countrey: for they haue no defence of importance against an enemy. I thinke Hamode will be returned home in January or thereabout: for he stayeth but for the coming of the viceroy. Mulley Balafen the kings sonne of Marocco was slaine in Guinea by his owne men, and they were presently killed, because they should tell no tales. And thus leauing to trouble you, I commit you to God, who prosper you in all your proceedings. From Marocco the first of August 1594.

Writs to command for euer Laurence Madoc.

Of these two rich cities and kingdomes of Tombuto and Gago Leo Africanus writeth at large in the beginning of his seventh booke of the description of Africa, which worthily worke is to be annexed vnto the end of this second volume.

A briefe extract of a patent granted to M. Thomas Gregory of Tanton, and others, for traffique betweene the riuer of Nonnia and the riuers of Madrabumba and Sierra Leona on the coast of Guinea, in the yeere 1592.

THAY the 34 yeere of our gracious soueraigne Queene Elizabeth, a patent of speciall licence was granted to Thomas Gregory of Tanton in the county of Somerset, and to Thomas Pope, and certaine other marchants to traffique into Guinea from the Northmost part of the riuer of Nonnia to the Southmost parts of the riuers of Madrabumba and Sierra Leona, and to other parts as well to the Southeast as to the Northwest, for a certaine number of leagues therein specified which amount to an hundred or thereabout. Which patent was granted for the terme of ten yeeres: as appeareth at large in the sayd patent recorded in the Rolles in her Maiesties Chancery.

The maner of the taking of two Spanish ships laden with quick-siluer & the Popes bulles, bound for the West Indies, by M. Thomas White in the Amity of London. 1592.

THE 26 of July 1592, in my returning out of Barbary in the ship called the Amity of London, being in the height of 36 degrees or thereabout, at foure of the clocke in the morning we had sight of two shippes, being distant from vs about three or foure leagues: by seuen of the clocke we fetched them vp, and were within giting-shot: whose boldnesse, hauing the king of Spaines armes displayed, did make vs iudge them rather ships of warre, then laden with merchandise. And as it appeared by their owne speeches, they made full account to haue taken vs: it being a question among them, whether it were best to carry vs to S. Lucar, or to Lisbon. We waied eche other a maine. They hauing placed themselves in warlike order one a cables length before another, we began the fight. In the which we continued, so fast as we were able to charge and discharge, the space of five houres, being neuer a cables length distant either of vs from other. In which time we receiued diuers shot both in the hull of our ship, masts, and sailes, to the number of 32 great, besides 500 musket shot and harquebuzes a crocke at the least, which we toke after the fight. And because we persecuted them to be stout, we thought good to boord the Britaine, which was on head the other: where lying aboord about an houre, and plying our ordnance and small shot; in the end we stowed all his men. Now the other in the flieboat, thinking we had entred our men in their fellow, bare roonie with vs, meaning to haue laped vs aboord, and so to haue intrapped vs betwixt them both: which we perceiuing, sicted our ordnance so for him, as we quitted our selues of him, and he boozed his fellow: by which meanes they both fell from vs. Then presently we kept our looke, hoised our top-sailes, and weathered them, and came hard aboord the flieboat with our ordnance prepared,

and gave her our whole broad side, with the which we flew divers of their men; so as we might see the blood run out at the scupper holes. After that we cast about, and new charged all our ordnance, and came upon them againe, willing them to yeeld, or els we would sinke them: whereupon the one would haue yeelded, which was shot betwene winde and water; but the other called him traitor. Unto whom we made answer, that if he would not yeeld presently also, we would sinke him first. And thereupon he understanding our determination, presently put out a white flag, and yeelded, and yet refused to strike their owne sailes, for that they were sworne neuer to strike to any Englishman. We then commanded their eaptaines and matters to come aboard vs; which they did. And after examination & showing them, we sent certaine of our owne men aboard the m, and strook their sailes, and manned their ships: finding in them both 126 persons living, & 8 dead, besides those which they themselves had cast ouerboard. So it pleased God to giue vs the victory being but 42 men and a boy, whereof 2 were killed and 3 wounded: for the which good successe we giue God the only praise. These two rich prizes laden with 1400 chests of quicksiluer with the armes of Castile and Leon fastened vpon them, and with a great quantity of bulles of indulgences, and gilded Missals or Seruice books, with an hundred tunnes of excellent wines, we brought shortly after into the riuer of Thames by to Blacke-wall.

By the taking of this quicksiluer, about 1400 chests, the king of Spaine loseth for euery quintall of the same a quintall of siluer, that should haue bene deliuered him by the matters of the mines there, which amounteth to 600000 pounds.

More by taking of his bulles, to wit, two millions and 72 thousand for liuing and dead persons for the prouinces of Noua Hispania, Iucatan, Guarimala, the Honduras, and the Philipinas, taxed at two reals the peece. And more for eightene thousand bulles taxed at fouce reals, amounteth all to 107700 pounds. Summa totalis 707700 li.

More there were taken ten fardels of gilt missals and breuiaries sent for the kings account.

So the hinderance that the king receiueth by the losse of his bulles and quicksiluer amounteth as is abovesaid: besides the lacking of his wines, about 100 tunnes, whereby his fleet is disappointed of a great part of their prouision.

A true report of the honourable seruice at Sea performed by Sir John Burrough Knight, Lieutenant generall of the fleet prepared by the honor. Sir Walter Raleigh Knight, Lord warden of the Stanneries of Cornwall and Denon. Wherin chiefly the *Santa Clara* of *Biscay*, a ship of 600 tunnes was taken, and the two East Indian caraks, the *Santa Cruz* and the *Madre de Dios* were forced, the one burnt, and the other taken and brought into *Dartmouth* the seuenth of September, 1592.



Sir Walter Raleigh vpon comission receiued from her Maiesty for an expedition to be made to the West Indies, slacked not his vttermost diligence to make full prouision of all things necessary, as both in his choise of good ships, and sufficient men to performe the action evidently appeared. For his shippes which were in number 14 or 15, those two of her Maiesties, the *Garland* & the *Fore sight* were the chiefest; the rest either his owne or his good friends or aduenturers of London. For the gentlemen his consozts and officers, to giue them their right, they were so well qualified in courage, experience, & discretion, as the greatest prince might repute himselfe happy to be serued with their like. The honoz of Lieutenant generall was imposed vpon sir John Burrough, a gentleman, for his manifold good and heroicall parts, thought euery way worthy of that commandement: with whom after sir W.R. returned was ioyned in commission sir Martin Frobisher, who for his speciall skill & knowledge in marine causes had formerly caried imployments of like or greater place. The rest of the captaines, souldiers, and sailers were men of notable resolution, and for the most part such as heretofore had giuen to the world sufficient prooffe of their valour in diuers seruices of the like nature. With these ships thus manned sir Walter Raleigh departed towards the West countrey, there to store himselfe with such further necessaries as the state of his voyage did needfully require: where the Westery windes blowing for a long time contrary to his course, bound and constrained him to keepe harborough so many wecks, that the fittest season for his purpose was gone, the mindes of his people much altered, his victuals consumed; and withall, her Maiesty understanding how crosly all this sort, began to call the proceeding of this preparation into question: insomuch that, whereas the first of May was first come before sir Walter could put to sea, the very next day sir Martin Frobisher in a pinnesse of my lord Admirals called *The Disdaine*, met him, and brought to him from her Maiesty letters of reuocation, with commandement to relinquish (for his owne part) the intended attempt, and to leaue

the charge and conduct of all things in the hands of sir John Burrough and sir Martin Frobisher. But sir Walter finding his honor so farre engaged in the vnder taking of this voyage, as without proceeding he saw no remedy either to salue his reputation, or to content those his friends which had put in adventures of great summes with him; and making construction of the Quenes letters in such sort as if her commandement had bene propounded in indifferent termes, either to aduance forward or to retire; at his owne discretion; would in no case yeeld to leaue his fleet now vnder saile. Wherefore continuing his course into the sea, he met within a day or two, with certaine sailes lately come from Spaine: among which was a ship appertaining to Monsieur Gourdon gouernour of Caleis, and found aboard her one D. Neuell Davies an Englishman, who hauing indured a long and miserable captivity for the space of twelue yeeres, partly in the inquisition in Spaine, was now by good fortune escaped, and vpon returne to his countrey. This man, among other things, reported for certaine, that there was little hope of any good this yeere to be done in the West India; considering that the king of Spaine had sent expresse order to all the ports both of the Islands and of Terra firma, that no ship should stirre that yeere, nor any treasure be layed aboard for Spaine. But neither this vnpleasant relation nor ought els could stay his proceedings, vntill a tempest of strange and vnconth violence arising vpon Thursday the 11 of May, when he was athwart the Cape Finister, had so scattered the greater part of the fleet, and sunke his boats and pinnelles, that as the rest were ozien and seuered, some this way and some that, sir Walter himselfe being in the Garland of her Hatesly was in danger to be swallowed vp of the Sea; Whereupon sir W. Raleigh finding that the season of the yeere was too farre gone to proceed with the enterprize which he had vpon Panama, hauing bene held on the English coast from February till May, and thereby spent thre moneths victuals; and considering withall, that to lie vpon the Spanish coast or at the Islands to attend the returne of the East or West Indian fleets was rather a worke of patience then ought els: he gaue directions to sir John Burgh and sir M. Frobisher to diuide the fleet in two parts; sir M. with the Garland, cap. George Gifford, cap. Henry Thin, cap. Grenoile and others to lie off the South cape, thereby to amaze the Spanish fleet, and to holde them on their owne coast; while sir I. Burgh, cap. Robert Crosse, capt. Tomson, & others should attend at the Islands for the caraks or any other Spanish ships comming from Mexico or other parts of the West Indies. Which direction tooke effect accordingly; for the king of Spaines Admirall receiuing intelligence that the English fleet was come on the coast, attended to defend the South parts of Spaine, & to keepe himselfe as nere sir Mart. Frobisher as he could, to impeach him in all things which he might vnder take; and thereby neglected the safer conduct of the caraks, with whom it fared as hereafter shall appeare. Before the fleet seuered themselves they mette with a great Biscain on the Spanish coast called Santa Clara a ship of 600 tunnes.

The noise of the artillery on both sides being heard, immediatly they drew to their fleet; where after a reasonable hot fight, the ship was entered and mastered, which they found freighted with all sorts of small yron-wooke, as horse-hoeces, nails, plough-shares, yron barres, spikes, bolts, locks, gimboles, & such like, valued by vs at 6000 or 7000 li. but worth to them treble the value. This Biscain was sailing towards S. Lucar, there to take in some further provision for the West India. This ship being first roomaged, and after sent for England, our fleet coasted along towards the South cape of S. Vincent, and by the way, about the Rocke nere Lisbon, sir John Burrough in the Robucke spying a saile afarre off, gaue her present chase; which being a flieboat and of good saile, drew him farre Southwards before he could fetch her; but at last she came vnder his lee and strooke saile. The master of which flieboat comming aboard him, confessed that the king indeed had prepared a great fleet in S. Lucar and Cadiz, and (as the report in Spaine was currant) for the West Indies. But in deed the Spanish king had provided this fleet vpon this counsell. He receiued intelligence, that sir Walter Raleigh was to put out strong for the West India: to impeach him, and to ranconter his force he appointed this fleet; although looking for the arriual of his East Indian caraks, he first ordained those ships to wait them from the Açores. But perswading himselfe, that if the fleet of sir Walter Raleigh did go for the West India, then the Islands should haue none to infect them but some small men of warre, which the caraks of themselves would be well able to match; his order was to Don Alonso de Bagan brother to the Marques of Santa Cruz, and General of his armada, to pursue sir Walters fleet, and to confront him, what course soeuer he held. And that this was true, our men in short time by prooofe vnder stood: for sir John Burrough, not long after the taking of his last prize the flieboat, as he sailed backe againe towards the rest of his company, discouered the Spanish fleet to sea-ward of him: which hauing like wise espied him betwixt them and the Shore, made full account to bring him safe into Spanish harbour; and therefore spied themselves in such sort before him, that indeed his danger was very great: for both the liberty of the sea was brought into a narrow straight, and the Shore being enemy could

The Santa Clara
a Biscain ship
of 600 tunnes
taken.

giue him no comfort of reliefe : so that trusting to Gods helpe onely and his good saile, he thrust out from among them in spight of all their force, and to the notable illusion of all their cunning, which they shewed to the vttermost, in laying the way for his apprehension. But now sir John Burrough hauing happily escaped their clutches, finding the coast guarded by this fleet, and knowing it was but folly to expect a meeting there with sir Martin Frobisher (who vnderstanding of this armada as well as himselfe, would be sure not to come that way) beganne to hope his course to the Agores according to sir W. Raleighs direction, and came in sight of S. Michael, running so neere by Villa Franca, that he might easily discern the shippes lying there at anchor. Diuers small carauels both here and betweene S. Georges and the Pike in his course toward Flores he intercepted; of which no great intelligence for his affaires could be vnderstood. Arriving before Flores vpon Thursday the 21 of June, towards euening, accompanied onely with captaine Caufield and the Master of his shippe, the rest not being yet arrived, he made towards the shoze with his boat, finding all the people of of Santa Cruz, a village of that Island, in armes, fearing their landing, and ready marshalled to defend their towne from spoile. Sir John contrariwise made signes of amity vnto them by aduancing a white flagge, a common token of peace, which was answered againe of them with the like : whereupon ensued intercourses of good friendship, and pledges were taken on both sides, the captaine of the towne for them, and captaine Caufield for ours : so that what soeuer our men wanted, which that place could supply either in fresh water, victuals, or the like, was very willingly granted by the inhabitants : and good leaue had they to refresh themselves on shoze as much and as oft as they would without restraint. At this Santa Cruz sir John Burrough was informed, that indeed there was among them no expectation of any fleet to come from the West, but from the East, that no longer since then threedayes before his arriual a carak was passed by for Lisbon, and that there were foure caraks more behinde, of one consort. Sir John being very glad of this newes, stayed no longer on shoze, but presently imbarqued himselfe, hauing onely in company a small barke of threescore tunnes belonging to one M. Hopkins of Bristol. In the meane while that these things thus passed at Flores, part of the rest of the English fleet, which sir John Burrough had left vpon the coast of Spaine, or was also towards the Agores : and whereas he quickly at sea had discovered one of the caraks, the same euening he might descry two or thzee of the Earle of Cumberlands shippes (whereof one M. Norton was captaine) which hauing in like sort kenned the carak, pursued her by that course which they saw her to runne towards the Islands, But on no side was there any way made by reason of a great calme which peeled no breath to spread a saile. Insomuch that sily to discouer her what she was, of what burthen, force, and countenance, sir John Burrough tooke his boat, and rowed the space of thzee miles, to make her exactly : and being returned, he consulted with the better sort of the company then present, vpon the boozing her in the morning. But a very mighty storme arising in the night, the extremity thereof forced them all to wey anchors, yet their care was such in wrestling with the weather not to lose the carak, that in the morning, the tempest being qualified, and our men bearing againe with the shoze, they might perceiue the carak very neere the land, and the Portugals confusedly carrying on shoze such things as they could any maner of way conuey out of her ; and seeing the haste our men made to come vpon them, forsooke her : but first, that nothing might be left commodious to our men, set fire to that which they could not carry with them, intending by that meanes wholly to consume her ; that neither glozy of victoery nor benefit of shippe might remaine to ours. And least the appoach and industry of the English should bring meanes to extinguish the flame, thereby to preserve the residue of that which the fire had not destroyed ; being foure hundred of them in number and well armed, they intrenched themselves on land so neere to the carak, that she being by their forces protected, and our men kept aloofe off, the fire might continue to the consumption of the whole. This being noted by sir John Burrough he soone provided a present remedy for this mischicfe. For landing one hundred of his men, whereof many did swim and wade more then best high to shoze, and easily scattering those that presented themselves to guard the coast, he no sooner was toward their new trenches, but they fled immediatly, leauing as much as the fire had spared to be the reward of our mens paines. Here was taken among others one Vincent Fonseca a Portugall, Purser of the carak, with two others, one an Almaine and the second a Low-dutchman, canoniers : who refusing to make any voluntary report of those things which were demanded of them, had the torture threatened, the feare whereof at the last wrested from them this intelligence, that within fiftene dayes thzee or ther greater caraks then that lately fired would arriue at the same Island : and that being five caraks in the fleet at their departure from Goa, to wit, the Buen Iesus admirall, the Madre de Dios, the S. Bernardo, the S. Christophero, and the S. Cruz, (whose fortune you haue already heard) they had receiued speciall commandement from the king not to touch in any case at the Island

Sir John Burrough in great danger of the Spanish fleet.

The Ile of S. Michael.

Diuers small shippes taken.

Santa Cruz a village in the Ile of Flores.

Armes of the East Indian caraks.

A carak called The Santa Cruz set on fire.

An hundred of our men land.

of S. Helena, where the Portugall caraks in their returne from the East India were alwayes till now wont to arrive to refresh themselves with water and victuals. And the kings reason was; because of the English men of warre, who (as he was informed) lay there in wait to intercept them. If therefore their necessity of water should drive them to seek supply any where, he appointed them Angola in the maine of Africa, with order there to stay onely the taking in of water to avoid the inconuenience of infections, wherunto that hot latitude is dangerously subiect. The last rendezous for them all was the Island of Flores, where the king assured them not to misse of his armada thither sent of purpose for their waiting to Lisbon. Upon this information sir Iohn drew to counsell, meeting there captaine Norcon, captaine Dounton, captaine Abraham Cocke, captaines of three ships of the Earle of Cumberland, *ss.* Tomson of Harwich cap. of the Dainty of sir Iohn Haukins, one of sir W. Raleghs fleet, and *ss.* Christopher Newport cap. of the Golden dragon newly returned from the West India, and others. These being assembled, he communicated with them what he had understood of the foresaid examines, and what great presumptions of truth their relation did carry: wishing that forasmuch as God & good fortune had brought them together in so good a season, they would shew the uttermost of their endeavors to bring these Easterlings vnder the lee of the English obedience. Whereupon a present accord on all sides followed not to part company or leaue of those seas till time should present cause to put their consultations in execution. The next day her Maies good ship the Foresight commanded by sir Rob. Crosse came in to the rest: and he likewise informed of the matter was soone drawn into this seruice. Thus sir Iohn with all these ships departing thence 6 or 7 leagues to the West of Flores, they spread themselves abroad from the North to the South, each ship two leagues at the least distant from another. By which order of extension they were able to discover the space of two whole degrees at sea. In this sort they lay from the 29 of June to the third of August, what time cap. Thomson in the Dainty had first sight of the huge carak called the Madre de Dios, one of the greatest receit belonging to the crowne of Portugall. The Dainty being of excellent saile got the start of the rest of our fleet, and began the conflict some what to her cost, with the slaughter and hurt of diuers of her men. Which in a while after, sir Iohn Burrough in the Robucke of sir W. Raleghs, was at hand to second her, who saluted her with shot of great ordinance, and continued the fight within musket shot assisted by cap. Tomson and cap. Newport till sir R. Crosse viceadmirall of the fleet came by being to leeward, at whose arrival sir I. Burgh demanded of him what was best to be done, who answered, that if the carak were not boozed she would recouer the shoze and fire herselfe as the other had done. Whereupon sir I. Burgh concluded to intangle her; and sir R. Crosse promised also to fasten himselfe to her together at the instant; which was performed: but after a while sir Iohn Burgh receiuing a shot with a canon perier vnder water, and ready to sinke, desired sir R. C. to fall off, that he might also cleere himselfe, and saue his ship from sinking, which with difficulty he did: for both the Roebucke and the Foresight were so intangled, as with much adoe could they cleere themselves.

Angola a new watering place for the caraks.

The same evening sir R. Crosse finding the carak then sure & drawing nere the Island perswaded his company to booz her againe, or els there was no hope to recouer her: who after many excuses & feares, were by him encouraged, and so fell athrow her foreships all alone; and so hindered her sailing that the rest had time to come by to his succour, & to recouer the carak yet she recouered the land: and so toward the evening after he had fought with her alone three houres single, my lord of Cumberlands two ships came by, & with very litle losse entred with sir R. Crosse, who had in that time broken their courages, and made the assault easie for the rest.

The Madre de Dios taken.

The generall hauing disarmed the Portugals, and stowed them for better security on all sides, first had presented to his eyes the true proportion of the vast body of this carak, which did then and may still iustly prouoke the admiration of all men not formerly acquainted with such a sight. But albeit this first apparance of the hugeness thereof yielded sights enough to entertaine our mens eyes; yet the pitifull object of so many bodies slaine and dismembred could not but draw each mans eye to see, and heart to lament, and hands to helpe those miserable people, whose limmes were so torne with the violence of shot, and paine made grieuous with the multitude of woundes. No man could almost steppe but upon a dead carcasse or a bloody flooze, but specially about the helme, where very many of them fell suddenly from stirring to dying. For the greatnesse of the strage requiring the labour of twelue or foureteene men at once, and some of our shippes beating her in at the sterne with their ordinance often times with one shot slew foure or five labouring on either side of the helme; whole roomes being still furnished with fresh supplies, and our artillery still playing upon them with continuall volleys, it could not be but that much bloud should be shed in that place. Whereupon our Generall moued with singular commiseration of their misery, sent them his owne chyrurgions, denying them no possible helpe or reliefe that

Exceeding hu-
manity shew-
ed to the ene-
my.

he or any of his company could afford them. Among the rest of those, whose state this chance had made very deplorable, was Don Fernando de Mendoca Grand captain and Commander of this Caracke: who indeed was descended of the house of Mendoca in Spaine; but being married into Portugall, lived there as one of that nation; a gentleman well stricken in yeeres, well spoken, of comely personage, of good nature, but of hard fortune. In his severall services against the Hoopes he was twice taken prisoner, and both times ransomed by the king. In a former voyage of returne from the East India he was driven upon the Baros or sands of Iudaea neere the coast of Cephalo, being then also captain of a caracke which was there lost, and himselfe, though escaping the sea-danger, yet fell into the hands of Infidels on land; who kept him under long and grievous servitude. Once more the king carrying a loving respect to the man, and desirous to better his condition, was content to let him try his fortune in this Easterly navigation, and committed unto him the conduct of this caracke, wherein he went from Lisbon General of the whole fleet, and in that degree had returned, if the Vice-rey of Goa embarked for Portugall in the Bon Jesus had not, by reason of his late office, bene preferred. Sir Iohn intending not to adde too much affliction to the afflicted, moved with pity and compassion of humane misery, in the end resolved freely to dismiss this captain & the most part of his followers to their owne countrey, and for the same purpose bestowed them in certaine vessels furnished with all kindes of necessary provision. This businesse thus dispatched, good leisure had he to take such view of the goods as conveniency might afford. And having very prudently (to cut off the unprofitable spoile & pillage whereunto he saw the minds of many inclined) seized upon the whole to her Majesties use, after a short & slender romaging & searching of such things as first came to hand, he perceived that y^e wealth would arise nothing dissatisfisfing to expectation; but that the variety and quantity of all rich commodities would be more then sufficient to content both the adventuresers desire & the souldiers trauell. And here I cannot but enter into the consideration and acknowledgement of Gods great favour towards our nation, who by putting this purchase into our hands hath manifestly discovered these secret trades & Indian riches, which hitherto lay strangely hidden, and cunningly concealed from us; whereof there was among some few of us some small and imperfect glimpse onely, which now is turned into the broad light of full and perfect knowledge. Whereby it should seeme that the will of God for our good is (if our weaknesse could apprehend it) to have us communicate with them in those East Indian treasures, & by the erection of a lawfull traffike to better our meanes to advance true religion and his holy service. The caracke being in burden by the estimation of the wise and experienced no lesse then 1600 tunnes had full 900 of those stowed with the grosse bulke of marchandise, the rest of the tunnage being allowed, partly to the ordnance which were 32 pieces of brasse of all sorts, partly to the passengers and the victuals, which could not be any small quantity, considering the number of the persons betwixt 600 and 700, and the length of the navigation. To give you a taste (as it were) of the commodities, it shall suffice to deliver you a generall particularity of them, according to the catalogue taken at Leaden hall the 15 of September 1592. Where upon good view it was found, that the principall wares after the iewels (which were no doubt of great value, though they never came to light) consisted of spices, drugges, silks, calicos, quilts, carpets and colours, &c. The spices were pepper, cloves, maces, nutmegs, cinamon, Greene ginger: the drugges were beniamin, frankincense, galingale, mirabolans, aloes, socerina, camphire: the silks, damasks, taffatas, saracents, altoballos, that is, counterfeit cloth of gold, brought China silke, seauced silke, white twisted silke, curled cypresse. The calicos were book-calicos, calico-laines, broad white calicos, fine starched calicos, coarse white calicos, browne broad calicos, browne coarse calicos. There were also canopies, and coarse diaper-towels, quilts of coarse saracenet and of calico, carpets like those of Turkey; wherunto are to be added the pearle, muske, cinet, and amber-greece. The rest of the wares were many in number, but lesse in value; as elephants teeth, porcellan vessels of China, cocco-nuts, hides, eben-wood as blacke as jet, bedsteads of the same, cloth of the rindes of trees very strange for the matter, and artificiall in worke-manship. All which piles of commodities being by men of approued iudgement rated but in reasonable sort amounted to no lesse then 150000 li. sterling, which being divided among the adventuresers (whereof her Majesty was the chiefe) was sufficient to yeeld contentment to all parties. The cargazon being taken out, and the goods freighted in terme of our ships sent for London, to the end that the bignesse, heighth, length, breadth, and other dimensions of so huge a vessel might by the exact rules of Geometrical observations be truly taken, both for present knowledge, and derivation also of the same unto posterity, one M. Robert Adams, a man in his faculty of excellent skill, omitted nothing in the description, which either his arte could demonstrate, or any mans iudgement thinke woorthy the memory. After an exquisite survey of the whole forme he found the length from the beak-head to the sterne (whereupon was erected a lanterne) to containe 165

A briefe catalogue of y^e sum-
m^{er} rich commodities of y^e
Madre de Dios.

The capacity and dimensions of y^e *Madre de Dios*.

foote. The breadth in the second close decke whereof she had thre, this being the place where there was most extension of breadth, was 46 foot and 10 inches. She dyed in water 31 foot at her departure from Cochin in India, but not above 26 at her arrivall in Dartmouth, being lightened in her voyage by divers meanes, some 5 foote. She carried in height 7 severall stopies, one maine Dlop, thre close decks, one fore-castle, and a spar-decke of two floozes a piece. The length of the keele was 100 foote, of the maine-mast 121 foot, and the circuite about at the partners 10 foote 7 inches, the maine-yard was 106 foote long. By which perfect commensuration of the parts appeareth the hugeness of the whole, farre beyond the mould of the biggest shipping used among vs either for warre or receipt.

Don Alonso de Baçan hauing a great Fleet and suffering these two caracks, the Santa Cruz to be burnt, and the Madre de Dios to be taken, was disgraced by his prince for this negligence.

The firing and sinking of the stout and warrelike Carack called
Las Cinque Llaguas, or, The five Wounds, by three tall Ships set forth at the
 charges of the right honorable the Earle of Cumberland and his friends: Written by the
 discreet and valiant captaine M. Nicholas Downton.



In the latter ende of the yeere 1593, the right honourable Earle of Cumberland, at his owne charges and his friends, prepared 3 ships all at equall rate, and either of them had like quantitie of victuals, and like numbers of men, there being embarked in all 3 ships 420 men of all sorts, The Roial Exchange went as Admirall, wherein M. George Caue was captaine. The May-flower Vice-admirall vnder the conduct of William Anthonie: and the Sampson, the charge whereof it pleased his honour to commit vnto me Nicholas Downton. Our directions were sent vs to Plimmouth, and we were to open them at sea.

Writes these 3 ships there was a pinnas called the Viollet, of the Wby not 1.

The first of April 1594 we set sayle in the sound of Plimmouth, directing our course toward the coast of Spaine.

The 24 of the sayd moneth at the Admirals direction wee diuided our selues East and West from ech other, being then in the height of 43 degrees, with commaundement at night to come together againe.

The 27 day in the morning we deseried the May-flower and the little Pinnasse with a Prize that they had taken, being of Viana in Portugall, and bound for Angola in Africa. This Marke was of 28 tunnes, hauing some 17 persons in the same. There were in her some 12 Butts of Galicia wine, whereof we tooke into euery shippe a like part, with some Ruske in chests and barrels, with 5 butts of blew course cloth, and certaine course linnen-cloth for Negroes shirts, which goods were diuided among our fleet.

Commodities fit for Angola.

The 4 of May we had sight of our Pinnasse, and the Admirals Shallop which had taken three Portugall Carauels, whereof they had sent two away and kept the third.

The second of June we had sight of S. Michael. The third day in the morning wee sent our small pinnasse, which was of some 24 tunnes, with the small Carauell which we had taken at the Burlings to range the road of all the Islands, to see if they could get any thing in the same: appointing them to meet vs W.S.W. 12 leagues from Faial. Their going from vs was to no purpose. They missed conning vs whē we appointed, as also we missed them, when we had great cause to haue vled them.

The 13 of June we met with a mightie Carack of the East Indies, called Las cinque Llagas, or The five wounds. The May-flower was in sight with her befoze night. I, in the Sampson, fetched her vp in the euening, and as I commaunded to gite her the broad side, as we terme it, while I stood very heedfull pyying to discouer her strength: and where I might giue counsel to boord her in the night when the Admirall came by to vs, and as I remember at the very first shot she discharged at vs, I was shot in a litle above the belly, whereby I was made vnseruicable for a good while after, without touching any other for that night. Yet by meanes of an honest true-hearted man which I had with me, one captaine Grant, nothing was neglected: vntill midnight when the Admirall came by, the May-flower, and the Sampson neuer left by turnes to ply her with their great ordnance; but then captaine Caue wished vs to stay till morning, at what time each one of vs should giue her three bouts with our great ordnance, & so should clap her a boord: but in deed it was long lingered in the morning vntill 10 of the clocke befoze wee attempted to boord her. The Admirall laid her a boord in the mid ship: the May-flower conning vp in the quarter, as it should seeme, to lie at the sterne of the Admirall on the larboord side. The captaine of the sayd May-flower was slaine at the first conning by: whereby the ship fell to the sterne of the

the out-licar of the Carack, which (being a piece of timber) so wounded her fore-saile, that they sayd they could come no more to fight, I am sure they did not, but kept aloofe from vs. The Sampson went aboard on the bow, but hauing not roome enough, our quarter lay on the Exchange's bow, and our bowe on the Carack's bowe. The Exchange also at the first comming had her captaine M. Caue shot into both the legs, the one whereof he neuer recovered, so he for that present was not able to doe his office, and in his absence he had not any that would undertake to lead out his company to enter vpon the enemye. My friend captaine Granc did lead my men on the Carack's side, which being not manfully backed by the Exchanges men, his forces being smal, made the enemye bolden then he would haue bene, whereby I had five men presently slaine and many more hurt, which made them that remained unhurt to returne aboard, and would neuer more giue the assault. I say not but some of the Exchanges men did very well, and many more (no doubt) would haue done the like, if there had bene any principall man to haue put them forward, and to haue brought all the company to the fight, and not to haue run into cozners themselves. But I must needs say, that their ship was as well provided for defence, as any that I haue seene. And the Portugals per-aduventure encouraged by our slacke working, plaied the men and had Barricados made, where they might stand without any danger of our shot. They plied vs also very much with fire, so that most of our men were burnt in some place or other: & while our men were putting out of the fire, they would euer be plying them with small shot or darts. This vnusuall casting of fire did much dismay many of our men and made them draw backe as they did. When we had not men to enter, we plied our great ordnance much at them as high vp as they might be mounted, for ocherwise we did them litle harme, and by shooting a piece out of our fore-cannone being close by her, we fired a mat on her beak-head, which more and more kindled, and ran from thence to the mat on the bowsprit, and from the mat by to the wood of the bowsprit, and thence to the top-saile yard, which fire made the Portugals abast in the ship to stagger, and to make shew of parle. But they that had the charge before encouraged them, making shew, that it might easily be put out, and that it was nothing. Whereupon againe they stood stilly to their defence. A none the fire grew so strong, that I saw it beyond all helpe, although she had bene already yielded to vs. Then we desired to be off from her, but had litle hope to obtaine our desire; neuerthelesse we plied water very much to keep our ship well. In deed I made litle other reckoning for the ship, my selfe, and diuers hurt men, then to haue ended there with the Carack, but most of our people might haue saued themselves in boats. And when my care was most, by Gods prouidence onely, by the burning asunder of our spritsaile-yard with ropes and saile, and the ropes about the spritsaile-yard of the Carack, whereby we were fait intangled, we fell apart, with burning of some of our sailes which we had then on board. The Exchange also being farther from the fire, afterward was more easily cleared, and fell off from abast. And as soone as God had put vs out of danger, the fire got into the fore-cannone, where, I thinke, was store of Benjamin, and such other like combustible matter, for it flamed and ran ouer all the Carack at an instant in a maner. The Portugals lept ouer-board in great numbers. Then sent I captaine Granc with the boat, with leaue to vse his owne discretion in sauing of them. So he brought me aboard two gentlemen, the one an old man called Nuno Velio Pereira, which (as appeareth by the 4 chapter in the first booke of the woorthy history of Huighen de Linschoren) was gouernour of Moçambique and Cefala, in the yeere 1582, and since that time had bene likewise a gouernour in a place of importance in the East Indies. And the shippe where in he was comming home was cast away a litle to the East of the Cape of Buona Speranza, and from thence he trauelled ouer-land to Moçambique, and came as a passenger in this Carack. The other was called Bras Carrero, and was captaine of a Carack which was cast away neere Moçambique, and came likewise in this ship for a passenger. Also three men of the inferiour sort we saued in our boat, onely these two we clothed and brought into England. The rest which were taken by by the other ship boats, we set all on shore in the Ile of Flores, except some two or thye Negros, whereof one was borne in Moçambique, and another in the East Indies. This fight was open off the Sound betweene Faial and Pico 6 leagues to the Southward. The people which we saued told vs that the cause why they would not yeeld, was, because this Carack was for the king, and that she had all the goods belonging to the king in the countrey for that yeere in her, and that the captaine of her was in fauour with the king, and at his returne into the Indies should haue bene Viceroy there. And withall this ship was nothing at all peckred neither within board nor without, and was more like a ship of warre then otherwise: moreouer, she had the ordnance of a Carack that was cast away at Moçambique, and the company of her, together with the company of another Carack that was cast away a litle to the Eastwards of the Cape of Buona Speranza. Yet though sickness which they caught at Angola, where they watered, they say, they had not now aboue 150 white men, but Negros a great many. They likewise affirmed that they

had three noblemen and three ladies a her, but we found them to differ in most of their raikes. All this day and all the night she burned, but the next morning her powder which was lowest being 60 barrels blew her aboard, so that most of the ship did swim in partes above the water. Some of them say, that she was bigger then the *Madre de Dios*, and some, that she was lesse: but she was much undermasted, and under sailed, yet she went well for a ship that was so foule. The shot which wee made at her in great Ordinance befoze we layde her aboard might be at seuen bouts which we had, and fire of 7 shot at a bout, one with another, some 49 shot: the time we lay aboard might be two houres. The shot which we discharged aboard the Carack might be some twentie Saicars. And thus much may suffice concerning our dangerous conflict with that unfortunate Carack.

The last of June after long trauerling of the seas we had sight of another mightie Carack, which diuerse of our company at the first tooke to be the great *S. Philip* the Admirall of Spaine, but the next day being the first of July fetching her by we perceived her indeede to be a Carack, which after some few shot bestowed vpon her we summoned to yeeld; but they standing stoutly to their defence vtterly refused the same. Wherefoze seeing no good could be done without boozing her I consulted what course we should take in the boozing. But by reason that wee which were the chiefe Capitaines were partly slaine and partly wounded in the former conflict, and because of the murmuring of some disordered and cowardly companions, our valiant and resolute determinations were crossed: and to conclude a long discourse in few wordes, the Carack escaped our hands. After this attending about *Coruo* & *Flores* for some West Indian purchase, and being disappointed of our expectation, and victuals growing short, we returned for England, where I arrived at *Portsmouth* the 28 of August.

The casting away of the *Tobie* neere *Cape Espartel* corruptly called *Cape Sprat* without the Straight of *Gibraltar* on the coast of *Barbarie*. 1593.

The *Tobie* of London a ship of 250 tunnes manned with sixtie men, the owner whereof was the worshipfull *M. Richard Staper*, being bound for *Livorno*, *Zante* and *Patras* in *Morea*, being laden with marchandize to the value of 11 or 12 thousand pounds sterling, set sayle from *Black-wall* the 16 day of August 1593, and we went thence to *Portsmouth* where we tooke in great quantitie of wheate, and set sayle forth of *Stokes bay* in the *Isle of Wight*, the 6 day of October, the winde being faire: and the 16 of the same moneth we were in the height of *Cape S. Vincent*, where on the next morning we descried a sayle which lay in try right a head off vs, to which we gaue chase with very much winde, the sayle being a Spaniard, which wee found in fine so good of sayle that we were faine to leaue her and giue her ouer. Two dayes after this we had sight of mount *Chiego*, which is the first high-land which we descrie on the Spanish coast at the entrance of the Straight of *Gibraltar*, where we had very foule weather and the winde scant two dayes together. Here we lay off to the sea. The Master, whose name was *George Goodlay*, being a young man, and one which neuer tooke charge befoze for those partes, was very proud of that charge which he was litle able to discharge, neither would take any counsel of any of his company, but did as he thought best himselfe, & in the end of the two dayes of foule weather cast about, and the winde being faire, bare in with the Straights mouth. The 19 day at night he thinking that he was farther off the land then he was, bare sayle all that night, & an houre and an halfe befoze day had ranne our shippe vpon the ground on the coast of *Barbarie* without the straight foure leagues to the South of *Cape Espartel*. Whereupon being all not a litle astonied, the Master said vnto vs, I pray you forgive me; for this is my fault and no mans else. The company asked him whether they should cut off the maine masse: no sayd the Master we will hoyle out our boate. But one of our men comming speedily vp, sayd, Sirs, the ship is full of water; well sayd the Master, then cut the mayne-mast ouer boord: which thing we did with all speede; But the after part suddenly split a sunder in such sort that no man was able to stand vpon it, but all fled vpon the foremast vp into the Shrouds thereof, and hung there for a tyme: but seeing nothing but present death approach (being so suddenly taken that we could not make a raft which we had determined) we committed our selues vnto the Lord and beganne with dolefull tune and heauy hearts to sing the 12 Psalm. Velpy Lord for good and godly men &c. Howbeit befoze we had finished foure verses the waues of the sea had stopped the breathes of most of our men. For the foremast with the weight of our men & the force of the sea fell downe into the water, and vpon the fall thereof there were 38 drowned, and onely 12 by Gods prouidence partly by swimming and other meanes of chells got on shoare, which was about a quarter of a mile from the wacke

of the ship. The master called George Goodley, and Wilkiam Palmer his mate, both perished. M. Caesar also being captaine and owner was likewise drowned: none of the officers were saved but the carpenter.

The twelve which the Lord had deliuered from extreme danger of the Sea, at our coming ashore fell in a manner into as great distresse. At our first coming on shore we all fell downe on our knees, praying the Lord most humbly for his mercifull goodnesse. Our prayers being done, we consulted together what course to take, seeing we were fallen into a desert place, & we trauelled all that day vntill night, sometimes one way and sometimes another, and could finde no kinde of inhabitants; onely we saw where wilde beasts had bene, and places where there had bene houses, which after we perceiued to haue bene burnt by the Portugals. So at night falling into certaine groues of oliue trees, we climed vp and late in them to auoid the danger of lions and other wilde beasts, whereof we saw many the next morning. The next day we trauelled vntill thre of the clocke in the afternoone without any food, but water and wilde date roots: then going ouer a mountaine, we had sight of Cape Espartel; whereby we knew somewhat better which way to trauell, and then we went forward vntill we came to an hedgerow made with great long carcs; we spied and looked ouer it, and beheld a number of men aswell horsemen as footmen, to the number of some five thousand in skirmish together with small shot and other weapons. And after consultation what we were best to do, we concluded to yeeld our selues vnto them, being destitute of all meanes of resistance. So rising vp we marched toward them, who spying vs, scowth with some hundred of them with their iauelings in their hands came running towards vs as though they would haue run vs through: howbeit they onely strooke vs flating with their weapons, and said that we were Spaniards: and we tolde them that we were Englishmen; which they would not beleue yet. By and by the conflict being ended, and night appoaching, the captaine of the Hoopes, a man of some 56 yeres olde, came himselfe vnto vs, and by his interpreter which spake Italian, asked what we were, and from whence we came. One Thomas Hennier of our company which could speake Italian, declared vnto him that we were marchants, and how by great misfortune our ship, marchandise, & the greatest part of our company were pitifully cast away vpon their coast. But he void of humanity & all manhood, for all this, caused his men to strip vs out of our apparell euen to our shirts to see what money and iewels we had about vs: which when they had found to the value of some 200 pounds in golde and pearles they gaue vs some of our apparell againe, and bread and water onely to comfort vs. The next morning they carried vs downe to the shore where our shippe was cast away, which was some sixtene miles from that place. In which iourney they vsed vs like their slaues, making vs (being extreme weake) to carry their stuffe, and offering to beat vs if we went not so fast as they. We asked them why they vsed vs so: and they replied, that we were their captiues: we sayd we were their friends, and that there was neuer Englishman captiue to the king of Marocco. So we came downe to the ship, and lay there with them seuen dayes, while they had gotten all the goods they could, and then they parted it amongst them. After the end of these seuen dayes the captaine appointed twenty of his men well armed, to bring vs vp into y^e countrey: and the first night we came to the side of a riuer called Alarach, where we lay on the grasse all that night: so the next day we went ouer the riuer in a frigate of nine oares on a side, the riuer being in that place aboue a quarter of a mile broad: and that day we went to a towne of thirty houses, called Torreon: there we lay foure dayes hauing nothing to feed on but bread and water; and then we went to a towne called Cassuri, and there we were deliuered by those twenty souldiers vnto the Alcaide, which examined vs what we were: and we tolde him. He gaue vs a good answer, and sent vs to the Jewes house, where we lay seuen dayes. In the meane while that we lay here, there were brought thither twenty Spaniards and twenty Frenchmen, which Spaniards were taken in a conflict on land, but the Frenchmen were by foule weather cast on land within the Straights about Cape de Gare, and so made captiues. Thus at the seuen dayes end we twelue Englishmen, the twelue French, and the twenty Spaniards were all conducted toward Marocco with nine hundred souldiers horsemen and footmen, and in two dayes iourney we came to the riuer of Fez, where we lodged all night, being prouided of tents. The next day we went to a towne called Salle, and lay without the towne in tents. From thence we trauelled almost an hundred miles without finding any towne, but euery night we came to fresh water, which was partly running water and sometime raine water. So we came at last within thre miles of the city of Marocco, where we pitched our tents: and there we mette with a carrier which did trauell in the countrey for the English marchants: and by him we sent word vnto them of our estate: and they returned the next day vnto vs a Hoop, which brought vs victuals, being at that instant very feeble and hungry; and withall sent vs a letter with pen, inke, and paper, willing vs to write vnto them what ship it was that was cast

cast away, and how many and what kind there were alive. For said they we would knowe with speed, for so morow is the Kings court: and therefore we would know, for that you should come into the citie like captiues. But for all that we were carried in as captiues and with ropes about our neckes as well English as the French and Spaniards. And so we were carried befoze the king: and when we came befoze him he did commit vs all to ward, where wee lay 15 dayes in close prison: and in the end we were cleared by the English Marchants to their great charges: for our deliuerance cost them 700 ounces, euery ounce in that country contayning two Shillings. And when we came out of prison we went to the Alfacodia, where we continued eight weekes with the English marchants. At the end of which time being well appaerled by the bountie of our marchants we were conueyed downe by the space of eight dayes iourney to S. Cruz, where the English ships roade: where we tooke shipping about the 20 of March, two in the Anne Francis of London, and five more of vs five dayes after in the Expedition of London, and two more in a Flemish flie-boat, and one in the Mary Edward also of London, other two of our number died in the countrey of the bloodie-flure: the one at our first imprisonment at Marocco, whose name was George Hancock, and the other at S. Cruz, whose name was Robert Swancon, whose death was hastened by caring of rootes and other unnaturall things to slake their raging hunger in our trauaile, and by our hard and cold lodging in the open fields without tents. Thus of fiftie persons through the rashnesse of an unskillfull Master ten onely suruiued of vs, and after a thousand miseries returned home poore, sicke, and feeble into our countrey.

Richard Iohnson.	Thomas Henmore.
William Williams Carpenter.	Iohn Siluester.
Iohn Durham.	Thomas Whiting.
Abraham Rouse.	William Church.
Iohn Matthe wes.	Iohn Fox.

The letters of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie sent by one

Laurence Aldersey vnto the Emperour of Aethiopia, 1597.

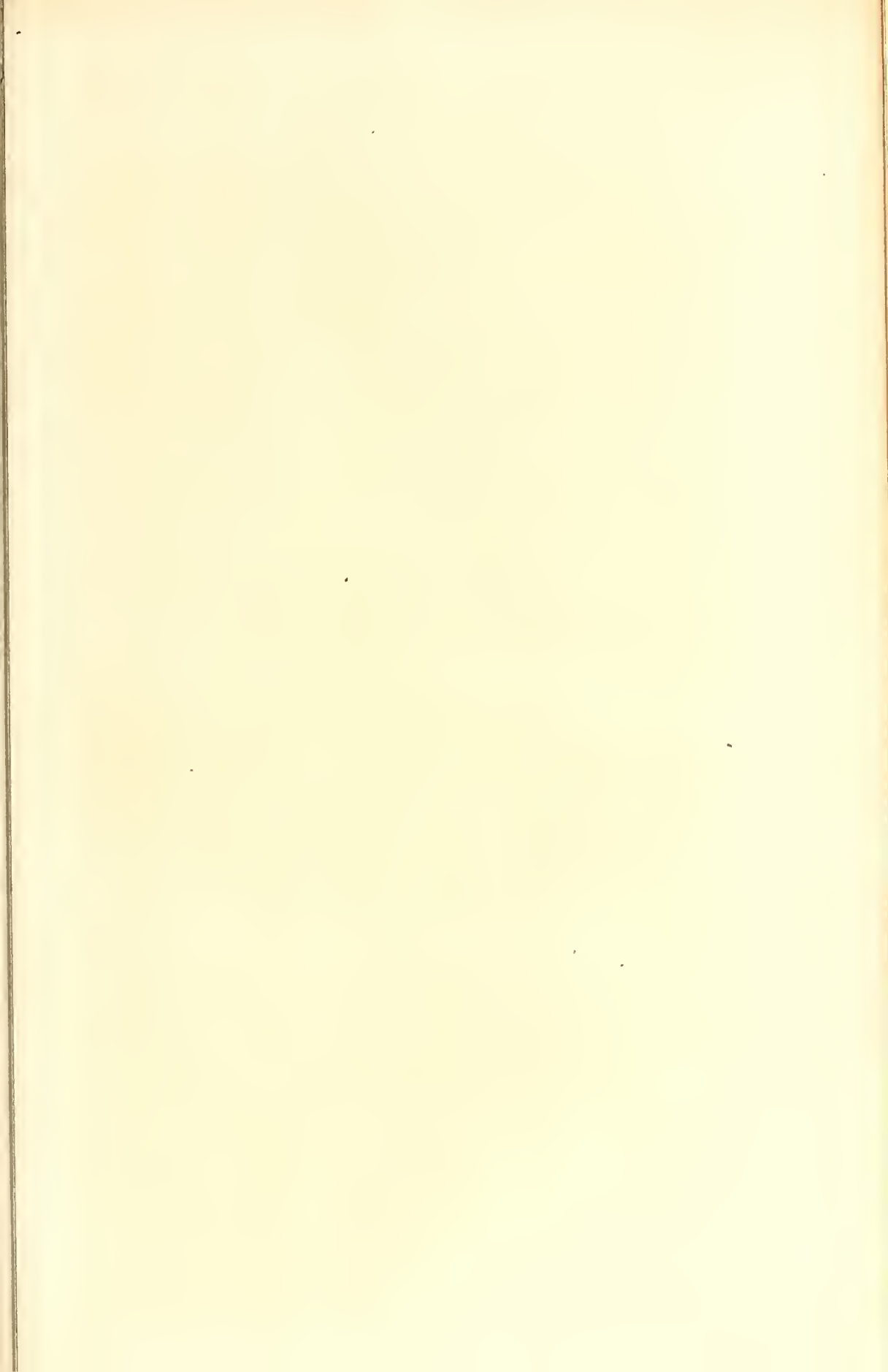
Inuictissimo potentissimòq; *Abassenorum* regi, magnòq;
vtriusq; *Aethiopiae* imperatori &c.

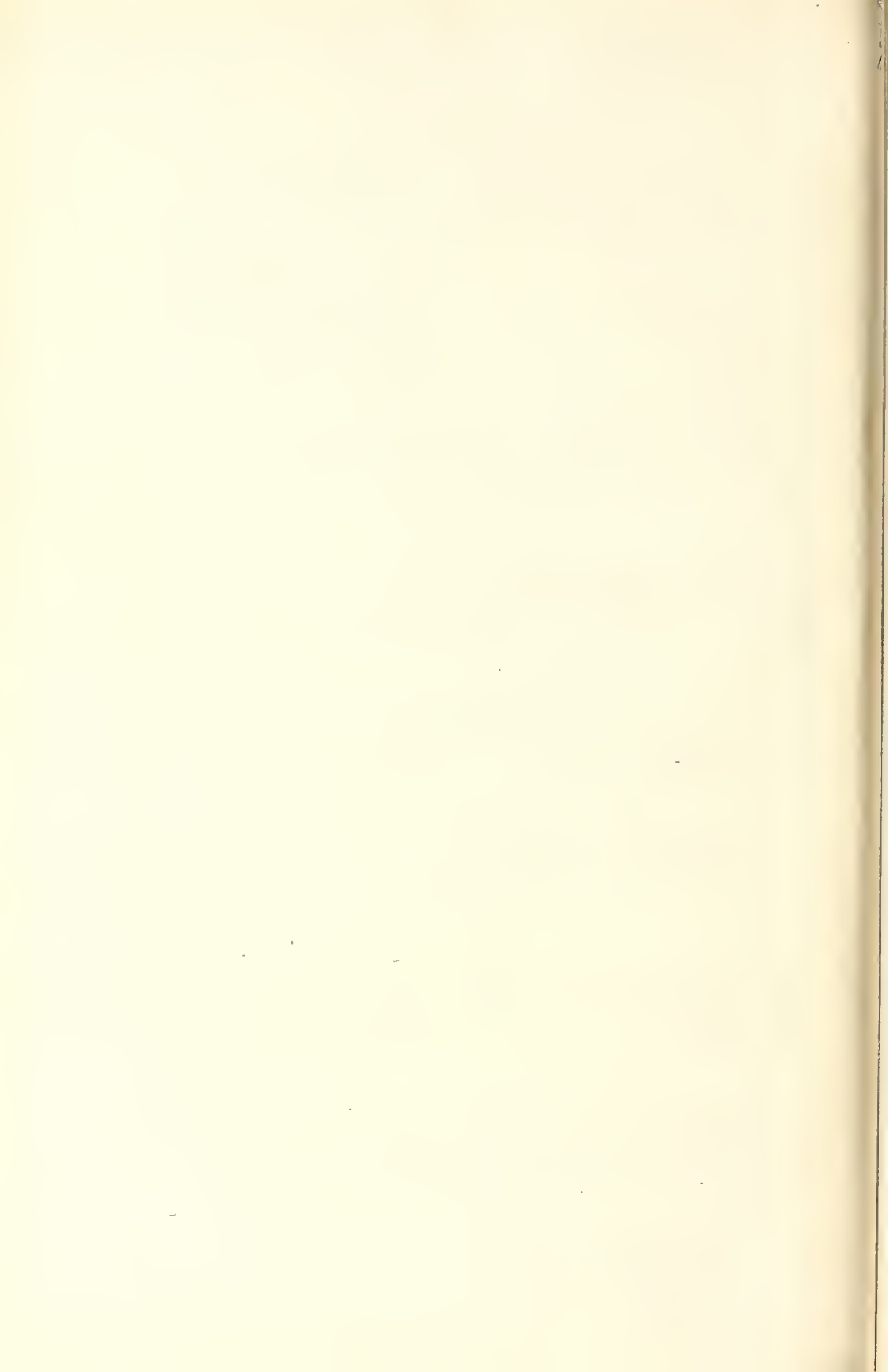
ELizabetha dei gratia Angliæ, Franciæ, & Hiberniæ regina, fidei defensor &c. summo ac potentissimo Æthiopiæ imperatori salutem. Quod ab omnibus qui vbiuis terrarum ac gentium sunt regibus principibusq; præstari par & æquum est, vt quanquam maximo locorum interuallo distiti, & moribus ac legibus discrepantes, communem tamen generis humani societatem tueri & conseruare, inuicemq; vt occasio ferret, charitatis & beneuolentiæ officia velint exercere: in eo nos de vestra fide acque humanitate spem certissimam concipientes, huic lubico nostro Laurentio Alderseo in regnum vestrum proficiscenti, hæc literas nostras, quibus & nostra erga vos beneuolentia testata sit, & illum hinc profectum esse constet, potissimum vobis indicandas dedimus, Qui cum orbis terrarum perferutandi cognoscendiq; studio permotus, multis antehac regionibus peragratis, iam tandem in eas regiones, quæ vestræ ditionis sunt, longum, periculosumq; iter instituat: cum ipse existimauit, cum nos etiam sumus in eadem opinione, ad incolunitatem suam, atque etiam ad gratiam apud vos, plurimum illi profuturum, si diplomate nostro munitus, beneuolentiæ nostræ & profectiois hinc suæ testimonium ad vos deferret. Nam cum summus ille mundi conditor rectorq; præpotens deus, regibus principibusq; qui suam vicem gerunt, orbem terrarum, suis cuique finibus pro rata portione designatis, regendum acque administrandum dederit; eoq; munere ius quoddam inter eos fraternæ necessitudinis, æternumq; foedus ab illis colendum sanxerit: non erit (vt arbitramur) ingratum vobis, cum beneuolentiæ nostræ significationem, tam immensa maris ac terrarum spatia transgressam, ab vltima Britannia ad vos in Aethiopiam perferri intellexeritis, Nobisq; rursus erit iucundum, cum subditorum nostrorum prædicatione, ab ipsis Nili fontibus, & ab ijs regionibus quæ solis cursum definiunt, fama vestri nominis ad nos recurret. Erit igitur humanitatis vestræ huic subdito nostro eam largiri gratiam, vt in ditionem vestram sub præsidio ac tutela vestri nominis intrare, ibique saluus & incolumis manere possit: quod ipsum etiam ab alijs principibus, per quorum regiones illi transeundum erit, magnoperè petimus, nobisq; ipsis illud honoris causa tributum existimabimus: neq; tamen maiorem hac in re gratiam postulamus, quam vicissim omnium principum subditis, omniumq; gentium hominibus ad nos commecantibus liberimè concedimus. Datum Londani quinto die Nouembris: anno regni nostri tricesimo nono: annoq; Dom. 1597.

The same in English.

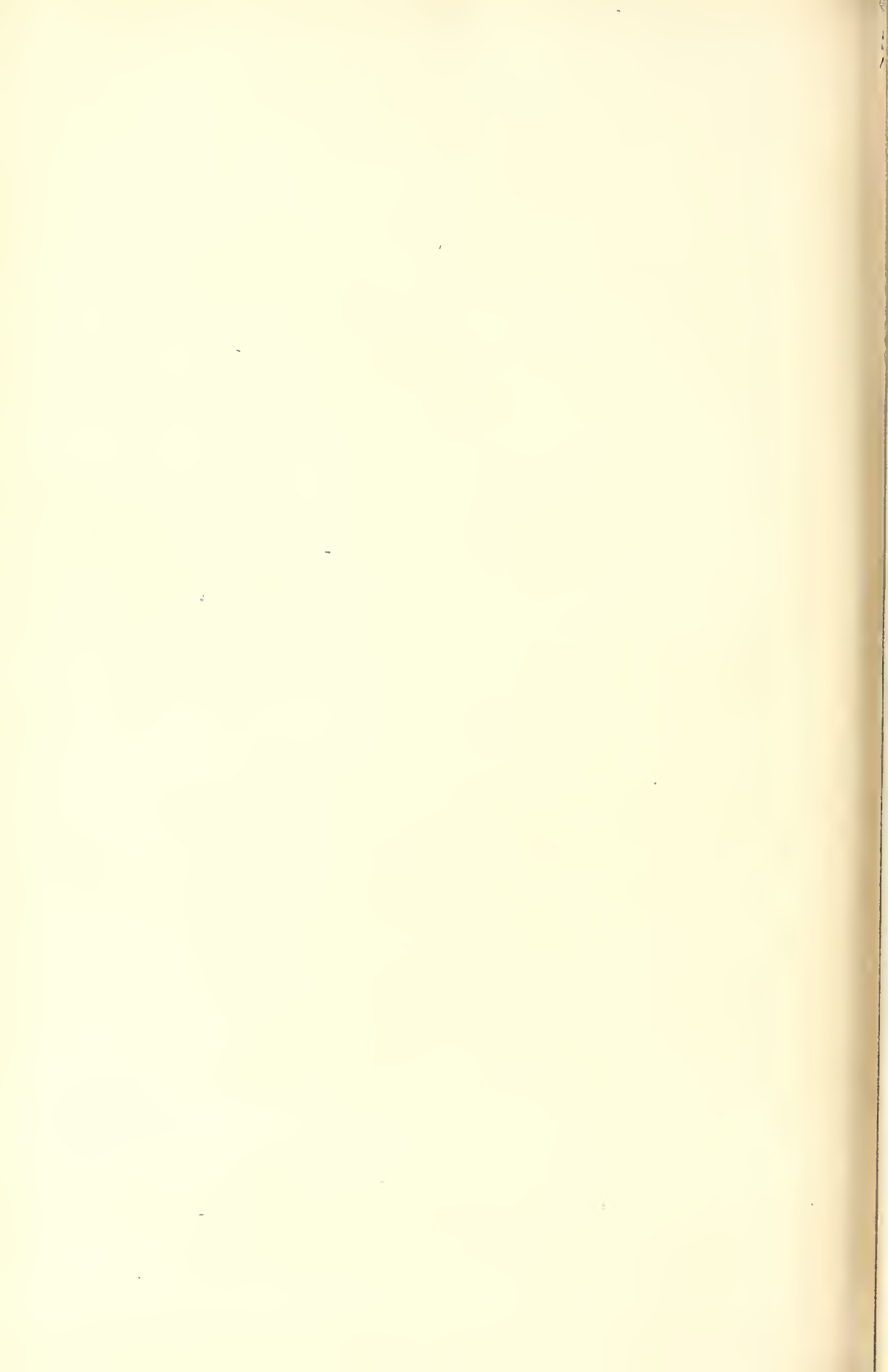
To the most inuincible and puissant king of the *Abassens*, the mightie Emperour of *Aethiopia* the higher and the lower.

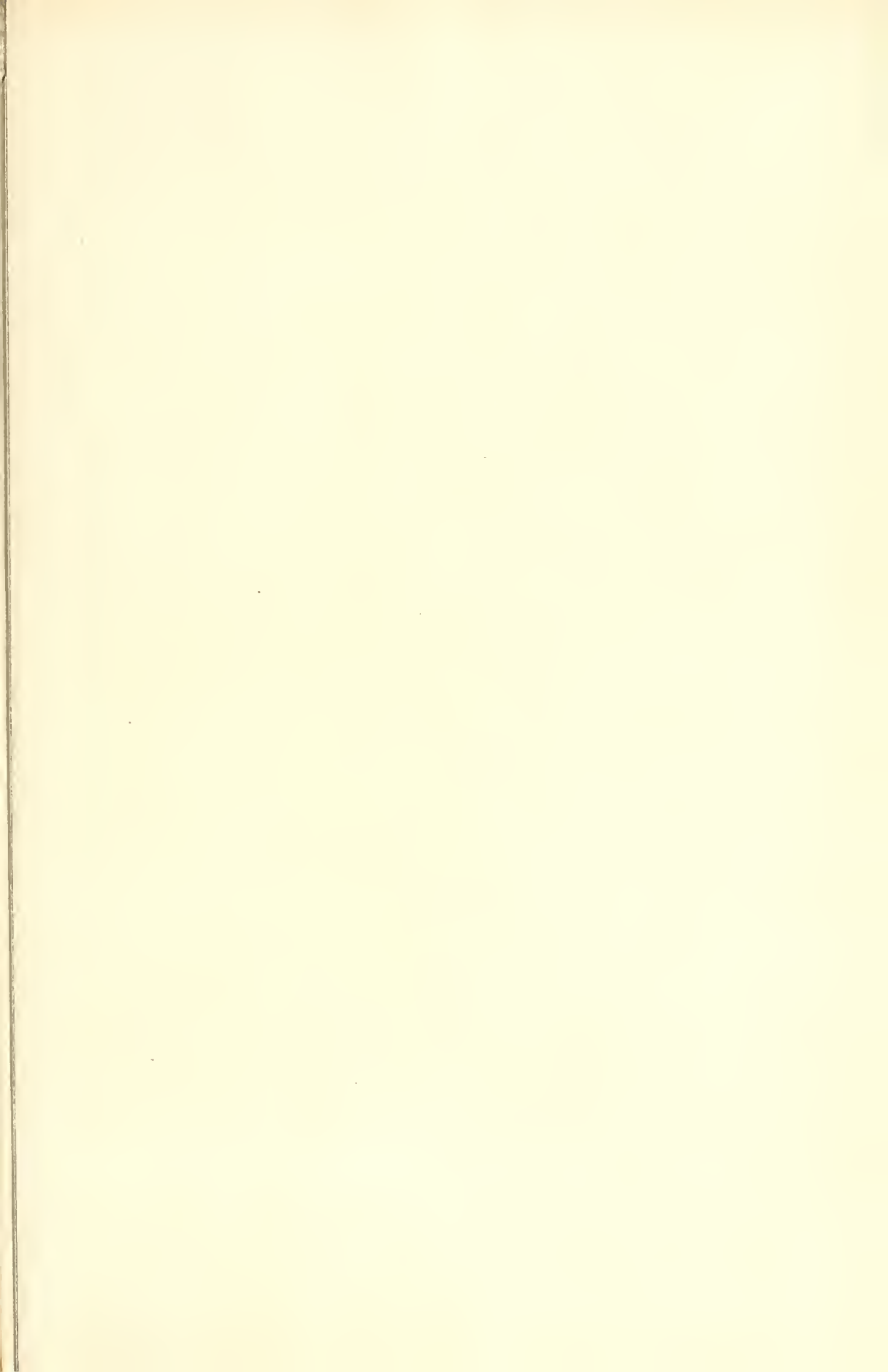
ELizabeth by the grace of God Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith &c. To the most high and mightie Emperour of Aethiopia greeting. Whereas it is a matter requisite and well becoming all kings and princes of what lands or nations soeuer, be they neuer so much disteered in place or differing in customes and lawes, to maintaine and preserve the common societie of mankinde, and, as occasion shall be offered, to performe mutuall duties of charitie and beneuolence: we for that cause conceiuing most vndoubted hope of your princely fidelitie and courtesie; haue giuen vnto this our subiect Laurence Aldersey intending to trauell into your dominions, these our letters to be deliuered without faile vnto your Highnesse, to the end they may be a testimony of our good will towards you and of our saide subiect his departure from England. Who, after his trauels in many foren countreys, being as yet enflamed with a desire moze thourghly to surueigh and contemplate the world, and now at length to vnder-take a long and daungerous iourney into your territories and regions: both the sayd Laurence thought, and our selues also deemed, that it would very much auaile him, as well for his otone safetie as for the attayning of your fauour, if, being protected with our broad seale, hee might transpoze vnto your Highnesse a testimony of our louing affection & of his departure from hence. For sicheince almighty God the highest creatour and gouernour of the world hath allotted vnto kings and princes his vicegerents ouer the face of the whole earth, their designed porcions and limits to be ruled and administred by them; and by this his gift hath established among them a certaine law of brotherly kindnesse, and an eternall league by them to be obserued: it will not (we hope) seeme vnpleasent vnto your highnesse, when you shall haue intelligence of our louing letters sent so huge a distaunce ouer sea and land, euen from the farthest realme of England vnto you in Aethiopia. On the other side our selues shall take great solace and delight, when as by the relation of our owne subiects, the renowne of your name shall be brought vnto vs from the fountains of Nilus, and from those regions which are situate vnder the Southerne Tropike. May it please you therefore of your princely clemencie to vouchsafe so much fauour on this our subiect, that he may, vnder the safeguare and protection of your name, enter into your highnesse dominions, and there remaine safe and free from danger. Which fauour and courtesie wee doe likewise most earnestly request at the hands of other princes, through whose Seigniozies our saide subiect is to passe; and we shall esteeme it as done vnto our selfe and for our honours sake. Neither do we require any greater fauour in this behalfe, then we are vpon the like occasion most ready to graunt vnto the subiects of all princes and the people of all Nations, traeuelling into our dominions. Given at London the fift day of November, in the thirtie and ninth yeere of our reigne: and in the yeare of our Lorde 1597.













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